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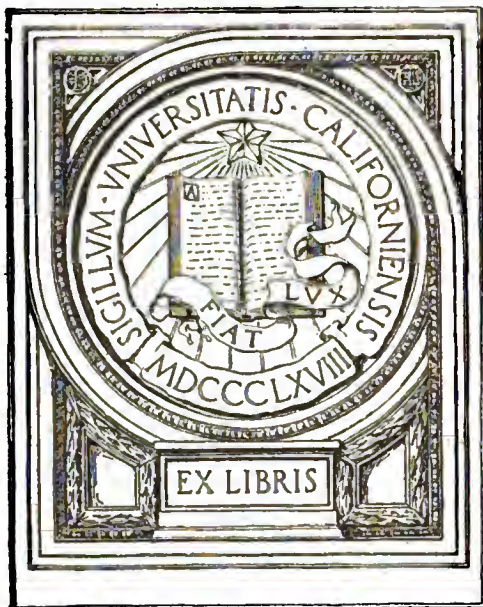
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BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

BY

FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D.,
" LEIPZIG.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION.

With an Introduction

BY

PROFESSOR S. R. DRIVER, D.D., OXFORD.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

1892.

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T. K. CHEYNE UND S. R. DRIVER

ALS DANK FÜR BEWÄHRTE LIEB' UND TREUE

GEWIDMET.

1891

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS fourth edition of my *Commentary on Isaiah* contains the fruit of continued labour since the appearance of the third in 1875, and, after the latter was out of print, a thorough revisal of the whole has been made in preparation for a fourth appearance.

To the commentary in the form it has hitherto presented, the objection has been made that it contained too much etymological matter and too many curious details far removed from the proper object of an exegetical work. The complaint was not without foundation, and I have taken care that it cannot be raised against the commentary in its present form, especially since, apart from this consideration, I had thought to make the greatest possible curtailment, and my taste is opposed to unnecessary repetitions. In former editions of my commentaries, however, I always leave so much that is peculiar to each, that they do not quite become antiquated by later ones.

The illustrative essays contributed by my friends Fleischer (d. Feb. 10, 1888), Wetzstein, and Von Strauss-Torney are to be found in the second and third editions; those who consider these contributions of importance may still have access to them, at least in libraries.¹ The excursus by Wetzstein on the Gable mountain-range in Batanea (Ps.

¹ These papers are those of Victor v. Strauss-Torney, "Can סִינִים, in Isa. xlix. 12, be the Chinese?" and of Wetzstein, in the second edition, "On Isaiah, chap. xxi.;" "On the Nabl (נָבֶל) and kindred stringed instruments, chap. v. 12.;" "On כַּפְתָּה, chap. v. 25.;" "On כַּפְתָּה and כִּרְסָה, and matters of agricultural botany generally, chap. xxviii. 25.;"

lxviii. 16), which was published separately in 1884 as a supplement to the fourth edition of my *Commentary on the Psalms* (1883), but which has not yet been appreciated as it deserves, was the last conjoint production which I could obtain from him.

In the correction of typographical errors appearing in this edition of my *Commentary on Isaiah*, I have been somewhat fortunate; perhaps I may venture to hope that it will be found as correct as could possibly be expected. And yet even this book, after it is finished, will sooner or later, in my eyes, shrink into a very imperfect and insignificant production; of one thing only do I think I may be confident, that the spirit by which it is animated comes from the good Spirit that guides along the everlasting way.

F. D.

LEIPZIG, August 7, 1889.

"On מָוֶה and מָוֶה, chap. xxx. 24." There are also, in the third edition, papers, "On מָוֶה in Isa. xi. 8, and מָוֶה in Josh. xix. 34;" "On מָוֶה in Isa. xvi. 1, xlii. 11, and מָוֶה in xxxiv. 6 and lxiii. 1." The contents of these essays are much more varied than the titles lead one to expect.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

THE translation of chaps. i. to iv., and from page 436 to end of this volume, is by the Rev. JAMES KENNEDY, B.D., New College, Edinburgh. The Rev. WILLIAM HASTIE, B.D., and the Rev. THOMAS A. BICKERTON, B.D. (Examiners in Theology, Edinburgh University), have translated chaps. v. to xx. and chap. xxi. to page 435 respectively.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

BY PROFESSOR S. R. DRIVER, D.D., OXFORD.¹

THE death of Professor Franz Delitzsch, which took place on March 4, 1890, deprived Christian scholarship of one of its most highly gifted and influential representatives. Though known probably to the majority of English students only by his commentaries upon parts of the Old Testament, these writings represent, in fact, but a part of the literary activity of his life, and, except to those who can read between the lines, fail entirely to suggest the wide and varied practical interests to which his energies were largely dedicated. The outward story of his life may be told briefly. He was born at Leipzig, February 23, 1813; and, having graduated at the University of his native city in 1835, he became Professor at Rostock in 1846, at Erlangen in 1850, and at Leipzig in 1867, the last-named Professorship being retained by him till his death. From his early student days he devoted himself to the subject of theology, and laid the foundation of his knowledge of Hebrew literature (including especially its post-Biblical development in the Talmud and cognate writings), as well as of Semitic philology generally, under the guidance of Julius Fürst, editor of the well-known *Concordance* (1840), and H. L. Fleischer, who was destined in future years to become the acknowledged master of all European Arabic scholars. What may be termed the two leading motives of his life, the desire, viz., to make the Old Testament better known to Christians, and the New Testament to Jews, were first kindled in him by the apparent accident of his meeting in these early years two agents of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. His earliest publi-

¹ Reprinted from *The Expository Times*, June 1890.

cations, which appeared during the time that he was *Privatdocent* at Leipzig, were, however, philological or historical. The first of all was a learned and interesting work on the history of post-Biblical Jewish poetry, *Zur Geschichte Jüdischer Poesie*, 1836, followed, in 1838, by *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum, Schilderungen und Kritiken*, and *Jesurun, seu Isagoge in grammaticam et lexicographiam linguae Hebraeae*, in which, following his teacher, Fürst, he developed etymological principles which were far from sound, and which afterwards, at least in great measure, he abandoned. In 1841 he edited a volume of *Anekdoten* in illustration of the history of mediaeval scholasticism among Jews and Moslems. The next work which deserves to be mentioned is of a different kind—a devotional manual bearing the title of *Das Sacrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Jesu Christi*, which attained great popularity in the Lutheran Church, and has passed through several editions (the seventh in 1886). In 1842 there appeared a Dissertation on the life and age of Habakkuk, which was followed in 1843 by the first of his exegetical works, consisting of an elaborate philological commentary on the same prophet—part of a series of commentaries which was projected by him at this time in conjunction with his friend, C. P. Caspari, but of which the only other volume that was completed was the one on Obadiah (by Caspari). A treatise on *Die Biblischprophetische Theologie*, published in 1845, closes the list of works belonging to the years during which he was *Privatdocent* at Leipzig.

Not much of importance was published by Delitzsch during the Rostock period (1846–50); he was probably at this time engaged in preparing lectures, and also in amassing that store of materials which was to be utilized more fully in future years. The seventeen years of his Erlangen Professorship were more prolific. 1851 saw *Das Hohelied untersucht und ausgelegt*; 1852, the first edition of his *Genesis*—interesting from the fact that he already clearly recognised the composite structure of the book; 1855, his *System of Biblical Psychology*, remarkable for original but difficult thought and subtle speculations; 1857, a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, to which Bishop Westcott, in his recent edition of the same epistle, acknowledges gratefully his obligations; 1859–60, the

first edition of a *Commentary on the Psalms*; 1861–62, a monograph, entitled, *Handschriftliche Funde* (notices of the textual criticism of the Apocalypse, and an account of the re-discovery by himself of the famous *Codex Reuchlini*,—a MS. of A.D. 1105 containing the Hebrew Text, with Targum, of the prophets,—which had been used by Erasmus, but had since been lost); 1864 and 1866, the first editions of his *Commentaries on Job* and *Isaiah* respectively (in the series edited by himself and C. F. Keil conjointly). The Erlangen period was closed by a second edition of the *Psalms* (1867—incorporated now in the series edited with Keil), and the two instructive descriptive sketches of life in the time of Christ, entitled, *Jesus and Hillel* (directed against Renan and the eminent Jewish writer Abraham Geiger), and *Artizan Life in the time of Jesus*.

The literary activity of the last period of his life, the twenty-three years passed by him in his Professorship at Leipzig, shows even greater versatility than that of his earlier years. His inaugural lecture is a study on *Physiology and Music in their relation to Grammar, especially Hebrew Grammar*. The studies on the age of Christ, just mentioned, were followed before long by others of a similar nature, viz. *A Day in Capernaum* (graphically written and learned), *Sehet welch ein Mensch!* and *José and Benjamin, a tale of Jerusalem in the time of the Herods*. In 1869 he published his *System der Christlichen Apologetik*, in 1873 and 1875 *Commentaries*, likewise in the series edited with Keil, on *Proverbs*, and on the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes*, respectively. In 1871, 1878, and 1886 there appeared three monographs, full of minute and interesting researches, entitled, *Studies on the Origin of the Complutensian Polyglott*; in 1874, in honour of his former teacher and present colleague, Fleischer, *Jüdisch-Arabische Poesien aus Vormuhammedischer Zeit*; *Ein Specimen aus Fleischer's Schule als Beitrag zur Feier seines silbernen Jubiläums*; in 1885 a short Biblical study, *Der Messias als Versöhner*; in 1889 another, *Sind die Juden wirklich das auserwählte Volk?* The publication of Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* in 1878 stirred him deeply: he was alternately pained by the boldness with which it treated sacred things and impressed by its brilliancy and the frequent cogency of its argument.

The immediate result was the series of twelve papers, called *Pentateuch-kritische Studien* in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben* for 1880. In these papers Delitzsch discusses critically certain prominent questions (such as the laws respecting the Passover, the Tabernacle, Deuteronomy, the "Law of Holiness") on which Wellhausen's conception of the history of Israel turns, and, while frequently repudiating particular points in Wellhausen's argument, recognises in his conclusions a large element of truth. Six other papers on cognate topics followed in the same periodical in 1882. About this time also two courses of his lectures were published in English from notes taken by one of his pupils—*Messianic Prophecies* and *The Old Testament History of Redemption* (1880, 1881). Meanwhile he had been busy in the preparation of new and improved editions of many of his commentaries. Thus the fourth edition of his *Genesis* appeared in 1872, the fifth, incorporating the results to which his recent critical studies had led him, under the title *Ein neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, in 1887; *Job* reached a second edition in 1876, the *Psalms* a fourth edition in 1883, *Isaiah* a fourth edition in 1889. In 1888 a number of discourses and articles were reprinted by him in a volume called *Iris; Farbenstudien und Blumenstücke*; here he gives freer scope than usual to his imagination, and treats a variety of topics half playfully, half in earnest, with inimitable ease and grace. Professor Delitzsch's last work was *Messianische Weissagungen in Geschichtlicher Folge*, the preface to which is dated only six days before his death. In this volume, which contains his lectures on Messianic prophecy in the form in which they were last delivered by him in 1887, his aim, he tells us, was to state the results of his lifelong study—"eine Spätlinggarbe aus alter und neuer Frucht"—in a clear, compendious form, as a last bequest to those engaged in missionary work.

One department of Delitzsch's literary labours remains still to be noticed. As remarked above, it was a guiding aim of his life to make the New Testament better known to Jews. This first bore fruit in the missionary periodical called *Saat auf Hoffnung*,—"Seed in hope,"—which was edited by himself from 1863, and to which he was a frequent contributor.

In 1870 it assumed a still more practical shape in an edition of the Epistle to the Romans in Hebrew, accompanied by a most interesting introduction, containing an account and criticism of existing translations of the New Testament into Hebrew, and valuable illustrations of the thought and phraseology of the apostle from Rabbinical sources. He did not, however, rest here. A series of *Talmudische Studien*, chiefly on linguistic points connected with the New Testament, which ultimately extended to seventeen papers, had already been begun by him in the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche* (1854–77);¹ and in 1876–88 these were followed in the same periodical by another series of papers, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, supplementary to Lightfoot and Schoettgen, on the Hebrew equivalents of various New Testament expressions. These were, no doubt, “chips” from the great work on which he was at this time busily engaged; for the desire of his heart, a new Hebrew version of the entire New Testament, was now on the point of being realized, the British and Foreign Bible Society having entrusted him with the revision of the version published by them. This revision was completed in 1877. The improvements which it contained were very numerous; nevertheless, it was capable of more; and these, due partly to himself, partly derived from the criticisms and suggestions of other scholars (which Delitzsch always generously welcomed), were incorporated by him in the editions which followed (the 9th, in 1889). It was in consequence of some suggestions tendered by him for this purpose that the present writer first made the acquaintance of Professor Delitzsch, and began a literary correspondence with him, which was continued at intervals to the period of his last illness. An interesting account of Professor Delitzsch’s labours in connection with this subject has been written by himself in English in a pamphlet called *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Leipzig 1883). In its successive editions Delitzsch’s Hebrew New Testament has enjoyed a very large circulation, partly among Christian scholars, on account of the exegetical interest attaching to it, and partly among Jews, for many of

¹ See the subjects and dates in *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, p. 35 f.

whom the primary documents of Christianity, set forth in their own language, have been found to possess a peculiar attractiveness. During the later years of his life, Delitzsch spent much time in the successive revisions of this work, and was unwearying in the effort to make it correspond more completely with the ideal which he had set himself.¹ At the time of his death he had nearly completed his preparations for a tenth edition, which was to include such extensive improvements as to entitle it to be termed, in a certain sense, a "new" translation.² The translation, even in the editions which have already appeared, shows great scholarship and accuracy, and every page evinces the care that has been bestowed upon it.

Such is the record, though even so not told quite fully,³ of Professor Delitzsch's wonderfully busy literary life. It can afford no cause for surprise that one who knew him well, and who found him working whilst lying propped up in bed during his last illness, should have remarked that he had never known a man who made uniformly such a careful use of his time. His nature was a richly-gifted one; and he had learnt early how to apply to the best advantage the talents entrusted to his charge. And yet he was no mere student of books. He had a singularly warm and sympathetic disposition; he was in the habit of meeting his pupils informally

¹ See, most recently, his short papers in the *Expositor* for February, April, and October 1889; twelve others, written by him during his last illness, and published in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1889, Nos. 45-52, 1890, Nos. 1 and 2; and *Saat auf Hoffnung*, February 1890, pp. 71-74. The first of those in the *Expositor* is of importance as evidence of the friendly spirit in which Delitzsch and Salkinson, the author of another modern Hebrew version of the New Testament, which has sometimes been placed in rivalry with Delitzsch's, regarded personally each other's work. On the characteristics of these two Hebrew New Testaments, the writer may be permitted to refer to an article by himself in the *Expositor* for April 1886 (though it should be stated that some of the grammatical faults there pointed out in Salkinson's translation have since been corrected).

² See *Saat auf Hoffnung*, February 1890, pp. 67-70, 74.

³ For some minor writings, as well as several other articles in periodicals, and his contributions to Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie* (Daniel, Heiligkeit Gottes, Hiob, etc.; see the list in vol. xviii. p. 725 of the second edition), have, of necessity, been left unnoticed.

in both social and religious gatherings; and he loved to make, and succeeded in making, many friends. His personality was an impressive one, and exerted a wonderful charm upon all who came within reach of its influence. He loved England; and there are many both in this country and in America who still retain the vivid memory of kindnesses received from him in past years, while they were students at Leipzig, and who have heard with sorrow the tidings of his death. The present writer never had the privilege of meeting him personally, but he has received from him many most genial and friendly letters, besides experiencing in other ways tokens of his regard. The depth and reality of his convictions are attested by many passages of his writings. His personal religion was devout and sincere. Mission work, especially among the Jews, interested him warmly; he was much attracted by the movement among the Jews of South Russia in the direction of Christianity, headed by Joseph Rabinowitzsch, and published several *brochures* illustrating its principles and tendencies. Of his pamphlet, *Ernste Fragen an die Gebildeten jüdischer Religion*, more than 4000 copies were disposed of in three months. The anti-Semitic agitation which broke out in Germany a few years ago deeply vexed him; the injustice of the charges and insinuations brought against the Jews by a Roman Catholic writer in 1881 he exposed in a pamphlet, entitled, *Rohling's Talmudjude beleuchtet*, which was followed by other publications having a similar aim.

As a thinker and author, though he is apt to be less successful in his treatment of abstract questions, and sometimes does not sufficiently hold his imagination in check, Delitzsch is forcible, original, and suggestive. His literary style is altogether superior to what those who know it only through the medium of translations would suppose to be the case. His commentaries and critical writings are distinguished not less on account of the warm religious feeling which breathes in them than for the exact and comprehensive scholarship which they display. Thoroughness is the mark of all his works. His commentaries, from their exegetical completeness, take rank with the best that Germany has produced. He brings out of his abundantly furnished treasury things new and old. Among Christian scholars his knowledge of

Jewish literature was unsurpassed. Jewish views—though these, it is true, are often only of interest as curiosities—are noticed in his commentaries more fully than in those of any other modern scholar. In difficult and controverted passages, the interpretations adopted by different authorities, from the earliest times, are compactly stated. The successive editions of his commentaries invariably bear witness to the minute and conscientious labour bestowed upon them. It is not the least valuable of their characteristics that they incorporate, or contain references to, the latest notices or researches which have any important bearing upon the text. History, philology, criticism, travel, archaeology, are equally laid under contribution by the keen-eyed author. One never turns to any of his commentaries without finding in it the best information available at the time when it was written. His exegesis, if occasionally tinged with mysticism, is, as a rule, thoroughly sound and trustworthy, attention being paid both to the meaning and construction of individual words, and also to the connection of thought in a passage as a whole. The least satisfactory of his commentaries is that on the *Song of Songs*, the view taken by him of the poem as a whole obliging him in many cases to adopt strained interpretations of the text. Delitzsch appreciated scholarly feeling and insight in others, and acknowledges gracefully (in the Preface to the second edition of *Job*) his indebtedness to the exegetical acumen of that master of modern Hebraists, Ferdinand Hitzig. In the matter of etymologies, however, Delitzsch never entirely disowned the principles which he had imbibed from Fürst; and hence, even to the last, he sometimes advocated derivations and connections between words, which are dependent upon questionable philological theories, and cannot safely be accepted.

Critically, Delitzsch was open-minded; and with praiseworthy love of truth, when the facts were brought home to him, did not shrink from frankly admitting them, and modifying, as circumstances required, the theories by which he had previously been satisfied. As was remarked above, he had accepted from the beginning, at least in its main features, the critical analysis of Genesis; and in the earlier editions of his *Commentary on Isaiah* he had avowed that not all the arguments used by rationalists were themselves rationalistic. But

as late as 1872 he still taught that the Pentateuch, as we have it, was virtually a product of the Mosaic age. A closer study of the subject, however, which he was led to undertake by the appearance of Wellhausen's *History*, convinced him that this view was not tenable; and in the papers noticed above, written by him in 1880–1882 (the substance of which is stated in a condensed form in the Introduction to his *New Commentary on Genesis*), he embraced the critical view of the structure of the entire Hexateuch, treating Deuteronomy as being, in form, the work of a prophet of the age of Hezekiah, and allowing that the ceremonial law was not probably cast into its present shape until a later date still. While accepting these conclusions, however, he holds rightly that each of the main Pentateuchal codes embodies elements of much greater antiquity than itself, and rests ultimately upon a genuine Mosaic basis. The importance of this change of position on Delitzsch's part is twofold: it is, firstly, a significant indication of the cogency of the grounds upon which the critical view of the structure of the Old Testament rests; and, secondly, it is evidence of what some have been disposed to doubt, viz. that critical conclusions, properly limited and qualified, are perfectly consistent with a firm and sincere belief in the reality of the revelation contained in the Old Testament. In the matter of the authorship of the Psalms, though there are signs in his last edition that he no longer upheld so strenuously as before the authority of the titles, he did not make the concessions to criticism which might perhaps have been expected of him. In the case of the Book of Isaiah, the edition of 1889—which, by what was felt by both to be a high compliment, was dedicated conjointly to Professor Cheyne and the writer of this notice—is accommodated throughout to the view of the origin and structure of the book generally accepted by modern scholars.

Such is a sketch, only too inadequate and imperfect, of Franz Delitzsch's life and work. He has left a noble example of talents consecrated to the highest ends. May his devotion to learning, his keenness in the pursuit of truth, his earnestness of purpose, his warm and reverent Christian spirit, find many imitators!

S. R. DRIVER.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PROPHETICO-PREDICTIVE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

— — —

IN the Canon of the Old Testament the prophetico-historical are followed by the prophetico-predictive books. Both together, under the name of נביאים, form the middle of the three divisions in the collection,—the first, in accordance with their position, being designated the “Former Prophets” (הנביאים הראשונים), while the second are named the “Later Prophets” (הנביאים האחרונים). In the Masora this middle division is sometimes called אשלתא, “tradition,”¹ because the Torah is regarded as the fundamental revelation of God, and post-Mosaic prophecy as tradition (קבלה), for which the Aramaic is אשלתא, from אשלם, *tradere*) flowing from this original source in a continuous stream; the Former Prophets are then, under the title of אשלתא קדמיתא, distinguished from the Later Prophets, which are called אשלתא הניחא.

It is true that the Torah also is a prophetical work, and is cited as such in Ezra ix. 11; for Moses, the mediator of the revelation of law, is, as such, the prophet to whom no other was like, Deut. xxxiv. 10; but it was not becoming that the Pentateuch, which is separated from the Book of Joshua under the name of התורה (ספר), should be included in the division of the Canon which is designated “the Prophets;” it is certainly the unique record of the fundamental revelation which has ever conditioned the existence and life of Israel as the nation pre-eminently associated with the history of re-

¹ Regarding this Masoretic title, see Johannes Delitzsch, *De Inspiratione Scripturae Sacrae*, 1872, p. 7 f.

demption, and from which, moreover, all prophecy in Israel has been derived. And this holds true, not merely of prophecy, but of all later writings. Not only the prophetic style of writing history, but also the non-prophetic,—i.e. the priestly, the political, the popular styles,—has its model in this Torah. The former follows the Jehovistic-Deuteronomic type, the latter the Elohist.¹

The opinion that the historical works found among the Hagiographa were placed there merely because of their later origin, but should properly have been ranged among the "Former Prophets,"² rests on a misconception concerning this variety in the style of writing history. Ezra,—whom we have good ground for regarding as the author of the great "Book

¹ With reference to the Pentateuchal criticism, we purposely remark here, in a conspicuous position, that the acknowledged Isaianic discourses present parallels to all the constituent portions of the Pentateuch. (1) The Jehovist: כליל התקדש ה', xxx. 29, cf. פסח, xxxi. 5 ~ Ex. xii. 13, 23, 27 (only here in Jehovistic context is the name of the festival referred to the verb פסח); ליהוה . . . מצבה, xix. 19 ~ Gen. xxviii. 18, 22, xxxi. 13 (as, inasmuch as the law forbids the erection of a מצבה, not only as a means of heathen worship, Lev. xxvi. 1, but also absolutely, Deut. xvi. 22, the view which the prophet reveals appears to be shaped by a reference to the מצבה of Jacob at Bethel).—(2) The Law of the Two Tables: לראות פני לראות את-פני, Ex. xxxiv. 24 (also Deut. xxxi. 11).—(3) Deuteronomy, i. 2 ~ the beginning of the Song, האנינו, Deut. xxxii. 1.—(4) Deuteronomy together with the Law of Holiness: i. 7, ארצכם שמטה ~ Lev. xxvi. 33, תעריכם ידיו ~ Lev. xxvi. 31, 33, עריכם שרפות אש ~ Lev. xxvi. 33, 33, חרבה ~ Deut. xxviii. 33 (cf. 51; Lev. xxvi. 16); ושטמה כמהפכת זרים ~ Deut. xxix. 22, ושמטה כמהפכת זרים (cf. the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah in ver. 10 ff.). Add also xxxvi. 7, according to which Hezekiah abolished the high places, and centralized the worship in the Temple of Jerusalem: the restriction of worship to one place, accordingly, does not date from Josiah's time.—(5) The Elohist: iv. 5, וברא יהוה ~ Gen. i. 1 (though I would not adduce this parallel, if Wellhausen did not pronounce ברא to be the late production of theological abstraction, and the passage in Isaiah corrupt); i. 14, חרשיכם ~ Num. x. 10, xxviii. 11; מקרא, i. 13 (which occurs with the Elohist and elsewhere also, but not with the Jehovist), and עצרה in the same verse ~ עצרת, Num. xxix. 35 (and elsewhere also, but not with the Jehovist); קמרת in the same verse ~ Lev. ii. 2, ix. 16, v. 12, vi. 8, הקמיר הכהן (viz. the מזבח). And is not the altar in heaven, vi. 6, the antitype of the מזבח הקמרת in Ex. xxx. 27, etc.?

² This view has been maintained, e.g., by B. Anger, *Geschichte der messianischen Idee* (edited by Max Krenkel, 1873), p. 9.

of Kings" to which the Chronicler (2 Chron. xxiv. 27) refers under the title ספר הימים, a collection bearing on the history of Israel, to which he had appended, as the concluding portion, the history of the time of the Restoration,—is nowhere called a "prophet" (נביא), and, in fact, he was not one. The Chronicler also—who, besides the Books of Samuel and of Kings, both of which have been arbitrarily divided into two parts, had also before him that work of Ezra as his main source of authority, and thence produced the historical compendium lying before us, the conclusion of which was made up of the memorabilia of Ezra (now, however, in separate form as the Book of Ezra)—makes no claim to be a prophet. Nehemiah, too,—from whose memorabilia our Book of Nehemiah is an extract, arranged in the same fashion as the Book of Ezra,—was not a prophet, but a Tirshatha, i.e. a provincial governor under the king of Persia. The Book of Esther, however, through its relegation of the religious element to the background, is as far as possible removed from the prophetic style of writing history; from the latter, indeed, it differs as characteristically as the Feast of Purim, the Jewish Carnival, differs from the Passover, the Israelitish Christmas. But it must seem strange that the Book of Ruth stands among the Hagiographa. This little work so closely resembles in character the closing portion of the Book of Judges (chaps. xvii.—xxi.) that it might have been placed between Judges and Samuel, and probably did actually stand there originally; only for liturgical reasons has it been placed beside the so-called five Megilloth (festival rolls), which succeed one another in accordance with the festival calendar of the ecclesiastical year; for the Book of Canticles forms the lesson read on the eighth day of the Feast of Passover, Ruth is read on the second day of the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), Kinoth (Lamentations) on the ninth of the month Abib, Koheleth (Ecclesiastes) on the third day of the Feast of Tabernacles, while Esther is read in the Feast of Purim, which falls in the middle of Adar.

This is also the simplest answer to the question why the Lamentations of Jeremiah are not appended to the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies. The Psalms, however,—though David may be called a prophet (Acts ii. 30), and Asaph is named "the seer" (נחֵיָא),—stand first among the Hagio-

grapha, inasmuch as they do not belong to the literature of prophecy (נְבוּאָה), but of that of sacred lyric poetry (שִׁיר יְהוָה). Their prophetic contents are entirely lyric in their origin, whereas the lyric contents of the Lamentations throughout presuppose the official position and public announcements of Jeremiah as a prophet. Among the canonical books of the prophets (נְבִיאִים) are found only the writings of those who, in virtue of special gifts and calling, were commissioned publicly—whether by word of mouth or by writing—to proclaim the word of God; and this they did freely, not being fettered, like the priests, by legal forms. For, though the name נְבִיא denotes one who announces, publishes, proclaims, i.e. (as we must further conceive of him) one who speaks as the organ (פה, "mouth," Ex. iv. 15 f.; Jer. xv. 19) of God; and though the earliest application of the term (see Gen. xx. 7; cf. xviii. 17-19; Ps. cv. 15), which is revived in the writings of the Chronicler, is far wider than the later; yet here, in designating the middle division of the Canon of the Old Testament, the word is certainly not so restricted as in Amos vii. 14, where it indicates one who, having gone through a school of the prophets, or at least having been educated through intercourse with prophets, had wholly devoted himself through life to prophetic teaching. It has, however, a specific sense that has been incorporated into the organism of the theocratic life: here it is the designation of one who comes forward, on the basis of a divine vocation and divine revelations, as a public teacher, and who thus professes not merely the gift of prediction, but also by preaching and writing exercises the office of a prophet,—an office which, at least on Ephraimitish soil, had further received a distinct and characteristic impress through the institution of the schools of the prophets. This explains the fact that the Book of Daniel could not find a place among the נְבִיאִים. For Daniel was not a prophet in this sense: he received and became the medium of divine revelations, but he was not a divinely commissioned public teacher like Nathan and Gad, Ezekiel and Zechariah. As remarked by Julius Africanus (in his letter to Origen concerning Susanna), not only did the way and manner in which the divine disclosures were made to him differ from the ἐπίπνοια προφητική, but he did not hold the office of a prophet, so that

the Talmud (*Megilla 3a*), speaking of the post-exile prophets in relation to him, says, "They stood above him, for they were prophets, but he was not a prophet" (אֵינָהוּ עֲרִיף מִיָּנִיחַ). (דְּאֵינְהוּ נְבִיאִי וְאֵינּוּ לֹא נְבִיאִ).

It is thus because of a fundamental distinction between literary productions of a prophetic character properly so called, and those which are not prophetic in the same strict sense,—a distinction that holds alike in the domain of history and in that of prediction,—that all the books of historical and predictive content, which stand among the Hagiographa (כְּתוּבִים), which the grandson of Sirach renders by the expressions τὰ ἄλλα πατρια βιβλία and τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων), have been excluded from the middle division of the Old Testament Canon entitled נְבִיאִים. Distinction was made between the historical books from Joshua to Kings, and the predictive books from Isaiah to Malachi, as works of men who exercised the prophetic office, and thus as works of a prophetic character; and such books, on the other hand, as Chronicles and Daniel, which, though recognised as having been written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, were not written on the occasion of a call to make prophetic announcements through speech and writing, and did not thus originate from true prophetic inspiration. The two different styles of writing history are also really unmistakable. Each of them has its own peculiar history. The non-prophetic—considering its history and remains—we would call the national or annalistic. It is evidently quite possible that a prophetic historical work like the Books of Kings and an annalistic work like the Books of Chronicles, may have borrowed certain elements from the other historical style; but when once the distinguishing features of the two styles have been discerned, those elements which are foreign to the peculiar nature of each work, and which have merely been utilized for carrying out its design, nearly always admit of being made out with certainty.

The oldest type of non-prophetic historical composition is found in the priestly-Elohistic style of writing in the Pentateuch, as distinguished from the Jehovistic-Deuteronomic style. These two styles are continued in the Book of Joshua, and this, too, in such a way that, generally speaking, the latter appears in those portions which narrate the history of the

conquest, while the former occurs in those sections which describe the division and apportionment of the land. The Book of Judges, at the very beginning, which holds up the history of the judges as a mirror in which one may see and learn of God's dealing in salvation, bears the impress of a prophetic historical production; while the concluding portion, like the Book of Ruth, deals with Bethlehemish stories, which point to the Davidic kingdom, the promised kingdom which formed the centre of prophecy. And though the main portion of the book is founded upon oral and even written forms of the stories regarding the judges, there are also introduced extracts from a more complete work, in which the prophetic pencil of a man like Samuel had combined into an organic whole the accounts of the judges, not merely down to the times of Samson, but even to the complete overthrow of the Philistine oppression. That the Books of Samuel are a prophetic-historical work is expressly attested by the Chronicler in a passage which refers to the main body of these books; in those pieces, however, which record the encounters with the four Philistine children of the giants, 2 Sam. xxi. 15 ff. (= 1 Chron. xx. 4 ff.), and those which tell of David's heroes (גיבורים) who stood nearest to him, 1 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff. (= 1 Chron. xi. 11 ff.), they contain at least two remnants of national or popular historical composition, which delights in the repetition of the same words at the beginning and the end, after the manner of a refrain, and touches on the domain of an epic or national ode, reminding us, as Eisenlohr has fitly said, of the legend of Roland and Artus, and the Spanish Cid. More of such remains are found in the Chronicles, as the list of those who joined David during the time of persecution by Saul, 1 Chron. xii. 1-22, beginning with the words: "*Now these are they who came to David at Ziklag, while he was still hard pressed by Saul the son of Kish; and they belong to the heroes who are ready to help in war, armed with bows, with the right hand and the left using stones and arrows by means of the bow.*" Some of these pieces may have fallen into the hands of the later historians separately, and may have been incorporated without any change; but, so far as they are tabulated, the Chronicler leaves us in no doubt regarding their main source. After giving a census of the Levites from the age of thirty

years and upwards, in 1 Chron. xxiii. 2-24a, he adds in ver. 24b and other verses following, in a sketchy manner, that David, considering afterwards that the heavy work of former days had now ceased, reduced to twenty the age at which service should begin; for "*in the last words of David* (דְּבַר יְדִיד הָאֲחֵרוֹנִים) *the descendants of Levi are numbered from the age of twenty.*" He here refers to the last part of the history of David's life in the "book of the Kings of Israel" (סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי) (יִשְׂרָאֵל) which lay before him; and we learn from 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, regarding the other work from which such lists had been transferred into this his leading source. There, after giving the list of the princes of Israel, he remarks concerning a general census that David had intended to make, "*Joab, the son of Zeruiah, began to count, but he did not finish; and there arose because of this an outburst of wrath upon Israel, and this numbering was not put into the numbering* (בַּמִּסְפָּר, but read בַּסֵּפֶר, 'into the book') *of the Chronicles* (דְּבַר הַיָּמִים) *of David.*" Hence the Annals or Chronicles of David contained such tables, which bore the character of national historic writing; and from these Annals they were transferred into the large Book of Kings lying before the Chronicler.

These official annals began with David. The kingship of Saul rose into little more than a military supremacy; and the kingdom, as reunited under him, did not develop beyond the first stages of a military constitution. Under David, however, king and people entered into a mutual relationship of the most extensive kind, and the thorough organization of the kingdom was necessarily followed by the multiplication of public servants of various kinds and degrees. We see David, as supreme head of the kingdom in all respects, even in matters of religion, acting on his official supremacy; and we meet with several entirely new offices instituted by him. Among these was the post of the מִזְכִּיר, i.e. "recorder," or, as the LXX. often designatively renders the word, ὑπομνηματώγραφος, or (as in 2 Sam. viii. 16) ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων (Jerome, in genuine Roman fashion, "a commentarius"). The Targums similarly render מְסֻבָּא עַל דְּכִרְנִיָּא, "the officer over the memorabilia" (= עַל סֵפֶר דְּכִרְנִיָּא, over the annals, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8; cf. Ezra iv. 15; Esth. vi. 1). The מִזְכִּיר had to keep the national annals, and his office was different

from that of the סופר, or chancellor. The סופר had to prepare the public documents; the מזכיר had to preserve them, and to incorporate them in the connected history of the nation. That it was David who instituted the office of national annalist in Israel is proved by the fact that references to the annals begin with the Chronicles (דברי הימים) of David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, and are afterwards continued in the "Book of the Chronicles of Solomon" (ספר דברי שלמה), which is an abbreviation from ספר דברי הימים לשלמה, 1 Kings xi. 41. Thereafter, references to them are carried on in Judah to the end of Jehoiakim's reign, and in Israel to the end of the reign of Pekah. Under David, and also under Solomon, the office of national annalist was filled by Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud. The fact that, apart from the annals of David and those of Solomon, nothing but the annals of the kings of Judah and those of the kings of Israel are ever cited, is easily and simply explained. When we view the national annals as a whole, they naturally divide themselves into four parts: the first two, the annals of David and of Solomon, set forth the history of the still united kingdom; while the last two, the annals of the kings of Judah and of Israel, presented the history of the nation as divided. The original state archives doubtless perished in the flames when Jerusalem was burnt by the Chaldeans. Copies made from these documents, however, were preserved; and the histories of the reigns of David and Solomon in the historical books which have been handed down to us, particularly rich as they are in annalistic material, show that diligence in copying and distributing was specially directed to the annals of David and of Solomon, and that these probably were circulated separately, like single decades of Livy.

Richard Simon thought the *écrivains publics* were prophets, and in more recent times also the annals have occasionally been regarded as prophetic historical compositions. I. Appeal is made to the statements of the Chronicler regarding prophetic materials in the work which formed his main source, the great Book of Kings; and it is assumed that this great Book of Kings contained the combined annals of the kings of Judah and of Israel. But (a) the Chronicler cites his chief source under various designations, as a Book of the Kings, once

(2 Chron. xxxiii. 8) as *דְּבָרֵי* (*i.e. res gestae, or historiae*) of the kings of Israel, but never as the annals of the kings of Judah or Israel; he even designates it once as *מִדְּרָשׁ סֵפֶר הַמֶּלֶכִּים*, *commentarius libri regum*, and thus, as an explanation and elaboration of our canonical Book of Kings, or—what we leave undecided—of an older Book of Kings altogether.

(b) In this Midrash there were, of course, inserted numerous and extensive pieces of a prophetic-historical character, for the purpose of illustrating the history of the kings; but the Chronicler expressly states, on several occasions, that these were incorporated materials (2 Chron. xx. 34, xxxii. 32). Among the documents which were taken into the annals, there must also have been pieces of a prophetic character, and not merely those referring to priestly and Levitical matters, military affairs, and such like; but it would be the greatest literary blunder to imagine that such pieces as the histories of Elijah and Elisha, which are plainly of Ephraimitish and prophetic origin, have been taken from the annals, especially because Joram of Israel, during whose reign Elisha flourished, is the only monarch of the northern kingdom in whose case there is no reference to the annals. The character of the documents which were chiefly utilized in the annals, and incorporated into the connected history, may be perceived from an instance found in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, where the arrangement of the Levites into classes is referred to the "writing of David" (*כְּתָב דָּוִד*) and the "writing of Solomon" (*כְּתָב שְׁלֹמֹה*), which passed for royal writings, either because they were drawn up by order of the king, and confirmed by him, or because records actually written by the king's own hand formed the basis of the sections in the annals (cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 11-19). When we further bear in mind that the accounts given by the Chronicler of the arrangements made by David regarding the priests and the Levites, point to the annals as the original source, we have—at least in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4—a confirmation of the governmental and (so to speak) royal character of these annals.

II. A second reason for regarding the annals as prophetic historical works is the consideration that otherwise, especially in the kingdom of Israel, they could not have been written in

the theocratic spirit. But (a) the official or state origin of the work is implied in the very fact that they end just where the work of a prophetic historiographer would properly have begun. For, of references to the annals in our Book of Kings, there are fourteen (counting from Rehoboam and Jeroboam) in the history of the kings of Judah (references being wanting only in the cases of Ahaziah, Amaziah, and Jehoahaz), and seventeen in the history of the kings of Israel (the case of Joram being the only one in which no reference is given); in neither line do the annals come down to the last monarch in the two kingdoms, but only to Jehoiakim and Pekah, from which we must infer that the writing of the national annals ceased with the approaching fall of the two kingdoms. (b) When we look more closely at the thirty-one references, we find that sixteen of these merely state the rest of the acts of the king mentioned are written in the annals: 1 Kings xiv. 29; 2 Kings viii. 23, xii. 20, xv. 6, 36, xvi. 19, xxi. 25, xxiii. 28, xxiv. 5; 1 Kings xv. 31, xvi. 14; 2 Kings i. 18, xv. 11, 21, 26, 31. In the case of four Israelitish kings, it is merely stated further that their גִּבּוּרָה (heroism, i.e. their brave conduct in war) is described in the annals, 1 Kings xvi. 5, 27; 2 Kings x. 34, xiii. 8. More definite statements, however, regarding what was to be read in the annals, are found in the case of Abijam, whose war with Jeroboam was there described, 1 Kings xv. 7; in the case of Asa, xv. 23, all whose bravery, and all that he did, and all the cities that he built, being there related; in the case of Jehoshaphat, xxii. 46, where reference is made to the heroic deeds that he performed, and the kind of wars that he carried on; in the case of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 20, where mention is made of all his heroism, and how he made the pool and the aqueduct, and brought the water into the city; in the case of Manasseh, xi. 17, all that he did, and the sin whereby he sinned; in the case of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiv. 19, what kind of wars he carried on, and how he ruled; in the case of Zimri, xvi. 20, his conspiracy that he formed; in the case of Ahab, xxii. 39, all that he did, and the ivory house that he constructed, and the cities that he built; in the case of Joash, 2 Kings xiii. 12, xiv. 15, his heroism, how he warred with Amaziah,

king of Judah; in the case of Jeroboam, 2 Kings xiv. 28, his bravery, how he warred, and how he recovered Damascus and Hamath, that belonged to Judah, for Israel; in the case of Shallum, xv. 15, his conspiracy which he formed. These references furnish plain proof that this annalistic history was not prophetic-pragmatical in its character. It recorded outward events, it had its roots in the popular mind and its sphere of action in the national life and institutions; compared with the prophetic history, it was more secular than sacred, more a history of the people than a history of redemption.

The numerous references of the Chronicler to historical writings by prophetic authors show the constant literary activity in the field of history which was displayed by the prophets generally, after the time of Samuel, with whom, properly speaking, begins the era of the prophets in Israel as a nation settled and constituted under the law (Acts iii. 24). That writer, at the close of the history of David, refers (1 Chron. xxix. 29) to the words of (יְהוֹנָדָב) Samuel the seer (יְהוֹנָדָב), of Nathan the prophet (נָתָן), and of Gad the seer (גָּד); at the end of the history of Solomon (2 Chron. ix. 29) to the words of (יְהוֹנָדָב) the prophecy of (נְבִיאָה) Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of (יְהוֹנָדָב) Jedi (or Jedo) the seer; in the case of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xii. 15), to the words of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer; in the case of Abijah (2 Chron. xiii. 22), to the commentary of (יְהוֹנָדָב) the prophet Iddo; in the case of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 24), to the words of Jehu the son of Hanani, which were included in the Book of the Kings of Israel; in the case of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 22), to a complete history of that king, which was composed by Isaiah the son of Amoz; in the case of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 32), to the vision of (יְהוֹנָדָב) Isaiah, as an account that could be found in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel; in the case of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19), to the words of Hozai. There is certainly room for doubting whether, in these citations, יְהוֹנָדָב does not rather (as, for instance, in 1 Chron. xxiii. 27) denote the historical account of such and such a person. The following reasons, however, prove that, in the mind of the Chronicler, historical accounts written by the person named were meant. (a) From

2 Chron. xxvi. 22 we see how easy and natural it was for him to think of prophets as historians of particular epochs in the history of the kings. (b) In other places also, where דְּבָרֵי is combined with the name of a prophet (as in 2 Chron. xxix. 30, xxxiii. 18), the latter is the genitive of the subject or author, not of the object. (c) In the citations given above, דְּבָרֵי is used interchangeably with עַל־דְּבָרֵי, an expression which still more decidedly requires us to understand it as referring to authorship; and (d) this view is put beyond all doubt by the interchange of מִדְּרָשׁ עֲדֵי, in 2 Chron. xiii. 22, with דְּבָרֵי עֲדֵי, in 2 Chron. xii. 15. That these accounts, however, which are named after prophets, were not lying before the Chronicler as separate writings along with his main source, is evident from the fact that, except in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18 f., he never refers to both together. They had been incorporated in "the commentary of the Book of Kings" (2 Chron. xxiv. 27) lying before him, where, along with the annalistic sources of the work, they could easily be distinguished as prophetic productions. And inasmuch as it is conceivable that the author of our canonical Books of Samuel and Kings should not have made use of these sources composed by prophetic authors, it is legitimate to ask whether it be still possible for critical analysis to discover these sources, either in whole or in part,—just as one may with certainty say that the list of officers used as a boundary-stone in 2 Sam. xx. 23–26, and the survey given in 1 Kings iv. 2–19 of Solomon's ministers and his court, together with the details as to the requirements of the royal kitchen (1 Kings v. 2 ff.), the number of stalls for the king's horses (1 Kings v. 6), and similar matters, have been derived from the annals.

This is not the place to enter more minutely into such an analysis. It is enough for us, through the references given in Chronicles, to have cast light on the restless activity of the prophets, from the time of Samuel onwards, engaged in writing history,—an activity which, even without the express references, is obvious from the many historical extracts in the Book of Kings from the writings of prophet-historians. Both authors draw, directly or indirectly, from annalistic and prophetic sources. But the Book of Kings and the Chronicles themselves also, taken as a whole—when we look at their authors,

and thus at the mode in which the historical materials are arranged and wrought into shape—represent two different styles of historical composition ; for the Book of Kings is the work of a prophet, and is pervaded by the prophetic spirit, while the Book of Chronicles is the work of a priest, and bears a priestly character. The author of the Book of Kings has taken Deuteronomy and the prophetic literature as his models, whereas the Chronicler so closely imitates the old style of the *דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים*, that his own is often undistinguishable from the style of the sources from which, directly or indirectly, his material was derived ; the work, accordingly, is a strange mixture of very ancient and very modern phraseology. From the view of history which is inserted in 2 Kings xvii. 7 f., one may see the spirit and the purpose of the author in writing the book. Like the author of the Book of Judges, who wrote in a similar spirit (see Judg. ii. 11 ff.), he seeks to show, in his history of the kings, how both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, by despising the word of God borne to them by the prophets, and particularly through the great sin of idolatry, had fallen from one stage of inward and outward corruption to another till they reached the depth of misery in the Exile. Judah, however, with its Davidic government, was not without hope of rising again from the depths, if the hearts of the people were not closed against the prophetic preaching from their own past history. The Chronicler, on the other hand, permits his love for the monarchy and priesthood, which were chosen from the tribes of Judah and Levi, to be felt even in the annalistic surveys forming the preface to his work ; and, starting at once with the sad end of Saul, wastes not a word on the course of suffering through which David reached the throne, but hastens on to the joyful beginning of his reign, which is pictured to us in a style at once popular, military, and priestly, as in the case of the annals. Then he sets before us—almost quite apart from the history of the northern kingdom—the history of Judah and Jerusalem under the rule of the Davidic family, and this with special fullness when he is able to praise the care of the monarch for the temple and its service, and his co-operation with the Levites and the priesthood. He displays a preference and partiality for the brighter portions of the history ; whereas, in the case

of the author of the Book of Kings, the law of retribution, which prevails in the historical matter, demands at least equal prominence for the darker parts.

Both of them, nevertheless, equally afford us a deep insight into the laboratory of the two modes of writing history, and the historical works of both are rich in discourses by prophets, which deserve closer consideration, because, equally with the prophetic-historical writings from which citation is made, they are to be regarded as the preliminary and occasional exercises of the prophetic literature, properly so called, which afterwards assumed a more or less independent position, and to which the "Later Prophets" (נְבִיאִים אַחֲרָיִים) belong. The Book of Kings contains the following utterances and discourses of prophets: (1) Abijah of Shiloh to Jeroboam, 1 Kings xi. 29-39; (2) Shemaiah to Rehoboam, xii. 22-24; (3) a man of God to the altar of Jeroboam, xiii. 1 f.; (4) Abijah to the wife of Jeroboam, xiv. 5-16; (5) Jehu the son of Hanani to Baasha, xvi. 1-4; (6) a prophet to Ahab, king of Israel, xx. 13 f., xxii. 28; (7) a pupil of the prophets to Ahab, xx. 35 ff.; (8) Elijah to Ahab, xxi. 17-26; (9) Micaiah the son of Imlah to the two kings, Ahab and Jehoshaphat, xxii. 14 ff.; (10) Elisha to Jehoram and Jehoshaphat, 2 Kings iii. 11 ff.; (11) a pupil of Elisha to Jehu, 2 Kings ix. 1-10; (12) a "burden" or message concerning the house of Ahab, ix. 25 f.; (13) Jehovah to Jehu, x. 30; (14) Jonah to Jeroboam II.,—indirectly,—xiv. 25-27; (15) a general message of the prophets, xvii. 13; (16) Isaiah's addresses to Hezekiah, chaps. xix. and xx.; (17) warning prophecy on account of Manasseh, xxi. 10-15; (18) Huldah to Josiah, xxii. 14 ff.; (19) message of warning from Jehovah concerning Judah, xxiii. 27. Of all these prophetic utterances and discourses, only Nos. 2, 9, and 18 are found again with the Chronicler (2 Chron. xi. 24, xviii., xxxiv.), partly because he relates merely the history of the kings of Judah, and partly because he aimed at supplementing our Book of Kings, which doubtless lay before him. The following prophetic utterances and addresses, not found in the Book of Kings, meet us in the Chronicles: (1) The words of Shemaiah in the war between Rehoboam and Shishak, 2 Chron. xii. 7, 8; (2) the words of Azariah the son of Obed before Asa, xv. 1-7; (3) Hanani to

Asa, xvi. 7-9; (4) Jahaziel the Asaphite in the assembling of the nation, xx. 14-17; (5) Eliezer the son of Dodavahu to Jehoshaphat, xx. 37; (6) the letter of Elijah to Jehoram, xxi. 12-15; (7) Zechariah the son of Jehoiada in the time of Joash, xxiv. 20; (8) a man of God to Amaziah, xxv. 7-9; (9) a prophet to Amaziah, xxv. 15, 16; (10) Oded to Pekah, xxviii. 9-11. To extend still more widely the sphere of our examination, we add (1) the address of the "messenger of Jehovah" in Bochim, Judg. ii. 1-5; (2) the address of a prophet to Israel, in Judg. vi. 8-10; (3) the address of a man of God to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27 ff.; (4) Jehovah's words to Samuel concerning the house of Eli, 1 Sam. iii. 11-14; (5) Samuel's words to Israel before the battle at Ebenezer, 1 Sam. vii. 3; (6) Samuel's words to Saul in Gilgal, 1 Sam. xiii. 13 f.; (7) Samuel to Saul after the victory over Amalek, 1 Sam. xv.; (8) Nathan to David in view of his intention to build the Temple, 2 Sam. vii.; (9) Nathan to David after his adultery, 2 Sam. xii.; (10) Gad to David after the numbering of the people, 2 Sam. xxiv.

After taking a general survey of these utterances and addresses, and comparing one with another, we are warranted in assuming that some have been preserved to us in their original form, such as (in the First Book of Samuel) the addresses of the man of God to Eli, and the words of Samuel to Saul after the victory over Amalek: this we infer from their peculiar character, their sublimity, and the difference between their style and that of the historian who gives them, as this is seen elsewhere in his writings. In other cases, at least the essential features have been preserved, as in the addresses of Nathan to David: this is proved by their echoes which reverberate in later history. Among the addresses handed down *verbatim* by the author of the Book of Kings may be reckoned those of Isaiah (2 Kings xix. 6 ff., 20 f., xx. 1, 5 f., 17 f.); the "burden" (~~the~~) in 2 Kings ix. 25 f., of primitive and peculiar form, together with some other brief utterances of prophets. Possibly also the words of Huldah are given in all essential respects, for it is only in her mouth (2 Kings xxii. 19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27), in the mouth of Isaiah (2 Kings xxii. 19), and in the "burden" to which reference has just been made, that we find the prophetic

expression "declareth Jehovah" (נִסְמַח יְהוָה), which likewise meets us in 1 Sam. ii. 30 with other tokens of its being original, and whose high antiquity is fully attested by the Davidic Psalms and 2 Sam. xxiii. 1 (cf. Gen. xxii. 16). In some of these utterances the historian does not at all concern himself about giving the original words; they are prophet-voices which sounded forth at one time or another, and whose leading tone he seeks to give, as in Judg. vi. 8-10; 2 Kings xvii. 13, xxi. 10-15. Reproductions of prophetic testimonies in such general form naturally bear the impress of the reproducing writer; thus, in the Books of Judges and Kings there is visible the Deuteronomic style of thought of their final editor. But we will go farther, and must affirm generally that the predictions in the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles bear marked traces of the narrator's own hand, and of the influence exercised by indirect sources. The discourses which are common to the Chronicles and the Book of Kings, are almost literally the same in both; the remainder, however, have quite a different look. The addresses in the Book of Kings almost always begin with, "Thus saith Jehovah" (כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה), or, "Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel" (so also in Judg. vi. 8, and in 2 Kings xix. 20 before the addresses of Isaiah); and there is nothing that occurs in them more frequently than the phrase יְשׁוּ אֲשֶׁר ("because that"), and Deuteronomic expressions like הִנֵּנִי בְּיַד הַחַיִּים, הַכְּעִים, and others; to which may be added a liking for similes, introduced by כַּאֲשֶׁר ("as"), 1 Kings xiv. 10, 15; 2 Kings xxi. 13. The idea of God's "choice" of Jerusalem recurs in the same words in 1 Kings xi. 36; 2 Kings xxiii. 27; and the idea "that there may always remain a light to David" (נֵר לְדָוִד), 1 Kings xi. 36, is an exclusive peculiarity of the author among Old Testament writers. The words, "I have raised thee up from among the people, and set thee for a prince over my people Israel," occur not merely in the second address of Ahijah (1 Kings xiv. 17), but also slightly altered in the address of Jehu (xvi. 2). The words, "Him that dieth in the city shall the dogs eat, and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat," are found in substantially the same form in the second address of Ahijah (xiv. 11), in Jehu's address (xvi. 4), and in that of Elijah to

Ahab (xxi. 24). The threatenings, "I will destroy every man child, him that is shut up and him that is left at large in Israel, and will sweep behind the house of Jeroboam," is found, with slight variation, in the second address of Ahijah (xiv. 10), in the address of Elijah to Ahab (xxi. 21), and in the second address of Elijah to Jehu (2 Kings ix. 8); while it is clearly seen from 1 Kings xvi. 11 and 2 Kings xiv. 26, that the form of these threatenings is the style of the narrator. It is therefore undeniable that almost all these prophetic utterances, so far as a common impress is possible at all, are of similar type, and that the common bond which unites them is no other than the subjectivity of the Deuteronomic narrator. A similar conclusion must be drawn regarding the prophetic addresses in the Chronicles, which likewise so extensively bear the unmistakable traces of the Chronicler's own treatment, that Caspari, in his treatise on the Syro-Ephraimitish war (p. 53 ff.), acknowledges, even regarding what seems to be the most original of all the addresses (in 2 Chron. xv. 2-7), that it recalls the peculiar style of the Chronicler. In the case of the Chronicler, however, whose chief source of material must have resembled the spirit and style of his own,—an assumption which the Book of Ezra especially warrants us in making,—it is less easy to say how far he exercised a free hand than it is in the case of the author of the Book of Kings, who seems to have found the most of the addresses merely indicated in outline, and to have freely reproduced them from such sketches.

If these discourses had come down to us in their original form, we should possess in them an exceedingly important source of information for the history of the development of prophetic ideas and forms of expression. We should then know that Isaiah's favourite phrase, "for Jehovah hath spoken it" (כִּי יְהוָה דִּבֶּר), so far as we have information, was first employed by Ahijah (1 Kings xiv. 11); that Joel, when he prophesied "in Jerusalem shall be deliverance" (Joel iii. 5), had been preceded by Shemaiah (2 Chron. xii. 7); that Hosea, in iii. 4 (cf. v. 15), took up again the utterance of Azariah the son of Oded, "And many days shall Israel continue without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law; but when they turn in their distress" . . .

(2 Chron. xv. 3 f., where, as the parallel proves, the perfects in ver. 4 are to be understood in accordance with the prophetic context); that in Jer. xxxi. 16 we have an echo of an utterance by the same Zechariah, in the words, "for there is a reward to thy work;" that Hanani, in saying, "The eyes of Jehovah run to and fro throughout the whole earth" (2 Chron. xvi. 9), is the precursor of Zechariah (iv. 10); and there are other similar instances. But, considering the influence which the idiosyncrasies of the two historians exercised upon the discourses which they communicate (cf. for instance, 2 Chron. xv. 2 with 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. xii. 5 with xxiv. 20; also ver. 7 with 2 Chron. xxxiv. 21, and the parallel in 2 Kings xxii. 13; and 2 Chron. xv. 5, "In those times," with Dan. xi. 14); considering also the difficulty in finding out the original elements of these addresses (possibly, for instance, the idea that a light will remain to David, 1 Kings xv. 4, 2 Kings viii. 19, was really first expressed by Ahijah, 1 Kings xi. 36), one will be able to make of them for this purpose only a cautious and sparing use. It is doubtful whether such expressions as, "to put my name there," 1 Kings xi. 36, and "he shall root out Israel from this good land," 1 Kings xiv. 15, have received the Deuteronomic form (see Deut. xii. 5, 21, xiv. 24, xxix. 27) from the prophet or from the author of the Book of Kings (cf. 1 Kings ix. 3 and the parallel passages in 2 Chron. vii. 20, ix. 7; 2 Kings xxi. 7 f.). There remains, however, in the predictions of those older prophets, a sufficient amount of original matter for enabling us to see in them the prefigurations and predecessors of the later ones. Thus Shemaiah, with his threat against Rehoboam and its later modification (2 Chron. xii. 5-8), reminds us of Micah opposing Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 17 ff.). The position assumed by Hanani towards Asa, when he invoked the aid of Syria, is precisely the same as that of Isaiah in relation to Ahaz,—as there is also a close resemblance generally between both events. Like the man of God in Bethel, Hosea and Amos prophesied against the "high places of Aven" (Hos. x. 8), and the "altars of Bethel" (Amos iii. 14, ix. 1). When Amos, in consequence of the divine call (Amos vii. 15), leaves his home and betakes himself to Bethel, the chief seat of the Israelitish image-worship,

in order to prophesy against the idolatrous kingdom, is there not in this a repetition of the history of the prophet in 1 Kings xiii.? And when Hanani, in consequence of denouncing Asa, is thrown into prison, is this not a kind of prelude to the subsequent fate of Micaiah the son of Imlah (1 Kings xxii.), and of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxii.)? Moreover, Ahijah's symbolization and confirmation of what he predicted, by rending into twelve pieces a new garment (a symbol of the kingdom still undivided and strong), has its analogies in the history of the earlier prophets (1 Sam. xv. 26-29) as in that of the later (Jer. xxii.). It is only such signs (מִטָּה) as that by which the prophet who came from Judah to Bethel confirmed his prophecy (1 Kings xiii. 3), that almost wholly disappear from the later history of the prophets, though even Isaiah does not disdain to offer King Ahaz a sign in verification of his prophetic testimony (Isa. vii. 11).

No essential difference exists between the prophecy of earlier and that of later times; in particular, we see it is the same spirit which from the first, and all through, unites the prophets of both kingdoms, notwithstanding the diversity of action which was necessitated by different circumstances. But differences do present themselves. The earlier prophets are exclusively occupied with the internal affairs of the kingdom, and do not as yet draw within their range the history of other nations in the world with which that of Israel was closely interwoven; their predictions are exclusively directed to the king and people of both kingdoms, and not yet to a foreign nation,—one of the neighbouring peoples, or what we might expect, the Egyptians and Syrians; the Messianic element still lies in a non-transparent chrysalis state; and the poetry of thought and language, which afterwards appeared as the result of prophetic inspiration, announces itself only in some striking figures of speech. As we have seen, it is perhaps scarcely possible to pronounce a decided opinion regarding the style of delivery of these older prophets; but, from a general impression of a sufficiently reliable kind, we may distinguish prophecy, down till about the time of King Joash, as the prophecy of overmastering action, from the later prophecy, which was that of convincing speech: as remarked by G. Baur, in the case of the older prophets it is

only as a confirmation of clear inward conviction that concern is shown about words,—the modest attendants of powerful external action. Just for this reason they could not very well produce prophetic writings in the highest sense of the word. But even from the time of Samuel, the prophets as a body had made it a part of the duties of their calling to treat the history of their time in a theocratic-pragmatic way. The cloistral, but by no means quietistic, retirement of the life in the schools of the prophets was specially favourable in the northern kingdom to this literary occupation, and secured for it unquestioned liberty. From 2 Chron. xx. 34, however, we perceive that prophets in Judah likewise occupied themselves with the writing of history; for the prophet Jehu belonged to Judah, and, as may be inferred from 2 Chron. xix. 1–3, lived in Jerusalem.

The literature of predictive writings, however, properly so called, had begun in the time of Jehoram king of Judah with the "vision" (חִזְיוֹן) of OBADIAH,—for we think we have proved elsewhere¹ that this pamphlet against Edom was occasioned by the calamity mentioned in 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17, to which also Joel and Amos refer. Obadiah was followed by JOEL, who had before him the prophecy of the former, introducing into the wider and fuller circle of his own publication, not only matter, but also expressions, found in the prophecy of Obadiah. Here again the prophetic literature, in the higher sense, shows how it grew out of the prophetic-historical literature; for Joel informs us of the result of the penitential worship which had been brought about through his appeal, in a historical passage (ii. 18, 19a) connecting the two parts of his writings. It is now the fashion to bring him down into post-exilic times, but this is one of the worst fruits of the forced consistency of Penta-teuch-criticism: nothing is more certain than that he flourished during the first half of the reign of Joash the king of Judah.² Obadiah and Joel were contemporaries of Elisha.

¹ In the essay, "When did Obadiah Prophecy?" *Zeitschrift für das gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1851, p. 91 ff.

² See my essay, "Two certain Results regarding the Prophecy of Joel," in the same journal, 1851, p. 306 ff.; cf. *Le Prophète Joel* nach E. Le Savoureux, von Ant. J. Baumgartner, Paris 1888.

Elisha himself wrote nothing ; but from the schools under his guidance there proceeded, not merely prophetic deeds, but also prophetic writings; and it is significant that the writings which bear the name of JONAH, whom an ancient Haggada describes as one of the "sons of the prophets" (בני הנביאים) of the school of Elisha, do not so much belong to the prophetic literature, in the higher sense, as rather to the propheticohistorical, and, in fact, to the historical writings by prophets. An approximation to the time when Jonah was sent to Nineveh may seem from 2 Kings xiv. 25—according to which Jonah the son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulun, had predicted the restoration of the kingdom of Israel to its promised extent—a prediction which was fulfilled in Jeroboam the son of Joash, the third of his house after Jehu, and which thus was issued in the beginning of the reign of Jeroboam II., if not even under Joash. The mission to Nineveh may belong to an earlier period than this prediction. A glance at the Book of AMOS, on the other hand, shows us that at the time when this prophet flourished, Assyria was about to arise again. The indication of time, "two years before the earthquake" (Amos i. 1), fixes nothing for us. But if Amos prophesied "in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel," then—assuming that, according to 2 Kings xiv. 23, Jeroboam II. had reigned forty-one years, from the fifteenth year of Amaziah, and was thus for fourteen years contemporary with Amaziah, and for twenty-seven years with Uzziah—his period of activity lay in the last twenty-seven years of Jeroboam's reign. When he appeared, the kingdom of Israel was still at the height of its power which had been secured through the efforts of Jeroboam, while the kingdom of Judah was yet in the low estate into which it had fallen under Amaziah; for both, he predicts a common fate to befall them at the hands of Assyria, which, though not mentioned, is nevertheless clearly meant. The beginning of the public ministry of HOSEA comes into contact, at most, with the close of the ministry of Amos. The symbolical portion (chaps. i.-iii.) with which his book begins takes us to the last five years of Jeroboam's reign, and the subsequent prophetic discourses are not out of accord with the statement in chap. i. 1 (which is

from a later hand), according to which this prophet continued to prophesy under Hezekiah, and thus till the fall of Samaria, in the sixth year of Hezekiah. After Hosea, the Ephraim-ite Jeremiah, appeared ISALAH, who according to chap. vi. was called in the last year of Uzziah, about twenty-five years after the death of Jeroboam II. His younger contemporary was MICAH, of Moresheth, who, according to chap. i. 1, did not appear till some time within the reign of Jotham, and whose book, according to the inscription "concerning Samaria and Jerusalem," must have been composed after the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign (with which also the narrative in Jer. xxvi. 17 ff. agrees), so that his ministry thus began and ended within the far longer ministry of Isaiah. The same remark holds good of NAHUM, the Elkoshite, whose "burden of Nineveh" closes the prophetic writings of the Assyrian period: he prophesied after the defeat of Sennacherib, when the power of Assyria was broken; but the yoke on Judah's neck (i. 13) was to be viewed as broken only if Assyria did not rise again. Nahum was followed by HABAKKUK, who, among the twelve minor prophets, was the last of the Isaianic type, and began to announce a new era of judgment,—the Chaldean. He prophesied before Zephaniah and Jeremiah,¹ during the reign of Josiah, and possibly even as early as Manasseh's time.

With ZEPHANIAH, then, begins the series of prophets of the type of Jeremiah, whom he resembles in following older prophets, and reproducing their materials and words in a kind of mosaic. JEREMIAH, according to the opening verse in his prophecy, was called in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign; hence he began his public ministry before Zephaniah,—for internal grounds² compel us to place the prophecies of the latter after the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign. Jeremiah's ministry in Judaea, and finally in Egypt, lasted more than eighty years. In his last prophetic discourse (chap. xliv.) he gives a pledge of the certain fulfilment of its threats, in the approaching fall of Pharaoh-Hophrah, who in the year 570 B.C. lost throne and life in the same place where his great-grandfather Psammetichus, a century before, had seized

¹ See my Commentary on these prophets. 1843.

² See my article on Zephaniah in Herzog's *Cyclopaedia*.

the Egyptian crown. Contemporaneously with Jeremiah, though without knowing him personally, so far as we are aware, **EZEKIEL** wrought in the same spirit among the exiles of Judah. According to chap. i. 1, 2, his call took place in the thirtieth year, *i.e.* of the era of Nabopolassar, which is nearly the fifth year after the captivity of Jehoiakim, 595 B.C. The latest date associated with his ministry (xxix. 17) is the twenty-seventh year of the captivity, which is the sixteenth after the destruction of Jerusalem,—the period between Nebuchadnezzar's raising of the siege of Tyre and his expedition against Egypt. We thus know of a ministry of twenty-two years on the part of this prophet, who, when called, may have already been older than the still very youthful Jeremiah. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are the two great prophets who spread their praying and protecting hands over Jerusalem as long as possible, and when the catastrophe was inevitable, saved it even in its fall. Their announcements, together with the prophetic sermon in Isa. chaps. xl.-lxvi., have bridged over the chasm of the exile, and laid the foundation of the restored national church of post-exilian times. This community was cheered and encouraged by **HAGGAI**, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, through his prediction of the glory in store for the temple, now rising anew from its ruins, and for the house of David, which was again coming to honour in Zerubbabel. Only two months later **ZECHARIAH** appeared: his last predictive discourse belongs to the third year of Darius Hystaspes, the year after the promulgation of the edict requiring the building of the temple to be continued. The predictions of the second portion of his book (chaps. ix.-xiv.) are thoroughly eschatological and apocalyptic, and make use of older circumstances and utterances of prophets as emblems of the final future. Prophecy was now silent for a considerable time, until the last prophet-voice of the Old Covenant was heard in **MALACHI**. His book accords with the state of things found by Nehemiah on the occasion of his second stay in Jerusalem under Darius Nothus; and it was his peculiar calling in connection with the history of redemption to predict the speedy advent of the messenger appointed to precede the coming of the Lord,—namely, Elijah the prophet,—and that the forerunner would

then be followed by the Lord Himself, as "the Angel of the Covenant" (מַלְאֲכֵי הַבְּרִית), the Messenger or Mediator of a New Covenant.

This survey shows that the arrangement of the "later prophets" in the Canon is not strictly chronological. The three "greater" prophets, who are so called because of the extent of their books of prophecy, stand together; and the twelve "minor" prophets, because of the smaller extent of their books of prophecy, are conjoined in a *μονόβιβλος*, as Melito calls it, which is named *בְּשֵׁם עֶזְרָא*, in the Masora *בְּשֵׁם עֶזְרָא* (= *עֶזְרָא*), in the Hellenistic dialect *οἱ δώδεκα* (Wisd. xlix. 10; Josephus, *c. Apion*, i. 8; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 10), but also *τὸ δωδεκαπρόφητον* (the Book of the Twelve Prophets). Within this collection of the smaller prophetic books, chronological order is so far observed as that they fall into three groups, representing three periods of prophetic literature, viz. prophets of the Assyrian period (Hosea to Nahum), prophets of the Chaldean period (Habakkuk and Zephaniah), and prophets of the post-exilic period (Haggai to Malachi). There is, moreover, an evident desire to join, as far as possible, a prophet belonging to the kingdom of Israel with one belonging to the kingdom of Judah,—thus, Hosea with Joel, Amos with Obadiah, Jonah with Micah, Nahum with Habakkuk. Besides this, however, HOSEA stands first, not so much because the opening word in his book (viz. *הַרְחֵם*, "beginning") made this an appropriate one with which to begin the collection,—still less because (as is stated in *Bathra* 14b) of the four prophets, Hosea and Isaiah, Amos and Micah, he was the first to be called,—but (in the same way as, among the Pauline letters, the Epistle to the Romans is placed first) because his book is the largest; and this principle of arrangement becomes more prominent in the Septuagint, in which Hosea comes first with fourteen chapters, while Amos follows with nine, then Micah with seven, Joel with three, Obadiah with one; a new series next begins with Jonah. The reason why, in the Hebrew Canon, Joel immediately follows Hosea, may lie in the contrast between the complaint of Joel over the all-parching heat and the all-devouring swarms of insects on the one hand, and the illustrations from vegetable life—bright, fresh, and fragrant—at the close of Hosea on the other. AMOS

then succeeds Joel, because, taking up again the announcement of judgment with which the latter concludes (Joel iv. 16), he opens his book with the words, "Jehovah will roar out of Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem." OBADIAH follows, on account of the mutual relation between Obad. 19 and Amos ix. 12. And JONAH comes after Obadiah, for the latter begins, "We have heard tidings from Jehovah, and a messenger is sent among the nations," and Jonah was such a messenger. Similar reasons of a more accidental character aided in the combination of a Judaic with an Israelitish prophet. The fact that Zephaniah follows Habakkuk is explained on such a ground, which happens also to accord with the chronological order; for a catchword in the prophecy of Zephaniah (i. 7), "Hold thy peace at the presence of the Lord God," is taken from Habakkuk (ii. 20). The post-exilian prophets (called in the Talmud הנביאים האחרונים, "the last prophets") then form the close, necessarily following in the order of time and in accordance with the contents of the books; for, like the transposition of Joel into the post-exilian period, the transposition of Malachi into the time before Ezra is one of the evil results of forced consistency in Pentateuchal criticism.¹

We now return to the so-called Greater Prophets. These immediately follow the Book of Kings, which is now divided into two parts; and at the head, in the Hebrew as well as in the Alexandrian and Syriac Canon, stands ISAIAH. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel,—such is the Masoretic arrangement,² in accordance with the chronological order of their appearance. In the manuscripts, particularly the German and French, an-

¹ From the fact that no trace of any reference to the Priest-code is found in Malachi, but rather, on the other hand, more reference to Deuteronomy,—for to him the Levite is identical with the priest (ii. 4-7), his proscribing of mixed marriages (ii. 11) rests on Deut. vii. 3 (but cf. also Ezra ix. 14), and his requirement of the tithe and the heave-offering (iii. 8-12) is stated in Deuteronomic language in Deut. xii. 6, xi. 17,—one must draw another inference than that false conclusion of Pentateuchal criticism.

² In *Ochla we-ochla*, indeed, the citations from Isaiah follow those from Jeremiah and Ezekiel; but when the Masora reckons Isa. xvii. 3, הָיָה, i.e. the middle verse of the division called the נְבִיאִים, it is understood that Isaiah is the first prophet following after the series from Joshua to Kings.

other arrangement is occasionally found,—Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah: this is the order laid down in the Baraita (i.e. the collection of treatises not taken into the official Mishna) regarding the consecution of the Biblical books and their authors, and the regulating principle here was, as shown in the Gemara,¹ affinity of contents. Jeremiah follows the Book of Kings because his prophecies almost wholly relate to the Chaldean catastrophe, with which the Book of Kings concludes; and Isaiah follows Ezekiel, whose book ends with consolation, because the hortatory portion of Isaiah is consolation throughout.² In opposition to this Talmudic arrangement,—which Lagarde (*Symmicta*, p. 142) and others, following Eichhorn, erroneously regard as meant to be chronological, but which Cornill (*Jeremia und seine Zeit*, 1880) thinks was intended to express progressive estimation of the worth of the several works,—the order given in the Masora, for which better reasons can be assigned, and which is further attested by the earliest ecclesiastical writers (Melito, Origen, and Jerome), has justly maintained its superiority.

¹ The explanation is not a false one, but neither is it exhaustive. The Baraita regards Jeremiah as the author not merely of the book containing his prophecies but also of the Book of Kings, so that "Kings" and "Jeremiah" inseparably cohere, forming the links uniting the "former prophets" with the "later prophets;" see Marx (Dalman), *Traditio Rabinorum veterrima de librorum V. T. ordine atque origine*, 1884, pp. 34–37.

² It is precisely with reference to chaps. xl.–lxvi. that Isaiah is regarded as the prophet of comfort *נביא הַנְּחֻם*; so that according to *Berachoth* 57b, whoever sees Isaiah in a dream may look for consolation; and according to the Midrash on the Lamentations, all the ill that Jeremiah predicted was by Isaiah turned beforehand into good.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH,

ESPECIALLY THE FIRST PART, CHAPS. I.—XXXIX.

§ 1. *The Time of the Prophet.*

THE first requisite for an understanding and appreciation of the prophecies of Isaiah is the knowledge of his time, and of the periods during which he exercised his ministry. The *first* period embraces the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham. The starting-point is determined in accordance with the view taken of chap. vi.; but, in any case, Isaiah appeared about the end of Uzziah's reign, and thereafter laboured continuously through the sixteen years of Jotham's reign. The first twenty-seven years of the fifty-two during which Uzziah reigned run parallel with the last twenty-seven of the forty-one during which Jeroboam II. ruled. The kingdom of Israel, under Joash and his son Jeroboam II., and the kingdom of Judah, under Uzziah and his son Jotham, each passed through a season of outward splendour greater in height and duration than had ever been previously experienced. In proportion as the glory of the one kingdom faded, that of the other flourished; the bloom of the northern kingdom grew fainter as that of the south grew brighter and excelled the other. But outward splendour, in this case as in the former, carried within it the seeds of ruin and decay; for prosperity degenerated into luxury, and the worship of Jehovah stiffened into idolatry. It was during this last and longest season of prosperity in Judah that Isaiah appeared, called to the sad task

of vainly preaching repentance, and therefore also of announcing the judgment of hardening and devastation, of the ban and banishment. The *second* period of his ministry extends from the accession of Ahaz to that of Hezekiah. During these sixteen years three events occurred, all combining to bring on a new and momentous turn in the fate of Judah. In place of the worship of Jehovah, which had been conducted under Uzziah and Jotham with regularity and in external conformity to the law, open idol-worship of the most varied and abominable character commenced with the reign of Ahaz. Then were resumed and continued the hostilities already begun under Jotham's reign by Pekah the king of Israel, and Rezin the king of Damascene Syria: the Syro-Ephraimitish war threatened Jerusalem with the express purpose of destroying the Davidic kingdom. In this distress, Ahaz invoked the aid of Tiglath-Pileser the king of Assyria; he made flesh his arm, and thereby entangled the people of Jehovah with the kingdom of the world in a manner unknown before, so that they thenceforward completely lost their independence. The kingdom of the world is the Nimrodic form of the heathen state. Its characteristic feature is the constant endeavour to burst beyond its natural boundaries, not merely for purposes of self-defence or revenge, but for conquest, and to throw itself upon foreign nations like an avalanche, that it may become an ever-growing and world-embracing colossus. Assyria and Rome are the first and the last members of the world-kingdom that brought enslavement and oppression on Israel throughout her history. The times of Isaiah saw the approach of the calamity. Placed thus on the verge of this new and important change in history, and embracing the whole with his far-seeing eye, Isaiah is, so to speak, the universal prophet of Israel. The *third* period of his active ministry extends from the beginning to nearly the end of Hezekiah's reign. Under this king the nation rose almost in the same degree as it had fallen during the reign of Ahaz. He forsook the course of his idolatrous father, and restored the worship of Jehovah. The mass of the people, indeed, remained at heart unchanged, but Judah had once more an upright king who listened to the word of the prophets at his side, — two pillars of the state, men of might in prayer

(2 Chron. xxxii. 20). When it came therefore to a breaking off from the Assyrian domination, this was certainly an act of unbelief on the part of the nobles and the mass of the people, since they relied on help from Egypt,—an expectation which caused ruin to the northern kingdom in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign,—but, on the part of Hezekiah, an act of faith in Jehovah (2 Kings xviii. 7). When Sennacherib then, the son and successor of Sargon, was coming against Jerusalem, conquering the country and laying everything waste, while Egypt did not bring the help that had been promised, the carnal defiance of the magnates and the mass of the people brought its own punishment. But Jehovah averted the worst of the impending calamity; the flower of the Assyrian host was destroyed in a night, so that, as in the Syro-Ephraimitish war, now also there was no proper investment of Jerusalem; thus the faith of the king and of the better portion of the people received a reward for their quiet resting in the word of promise. There was still a power in the state that preserved it from ruin; and the coming doom, shown in chap. vi. to be inevitable, was yet once more delayed when the last annihilating blow was to have been expected. It was in this miraculous deliverance, which Isaiah predicted, and for which he prepared the way, that the public ministry of the prophet reached its culmination. Isaiah is the Amos of the kingdom of Judah; for, like the latter, he has the dreadful vocation to see and proclaim the fact that the time of forgiveness for Israel as a people and kingdom is gone for ever. But he was not likewise the Hosea of the kingdom of Judah, for the dreadful call to accompany the fatal course of his country with the knell of prophetic announcements was not assigned to Isaiah, but to Jeremiah. This is the Hosea of the southern kingdom; for to Isaiah was granted what was refused to his successor Jeremiah, once more to restrain, through the might of his prophetic power, arising from the deep and strong spirit of faith, the coming of the night, which threatened at the time of the Assyrian judgment to engulf his people. The Assyrian oppressions ceased, and, so far as Judah was concerned, were not to be renewed. The view beyond Assyria was clear, and prophecy was about to be concerned with the next world-kingdom, now cautiously

approaching. Beyond the noon-tide of his public ministry there remained the evening of life, which he cannot have idly spent, devoid of word or deed. But though he no longer took part in public affairs, he lived to the beginning of Manasseh's reign, when, according to credible tradition¹ to which allusion is made in Heb. xi. 37 ("they were sawn asunder"), he fell a sacrifice to the heathenism which had once more become predominant.

I have purposely refrained from assigning numbers which might indicate the length of reign of the four (or, including Manasseh, five) kings of Judah under whom Isaiah exercised his ministry. It is certainly difficult enough to make a thoroughly harmonious and consistent arrangement of the dates given in the Book of Kings and also in the Chronicles; but at present, after the monument literature of Babylonia and Assyria has also come forward as a witness, it is undeniably certain that the Biblical numbers assigned to the reigns of kings occasionally need correction, though in other respects they are proved to be true by indubitable Assyriological testimonies.

The founder of the received Biblical chronology was James Ussher (Usserius), in his *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 1650-54,² a work at which he had laboured for sixty years. We give here a tabular view of his reckoning in that portion of the history of the kings under whom those prophets flourished who committed their prophecies to writing. The Biblical reckoning of this section rests on trustworthy tradition, but in a number of instances it is uncertain how

¹ According to the Talmudic treatise, *Jebamoth* 49b, it was found in a genealogical list of a Jerusalem family; and according to *Sanhedrin* 103b in a Targum on 2 Kings xxi. 16 (published by Assemani, *Catal. Vatic.* i. 452), it is amplified in a Jerusalem Targum which the *Codex Reuchlin* puts in the margin, lxvi. 1; and appears in simpler form (compared with the Targum) in the Apocryphal "Ascension of Isaiah" (edited in the Ethiopic text by Rich. Laurence in 1819, and by Aug. Dillmann in 1877; in Greek, from a MS. in the National Library at Paris, by O. von Gebhardt in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, xxi. 330 ff.), to which Origen appeals. Regarding a Persian form of this "Ascension," or rather the kindred "Vision of Isaiah," see Spiegel, *Literatur der Parsen*, p. 128 ff.

² Gustav Baur also made Ussher's system the basis of his *Tabellen über die Geschichte des israel. Volkes*, 1848, except where Prideaux (on Ezra and Nehemiah) and Bunsen (on Egypt) offered something better.

the Scripture historian himself counted the beginning and the end of the reigns, and the mutual relation of these in both kingdoms. Alongside of Ussher's calculations, accordingly, I place, by way of example, those of my friend Aug. Köhler (in the appendix to his *Biblische Geschichte des A. T.*, 1884). The figures within parentheses beside the name of the king indicate the duration of his rule, and the large numbers give the year in which the monarch in question ascended the throne.

JUDAH.	Ussher.	Köhler.	ISRAEL.	Ussher.	Köhler.
	B.C.	B.C.		B.C.	B.C.
Athaliah (6), .	884	881	Jehu (28), .	884	881
Joash (40), .	878	875	Jehoahaz (17), .	856	853
Amaziah (29), .	839	836	Jehoash (16), .	839	838
Uzziah (52), .	810	807	Jeroboam II. (41), .	825	822
			Zechariah (4), .	773	769
Jotham (16), .			Shallum (1½), .	772	768
Sole ruler, .	758	755	Menahem (10), .	772	768
Ahaz (16), .	742	739	Pekahiah (2), .	761	758
Hezekiah (29), .	726	724	Pekah (20), .	759	756
Manasseh (55), .	698	695	Interregnum .		736
Amon (2), .	643	640	Hoshea (9), .	730	727
Josiah (31), .	641	638	Fallof Samaria, .	722	719

This table is merely intended to render the computation of the Books of Kings and Chronicles as objective as possible. Doubt remains especially as to the interregnum between Pekah and Hoshea; perhaps such a blank should be excluded, and the reign of Pekah made to extend to 727 B.C. No account is taken in the table of the Assyrian chronology: Köhler himself is of opinion that it helps us in several instances to the actually correct dates. He has already shown¹ that what is narrated in Isaiah, chaps. xxxviii, xxxix., occurred in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign; and, on the other hand, what we read in Isaiah, chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii., happened in his twenty-fourth year (701 B.C.).

The following durations of reigns are definitely fixed by the testimony of the Assyrian monuments:—

Shalmaneser II.,	860–824 B.C.
Tiglath-Pileser II.,	745–727 „

¹ In the *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1874, pp. 96–98.

Shalmaneser IV.,	727-722 B.C.
Sargon,	722-705 „

The following names and dates are also given:—

Ahab (battle at Karkar between Aleppo and Hamath, against the kings of Damascus and Hamath, with their allies; unless, as Wellhausen and Kamphausen suppose, Ahab is erroneously named instead of his son, Joram),	854 B.C.
Jehu (tributary),	842 „
Azariah (i.e. Uzziah, in connection with Tiglath-Pileser II.),	740 „
Menahem (made tributary by Pul, i.e. Tiglath-Pileser II. ¹),	738 „
Pekah (dethroned by Tiglath-Pileser),	734 „
Fall of Samaria,	722 „
Campaign of Sennacherib against Samaria,	701 „

See the thorough investigations of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2nd edition;² and the summaries of Friedrich Delitzsch, under the article, "Sanherib," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.*, continued by Hauck, Band xii. (1884).

To these Assyrian synchronisms regard is shown, either entirely or in great measure, in the calculations of Wellhausen in his article on "The Chronology of the Book of Kings after the Division of the Kingdom," in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 607-640; cf. Kamphausen, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, iii. (1883) pp. 193-202, and in his work, *The Chronology of the Hebrew Kings*, 1883; and of Duncker in his *History of Antiquity*, 5th edition, 1878. Following S. R. Driver in his *Isaiah, his Life and Times* (1888, p. 13), we give here the estimates of these three writers, passing over the otherwise important article in *The Church Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1886, pp. 257-271, inasmuch as the author is unknown to us, and an anonymous authority is of no weight.

¹ His name was probably Pulu (Puru) before he rose to be ruler of the Babylono-Assyrian kingdom.

² Translated into English by the Rev. Professor Owen C. Whitehouse, London 1885-88, 2 vols.—TR.

JUDAH.	Wellh.	Kamph.	Dunck.	ISRAEL.	Wellh.	Kamph.	Dunck.
	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.		B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
Athaliah (6), .	847	843	843	Jehu (28), .	847	843	843
Joash (40), .	837	837	837	Jehoahaz (17), .	817	815	815
Amaziah (29), .	800	797	797	Jehoash (16), .	801	798	798
Uzziah (32), .	791	778	792	Jeroboam II. (41),	785	782	790
				Zechariah (4), .	746	741	749
				Shallum (1), .	745	741	749
Jotham (16), .	(750)	(751)		Menahem (10), .	744	741	748
Sole ruler, .	740	738	740	Pekahiah (2), .	wanting	738	738
Ahaz (16), .	735	735	734	Pekah (20), .	734	736	736
Hezekiah (29),	715	715	728	Hoshea (9), .	733	730	734
Manasseh (55),	686	686	697	Fall of Samaria,	722	722	722
Amon (2), .	641	641	642				
Josiah (31), .	639	639	640				

The figures do not give here the year of accession to the throne, but the complete first year of the reign of the monarch which followed his accession. Those of Duncker prefer, in seven places, instead of the Biblical figures, other numbers, which make Jeroboam II. to have come to the throne earlier than Uzziah, and Jotham earlier than Pekah,—an unfounded conjecture, as even Kamphausen thinks. A strange feature in Wellhausen's arrangement is the elimination of Pekahiah (but cf. his *Prolegomena*, p. 475). Kamphausen, in six instances, lengthens or shortens the numbers of the years indicating the duration of reigns (Amaziah, 19; Uzziah, 42; Ahaz, 20; Manasseh, 45; Menahem, 3; Pekah, 6); but, without claiming mathematical exactness for these corrections, he is rather on the whole convinced that, in the Biblical chronology of the period of the kings, we are on really historical ground. It may thus perhaps be necessary also to maintain, with W. Robertson Smith (*The Prophets in Israel*, pp. 413–419), that the year of Samaria's fall was not one of the last years of Ahaz, but one of the first of Hezekiah.

If we place the death of Uzziah in the year 740, and the defeat of Sennacherib before Jerusalem in the year 701, then Isaiah's public ministry embraced a period of forty years.

§ 2. *The Arrangement of the Collection.*

The collection of Isaiah's prophecies is, on the whole, chronologically arranged. The dates in vi. 1, vii. 1, xiv. 28, xx. 1, xxxvi. 1, are points in a continuous line. The three main divisions also form a chronological series; for chaps. i.-vi. set before us the ministry of Isaiah under Uzziah and Jotham; chaps. vii.-xxxix., his ministry under Ahaz and onwards to the last years of Hezekiah; while chaps. xl.-lxvi. —their authenticity being assumed—are in any case the latest productions of the prophet. In the middle division, likewise, the group in chaps. vii.-xii., belonging to the time of Ahaz, chronologically precedes the prophecies in chaps. xiii.-xxxix., belonging to the days of Hezekiah. In several instances, however, the chronological arrangement is set aside in favour of an arrangement according to the subject-matter. Thus the discourse in chap. i. is not the oldest, but is placed first as an introduction to all the rest; and the account of the prophet's consecration, given in chap. vi., which should stand at the beginning of the group which belongs to the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, is placed at the end, where it looks backwards and forwards, like a prediction in the process of being fulfilled. The Ahaz group, which follows in chaps. vii.-xii., is a whole moulded at one casting. But in the group belonging to Hezekiah's time (chaps. xiii.-xxxix.) the chronological order is again interrupted several times. The predictions against the nations, from xiv. 24 to chap. xxii., which belong to the Assyrian period, are introduced by a "burden" concerning Babylon, the city of the world-power (chaps. xiii.-xiv. 23), and closed by one concerning Tyre, the city of the world's commerce, which was to be destroyed by the Chaldeans (chap. xxiii.); while a shorter "burden" concerning Babylon, in chap. xxi. 1-10, divides the cycle into two halves, and a collection of prophecies regarding the nations converges in the great apocalyptic epilogue (chaps. xxiv.-xxvii.), like streams discharging themselves into a sea. Accordingly, the first portion of the Hezekiah group, of pre-eminently ethnic contents, is interwoven with Babylonian pieces which belong to divers points in the life of Isaiah. Another such piece is the great epilogue in chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., forming the last

echo of the second portion of the Hezekiah group. This second portion is mainly occupied with the fate of Judah, the judgment which the Assyrian world-power executes upon Judah, and the deliverance that awaits it (chaps. xxviii.—xxxiii.): these announcements are closed with a solemn declaration, in chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., of the judgment of God on the world of Israel's enemies on the one hand, and the redemption of Israel on the other. This Babylonian portion is followed by the historical section in chaps. xxxvi.—xxxix., which form the historical frame of Isaiah's predictions delivered near the time of the Assyrian catastrophe, and furnish us with the key for understanding not merely chaps. vii.—xxxv., but also chaps. xl.—lxvi.

If we take the Book of Isaiah, then, as a whole, in the form in which it lies before us, apart from critical analysis, it falls into two halves, chaps. i.—xxxix., and chaps. xl.—lxvi. The former subdivides into seven parts, the latter into three. The first half may be called the *Assyrian*, inasmuch as the point at which it aims and in which it terminates is the fall of Assyria; the second may be called the *Babylonian*, as its final object is the deliverance from Babylon. The first half is not purely Assyrian, however; but among the Assyrian portions are inserted Babylonian pieces, and generally such as apocalyptically break through the limited horizon of the former. The seven portions of the first half are the following:

1. *Prophecies on the growth of obduracy in the mass of the people* (chaps. ii.—vi.).
2. *The consolation of Immanuel in the Assyrian oppressions* (chaps. vii.—xii.).

These two portions form a syzygy, ending with a psalm of the redeemed (chap. xii.), the last echo of the song at the Red Sea; and are separated by the consecration of the prophet (chap. vi.), which looks both backward and forward: the opening discourse (chap. i.), as a kind of prologue, forms the introduction to the whole.

3. *Prophecies of judgment and salvation of the heathen* (chaps. xiii.—xxiii.), chiefly belonging to the period of the judgment on Assyria, but enclosed and intersected by Babylonian pieces. A prophecy concerning Babylon (chap. xiii.—xiv. 23), the city of the world-power, forms its introduction; while a prophecy concerning Tyre (chap. xxiii.), the city of the world's commerce, which received its death-blow from the Chaldeans,

forms its conclusion; and a second prophecy concerning the desert by the sea, *i.e.* Babylon (chap. xxi. 1-10), forms the centre. 4. Then follows a great apocalyptic *prophecy concerning the judgment of the world and the last things* (chaps. xxiv.-xxvii.), affording a grand background to the cycle of prophecies concerning the nations, and with it forming a second syzygy. 5. A third syzygy begins with chaps. xxviii.-xxxiii.: this cycle of prophecy is historical, and treats of the revolt from Assyria and its results. 6. With it is combined a far-reaching eschatological prophecy on the *avenging and redemption of the Church* (chaps. xxxiv., xxxv.), in which we already hear, as in a prelude, the keynote of chaps. xl.-lxvi. 7. After these three syzygies we are carried back (by chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix.) in the first two historical accounts to the Assyrian period, while the other two show us, afar off, the entanglement with Babylon, which was then but about to begin. These four historical accounts, with the indications of their chronological order, are peculiarly arranged in such a way that half of them look backwards, half of them forwards; they thus also fasten together the two halves of the whole book. The prophecy in chap. xxxix. 5-7 stands between the two halves like a sign-post, bearing on its arm the inscription "Babylon" (בָּבֶל). Thither tends the further course of Israel's history; there is the prophet henceforward buried in spirit with his people; there (in chaps. xl.-lxvi.) does he proclaim to the mourners of Zion the approaching deliverance. The trilogical arrangement of this book of consolation may be regarded as proved ever since it was first observed and shown by Rückert in 1831. It falls into three sections, containing three times three addresses (chaps. xl.-xlviii., xlix.-lviii., lviii.-lxvi.), with a kind of refrain at the close.

§ 3. *The Critical Questions.*

The collection of Isaiah's prophecies is thus a united whole, whose several parts have been skilfully and significantly arranged. This arrangement is worthy of the prophet. Nevertheless, the present form of the work is not to be attributed to him, if (1) the prophecies in chaps. xiii.-xiv. 23,

xxi. 1-10, xxlii., xxiv.-xxvii., xxxiv. and xxxv. cannot have been composed by him; and (2) if the historical accounts in chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix., which we find again in 2 Kings xviii. 13 to xx. 19, are not records from Isaiah's pen. For if those prophecies be taken away, the beautiful whole, especially the book against the nations, tumbles to pieces into a confused *quodlibet*; and if chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix. were not directly composed by Isaiah, then neither can the arrangement of the whole be directly the work of Isaiah; for it is precisely chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix. which form the clasp binding the two halves of the collection together.

The critical treatment of Isaiah began in the following manner:—The commencement was made with the *second part*. Koppe first of all expressed doubt regarding the genuineness of chap. l.; then Döderlein expressed his decided suspicion as to the genuineness of the whole; and Justi, followed by Eichhorn, Paulus, and Bertholdt, raised the suspicion into confident assurance of spuriousness. The result thus attained could not possibly remain without reaction on the first part. Rosenmüller, who was always very dependent upon predecessors, was the first to deny the Isaian origin of the prophecy against Babylon, in chaps. xlii.-xlv. 23, though this is attested by the heading; Justi and Paulus undertook to find further reasons for the opinion. Greater advance was now made. Along with the prophecy against Babylon in chaps. xlii.-xlv. 23, the other, in chap. xxi. 1-10, was likewise condemned, and Rosenmüller could not but be astonished when Gesenius let the former fall, but left the latter standing. There still remained the prophecy against Tyre, in chap. xxlii., which, according as the announced destruction of Tyre was regarded as accomplished by the Assyrians or the Chaldeans, might either be left to Isaiah, or attributed to a later prophet unknown. Eichhorn, followed by Rosenmüller, decided that it was spurious; but Gesenius understood the Assyrians as the destroyers, and as the prediction consequently did not extend beyond the horizon of Isaiah, he defended its genuineness. Thus was the Babylonian series of prophecies set aside. The keen eyes of the critics, however, made still further discoveries. In chaps. xxiv.-xxvii., Eichhorn found plays on words that were unworthy of Isaiah, and Gesenius an allegorical

announcement of the fall of Babylon: both accordingly condemned these three chapters, and Ewald transposed them to the time of Cambyses. With chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., on account of their relation to the second part, the procedure was shorter. Rosenmüller at once pronounced them to be "a poem composed during the Babylonian exile, near its close." Such is the history of the origin of the criticism of Isaiah. Its first attempts were very juvenile. It was Gesenius, but especially Hitzig and Ewald, who first raised it to the eminence of a science.

If we take our stand on this eminence, then the Book of Isaiah is an anthology of prophetic discourses by different authors. I have never found anything inherently objectionable in the view that prophetic discourses by Isaiah and by other later prophets may have been blended and joined together in it on a definite plan. Even in that case the collection would be no play of chance, no production of arbitrary will. Those prophecies originating in post-Isaian times are, in thought and the expression of thought, more nearly akin to Isaiah than to any other prophet; they are really the homogeneous and simultaneous continuation of Isaian prophecy, the primary stream of which ramifies in them as in the branches of a river, and throughout retains its fertilizing power. These later prophets so closely resembled Isaiah in prophetic vision, that posterity might on that account well identify them with him. They belong more or less nearly to those pupils of his to whom he refers, when, in chap. viii. 16, he entreats the Lord, "Seal instruction among my disciples." We know of no other prophet belonging to the kingdom of Judah, like Isaiah, who was surrounded by a band of younger prophets, and, so to speak, formed a school. Viewed in this light, the Book of Isaiah is the work of his creative spirit and the band of followers. These later prophets are Isaian,—they are Isaiah's disciples; it is his spirit that continues to operate in them, like the spirit of Elijah in Elisha,—nay, we may say, like the spirit of Jesus in the apostles; for the words of Isaiah (viii. 18), "Behold, I and the children whom God hath given me," are employed in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 13) as typical of Jesus Christ. In view of this fact, the whole book rightly bears the name of

Isaiah, inasmuch as he is, directly and indirectly, the author of all these prophetic discourses; his name is the correct common-denominator for this collection of prophecies, which, with all their diversity, yet form a unity; and the second half particularly (chaps. xl.-lxvi.) is the work of a pupil who surpasses the master, though he owes the master everything.

Such may possibly be the case. It seems to me even probable, and almost certain, that this may be so; but indubitably certain it is not, in my opinion, and I shall die without getting over this hesitancy. For very many difficulties arise,—this first of all, that not a single one of the canonical books of prophecy has a similar phenomenon to present, excepting only the Book of Zechariah, with chaps. ix.-xiv. of which the same is said to be the case as with Isaiah, chaps. xl.-lxvi., with this difference merely, that whereas the latter are ascribed to a prophet who lived during the exile, chaps. ix.-xiv. of Zechariah are attributed to one or two earlier prophets of pre-exile times. Stade has proved the post-exilian origin of Zechariah, chaps. ix.-xiv., also; and we may still continue to assume that it is the post-exilian—but, after chaps. i.-viii., much older—Zechariah himself who, in chaps. ix.-xiv., prophesies concerning the last days in figures borrowed from the past, and purposely makes use of older prophecies. No other book of prophecy besides occasions like doubts as to its unity of authorship. Even regarding the Book of Jeremiah, Hitzig allows that, though interpolated, it contains no spurious pieces. Something exceptional, however, may have happened to the Book of Isaiah. Yet it would certainly be a strange accident if there should have been preserved a quantity of precisely such prophecies as carry with them, in so eminent a degree, so singularly, and in so matchless a manner, Isaiah's style. Strange, again, it would be that history knows nothing whatever regarding this Isaian series of prophets. And strange is it, once more, that the very names of these prophets have suffered the common fate of being forgotten, even although, in time, they all stood nearer to the collector than did the old prophet whom they had taken as their model. Tradition, indeed, is anything but infallible, yet its testimony here is powerfully corroborated by the rela-

tion of Zephaniah and Jeremiah—the two most reproductive prophets—not merely to chaps. xl–lxvi., but also to the undisputed portions of the first half. To all appearance they had before them these prophecies, making these their model, and taking out passages for incorporation in their own prophecies, thus forming a kind of mosaic,—a fact which has been thoroughly investigated by Caspari, but which none of the modern critics as yet has carefully considered, and ventured, with like citation of proofs, to disprove. Further, though the disputed prophecies contain much that cannot be adduced from the remaining prophecies,—material which Driver, in his *Isaiah* (1888), has carefully extracted and elucidated,—yet I am not convinced that the characteristically Isaian elements do not preponderate. And, thirdly, the type of the disputed prophecies, which, if genuine, belong to the latest period of the prophet, does not stand in sharp contrast to the type of the remainder,—rather do the confessedly genuine prophecies lead us in many ways to the others; the brighter form and the richer eschatological contents of the disputed prophecies find their preludes there. And if the unity of Isaian authorship is actually given up, how many later authors, along with the great anonymous writer of chaps. xl–lxvi., have we to distinguish? To this query no one has yet given a satisfactory reply. Such are the considerations which, in the Isaian question, assuredly do not allow me to attain the assurance of mathematical certainty. Moreover, the influence of criticism on exegesis in the Book of Isaiah amounts to nothing. If any one casts reproach on this commentary as uncritical, he will at least be unable to charge it with misinterpretation. Nowhere will it be found that the exposition does violence to the text in favour of a false apologetic design.

When John Coleridge Patteson, the missionary bishop of Melanesia, undertook his last voyage of supervision among the islands,—a voyage which ended with his martyrdom on September 29, 1871,—he was studying, on board the schooner, the Book of Isaiah, with the help of this commentary, regarding which he wrote before on one occasion, "Delitzsch helps me much in Isaiah." His last letter speaks at the close about this commentary and Biblical criticism. Miss Ch. M. Yonge, in her biography, has not given this

passage.¹ But doubtless it expressed his deep and absorbing interest in the Divine word of prophecy, which at present almost completely disappears behind the tangled thorns of an overgrown criticism. Meanwhile, if we hold ourselves warranted, on the one hand, in objecting to that direction of criticism from which a naturalistic contemplation of the world demands foregone conclusions of a negative character,—on the other hand, we are certainly far from denying to criticism as such its well-founded rights.

§ 4. *Exposition in its Present State.*

When the Church, at the time of the Reformation, began to examine and sift its possessions that had been handed down by tradition, Biblical criticism also took its rise. At the same time, Scripture exposition on historico-grammatical principles, conscious of its task, endeavoured to reach the one true meaning of Scripture, and put an end to the legerdemain of the "manifold sense of Scripture" which had been developed in accordance with tedious examples; this advance was made under the influence exerted by the revival of classical studies, and by the help of increased knowledge of Hebrew derived from Jewish teachers. For Isaiah, however, the Reformation-period itself did not accomplish much.

Calvin's Commentaries answer the expectations with which one goes to consult them; on the other hand, *Luther's* Scholia are a second-hand and poor performance. The productions of *Grotius*, important enough in other fields, are in Isaiah, as throughout the prophets generally, of little consequence; he mixes up the sacred with the profane; and being unable to follow prophecy in its flight, he clips its wings. *Aug. Varenius*, of Rostock, one of the orthodox Lutherans, wrote a Commentary on Isaiah which is not to be despised even now; but, though learned in many ways, it is the confused production of an undisciplined mind. But *Campegius Vitringa* (who died in 1722 as professor of theology at Franequer), by his Commentary in two folio volumes, which appeared in 1714, threw all the works of his predecessors into the shade. It is he who originated the historical

¹ *Life of J. C. Patterson*, vol. ii. p. 379 (cf. 268), 5th edition (1875).

method of expounding the prophets, and in this he has given us his own work as a model;¹ but, though starting with the correct principle that it does not exhaust the meaning of the prophet's words, he nevertheless, in the allegorical explanation appended to the grammatico-historical, shows that he is not yet quite free from the Cocceian method, which, without considering the complex-apotelesmatic character of prophecy, reads in the prophets the most minute allusions to the history of the world and the Church. The shady sides of the commentary usually come before the reader first; but the more he uses it, the more highly does he learn to value it. There is deep research throughout,—nowhere a superabundance of dead and dry learning. The author's heart is present in his work. At times he pauses in the path of toilsome investigation, and gives vent to his thoughts in rapturous expressions. He sees and feels more deeply than Bishop *Lowth*, who keeps to the surface, alters the Masoretic text according to his taste,² and does not get beyond æsthetic admiration of the form.

The era of modern exegesis begins with that destructive theology of the latter half of the eighteenth century which pulled down but could not build. This destruction, however, was not unproductive of good: the denial of the divine and eternal in Scripture has helped us to recognise its human and temporal aspects, the charm of its poetry, and—what is of still greater consequence—the concrete reality of its history. *Rosenmüller's Scholia* (3 vols.; last edition, 1811–1820) are an industrious, clear, and elegant compilation, chiefly from *Vitringa*; the sobriety of judgment displayed in selecting, and the dignified earnestness—far removed from all frivolity—deserve our praise. The Commentary of *Gesenius* (in three parts, or with the translation, four parts, 1820–1821), which is more decidedly rationalistic, is also more independent in its exegesis, careful in its historical expositions, and especially distinguished for its pleasing and perspicuous style and the stores of learning gathered from all the literature on Isaiah, especially the new sources of grammatico-historical knowledge opened up since *Vitringa's* time. The Commentary

¹ See *Diestel, Geschichte des A. T. in der christlichen Kirche*, 436–438.

² Against him, *Köhler* wrote *Vindiciæ textus Heb. Esaiæ*, 1786.

of *Hitzig* (1833) remains his best work, eminent for its precision, acuteness, and originality of grammatical perception, its fine tact in discovering the train of thought, its pith and exactness in stating carefully considered results; but it is also disfigured by reckless and pseudo-critical assertions of an arbitrary character, and by a designedly profane style of thought that remains unaffected by the spirit of prophecy. The Commentary of *Hendewerk* (2 vols. 1838–1843) is in philological and historical exposition often very weak; the style is diffuse, and the eye of the disciple of Herbart is too dull to distinguish between Israelitish prophecy and heathen poetry, between the politics of Isaiah and those of Demosthenes. Nevertheless, the careful diligence and earnest endeavour to point out in Isaiah the germs of eternal verities, are unmistakeable. In the work of *Ewald* (translated into English; London 1875–1881) there is universally recognised his natural penetration, and the noble enthusiasm with which he throws himself into the contents of the prophetic books, in which he finds a perpetual present; and his endeavour to attain a deep apprehension is in some degree rewarded. But it is provoking to observe the self-sufficiency with which he ignores nearly all his predecessors, the dictatorial confidence of his criticism, the false and often nebulous pathos, and the complete identification of his opinions with truth itself. In setting forth the characteristics of the prophets, he is a master; his translations, on the other hand, are stiff, and hardly according to the taste of any one. *Umbreit's* Practical Commentary (2nd edition, 1846) is useful and stimulating; a profound æsthetic and religious conviction of the glorious character of the prophetic word reveals itself in highly poetic language, heaping one figure on another, and almost never descending to an ordinary level. The other extreme is the prose of *Knobel* (died 1863). The precision of this scholar, the third edition of whose Commentary on Isaiah (1861) was one of his last works, deserves the most grateful recognition for its excellence in philological as well as in archæological matters; but his almost affected commonness of style prevents him from seeing the depth of meaning, while his excessive desire to find historical realization everywhere conceals from him the poetry of the form. The Commentary of *Drechsler* was a real

advance in the exposition of Isaiah. It was edited by himself only as far as chap. xxvii., and then completed (2 vols. 1845-57) by me and by H. A. Hahn of Greifswald (who died in 1861), from his notes, though these afforded little that could be used in the exposition of chaps. xl.-xlvi. Since the time of Vitranga, this is comparatively the best Commentary on Isaiah, chaps. i.-xii.,¹ and especially on chaps. xiii.-xxvii. Its excellence does not lie in the exposition of details,—for this is inadequate, through the fragmentary and glossatorial style of its exegesis, and, though diligent and thorough, especially in a grammatical point of view, is not homogeneous or productive,—but in the spiritual and spirited conception of the whole, the profound perception of the character and the ideas of the prophet and of prophecy, the vigorous penetration into the inmost nature of the plan and contents of the whole. Meanwhile (1850, 2 vols.) there appeared the Commentary of Peter Schegg, which follows the Vulgate, and contains valuable remarks in connection with the history of translations, but also displays free and profound insight into the genesis and meaning of the prophecies; at the same time there also appeared the Commentary of Ernst Meier, the Tübingen orientalist, which did not get beyond the first half. If any one was specially called to advance the exegetical study of the Book of Isaiah, it was C. P. Caspari of Christiania; but of his Norwegian Commentary all that has appeared reaches only to the end of chap. vi.,² and its progress has been hindered not only by the exhaustive thoroughness of investigation at which he aimed, but also by the Grundtvig controversy, which involved him in very extensive studies in the field of Church history. Wealth of material for the following prophetic discourses is also afforded by his "Contributions to the Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, and to the history of Isaiah's time," which appeared (1848) as vol. ii. of our *Studies in Biblical*

¹ See the review by Franz Dietrich in *Reuters Repertorium*, vol. xlviii. pp. 1-25. In the same year, 1845, Schröding in Wismar began his *Studies in Isaiah*, three parts of which (1845, 1852, 1857) have appeared.

² *Commentar til de tolv første Capitler of Propheten Jesaja*, Christiania 1867. Cf. also the treatise on the Seraphim in Isaiah in the *Theological Tidsskrift* for 1859, and the Essay on the position and meaning of Isaiah viii. in the History of the Kingdom of God, in the *Bibelske Afhandlinger*, 1884.

Theology; his "Programm" on the Syro-Ephraimitish war (published in 1849); and his treatise, not by any means obsolete, on "Jeremiah a witness to the genuineness of Isaiah, chap. xxxiv., and hence also to that of Isaiah, chaps. xl.-lxvi, chaps. xiii.-xiv. 23, and xxi. 1-10" (with an Excursus on the relation of Zephaniah to the disputed prophecies of Isaiah), which appeared in the *Zeitschrift f. d. ges. luth. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1843.

Among Jewish Commentaries, two must be mentioned; the work of M. L. *Malbim* (who died at Kiew 1879), which (published at Krotoschin 1849) especially deals in a concise style with the exact meaning of synonymous words and expressions; and the learned, subtle, and ever-stimulating work of Samuel David *Luzzatto*, of Padua (died 1865), part of which, from the beginning to chap. xxxviii., was published by himself under the title *Profeta Isaia volgarizzato e commentato ad uso degli Israeliti*, while the remainder was edited after his death from the materials he had left (Padua 1855-1866).

Of additional literature that has been published since the appearance of the second and third editions of this Commentary (1869, 1879), the following, arranged in chronological order, is worthy of notice :—

CHEYNE, T. K. (Oriel Professor at Oxford, and Canon of Colchester): *The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged. An amended version, with historical and critical introductions and explanatory notes.* London 1870.

There had previously been published, by the same writer, *Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew text of Isaiah* (London 1868): frequent reference was made to this work in the second edition of our Commentary.

SEINECKE, L. (Pastor at Hevensen, near Nordheim): *Der Evangelist des Alten Testaments. Erklärung der Weissagung Jesaia's, Kap. xl.-lxvi.* Leipzig 1870.

See the review by Ed. Richm, in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1872, pp. 553-578.

BIRKS, T. R.: *Commentary on the Book of Isaiah.* London 1871.

ספר ישעיה, Liber Jesaiae. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Praefatus est edendi operis adjutor Fr. Delitzsch. Leipzig 1872.

DIESTEL, LUDWIG (died at Tübingen, 1879): Der Prophet Jesaja, erklärt von Aug. Knobel (who died 1863); Aufl. 4. Leipzig 1872.

RIEHM, ED. (died at Halle, 1888): Das erste Buch Mose nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Mart. Luthers in rediviertem Text mit Vorbemerkungen und Erläuterungen, und einem die Berichtigungen des Jesaja enthaltenden Anhang im Auftrag der zur Revision der Uebersetzung des A. T. berufenen Conferenz herausgegeben. Halle 1873.

STADE, BERNHARD (Professor in Giessen): De Isaiaae vaticiniis Aethiopicis diatribe. Leipzig 1873.

See the notice by Aug. Dillmann in the Liter. Centralblatt, 1874, Nr. 9.

STRACHEY, SIR EDWARD: Jewish History and Politics in the time of Sargon and Sennacherib. An inquiry into the historical meaning and purpose of the prophecies of Isaiah. Second edition, revised. London 1874.

WEBER, FERD. (died at Polsingen, 1879): Der Profet Jesaja in Bibelstunden ausgelegt. 2 vols. Nördlingen 1875-76.

KLOSTERMANN, AUG. (Professor in Kiel): Jesaja, cap. xl.-lxvi. Eine Bitte um Hülfe in grosser Noth. In Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie, 1876; pp. 1-60.

KOHUT, ALEX. (Chief Rabbi in Fünfkirchen): Antiparsische Aussprüche im Deuterjesajas. In Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, 1879, pp. 709-722.

NETELER, B.: Das Buch Isaias aus dem Urtext übersetzt und mit Berücksichtigung seiner Gliederung und der auf seinen Inhalt sich beziehenden assyr. Inschriften erklärt. Münster 1876.

See the notice by W. Baudissin in the Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1876, Nr. 19.

RUSS, ED. (Professor in Strasburg): *Les Prophètes* (forming Part 2 of his work on the Scriptures), 2 vols., the former of which contains the translation and exposition of the old Isaiah portions, while the latter contains the decidedly later portions. Paris 1876.

The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters. I. Texts edited from printed books and MSS. by Ad. Neubauer. II. Translations by S. R. Driver and Ad. Neubauer. With an introduction to the translations by Prof. E. B. Pusey. Oxford and London 1876-77.

See the notice by Hermann Strack in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1877, Nr. 21.

LE HIR (formerly Professor in the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, Paris): *Les trois grands prophètes, Isaïe, Jérémie, Ezéchiel; analyses et commentaires.* Paris 1877.

See the notice by W. Baudissin in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1877, Nr. 11.

NÄGELSBACH, C. W. EDUARD (died at Gunzenhausen, 1880): *Der Prophet Jesaja, theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet* (Theil 14 des Lange'schen Bibelwerks). Bielefeld u. Leipzig 1877. [Translated into English, with additions, by Samuel T. Lowrie and Dunlop Moore. New York and Edinburgh 1878.]

See the notice in the *Beilage zur Luth. Kirchenzeitung*, Nr. 1, and that by Em. Kautsch in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1878, Nr. 25.

STRACK, HERM. (Professor in Berlin): *Zur Textkritik des Jesaias.* In *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie*, 1877, pp. 17-52.

STUDER, G. L. (Professor in Berne): *Beiträge zur Textkritik des Jesaja.* In the *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, 1877, pp. 706-730.

FEHR, Fredrik: *Profeten Jesaja: Ett gammaltestamentligt Utkast.* Upsala 1877.

DE LAGARDE, PAUL (Professor in Göttingen): *Semitica.* Aus dem 23. Bande der *Abhandl. der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. in Göttingen.* Göttingen 1878.

Pages 1-32 contain critical remarks on Isaiah, chaps. i.-xvii.: see the notice by Eberh. Nestle in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1878, Nr. 11.

LÖHR, FR. (Pastor in Zirchow a/Usedom): *Zur Frage über die Echtheit von Jesaias 40-66. Drei Hefte.* Berlin 1878-80.

See the notice in the *Liter. Beilage der Luther. Kirchenzeitung*, 1879, Nr. 17.

KÖSTLIN, FRIEDRICH: *Jesaia und Jeremia. Ihr Leben und ihr Wirken aus ihren Schriften dargestellt.* Berlin 1879.

BARTH, J. (Professor in Berlin): *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaia.* Karlsruhe 1855.

SCHOLZ, ANTON (Professor in Würzburg): *Die alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias.* Würzburg 1880.

CHEYNE, T. K.: *The Prophecies of Isaiah. A new translation, with commentary and appendices.* 2 vols. London 1880-81. [Fifth edition, 1889.]

See my notice of the first edition in *The Academy*, 1880 (Ap. 10).

KNABENBAUER, A. (Jesuit priest): *Erklärung des Propheten Jesaia.* Freiburg i. B. 1881.

Distinguished for the very extensive use made of the older expository literature (certainly with no great profit), and for beneficial regard to the more modern.

GUTHE, HERM. (Professor in Leipzig): *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia.* Leipzig 1885.

BREDENKAMP, C. J. (Professor in Greifswald): *Der Prophet Jesaia erklärt. Drei Lieferungen.* Erlangen 1886-7.

This author has also published *Vaticinium quod de Immanuele edidit Jesaias.* Erlangen 1880.

VON ORELLI, CONR. (Professor in Basle): *Die Propheten Jesaja und Jeremia ausgelegt.* Nördlingen 1887. [Translated in Clark's *For. Theol. Lib.*, Edinburgh 1889.]

[DRIVER, S. R. (Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford University): *Isaiah, his Life and Times.* London 1888.]

[SAYCE, A. H.: *The Life and Times of Isaiah.* London 1889.]

[SMITH, GEORGE A.: *The Book of Isaiah.* 2 vols. London 1889-90.]

THE SUPERScription OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.



I. *The external title as handed down* is יְשַׁעְיָהּ. The LXX. always modifies the form of the prophet's name into *Ἰσαΐας* (see Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 111); on the other hand, it renders the name יְשַׁעְיָהּ in Ezra viii. 7, 19 by *Isaias* (but in other places in many other ways¹), both paroxytone, inasmuch as *as* in prosody is long; Lat. *Isaias* (*Esaias*), in Prudentius with accented *a* and short *i* (but, on the other hand, *Jeremias*, because in this case the *e*, which is short in accordance with the Hebrew, is not suited for bearing the accent of the word). In the book itself, and throughout the Old Testament Scriptures, the prophet is called יְשַׁעְיָהּ (in the Babylonian Codex, dating from the year 916, יְשַׁעְיָהּ, according to the old style of writing); on the other hand, in the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the shorter form designates other persons. Though the shorter form of such names was in ancient times current along with the longer, it came to be exclusively used in more recent days; hence its employment as the usual title. The name is a compound word, signifying "Jahu (Jah) has wrought salvation,"—יְשַׁעְיָהּ being equivalent to הוֹשִׁיעַ (in הוֹשִׁיעָה), as רַחֵם in רַחֲמֶיךָ is equivalent to הַרְחִיב—not "salvation of Jahu" (as explained, for instance, by Küper, with Caspari); for, as Köhler has shown, in the beginning of his Commentary on Zechariah, the number of the names of persons compounded of a substantive and יָהּ is exceeded by

¹ *Hesaias* (or even *Hesaias*, following the analogy of *Hesiodos*, *Hesychios*) is essentially a modification like *Isaias*. There are some other proper names beginning with יָהּ, but the LXX. renders none of these by *Ho* or *Io*, like this one. In Ezra viii. 7, 19, יְשַׁעְיָהּ is modified into the form *Isaias*, and in 1 Chron. iii. 21, Neh. xi. 7, into *Isaias*,—a worse form.

that of those which are formed from the perfect of the Qal, and this, too, with the meaning of a derived conjugation, especially the Piel and Hiphil. Combined with יָשַׁע , however, the name would probably take the form יִשְׁעָיָהוּ (like חֶלְקִיָּהוּ , מִלְכִּיָּהוּ , צִדְקִיָּהוּ), and signify, "Jahu is my salvation;" hence יִשְׁעָיָהוּ like נְתַנְיָהוּ , זְבַדְיָהוּ , זְבַדְיָהוּ , will be an exclamation of thankfulness to God made into the name of the child.¹ The prophet shows he is conscious that it was not by accident he bore this name; for יִשְׁעָיָהוּ , יִשְׁעָיָהוּ , and יִשְׁעָיָהוּ are among his favourite words,—nay, we may say, he lives and moves in the coming salvation: but יְהוָה is the God of salvation; this is the peculiar redemptive designation of God. The name indicates the Being who exists absolutely (i.e. eternally and independently), who bears witness to Himself (Ex. iii. 14), as freely and according to His own counsel determining His ways, ruling throughout the course of history, and fixing its form. This work of free grace has for its end that salvation which, beginning with Israel and working outwards, embraces and includes all mankind. The element יהו (יה) in the prophet's name has been shortened from the "tetragrammaton" יהוה by rejecting the second ה. From this abbreviation we see that the vowel *a* stood at the beginning of the divine name. According to Theodoret, it was pronounced 'Iaβé by the Samaritans; this is also the pronunciation given in the Archontic list of the divine names found in Epiphanius. Jacob of Edessa, as we learn from an excursus to his Syriac translation of the *Λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι* of Severus of Antioch, was under the erroneous impression that the name in Hebrew was pronounced יהיה like אהיה; moreover, this סלסל , in the Codex Curzonianus of the Syro-Hexaplar Isaiah, is transcribed in Greek characters *HEHE* (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxii. 465 ff.). The testimony hereby borne to the conclusion of the word in יה is confirmed by the abbreviation into יהי , which, after the analogy of similar abbreviations, has come from יהיה , through an intermediate form יהי . The modified form 'Aīá (found in Theodoret) does not point to the divine name יהוה (which must have been represented by 'Iaβá), but יה; 'Iaō with its by-forms is יהי, and 'Iawiá (in Origen, *contra Celsum*, i. 656) is the

¹ See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, pp. 206–208.

condensed יהוה.¹ The pronunciation *Jehovah* (*Yehovah*) has arisen from a combination of the *Qeri* and *Kethib*, and did not become current till after the sixteenth century; Galatinus, about 1518, in his work *de arcanis catholicae veritatis*, was the first who remarked that the "tetragrammaton," read as it is pointed, sounds *Jehovah* (*Yehovah*); from that time people began to pronounce it so, but Genebrard, who died in 1597, in his Commentary on the Psalms, continues against Beza to oppose it as an intolerable innovation: *Impii velustatis temeratores et nominis Dei ineffabilis profanatores atque adeo transformatores JOVA vel JEHOVAH legunt, vocabulo novo, barbaro, fictitio, irreligioso et Jovem gentilium redolente.*

II. *The title of the book, given by itself.* Ver. 1: "The vision of Yeshayahu, son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziyahu, Jotham, Ahaz, Yehizkiyahu, kings of Judah." Isaiah is here called יְשַׁעְיָהּ. The Jewish doctrine, known even to the early Fathers of the Church, that when a prophet's father is named, the latter also was a prophet (*Megilla* 15a), is unfounded. But there is at least some sense, though no historic basis, in an old tradition repeated in the Midrash (*Pesikta de-Rab Cahana* 117b) and the Talmuds (*Megilla* 10b, cf. *Sota* 10b), that Amoz was the brother of Amaziah, the father and predecessor of Uzziah, and that Isaiah was thus, like the Davidic kings, a descendant of Judah and Tamar. The nature and appearance of Isaiah make a thoroughly royal impression. He speaks to kings like a king. With majestic bearing he goes to meet the magnates of his people, and of the world-power beyond. In his style, he is among the prophets what Solomon was among the kings. In all circumstances and moods, he is master of his materials, a master of language, — simply magnificent, sublime without affectation, splendid though unadorned. But this regal character had its roots somewhere else than in blood. Only this much may be said with certainty, that Isaiah was born in Jerusalem. For the character of his prophecy betokens closest intimacy with the capital: according to *Chagiga* 13b, he stands in relation to Ezekiel as a native of the chief city to a native of the provinces; notwithstanding his exceeding manifold prophetic missions, we never

¹ Cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, i. 183 f.

find him outside of Jerusalem; here, too, as may be seen from chap. xxii. 1, and the style of his intercourse with king Hezekiah, he lived with his wife and children in the lower part of the city; here he carried on his ministry under the four kings named in ver. 1, who are enumerated without "vav copulative;" there is the same unconnected enumeration as in the titles of the Books of Hosea and Micah. There Hezekiah is called *הֶזְקִיָּה*,—almost the same form as here,—but with the simple rejection of the toneless *א*. The Chronicler especially prefers the complete form,—full both at the beginning and the end,—though he also uses the rarer form *הֶזְקִיָּהוּ*. Roorda is of opinion that the Chronicler took this malformation from the three titles, where it is a copyist's error for *הֶזְקִיָּהוּ* or *הֶזְקִיָּה*; but it is also found in Jer. xv. 4 and 2 Kings xx. 10, where such an error in transcription could not possibly have taken place. Accordingly, it is not an irregular form; we must not, however, with Roorda, derive it from the Piél, but from the Qal of the verb ("strong is Jehovah"), with a connecting *י*, which occurs pretty frequently in proper names derived from verb-roots with a vowel in the middle, such as *יִשְׂמָעֵאל* from *שָׁם*, 1 Chron. iv. 36.

Under the kings already mentioned Isaiah exercised his ministry, or, as it is expressed in ver. 1, saw the vision which he committed to writing in the book before us. Among the many Hebrew synonyms for seeing, *רָאָה* is the general expression regularly used for prophetic perception, whether the form in which the divine revelation was made to the prophet was a vision or an audible communication; in both cases he "sees" it,—distinguishing this divine message, in its supernatural objectivity, from his own conceptions and thoughts by means of the inner sense, which is designated by the term used to denote the noblest of the five external senses. The prophet accordingly is called *רֹאֶה*, "a seer" (at an earlier period in the language, *רֹאֶה*, 1 Sam. ix. 9), and prophecy is called *רְאוּת*; the term *נְבִיאָה*, which is the cognate of *נְבִיא*, appears only in the latest period (thrice in Chronicles and Nehemiah). The noun *רְאוּת*, indeed, is also applied to individual visions (cf. Jer. xxix. 7 with Job xx. 8, xxxiii. 15), like *חֲזִיוֹן* (const. *חֲזִיָּוֹן*), which is formed from *חָזַן* by euphonic doubling, and is more frequently used in this sense; but here, in the title to the

Book of Isaiah, the abstract meaning passes over into the still more closely related collective, indicating the whole of what is seen, *i.e.* the contents of the vision. We may not conclude, therefore, that the first part of ver. 1 was originally the superscription merely of the first prophetic address, and that it was only through the addition of the latter part that it was changed into a general title for the whole book: Vitringa held this view, and perhaps it may even be correct, but with the Chronicler (2 Chron. xxxii. 32) this *חזון ישעיהו* appears as the general title of the collection.

Along with Judah, Jerusalem is further specially mentioned as the object of the vision. The "perpetual Qeri" to *ירושלם* (*ירושלם*) is *ירושלם*, which is hardly to be regarded as a "broken dual," *i.e.* as formed through internal change of sound, but—like *עפרין* for *עפרין*, 2 Chron. xiii. 19, and the Aramaic *ܐܝܡ*—a later form in which the diphthongal *ajim* or *aim* has been resolved from the original *em*, *am*, *an*. Cheyne finds in the particularizing, from Judah to Jerusalem, an indication of the fact that Isaiah was a city-prophet. But the object of the prophecies of the provincial prophet Micah is also (i. 1) marked by the mention of the capitals of both kingdoms. The advance from "Judah" to "Jerusalem" is a centralizing step; and if *חזון* is meant to indicate the totality of what was seen by Isaiah, this designation of the object of Isaiah's prophecies by "Judah and Jerusalem" is centralizing. For his vision extends far beyond Judah, not merely to the sister kingdom of Ephraim, but also to the Gentile nations. Within the widest circle of the nations of the world there lies the smaller one containing the peoples bordering on the Hebrews; and within this, again, there is the still smaller one of all Israel, including Samaria; within this, once more, there is the yet smaller circle of the kingdom of Judah; and all these circles include Jerusalem, because the whole history of the world, regarded in its inmost working and its final purpose, is the history of the Church of God, which has Jerusalem, the city of Jehovah's temple and the kingdom of promise, for its peculiar site. In this sense, the expression "concerning Judah and Jerusalem" is also suitable for the whole book, in which everything that the prophet sees is seen from Judah and Jerusalem, and for the sake of both, and in the interests

of both. It is more probable, however, that the latter part of ver. 1 is a more recent addition, so that the words from חזון to ירושלם thus formed the original superscription of the first address, and could only indirectly (like the names of the Books of the Pentateuch) be used as the designation of the whole book. For it is inadmissible, with Luzzatto, to take אֲשֶׁר as nominative instead of accusative (*qui* instead of *quam*, sc. *visionem*), in order to stamp the words "The Vision of Isaiah, son of Amoz," as the superscription of the first discourse, in chap. i.; the suggestion is contrary to the syntax, for חֲזֹן אֲשֶׁר חֲזָה is the usual Hebrew construction of the verb with its own substantive (Ges. § 138. 1).

FIRST HALF OF THE COLLECTION OF PROPHECIES.

CHAPS. I.-XXXIX.

PART I.—PROPHECIES RELATING TO THE COURSE OF THE
MASS OF THE PEOPLE ONWARDS TO HARDENING OF
HEART, CHAPS. I-VI.

OPENING DISCOURSE, REGARDING JEHOVAH'S WAY WITH HIS
UNGRATEFUL AND REBELLIOUS PEOPLE, I. 2 FF.

THE prophet is standing on the fateful boundary-line between the two halves of the history of Israel. Neither by the riches of divine goodness which they experienced during the times of Uzziah and Jotham, which closely resembled those of David and Solomon, nor by the chastisements of the divine displeasure which inflicted wound upon wound, have the people allowed themselves to be brought to repentance and reflection; the divine means of training have been exhausted, and it only remains that Jehovah should let His people in their present condition be consumed in the fire, that a new people may be formed out of the gold which has stood the fiery test. At this period, so pregnant with storms, appear the prophets, like birds upon the sea, presaging the tempest, and more active than at any other epoch,—Amos in the days of Jeroboam, Micah in the reign of Jotham, but above all Isaiah, *the* prophet *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, standing midway between Moses and Christ.

Conscious of this his exalted position in the history of salvation, he begins his opening address in Deuteronomic fashion, like the grand Song of Moses in Deut. xxxii. This form has been shown by the investigations of Klostermann

(*Studien u. Krit.* 1871) to have passed current in Hezekiah's time, at latest, as a prophetic testimony reaching back to Moses, so that it may actually be regarded as such (see No. X. of my "Studies in Pentateuchal Criticism," in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 503 ff.). This song is the compendious programme and the common watchword of all prophecy, to which it stands in the same fundamental relation as the Decalogue to all other laws, and the Lord's Prayer to all other prayers. The law-giver therein sets before the eyes of his people their whole history to the end of time. This history falls into four great periods: the creation and exaltation of Israel; the ingratitude and apostasy of Israel; the surrender of Israel into the hands of the heathen; lastly, the restoration of Israel,—sifted but not destroyed,—and the accord of all nations to praise Jehovah, who has revealed Himself in judgment and in mercy. This fourfold division is not merely preserved in every part of the history of Israel, but it forms the distinguishing mark of the history as a whole to its remotest end. Every age of Israel has thus in that song a mirror of its present condition and future destiny. This mirror the prophets held up before their contemporaries. Thus did Isaiah. He opens his prophetic address as Moses begins his Song. Moses begins (Deut. xxxi. 1): "Hear, O ye heavens, and I will speak, and let the earth hear the words of my mouth." In what sense he calls on heaven and earth he himself tells us in Deut. xxxi. 28 f. He foresees in spirit the future apostasy of Israel, and takes heaven and earth, which will endure beyond his earthly life now drawing to a close, as witnesses of what he has to say to his people with such a prospect. In like manner,—only with the interchange of the parallel verbs *שמעו* and *שמע*,—Isaiah begins, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for Jehovah speaks." The ground of the demand is put in a general way: they are to hear because Jehovah is speaking. But what Jehovah speaks substantially agrees with that address of Jehovah which is introduced in Deut. xxxii. 20 by the expression "And he said." What Jehovah, according to the statement there, will one day have to say in His wrath, He now says through the prophet, whose present corresponds to the future of the Song of Moses. For the time has now arrived when heaven and earth,—which always exist

and are always the same, which have continued through the past history of Israel in all places and at all times,—should fulfil the duty laid on them by the lawgiver to be witnesses; and this is just the special, true, and ultimate sense in which they are required, as they were by Moses, to hear. They were present and shared in the proceedings when Jehovah gave the Law to His people; the heavens, according to Deut. iv. 36, as the place from which the voice of God issued, and the earth as the place where His great fire appeared. They were solemnly admitted to the scene when Jehovah gave to His people the choice between a blessing and a curse, life and death (Deut. xxx. 19, iv. 26). They are now, therefore, to hear and bear witness regarding what Jehovah, their Creator and the God of Israel, has to say, and what complaints He has to make (ver. 2): *“Children have I brought up and exalted, but they have rebelled against Me.”* Though Israel is meant, Israel is not named, but the historical facts are generalized into a parable, in order that the astounding and appalling state of matters may be made more prominent. Israel is Jehovah’s son (Ex. iv. 22 f.); all the members of the nation are His children (Deut. xiv. 1, xxxii. 20); He is the Father of Israel, whom He has begotten (Deut. xxxii. 6, 18). The existence of Israel as a nation, like that of other nations, is effected, indeed, by means of natural reproduction, not by spiritual regeneration; but the primary ground of Israel’s origin is the supernaturally efficacious word of grace addressed to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 15 f.); and a series of wonderful dealings in grace has brought the growth and development of Israel to that point which it had attained at the Exodus from Egypt. It is in this sense that Jehovah has begotten Israel. This relation of Jehovah to Israel as His children has already, in Isaiah’s time, a long time of grace behind it in the past,—the time of Israel’s childhood in Egypt, the time of youth in the desert, the time of growing manhood from Joshua to Samuel; and now Joshua can say in the days of Isaiah, “I have brought up children, and exalted them.” The opposite of *נָחַל* is *נָחַל*, that of *רָם* is *נָחַל*. The Piél *נָחַל* signifies to “make great,” and when applied to children (as here and in 2 Kings x. 6, etc.), to “bring up” in the sense of natural growth; and the Pilel *נָחַל*,

2, 2

which is used also in xxiii. 4, Ezek. xxxi. 4 (cf. the proper names in 1 Chron. xxv. 29-31), as the parallel to לָּאֵל, signifies to "exalt" in the dignitative sense of raising to a high position, to which wise love of a father gradually advances a child. The two verses depict the condition of mature manhood and high honour which Israel had reached under the monarchy of David and Solomon, and which has again been enjoyed under Uzziah and Jotham. But how ungrateful were they towards God for what they owed to Him,—“but they have broken away from me!” Instead of an adversative particle (לָּאֵל possibly), there is merely וְ copulative, used energetically, as in vi. 7 (cf. וְ, Hos. vii. 13). Two things that ought never to have been conjoined,—the gracious and filial relation of Israel to Jehovah, and Israel's base apostasy from Jehovah,—these, though utterly contradictory, were now actually combined. The verb נָסַף, نَسَفَ (here with retracted tone,¹ from the presence of the following וְ), in accordance with its radical idea, signifies to “break away, break loose” (Lat. *dirumpere*, as in *amicitiam dirumpere*),² and is followed by וְ with the object forming the completion of the action; it means violently and determinedly to break connection with any one, and is here used of the inward severance from God, and renunciation of His claims, which forms the climax of תַּפְסֻחַת (Job xxxiv. 37), and of which the full outward manifestation is idolatry. From the time that Solomon, towards the end of his reign, gave himself up to idolatry, the worship of idols had never wholly ceased, even in public, down to the days of Isaiah. Two attempts had been made to put an end to it,—the reformation begun by Asa and completed by Jehoshaphat, and afterwards the one accomplished by Joash during the lifetime of the high priest Jehoiada, who had

¹ Only in the following cases is there no retraction of the tone : (1) When the syllable to which it would be retracted is a closed syllable ; (2) When the former of the two logically connected words ends with a heavy suffix ; (3) When the final syllable of this word is closed and accented, as in וְהָיָה.

² In Arabic, نَسَفَ originally had a purely sensuous meaning, and it is expressly remarked that it received an ethical sense only through Islam ; it is the proper word for breaking the fruit by bursting open the husk.

preserved him and brought him up; the first, however, had not been able wholly to abolish idolatry altogether, and what had been removed by Joash returned with redoubled abominations as soon as Jehoiada was dead. Hence the expression, "they have broken away from me," which sums up the whole of Israel's ingratitude in the one culminating sin, applies to the entire history of the nation from the zenith of glory under David and Solomon down to the time of the prophet.

In ver. 3 Jehovah now complains of the apostasy with which His children have rewarded Him as inhuman,—nay, worse than that which would be shown by the brutes: "^{3.} An ox knoweth his owner, and an ass the crib of its master:—^{it knows who owns it & submits to feed on the same (knows who feeds it)} Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider." ^{their actions depend on Him,} A ploughing ox has a knowledge of its purchaser and owner (עֲבוֹדָה), to whom it willingly submits; and an ass, the domestic animal of proverbial stupidity (in the East also; see *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xl. 266 f.), has a knowledge at least of the crib of its master (עֲבוֹדָה, a plural of excellence, as in Exod. xxi. 29,—a degenerate species of the "extensive" plural, as distinguished from the "multiplicative" plural, i.e. it knows that it is its master who puts its fodder into the manger (מִנְיָה—^{from מָנָה, to fatten cattle—with מִנְיָה instead of מִנְיָה, like the forms מִנְיָה, מִנְיָה}). No such knowledge has Israel,—neither direct, like instinct, nor indirect, acquired by reflection (הִתְבוּנָה). The expressions לֹא יָדָע and לֹא הִתְבוּנָה cannot be taken here (as for example in lvi. 10; Ps. lxxxii. 5) in an objectless sense, and as indicating a state or condition,—as if the meaning were, "they are ignorant and inconsiderate," but the object is implied in what precedes, and the words mean "they know not, consider not what, on their side, corresponds to the owner and to the manger which the master fills,"—namely, that they are the children and the property of Jehovah, and their existence and prosperity solely depend on the grace of Jehovah (Jer. v. 24, cf. Hos. ii. 10). The parallel, with its many contrasts, like the similar one in Jer. viii. 7, where animals are again introduced, explains itself even through the employment of "Israel" and "my people." Those who, in knowledge and gratitude, are far surpassed and put to shame by the brutes, are not a nation like any other nation among men, but "Israel," descendants of Jacob, who

wrestled with and overcame the wrath of God, and by wrestling also obtained the blessing for himself and his posterity; they are "my people" too,—those whom Jehovah has chosen out of all peoples to be the people of His possession, and most especial care and direction. This people, bearing the honoured name—bestowed by God Himself—of one who was a hero of faith and prayer,—this favoured people of Jehovah lowered itself far beneath the level of the brutes. Such is the complaint poured out before heaven and earth by the noble speaker.

The piercing cry of complaint by the deeply-pained Father is at the same time the heaviest impeachment. But the cause of God is to the prophet the cause of a friend who feels the grief of his friend as he would feel his own (v. 1). Hence the complaint of God now changes into strong invective and threatening on the part of the prophet; and in conformity with the deep indignation by which he is moved, his discourse in verse 4 moves rapidly along like a lightning storm, giving forth flash upon flash. The address consists of seven members, not formally connected, but so arranged as to form a climax, and each is composed of but two or three words;

4 *"Woe to the sinful nation, the guilt-laden ^{heavy laden} people, the miserable ^{guilt of sin} race, the children acting corruptly! They have forsaken Jehovah, blasphemed the Holy One of Israel, turned away backwards!"*

The distinction attempted between חַי and וָי, making the former to signify "Oh!" and the latter "Woe!" is untenable; for, with some doubtful exceptions, חַי also is an exclamation of pain, and here not so much a calling down of woe (*vae genti*, as Jerome renders it), as a lamentation (*vae gentem*), but one that is filled with wrath. The appellations of Israel which follow point to what the nation ought to be in accordance with the divine choice and determination, and express what, through its own choice and self-determination in opposition to God, it has become. (1.) According to the divine choice and determination, Israel should be a "holy nation," Ex. xix. 6, but it is a "sinful nation" (*gens peccatrix*, as the Vulgate correctly translates); for נָפְלִי here is not so much a participle as a participial adjective, signifying what is habitual,—the usual singular to the plural נָפְלִים, ἀμαρτωλοί, the singular of which is not in common use, and occurs

only once (Amos ix. 8) in the feminine as an adjective. "Holy" and "sinful" are sharp contrasts, for קדוש signifies that which is separated from what is common, unclean, sinful, and superior to it. At the same time, the alliteration in אִי הוּא (with *Pasek*, to preserve the independence of the two words, whose sound is so similar) is intended to produce the impression that the nation as sinful is a nation of woe. (2.) In the Law, besides being called אִי קדוש, Israel is called אִי הוּא (Num. xvii. 6), the people chosen and highly favoured by Jehovah; but it is אִי כבד, a people heavy with iniquity. כבד is the construct from כבד, "heavy," like עָל from עָל; the form כבד is usually employed with the meaning of "clumsy" (Ex. iv. 10); and besides, the dissyllabic form sounds more rhythmically. Instead of employing the readiest descriptive expression, "a people of heavy iniquity," the property of the iniquity (the weight) is attributed to the people themselves upon whom it lies as a burden,—in accordance with the view that he who carries a heavy burden is himself so much the heavier (cf. *gravis oneribus* in Cicero). אִי is always the word employed whenever sin is meant to be indicated as heavy and coarse (e.g. in xxxiii. 24; Gen. xv. 16, xix. 15), and when there is further included the idea of the guilt incurred by it. From being the people of Jehovah, they have become a people heavily laden with the guilt of sin. In this way the true nature of Israel has been crushed, and changed into its opposite. We translate אִי by "nation," and אִי by "people," because the former (from אִי) is the mass of individuals who have been joined together through one common descent, language, and country, whereas אִי (from אִי, "to combine") is the people joined together by unity of government (cf. for instance Ps. cv. 13); hence we always read of the "people of Jehovah" (אִי הוּא), not the "nation of Jehovah" (אִי הוּא); and אִי, free from every slur, occurs only twice (Zeph. ii. 9; Ps. cvi. 5), with a suffix referring to Jehovah, but here it is used as in Mal. iii. 9. (3.) Israel elsewhere bears the honourable title of the seed of the patriarch (xli. 8, xlv. 19, cf. Gen. xxi. 12); in reality, however, it is a seed of evil-doers (xiv. 20, cf. xxxi. 2). The idea of a similar descent, contained in אִי, goes back to that of a like

inherited nature (Isa. x. 23; Prov. xi. 21); and אֲבוֹתֵינוּ does not mean the fathers, but the contemporaries of the prophet (the genitive being intended to be taken attributively),—a race consisting of miscreants. The singular of the noun אֲבוֹתֵינוּ is אָבִי, with the sharpening of אָבִי with Pathach, which is usual in עָצָר verbs with guttural radicals; אָבִי (with Kamez in pause, Isa. ix. 16, which see) is a Hiphil participial noun. (4.) The children of Israel are, in virtue of the divine act, “children of Jehovah,” Deut. xiv. 1; but through their own doings they are בָּנִים מְשֻׁחָדִים, “children acting corruptly;” what the Law had dreaded and predicted had thus come to pass: Deut. iv. 16, 25, xxxi. 29. In all these passages the Hiphil is found, and in the parallel passages of the grand song, Deut. xxxii. 5, the Piél שָׁחַת, both of which conjugations contain within themselves the object of the action (Ges. § 53. 2): these verbs thus signify to do something destructive, to act in such a way that one becomes a cause of ruin to himself and others. That the degeneration of the children is meant to be regarded in relation to Jehovah, and not to their forefathers,—the opinion of Rosenmüller, who follows Vitringa,—is evident from the latter part of ver. 2, cf. xxx. 1, 9. After the four exclamatory clauses, there follow—making up the saddening seven—three declaratory clauses describing Israel’s apostasy as complete. There is apostasy in disposition: “they have forsaken Jehovah.” There is apostasy in words: “they blaspheme the Holy One of Israel.” נִאָּץ (properly, “to sting,” then “to mock, treat with contempt”), used of blasphemy, is an old Mosaic word; see Deut. xxxi. 20; Num. xiv. 11, 23, xvi. 30. “The Holy One of Israel” is a title designedly applied to God here; it is the keynote of Isaianic prophecy, and first sounded in this passage (see under vi. 3). To mock what is holy is in itself sinful; it is doubly a sin to mock God the Holy One; it is trebly a sin that Israel mocks God the Holy One, who has set Himself to be the Sanctifier of Israel, and who, as He is the holiness of Israel, so also, in conformity with His holiness, seeks to be sanctified by Israel (Lev. xix. 2, etc.). And lastly, their apostasy is also apostasy in their way of acting: “they have turned away backwards.” In the Niphal נָחַץ, which occurs only here, there is contained the

idea of deliberateness in their estrangement from God: the expression of this is still further intensified by employing **למה** (which is added emphatically, instead of **למאחריו**). Their conduct should be an imitation of Jehovah's; but they have turned the back to Him, and entered on the path chosen by themselves.

In ver. 5, which now follows, it is, first of all, doubtful regarding the meaning of **על־מה** (**מה**), as in Ps. x. 13, iv. 3, with **על** even in cases where no guttural follows, after **על**, as after **על**, Ps. iv. 3; **על**, Hag. v. 9; and thrice **למה**, 1 Sam. i. 8; see on Prov. xxxi. 2; cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 143), whether it signifies "why," as the LXX., Targum, Syriac, Rashi, Kimchi, Hitzig, and now also Cheyne take it, or "on what," i.e. "on which part of the body" (Jerome, *Saadias*), a view for which Ewald, Knobel, and Schröding (in Part 2 of his *Jesajan. Studien*) decide. Reuss also translates, *où vous frapperait-on encore?* Luzzatto considers the latter rendering insipid, especially because a member of the body that has already been smitten can be repeatedly struck again; but he thinks the meaning is that there is no judgment which had not already fallen on Israel, so that it is no longer far from utter ruin. Nevertheless, we decide with Caspari for the meaning "to what" (i.e. for what end)? For in all the other (fourteen) passages in which **על־מה** occurs, it has this meaning, once even along with **למה**, Num. xxii. 32 (cf. Prov. xvii. 26), and the people do not come to be viewed as a body till ver. 6, whereas the interrogative, "upon what," would require the reader or hearer to presuppose it even here. But in translating **על־מה** by "to what end," we do not understand it (as Malbim does, for instance) in the sense of *cui bono?* with the idea underlying the question, that it would certainly be fruitless, as all smiting hitherto has proved,—for this thought is not, as we should expect, directly expressed,—but after the analogy of questions with **למה** (Ezek. xviii. 31; Jer. xlv. 7; cf. the comment. on Eccles. v. 5, vii. 16 f.), *qua de causa?* with the underlying thought that this continual calling forth of divine chastisement is certainly a mad desire for one's own destruction. Accordingly, we render the first part of ver. 5: "Why do you wish always to be smitten, increasing your rebellion?" **על** (with *Tiphcha*, a stronger disjunctive than

Tebir, cf. Ezek. xix. 9) belongs to תָּבוּ; but תָּבוּ without עָר would make it appear as if they had not yet been smitten for their apostasy hitherto. There are not two interrogative clauses on the same plane (as Luzzatto thinks), as if the meaning were, "Why do ye wish to be smitten afresh? Why do ye add revolt?" Nor is the second clause the answer to the first, to which it assigns the reason (as Nägelsbach thinks), "For what (for what purpose) should ye be smitten still more? Ye heap rebellion on rebellion;" but the second clause is subordinated to the first, an adverbial secondary clause more closely defining the main proposition, as in v. 11, xxx. 31, cf. Ps. lxii. 5 ("delighting in lies"), iv. 3 ("while ye love vain show"); also Ps. v. 10, xxvii. 27; see Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, § 341b [Eng. transl. pp. 240, 241]. The LXX. has *προσθιέντες ἀνομίαν*. סָרָה (a fem. partic. used as a noun, with neuter sense) is deviation from truth and rectitude; here, as pretty frequently elsewhere, it means disloyalty to Jehovah, who is the absolutely Good and absolute Goodness. It is difficult to decide whether כָּל־רֹאשׁ and כָּל־לֵב signify "every head," "every heart," or, as Ewald and others think, "the whole head," "the whole heart." כָּל, followed by an indeterminate singular, sometimes signifies completeness, as in ix. 11, "with whole mouth;" Ezek. xxxvi. 5, "with joy of the whole heart;" 2 Kings xxiii. 3, "with whole heart and with whole soul;" also Ezek. xxix. 7, "the whole shoulder . . . the whole loins." More usually, however, כָּל, with an indeterminate genitive of parts of the body, signifies "each," "every" (*quisque*, not *totus*), xv. 2, xlv. 23; Jer. xlviii. 37; Ezek. vii. 17 f., xxi. 12. It is thus most natural, syntactically, to translate the latter part of ver. 5, "every head is diseased, and every heart is sick;" this rendering is also most in accord with the circumstances, inasmuch as the words in the first part of the verse are not addressed to the people as a whole, but as a multitude made up of individuals. The ל at the beginning of לֵחֹלִי, indicates the state or condition into which a person or thing has come: "every head is in a diseased condition;" see Ewald, § 217d: *lächöli* (this, in spite of König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 106 f., is the pronunciation intended), without the article, as in 2 Chron. xvi. 18; cf. בָּעֵי, 1 Sam. i. 11; the form with the article would need to be לֵחֹלִי. What is meant

is disease arising from a wound caused by a blow (as in Jer. x. 19, v. 3). The prophet asks his fellow-countrymen why they are so mad as to continue calling forth the judgments of God, which have already fallen on them stroke upon stroke, through their heaping one apostasy on another. Are matters already so far gone with them that, among the many heads and hearts, there is no longer a head that has not fallen into a diseased condition, and no heart which is not thoroughly sick (רָי, an intensive form, from רָיָה)? Head and heart are named as the noblest portions of the outer and the inner man: outwardly and inwardly, every individual of the nation has already been smitten by the wrath of God, so that they have enough, and might have been brought to bethink themselves.

Considering this utterly miserable condition of every individual of the nation, the view (in ver. 6) of the whole people as a miserably diseased body does not come on us unexpectedly: "*From the sole of the foot to the head, there is nothing sound in it,—scars, and weals, and festering wounds: they have not been pressed out, or bound up, nor has there been any softening with oil.*" In the body of the nation, to which (or to the people as a whole) reference is made by *in it*,—the address now passing into objective form,—there is nothing healthy (מִחַם from מָחַם, not, as in Judg. xx. 48, from מָח with the root מָחָה); it is covered with wounds of various kinds, inflicted at different times; and for the healing of these many and manifold wounds, which all together, close on one another, one on the other, cover the body of the nation, no kind of means has been employed. מָצַע (from מָצַע, to cleave, tear open) is a wound made by tearing the flesh, as by a sword-stroke: this required binding up (Ezek. xxx. 21), that the gaping flesh might close again; חֲבֵרָה (from חָבַר, to be striped) is a swollen stripe or lump, such as is caused by the stroke of a whip or a blow of the fist; this required softening with oil, in order that the coagulated matter or the swelling might disperse; מִקָּה מְרִיָּה is the still fresh and bleeding wound, which needed pressing out to cleanse it, and thus facilitate healing. The three predicates, in relation to the ideas presented in the subjects, show an approximation to a chiasm. The predicates are plural in form, owing to the subjects being taken collectively; the expression *וְלֹא רָחַמָה בְּשֶׁמֶן*,

which, as regards its meaning, refers to *חֲבֹרָה*, is accordingly to be understood as a neuter construction, and to be rendered, "nor has softening with oil been effected." Considering the Pual near it, *וּרְ* might also appear to be of the same conjugation, but actually is not, because, according to the accentuation (with two *Pashtas*, the first of which, as in *וּרְ*, Gen. i. 2, marks the place of tone, so that the form here is to be pronounced *zōru*), it has the tone on the penult,—a fact for which (in spite of what Stade says, § 415) no reason could be perceived, if the form were from the verb *וּרְ*. For the assumption that the tone is retracted in order to prepare us for the heavy incidence of the tone in *וּרְשָׁה* (Ewald, § 194c) is quite arbitrary; for, though the influence of the Pause sometimes reaches to the second last word, it does not extend to the third last. Moreover, according to the usage of the language, *וּרְ* signifies "to be dispersed," not "to be pressed out," whereas *וּרְ* and *וּרְ* are commonly used in the sense of pressing together, and pressing out. Hence *וּרְ* (like *וּרְשָׁה*) is either the Qal of a middle-vowel intransitive verb *וּרְ*, or (more probably)—because the middle-vowel verb *וּרְ* in Ps. lviii. 4 has another meaning ("they are estranged;" cf. *וּרְ* above, in ver. 4)—the Qal of *וּרְ* (= *وَرَّ*, *constringere*), which is here inflected as an intransitive verb, and in a measure corresponding to the Arabic passive of the Qal *وَرَّ* (Olsh. § 245. 1); cf. Job xxiv. 24, *וּרְ*, and Gen. xlix. 23, the actively used *וּרְ*. The surgical treatment, so highly necessary for the nation, is a figurative representation of the pastoral address of the prophet, which, though certainly published, was as if it had not been published, inasmuch as its salutary effect was conditioned by repentance on the part of the nation. The people despised God's offer of service like that of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 34). They did not like the radical cure of which the prophets made offer. The view of the body as diseased within and wholly lacerated without was thus all the more calculated to excite compassion. The prophet speaks of the existing condition of things. He says that it has already come to the worst with the people, and this is precisely the ground and the subject of his inculpatory complaints. Hence, when he passes in ver. 7 from figurative to literal

language (like ver. 23 after 22), it is to be perceived that he is there also speaking of what was then present.

The body thus internally and externally disorganized was, properly speaking, the people and the country in the frightful condition described in ver. 7, which begins in the most comprehensive manner, and closes in the same way: "*Your country—a waste! your cities—burned with fire! your arable land—before your eyes strangers are devouring it, and a desert like an overthrowing by strangers.*" Caspari (in his *Beiträge zur Einl. in das Buch Jesaja*, p. 204) has pointed out how nearly every word here corresponds to the threatenings of a curse in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. (xxix.). The designation given by the prophet to the foes who have devastated the country reduced its cities to ashes, and seized its harvest, is simply זָרִים, "strangers," or barbarians (cf. Festus: *hostis apud antiquos peregrinus dicebatur*), without mentioning their nationality. He abstracts from the historic definiteness of the present, in order the more impressively to show that it bears the character of the curse which was predetermined. The climactic expression for this is, that—as stated in the noun-clause at the end of ver. 7, which goes back to repeat what was previously said—there has been wrought a desolation, כְּמַהפָּחֵת זָרִים, "like an overthrow of foreigners." This emphatic repetition of a catchword in a verse, seen here in the case of זָרִים, is a figure of speech (called *epanaphora*) common to the two halves of the collection: Ewald, Studer, Lagarde, and Cheyne, reading כְּמַהפָּחֵת זָרִים, mistake this peculiarity of Isaiah's writings. It is a question, however, whether, with Caspari, Knobel, and Nägelsbach, זָרִים is to be taken as a subjective genitive, in which case the clause would mean "like an overthrow such as barbarians usually cause;" or whether we should, with Hitzig, Luzzatto, and others, regard the word as an objective genitive, and render the expression, "like an overthrow such as is wont to befall barbarians." As כְּמַהפָּחֵת, in conformity with the primary passage in Deut. xxix. 22, in all other places where it occurs, designates the overthrow of Sodom, Gomorrah, etc. (xiii. 19; Amos iv. 11; Jer. l. 40), that was accomplished by God, and seeing that Isaiah also, as ver. 8 shows, has this catastrophe in his mind, we decide for the view that זָרִים, like רָשָׁעִים in Prov. xii. 7, is the objective

genitive: this view is further rendered more probable by the form of the noun, which points to a state or condition rather than an action (cf. מְרִיבָה, מְרִיבָה, מְרִיבָה); in this way also the ׀, marking the comparison, becomes more significant. The prophet means to say that the desolation which has befallen the country of the people of God is like such complete ruin (*subversio*) as God sends on nations which stand outside of the covenant-relation (cf. Eph. ii. 14), and which, like the people of the Pentapolis, are utterly destroyed by Him, leaving no trace behind.

But, as declared in vers. 8, 9, there is merely similarity, not identity. Jerusalem is still preserved, but in how sad a condition! There is no doubt that in ver. 8 "the daughter of Zion" means Jerusalem. The genitive in the expression בְּתִלְכָּהּ is that of apposition, so that "daughter of Zion" is equivalent to "daughter Zion;" cf. בְּתִלְכָּהּ בְּתִלְכָּהּ, xxxvii. 22, where annexion comes in twice, instead of apposition (Ges. § 128. 2d). Zion itself is represented as a daughter, i.e. as a woman. Such is the name applied, first of all, to the townspeople dwelling round the fortress of Zion, to which the individual inhabitants of the city are related as children to their mother, inasmuch as the community sees its members from time to time coming into existence and growing up, and those who are thus born within her are, as it were, born of her and brought up by her; but, in the next instance, the name is also applied to the city itself, either including or excluding (cf. Jer. xlvi. 19, xlviii. 18; Zech. ii. 11) the inhabitants,—here, however, as shown in ver. 9, these are included. This is precisely the point of the first two comparisons. "*And the daughter of Zion is left remaining like a booth in a vineyard, like a night-hut in a cucumber-field.*" The vineyard and the cucumber field are considered by the prophet in their condition before the harvest (not *after*, as the Targums represent it), during which they need to be watched; hence the point of the comparison is this, that throughout the vineyard and the cucumber field not a single human being is to be seen, and that nothing but the booth and the night hut¹ show, nevertheless, that such a being has his abode here.

¹ The picture of "a lodge in a garden of cucumbers," in Thomson's *Land and the Book*, shows four poles covered above with boughs, and with

So stands Jerusalem in the midst of a far-reaching desolation, —a sign, however, that the country was not wholly depopulated.

But what is the meaning of the third of the comparisons? Hitzig renders, "like a watch-tower;" Knobel, "like a guard-city;" Reuss (who, however, would rather expunge the words, which he considers a gloss), "comme un lieu de garde;" but though **נֹצֵר** may mean a guard, a watch, **נֹצֵר** cannot mean a tower. And for the rendering which most readily presents itself, "like a guarded city" (*i.e.* a city preserved from danger), the **כִּי** of comparison is unsuitable. Nor is it admissible to take the first two **כִּי** in the sense of *sicut*, and the third in the sense of *sic*; for this correlative **כִּי** is usual only in clauses indicating identity, not in those properly signifying comparison. Weir's conjecture, that the reading should be **כִּי נֹצֵר בְּרִצָּה** (Prov. xxv. 28; 2 Chron. xxxii. 5), is ingenious: this would make the clause mean "like a city (with walls) broken through,"—hence, defenceless; but there is no need for this conjecture. We translate, "like a blockaded city," deriving **נֹצֵר** here, as in Prov. vii. 10, from **נָצַר**,—not, with Luzzatto, from **נָצַר**, *Ni. נָצַר*, fem. **נֹצֵרָה** (which is not in use, and, moreover, in this obscured feminine form, cannot be proved to exist; see Stade, § 78a), and after the LXX., with Strachey, rendering the words "like a besieged city." **נֹצֵר** signifies to observe with keen eye (*cf.* **נֹצֵר**, and **נָצַר**, *observe*, with **נָצַר**, *custodire*), with good intention, or (as in Job vii. 20)

with hostile design; it may thus, like the synonymous terms in 2 Sam. xi. 16, Jer. v. 6, be used of the investment of a city. Jerusalem was not actually blockaded when the prophet uttered his predictions, but it was just like a blockaded city, inasmuch as between such a town and the blockading enemy there is a desolate and uninhabited space, in the midst of which the city lies in silence and solitude, shut up within itself. The citizens do not venture forth; while the enemy, on account of the missiles of the citizens, do not hazard an approach into the near vicinity of the walls; in the suburbs a floor for the watcher, raised somewhat above the ground: the whole thus forms a hut open on all sides. A fuller description is given by Wetzstein in our *Commentary on Job* (2nd edition), p. 348.

everything has been laid waste, partly by the citizens, that the enemy may not find anything useful,—partly by the enemy, who, for instance, fell the trees. Thus, in spite of all the joy that might be felt at the preservation of Jerusalem, the city wears a cheerless aspect; it looks as if it were in a state of blockade. That we must explain the passage in this way, with Caspari, is shown by Jer. iv. 16 f., where the actual storming of Jerusalem is predicted, and the enemy—probably with reference to this comparison by Isaiah (see Hitzig on the passage in Jeremiah)—are called נָצִירִים.

For the present, Israel has still been spared the worst: the omnipotence of God has graciously prevented it. "*Unless Jehovah of Hosts had left us a little of what escaped, we should have become as Sodom, we should be like Gomorrah,*" ver. 9. שָׂרִיד (for which the LXX. and Rom. ix. 29, with a regard to vi. 13, has σπέρμα) is also in Deut. ii. 34, etc., what escapes by flight from defeat and destruction: and, according to the accents, בְּקָעַם is to be taken with שָׂרִיד, so that these two words will mean "an escaped remnant, which is nothing more than a trifle:" on this noun-use of קָעַם, cf. xvi. 14; 2 Chron. xii. 7; Prov. x. 20; Ps. cv. 12. Looking at Ps. lxxxi. 14 f., cf. Job xxxii. 32 (where the conditional clause is easily supplied), one might be inclined to place בְּקָעַם in the apodosis, and render it "we would almost . . .;" but considering the accentuation actually before us, the inference is more strictly logical. The designation יהוה צבאות occupies a strongly emphatic position in the front. It would have been all over with Israel long ago but for the compassion of God (cf. Hos. xi. 8); and because it is the omnipotence of God which set in motion the will of His compassion, He is called יהוה צבאות, "Jehovah (the God of) the heavenly hosts,"—a title in which צבאות is a governed genitive,—not, as Cheyne and Luzzatto think, in accordance with the analogy of אֱלֹהִים, an independent name of God.¹ The prophet says "us" and "we:" he is himself an inhabitant of Jerusalem; and even if he had not been such, he is, nevertheless, an Israelite:

¹ That צבאות does not indicate the hosts of Israel (which was the view of R. José in *Shabuoth* 35b), but the powers of nature subject to God, I think I have shown in the essay, *Der Gottesname Jahve Zebaoth*, in the *Luther. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 217 ff.

he therefore associates himself with his nation, like Jeremiah in Lam. iii. 22. As he has come to experience the wrath of God along with them, so he now also celebrates the mighty compassion of God which he has experienced with them. But for this compassion, the people of God would have become like Sodom, from which only four human beings escaped: they would have been like Gomorrah, which was utterly annihilated.

The address of the prophet has now reached a resting-point. That it is here divided into two sections is shown even to the eye by the space left between vers. 9 and 10. The prophet pauses after he has declared that nothing but divine compassion for Israel has prevented the utter destruction it has well deserved. He hears in spirit the remonstrance of his audience. They would fain represent the accusations which he had just uttered as unfounded, by appealing to their exact observance of the divine law; but in opposition to this ground of self-vindication which the prophet has read out of the hearts of those impeached, he but proceeds to prove the divine arraignment, which he begins in vers. 10, 11: "*Hear the word of Jehovah, ye Sodom-judges! listen to the law of our God, O Gomorrah-nation! For what purpose is the multitude of your slain offerings to me? saith Jehovah. I am sated with burnt-offerings of rams, and the suet of fatted calves; and the blood of bullocks and lambs and he-goats, I do not like.*" The second attack in the prophet's address begins, like the first in ver. 2, with "hear ye!" and "listen!" The summons to hear is in this instance (just as in the case of Isaiah's contemporary, Micah,—chap. iii.)

addressed to the קְצִיִּים (from קָצָה, قَضَى, *decidere*, with the noun-ending קִי, see *Jeshurun*, p. 212 ff.), i.e. men with decisive authority, the rulers in the fullest sense, and to the people who are subject to them. It is of the mercy of God that Jerusalem still exists, for Jerusalem is πνευματικῶς Σόδομα, as is said regarding Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (xi. 8), with reference to this passage in Isaiah. According to Ezek. xvi. 49, pride, the lust of the flesh, and want of mercy were the chief sins of Sodom; and of these, the rulers of Jerusalem and the multitude subject to them and worthy of

them were not less guilty now. But they think they do not by any means stand in such disfavour with God, because outwardly they render satisfaction to the law. The prophet, therefore, summons them to hear the law of the God of Israel which he wishes to declare to them,—for the prophets were called to be the expounders of the law, and to announce what was truly the will and good pleasure of God; and what He requires is, not external acts of worship with no corresponding homage of heart, not ceremonial performances at all in the first instance, but freedom from sin and a course of life that flows from obedience to Him and loving sympathy with other men. “For what purpose is the multitude of your slain-offerings to me? saith Jehovah.” The prophet purposely says **זֶבְחֵי**, not **זֶבַח**, to indicate that what he declares is the constant language of God in opposition to the heartless show of reverence and the hypocritical ceremonial righteousness of Israel. The multitude of **זֶבְחֵי**, i.e. sacrifices of animals which they slaughtered, has no value in His eyes. As the whole worship is here examined in detail, **זֶבְחֵי** appears to denote the **שְׁלָמִים**, i.e. the “peace-offerings” or communion-offerings, with which a meal was associated, for Jehovah vouchsafed to the offerer a share in the enjoyment of what he offered. But it is better to take **זֶבְחֵי** as a general name for the bloody sacrifices, which are then divided into **עֹלֹת** and **חֻלְבֵּי**; for they are partly whole-offerings, which are wholly (though piece by piece) laid on the altar and there consumed by fire, and partly those sacrifices of which only the pieces of fat were burned on the altar, viz. sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, and especially peace-offerings. Of the sacrificial animals mentioned, **בָּקָרִים** (bullocks) and **מִרְיָאִים** (fatted calves) are species of **בָּקָר** (large cattle), while **כִּבְשִׁים** (lambs) and **עֲזֵי־הָרִים** (young he-goats as distinguished from **שְׁעִיר**, the older long-haired he-goat, the animal taken as a sin-offering) together with the **אַיִל** (ram; the usual whole-offering of the high priest, the tribe-prince, and the nation on all high feast-days) are species of **צֶמֶד** (smaller cattle). The blood of these sacrificial animals (such as, for example, the young bullocks, sheep, and he-goats) was, in accordance with the requirement of the law, dashed against the altar round about, in the case of the whole-offering, the peace-offering, and the trespass-offering; in the case

of the sin-offering, it was smeared on the horns of the altar, poured out at the foot of the altar, and in some instances sprinkled on the side of the altar or towards the vessels of the inner sanctuary. With such offerings Jehovah is sated, and no longer cares for them. (The two perfects here indicate what has long been and still is going on at present.)

What Jeremiah (vii. 22) says of sacrifices—that God never properly wished them—Isaiah now says, in ver. 12, regarding visits to the temple: “*When ye come to appear before my face, who hath asked this at your hand,—to tread my courts?*” לִרְאוֹת is a contracted infinitive Niphal for לְהִרְאוֹת, as in Ex. xxxiv. 24; Deut. xxi. 11; cf. the similarly contracted Hiphil forms in iii. 8, xxiii. 11; on the other hand, לִעֲשֹׂה in Deut. xxvi. 12 = לַעֲשֹׂה (cf. Neh. x. 39); as מְהִלְכֵּךְ, Dan. ii. 35, iv. 34 = מִהִלְכֵּךְ. נִרְאוּ פְנֵי יְהוָה is the standing expression for the appearing of all male Israelites in the temple, in accordance with the law, at the three great feasts, but it also came to be used in speaking of visiting the temple generally (cf. Ps. xlii. 3, lxxxiv. 8). According to Ewald (§ 279c), מִנִּי indicates the subject connected with the passive verb (“to be seen by the face of God”); but why is it not rather a local accusative with prepositional meaning, “before the face of” (as Nägelsbach thinks), seeing that it is used interchangeably with the prepositions לְ, אֵת, and אֶל? It is probable that לִרְאוֹת has thus been pointed here and in Ex. xxxiv. 24, Deut. xxi. 11, instead of לְרְאוֹת (like לִרְאוֹת, Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20, instead of לַרְאוֹת), in order to avoid speaking of “seeing God,”—an expression which is so apt to be misunderstood as meaning a vision with the eye of sense (cf. Ex. xxiv. 11, LXX. ὁφθαλμοσυν); unquestionably, however, the Niphal perfect stands in xvi. 12; 1 Sam. i. 22; and also לִרְאוֹת (not לַרְאוֹת) in Ex. xxiii. 17; moreover, the expression, “to see the face of God,” i.e. of Him who reveals Himself in His sanctuary, is not opposed to the religious ideas of the Old Testament, Ps. xi. 7, xxvii. 4; and in the Mishna, appearing before God at the great feasts is called רְאוֹתָהּ and רְאוֹתָיו (*Hagiga* i. 1; *Plä* i. 1). Cheyne considers that the expression “to see the face of God” is a remnant of the old Semitic worship of God by means of sensible figures which has been transferred to the language of revealed religion: this is possible, but there is no proof that

such transition has actually occurred. Those whom Jehovah here addresses through His prophet certainly visit the temple diligently; but who has required this of their hand (i.e. asked this performance from them)? Jehovah certainly has not. "To tread my courts" stands in apposition with "this," which it more closely defines. Jehovah has not desired them to appear before Him; He has not asked for this lifeless and undevotional tramping thither (vii. 25, xxvi. 6; Ezek. xxvi. 11), this senseless *opus operatum*, which would better be left unperformed, as it merely desecrates the holy places, by wearing out the floors for no purpose.

Because they do not perform what Jehovah has commanded, as He has commanded it, He directly forbids them in ver. 13 to go on: "*Continue not to bring lying meat-offerings: abomination-incense is it to me.*" It is but rarely that קִטְוֶה denotes an offering in general (Gen. iv. 3-5; 1 Sam. ii. 17, xxvi. 19); here, however, as throughout Malachi, the "meat-offering" (meal-offering) is meant, as is shown by the more specific term קִטְוֶה following, which, without such an addition as is made in Ps. lxvi. 15, cannot be understood in the same way as the expression in the law, הִקְטִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (to consume in smoke upon the altar). The meat-offering of the people of Jerusalem is called קִטְוֶה שְׁנִי (the second noun being derived from שָׁוָה = שָׁוָה, to be waste, desolate, and of like form with קִטְוֶה), as being a lifeless and hypocritical performance, having behind it nothing of the mental disposition which it appears to express (cf. Job xxxv. 13). In the second half of the verse the LXX., Jerome, Gesenius, Umbreit, Knobel, and Nägelsbach translate thus: "incense,—it is an abomination to me,"—the term "incense" being here used as the name of what was offered daily on the golden altar of the Holy Place (Ex. xxx. 8). But in no place where the prophets denounce heartless ceremonial worship is mention made of the offering of incense by the priests, and in any case it is more simple and natural to take קִטְוֶה, not as a bare absolute case, but—what is quite allowable—in conformity with the *Darga* marking it, as a construct. The meat-offering is called "incense" because of the so-called "memorial" (זִכָּרֹה), i.e. that portion of it which brought the grateful offerer in remembrance before God, and which the priest burned on the

altar,—an act which was called *הַקְטִיר אֶמְבֹּרֶתָהּ* (see Lev. ii. 2; cf. Jer. xxxiii. 18); with this “memorial” also there was regularly combined incense, which was wholly—not merely in part—burned on the altar. The meat-offering, with its sweet odour, is merely the form in which gratitude for God’s blessing, and earnest prayerful desire for this, manifest themselves; but in the case of these worshippers, there was only the form, without the inner spirit; the form with which they thought they have satisfied God is empty, and therefore an abomination to Him.

As little pleasure has God in their punctilious observance of the feasts: “*New moon and Sabbath, the calling of an assembly—I cannot bear iniquity and a festal crowd.*” The first object-ideas, which are logically governed by *לֹא-אֵיכָל* (properly the imperf. Hophal, “I am unable,” viz. to bear,—an ellipsis which must be supplied in the same way as in Pa. ci. 5; Jer. xlv. 23; Prov. xxx. 21), become absolute cases, inasmuch as *לֹא-אֵיכָל* assumes another and a different object in the following *אֶת תְּעִירָהּ*. When three things are enumerated, the conjunction is readily dropped by the third, and stands only with the second: see also Deut. xxix. 22; Pa. xlv. 9; Job xlii. 9; Eccles. vii. 26. As to new moon and Sabbath (which, when joined with *שַׁבָּת*, always signifies the weekly Sabbath), and generally the convocation of assemblies of the whole community on the weekly Sabbath and high festivals, as required in Lev. xxiii.,—Jehovah cannot endure a festival associated with wickedness. *תְּעִירָהּ* (from *עָצַר*, to press, squeeze together) is synonymous with *סִקְרָהּ*, as shown by comparing Jonah i. 14 with 2 Kings x. 20, to which it is related in the same way as *πανήγυρις* to *ἐκκλησία*; ¹ and *נֶפֶשׁ* (from *נָפַח*, to breathe) is moral vileness, as the utter absence of all that has essence and value in God’s sight. These two nouns are purposely placed together by the prophet. A closely packed festive gathering, and inward barrenness and emptiness on the part of those assembled,—this is a contradiction that God cannot endure.

¹ In the language of the law, the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35) and the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Deut. xvi. 8) is called *תְּעִירָהּ*, not from *עָצַר*, *cohibere*, *claudere*, but *constipare* (cf. Jer. ix. 1).

In ver. 14 He gives still stronger expression to His aversion: "*Your new moons and your festal seasons my soul hates; they have become a burden to me; I am weary of bearing them.*" As the soul of man, viewed as the bond between his spiritual and his bodily life, is, though not the principle of his self-consciousness, yet the centre from which he draws the circle of this self-consciousness, in order to comprehend the sum-total of his whole being, and attach it to the thought of himself as a person; so—to take a designation from man who has been made in the image of God—the "soul" of God, as indicated by נַפְשׁוֹ, is the centre of His being, encircled and penetrated by self-consciousness: hence, whatever the soul of God hates (cf. Jer. xv. 1) or loves (xlii. 1), that He hates or loves in the inmost depths and in the whole extent of His being. (See *Bibl. Psychology*, p. 258 of Eng. transl.) Thus He hates each and all of the festivals that are kept in Jerusalem; the beginnings of the months and the מועדים ("appointed feasts,"—here, as in Ezra iii. 5, applied to all the feasts on which, or on the most solemn days of which, a "holy convocation" took place) during the course of the month. These have long been to Him, who bears them, a burden, לִבְרָח (לִבְרָח being synonymous with נִשְׁאָה, Deut. i. 12), so that He can no longer endure them; His patience is tired of such religious service. נִשְׂאָה (in Isaiah, found also in xviii. 3, for נִשְׂאָה or נִשְׂאָה, and here for נִשְׂאָה) has for its object the festal celebrations mentioned. Like the great variety of offerings, this variety of sacred seasons (cf. Hos. ii. 13) presupposes the existence of a law of correspondingly large extent.

Their self-righteousness, inasmuch as it rested on sacrifice and observance of feasts, is now put to shame; in ver. 15 the last and innermost bulwark of the seemingly holy nation was destroyed: "*And when ye stretch out your hands, I hide mine eyes from you: even when you pray much, I do not hear,—your hands are full of blood.*" Even their prayer is an abomination to God. Prayer is something common to man; it is the interpreter of religious thought and feeling, coming as a mediator between God and men; it is spiritual sacrifice. The law does not command prayer; apart from Deut. xxvi., it contains no form of prayer: but prayer is so natural to man as such that there was no need of any precept for this fundamental

expression of our relation to God. Hence the prophet comes to prayer last of all, in order to reduce to its nonentity their self-righteousness, which is rotten even to this last foundation.

פָּרַח (= فرش, صرّف) or Piël פָּרַח פָּרַח (used in xxv. 11 of swimming), here with *i* instead of *e* in a closed syllable, as in xxv. 1, lii. 12, etc., is the gesture of one in prayer, who spreads out his hands (the expression nowhere means "to break the hands" = wrestle), and stretches them, thus spread out, upwards to heaven or the Most Holy Place in the temple; moreover,—as if under a feeling of emptiness and need, and through the desire to receive God's gifts,—it is the inner surfaces of the hands, כַּפַּיִם (cf. *tendere palmas*, e.g. in Virgil's *Æneid*, xii. 196, *tenditque ad sidera palmas*), that are held up, though often enough כַּף is interchanged with the word. If they stand before Him in this suppliant attitude, or lie upon the ground, Jehovah hides His eyes, i.e. His omniscience wants to know nothing of this; and though they pray ever so much and so long (כִּי בָּרַח, *etiamsi*; cf. the simple כִּי in Jer. xiv. 12), He is as if He were deaf to it all. We would now expect a כִּי to introduce the ground or reason; but the more excited the speaker is, so much the more brief and disconnected is his speech. The plural כַּפַּיִם always denotes human blood shed, especially by force, and then also the bloody deed and blood-guiltiness itself; the plural points neither to the quantity nor to the separate drops, but is rather plural of the product, like חַיִּים, מַצִּי, etc. For the sake of emphasis the dreadful כַּפַּיִם stands before its governing verb שָׁחַת, which points to many acts of murder committed, and deeds of violence resembling these. Blood did not indeed actually adhere to their hands stretched out in prayer; but before God, from whom no outward show conceals the true nature of things, they drip with blood, though washed ever so clean.

The protest of the people against the accusations of God has now been given negatively in vers. 11–15; their work-righteous worship, defiled through unrighteous deeds and even murder itself, Jehovah will not have. The divine arraignment is next proved positively also, in vers. 16, 17, where the true righteousness which the accused had not is opposed to the false righteousness of which they boast.

Overwhelming denunciation here changes into hortatory appeal, and already there is proclaimed the love that is concealed behind the wrath, and would gladly break through. There are eight exhortations. The first three refer to the removal of evil, the other five to the performance of what is good.

The first three verses run thus: ver. 16, "*Wash yourselves, purify yourselves; remove the evil of your deeds from before mine eyes; cease to do evil.*" This is not merely an advance from figurative language to the most literal, it is also an advance even on what has been already declared. The first exhortation requires first of all, and above all, purification from the sins that have been committed, through forgiveness sought and obtained. וַיִּטְהַר is here used in the frequent middle sense, *λούεσθαι*; and וַיִּטְהַר, with the tone on the final syllable, is not the Niphal from וַיִּטְהַר (for the 2nd pers. plural imperat. Niphal of verbs עץ usually and naturally has the tone on the penult, see lii. 11, xvii. 10), but the Hithpaël from וַיִּטְהַר, for וַיִּטְהַר, with the same assimilation of the preformative *h* as in the Hithpaël וַיִּטְהַר (= *errōmām*), xxxiii. 10. In conformity with the difference between the two synonyms (to wash one's self, to purify one's self), the former is to be referred to the great act of repentance on the part of one who returns to God, the latter to the daily repentance of one who is converted. The second exhortation requires that they shall place themselves in the light of God's countenance, and put away the evil of their deeds that cannot be endured by pure eyes (Hab. i. 13). They are to wrestle against and overcome the vicious disposition to which actual sin had grown, that it may at last wholly disappear. According to its root-idea, וַיִּנָּק (from וַיִּנָּק, *נָקַד*, to be elevated, opp. *נָגַד*, to be depressed, sunk) signifies prominence (cf. Arab. *négd*, elevated country, visible from afar), conspicuousness, so that וַיִּנָּק is thus properly equivalent to *e conspectu*, as וַיִּנָּק is *in conspectu*: regarding וַיִּנָּק, see under iii. 4.

The five exhortations pointing to the practice of what is good, are in ver. 17: "*Learn to do good, take an interest in judgment, set the oppressor right, pronounce the sentence of the orphan, plead the cause of the widow.*" The first exhortation is the fundamental one: they are to learn to do good,—a

difficult art in which one does not become a master merely through good intentions. The inf. absol. הִיטִיב is regarded as the accusative of the לָכֵר; and הִרָץ in ver. 16 (for which we might also have לְהִרָץ) similarly takes the place of the object: such employment of this infinitive as a noun is not very rare, see vii. 15 f., xlii. 54, lvii. 20; Jer. ix. 4. That this primary exhortation now branches out into four minor ones referring to the administration of justice, is accounted for by the fact that no other prophet directs so keen an eye upon affairs of state and judicial proceedings as Isaiah. In this respect he differs from his younger contemporary Micah, whose character is more generally ethical, while Isaiah's is largely political. Hence the exhortations: "apply yourselves to judgment,"—הִרָץ signifying to devote one's self zealously and carefully to a thing; then: "bring the oppressor to the right way." So we must render the words; for הָטֹן (from הָטָן, to be sharp in taste, dazzling in appearance, violent or furious in disposition) cannot well mean him who is oppressed, injured in his rights, as most of the old translators have rendered it (LXX. ἀδικούμενον, Targ. רַאֲנִים, "who is oppressed"). The form קָטֹל certainly may have a stative meaning closely connected with the passive, and marking a high degree (as shown by הָטֹר, "provided with a girdle," in relation to הָטָר, "girded;" plur. הָטָרִי, Ezek. xxxiii. 15); but more frequently it has an active sense, like הָטֹן (see ver. 31), בָּטֹר, Jer. iii. 7, 10; עָשֹׂן, Jer. xxii. 3, and the Qamez is then unchangeable (hence fem. בָּטֹרִית), after the manner of the Arabic form فاعول (fā'ūl). Such is the meaning here; for the Piél אָשִׁר signifies neither to make happy nor to strengthen (Luzzatto renders *rianimate chi è oppresso*),—nor is the latter its meaning in the Talmud, where it rather signifies to confirm or ratify,—but either to pronounce a person happy or fortunate (the verb being in this case a denominative from אָשִׁר, אָשִׁר, like μακαρίζω), a meaning which is quite unsuitable here; or, as in iii. 2, ix. 15 (cf. Prov. xxiii. 19), to lead in the right way; or, to make any one keep the straight course. In this way, then, הָטֹן will have the intensified signification of הָטֹן, Ps. lxxi. 4, i.e. it will mean a violent, regardless, heartless man; and אָשִׁר הָטֹן will signify, "show the violent man the way of righteousness:" the

expression does not point so much to punishment and rendering harmless, as to correction and improvement, Ps. lxxii. 4.¹ Next follow two exhortations referring to widows and orphans: these, with the stranger, are under very special protection, the objects of care by God and His law; see Ex. xxii. 21, cf. 20. "Pronounce the sentence of the orphan" (שָׁפֵט, as in Deut. xxv. 1, is abbreviated from 'שָׁפֵט כְּשֹׁפֵט ב'); for, if no decision and verdict is pronounced in their case, this is the most outrageous unrighteousness, inasmuch as not even the form and appearance of justice are preserved. "Plead the cause of the widow," the imperative רִיב, with the accusative of a person (a construction which is further found only in li. 22), is a condensed expression for 'רִיב רִיב ב', to plead and maintain the cause of any one. Thus the reasonings adduced in self-defence by the hearts of the accused are refuted, both negatively and positively. They are thunderstruck and put to shame. The law announced in ver. 10 has been preached to them. The prophet has thrown aside the husks of their dead works, and revealed the moral kernel of the law in its universal application to all mankind.

Jehovah has been addressing His people in anger, but even in the exhortations of vers. 16, 17 His love had begun to move. This love, which seeks not the destruction of Israel, but their inward and outward salvation, now breaks forth in ver. 18: "*Come now, and let us reason together, saith Jehovah: if your sins come out like scarlet clothes, they shall become white like snow: if they be red like crimson, they shall come out like wool.*" Cheyne translates: "let us bring our dispute to an end," and thus interprets away the offer of free grace, but without giving any reason for the possibility of this rendering. Wellhausen also sets it aside by taking the latter part of ver. 18 as a question ("If . . . should they become white?"). But it is always a very precarious makeshift to regard such clauses as questions without any interrogatory sign, when there is no necessity for a resort to this expedient; the Hiphil חִקִּיָּה certainly may signify to

¹ It is an instructive fact, throwing light on the meaning of the word, that in the Talmud (*Joma* 39b) a person who had usurped not merely his own inheritance but that of another, bore the nickname of חִמְצָן through life.

"decide;" the Niphal נִכַּח, however, does not mean to "bring a lawsuit to an end," but to carry on litigation with another, Job xxiii. 7 (in post-Biblical Hebrew, הִתְנַחֵחַ), syn. נִשְׁחַח, xliii. 26. In this litigation it will be made clear that no kind of guilt lies on the side of Jehovah, but that the righteousness which Israel could vindicate for themselves is but a semblance of righteousness, and this seeming righteousness, properly regarded, is blood-stained unrighteousness. It is assumed that the investigation can have no other result than this; hence Israel is worthy of death. Jehovah, however, does not wish to deal with Israel in accordance with His retributive justice, but according to His free mercy and compassion (cf. the expression pointing to "grace alone" in xliii. 25, and further, Micah vii. 18 f.). He is willing to remit the punishment, and not merely to regard the sin as if it were not, but even to change it into its opposite. Sin of the brightest red dye is by His grace to become the purest white. On the two Hiphils indicating colour, see Gesen. § 53. 2, where the signification was formerly stated to be, to assume a colour, or rather to give out (or emit rays of) colour, —not *colorem accipere*, but *colorem dare*. שָׁנִי signifies clear or bright red (from שָׁנָה=שָׁא, to be bright, glisten), not δῖβαρον (from שָׁנָה, to do twice, viz. to dye twice; for it is in the case of purple that the double dyeing can be proved, not in the case of crimson). שָׁנִים (cf. our remarks on Prov. xxxi. 21) are not materials which have been dyed twice, but those which have been dyed with שָׁנִי, "bright red." תוֹלַעַת (here and in Lam. iv. 5), a worm = worm-dye, is the name of the same dye-stuff,—that of the crimson obtained from the coccus-insect of the *quercus coccifera* and other plants,—the *color coccineus*. In the middle books of the Pentateuch the colouring matter is called תוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי; and where mention is made of wool dyed this colour, the expression used is שָׁנִי תוֹלַעַת (Lev. xiv. ; Num. xix.): here and in Prov. xxxi. 21, שָׁנִים are scarlet clothes,—the plural from the singular which is used in the same sense in 2 Sam. i. 24, Jer. iv. 30, along with which תוֹלַעַת (worm-dyed cloth) is employed.¹ Jerome has translated

¹ The later name, found only in the Chronicles, is כֶּרְמִיל (from the Persian *kirm*, *kirin*), Rom. *carmin*, *carminio*; see my essay on red dye-stuffs
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the term correctly; but Luther, in order to give it a more popular turn, has "rose-colour;" the red of the rose, indeed, represents all the shades of red from a pale red to a dull and almost dark red to a fiery red, but the rose is unsuitable in the present passage. The representation of the work of grace, which God promises, as a change from red to white, is founded on the symbolism of colours, quite as much as when, in the Apocalypse, the garments of the saints are said to be of a bright white (xix. 8), while the clothing of Babylon is purple and scarlet (xvii. 4). Red, and this of a scarlet hue (*i.e.* bright red, or yellowish red), is the colour of fire, of anger, and therefore also of sin: white is the colour of light, of grace, of righteousness and holiness. White and scarlet are correlated as light and fire. Fiery red is the colour of sin, as the selfish, greedy, passionate life, which goes out of itself in order to destroy: sin is called red, inasmuch as its nature consumes and destroys the man in whom it dwells, and when it breaks forth, also consumes other men. According to the Biblical view, sin and piety, anger and love or grace are mutually related as fire and light, hence as red and white, or also as black and white; for red is the colour of the fire that shines up out of the darkness and returns into it, while white, without any mixture of darkness, sets forth the pure, absolute triumph of light. What we read here in Isaiah is a deeply significant symbolical representation of the act of justification. Jehovah offers Himself to Israel for the performance of a forensic act, out of which, though the people have merited death on account of their sins, they are to go forth justified by grace. The righteousness, white as snow and wool, with which Israel goes forth, is a gift which, without being conditioned by the performance of a legal requirement, becomes theirs through pure compassion displayed towards them.

But after Israel has been completely restored to its former state through such an act of grace, the conduct of the people, of course, comes into consideration, not, however (as Cheyne thinks), as the condition on the fulfilment of which the pro-

in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft*, xvii. 676 ff., and the article "Colours in the Bible" in Herzog's *Cyclopaedia* (English translation, edited by Schaff, vol. i. p. 514 f.), also my "Iris: Studies in Colour and Talks about Flowers" (English translation, Edinburgh 1889).

mised change would take place, but as prospectively, its morally certain and necessary result. According as Israel accepts the proffered grace of God and afterwards acts in accordance therewith, Jehovah decides the future of Israel, vers. 19, 20: "*If ye will consent and hear, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye will refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword, for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it.*" If they assent to the act of grace which God offers them, and accept this discharge from the guilt of sin, then certainly there again lies before the justified once more a blessing and a curse, in the same way as the law had already announced both (in connection with ver. 19b, compare Deut. xxviii. 33 f.; Lev. xxvi. 3 ff.; and on the threat of the avenging sword in 20b, see Lev. xxvi. 25). The promise speaks of eating, viz. the enjoyment of abundant domestic blessings, and thus points to settled and peaceful home-life; for here the subject of the purification from sin is not (as in Ps. li.) a person, but the nation. The opposite of this is the curse,—not of eating the sword (cf. Arab. *aʿama es-sēfa*, to give any one the sword to eat, i.e. to kill him), as Aug. Müller (*Hebr. Syntax*, Eng. transl. § 47, Rem. a) thinks, rendering, "ye shall be made to devour the sword,"—but (as אָכַל elsewhere also is a simple passive, not a causative passive of the Qal), as shown in Gesen. § 121. 3, "ye shall be devoured by the sword." חָרַב is the accusative of manner, in the sense of the means (instrumental accusative), as in Ps. xvii. 13, 14; standing in this way, without genitive or adjective or suffix (as also, e.g., in Ex. xxx. 20), this adverbial accusative is rare, and in this passage is a bold construction which the prophet allows himself to make for the sake of the paronomasia, instead of saying חָרַב הָאֲדָמָה. In the conditional clauses, the two imperfects are followed by two perfects (cf. the mode of expression in Lev. xxvi. 21, which is more consonant with our Western usage), inasmuch as obeying and rebelling equally result from an act of the will: "if ye will consent, and, in consequence of this, hear . . . if ye will refuse, and show yourselves obstinate:" we have thus here true "consecutive perfects." אָכַל, which is elsewhere used fifty-two times with לָא, or in a negative question (Job xxxix. 9), is used only here in a positive meaning,—perhaps to chime with כָּאֵל; like אָכַל with אָכַל.

✓ The second half of the address begins with ver. 21, and like the first it opens with the lamentation of God over the apostasy of His people. To the Piska after ver. 20 corresponds a long pause in the mind of the speaker. Will Israel tread the saving path of forgiveness of sins, now offered them, and enter on a life of new obedience, and will it thus be possible for them to be brought back by this way? Some may perhaps return, but not all; hence the divine address becomes a mournful complaint. So peaceful a solution of the discord between Jehovah and His children is not to be hoped for; Jerusalem is far too deeply depraved. *"How is she become a harlot, the faithful citadel,—she that was full of judgment, and wherein righteousness used to lodge,—but now murderers!"* The keynote here sounded is that of an elegy. **איכה** (properly, "how thus?"—for **אי** gives an interrogative sense to demonstrative words), only seldom in the shortened form **אי**, is an expression indicative at once of complaint and astonishment. This longer form, more like a sigh, is a word characteristic of the **קִינָה** or lamentation; thus, while the Lamentations of Jeremiah begin with **איכה**, and receive their usual designation (in Hebrew) from this word,—on the other hand, the shorter **אי**, used in mocking complaints, is a word characteristic of the **מִשָּׁל** or proverb, see xiv. 4, 12; Micah ii. 4. From this word, which gives the keynote, everything runs on softly, fully, evenly, and slowly, in the manner peculiar to an elegy. That such forms, moreover, as **מִלֵּאָחִי** for **מִלֵּאָחַי** (on the so-called "Hirek compaginis," see the introduction to Ps. cxvi.), softened through lengthening, are adapted for elegiac productions, is at once evident from the first verse of the Lamentations, which begin with the elegiac keynote struck by Isaiah. Jerusalem was formerly **קִרְיָה נְאֻמָּה**, a faithful city, i.e. one that steadfastly adhered to the alliance of Jehovah with her (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 37). This alliance was a marriage-alliance; but she has broken it and has thereby become a **זוֹנָה**, "harlot,"—a prophetic view, the outlines of which have already been given in the Pentateuch, Israel's worship of idols being there called a whoring after them, e.g. in the law of the two tables, Ex. xxxiv. 16; Num. xiv. 33, etc. (in all, seven passages); cf. Ps. xvi. 4, lxxiii. 27. It is not merely gross outward idolatry, however,

that makes the Church of God a "harlot," but the defec-
 tion of the heart, however this may at any time express
 itself; for which reason Jesus also could call the generation of
 His time *γενεὰ μοιχαλὶς*, in spite of the strict worship of
 Jehovah carried on in Pharisaic spirit. For, as shown by the
 verse before us, the basis of that marriage-relation was justice
 and righteousness in the widest sense: *צדק*, i.e. a realization
 of righteousness corresponding to the will of God as positively
 made known; and *צדקה*, i.e. a righteous state of things regu-
 lated by that will, a righteous line of conduct in accordance
 with it (different from the more attributive *צדק*). Jerusalem
 was formerly full of such justice; and righteousness was not
 merely like a passing guest in the city, but she who came
 down from above had there fixed her permanent abode; there
 she used to tarry day and night, as if it were her home.
 When the prophet refers to former days, he has in his mind
 the times of David and Solomon, but especially those of
 Jehoshaphat, who (about one hundred and fifty years before
 Isaiah appeared) restored the administration of justice which
 had fallen into neglect since the latter years of Solomon and
 the days of Rehoboam and Abijah,—a point to which the
 reformation of Asa had not extended,—and who reorganized
 all in the spirit of the law. Those institutions of Jehoshaphat
 which fell into decay under his three godless successors may
 possibly have been re-established by the high priest Jehoiada
 under the rule of Joash; but even in the second half of the
 reign of Joash the administration of justice had already fallen
 once more into the fearful disorder in which—compared at
 least with the times of David and Solomon, and afterwards of
 Jehoshaphat—it still remained even in Isaiah's days. The
 whole point and weight of the complaint concentrate upon
עַתָּה, "but now," which expresses the contrast. In correct
 codices and editions (e.g. Brescia 1494) *צדקה* has not *Zakeph*,
 but *Rebia*; and *רָצָח*, which ought to have *Zakeph*, has *Tiphcha*,
 on account of the shortness of the succeeding clause. In this
 way the declaration regarding the former state of things
 is duly distinguished from that concerning the present. Formerly
 righteousness, now *רָצָח*, "murderers," and that
 too (as distinguished from *רָצָח*) by profession, who form a
 band, like King Ahab and his son Joram, 2 Kings vi. 32.

The contrast is as great as it could possibly be; for murder is the extreme opposite of righteousness, its grossest violation.

From the city generally, the complaint now turns to the rulers, and first of all is couched in figurative language, ver. 22: "*Thy silver has become dross, thy drink adulterated with water.*" This passage is the basis of other two in which like figurative language abounds, Jer. vi. 27 ff.; Ezek. xxii. 18-22. The silver represents the princes and lords, viewed with reference to the nobility of mind associated with their nobility of birth and rank; for silver—sterling silver—is a symbol of all that is noble and pure, and it is the purity of light which shows itself in it, as in the pure white of byssus and of the lily. The princes and lords formerly possessed the virtues which together are in Latin called *candor animi*,—the virtues of magnanimity, courtesy, impartiality, and freedom from the influence of bribes; now, this silver has become dross, such base metals as are separated or thrown aside (סִי, pl. סִיִּים, from סָת, to withdraw; refuse removed in smelting, dross; cf. Prov. xxv. 4, xxvi. 23). In a second figure, the leading men of Jerusalem in former days are compared to סִכְּיָה, "choice wine," such as drinkers like,—for this must have been the meaning of the word (from סִכְּיָה, to carouse, Arab. سبأ, to purchase wine for a carousal) in Isaiah's time (cf. also Nah. i. 10) among educated circles. This pure, strong, and costly wine is now adulterated with water (*castratum*, according to Pliny's expression in his *Natural History*; cf. *jugulare Falernum*, in Martial, i. 18), or weakened; i.e. through this addition, its strength and flavour are diminished. The present is but the dregs and the shadow of the past.

In ver. 23 the prophet explains himself; he repeats in plain language what has been already stated under a figure: "*Thy rulers are rebellious, and associates of thieves; every one loves a bribe, and hunts after payments; the orphan they judge not, and the cause of the widow has no access to them.*" The utter and contemptible meanness of the rulers (שָׂרִים) of the people is here depicted by the alliterating סֹרְרִים in relation to God, "rebellious, stubborn," and by הִבְרִי הַנְּבִיִּים in relation to men, "associates of thieves," in that they allow themselves to be bought over, by a present of part of the plunder, to connive at the theft, and to deal unjustly towards those who

were robbed. Such bribes are not merely willingly (אֵהָב) accepted by them,—and that, too, by the whole body of the princes, *i.e.* every single one of them (כָּל with neuter suffix, synon. הַכָּל, all),—but they even greedily go after them (רָדַף). It is not שָׁלוֹם ("peace") they hunt after (Ps. xxxiv. 15), but שְׁלֵמִים ("payments," recompense for their trouble; cf. שְׁלֹם, Micah vii. 3); and thus not peace, but something to satisfy their avarice and partiality.

Such is the case of Jerusalem, which will hardly enter on the path of grace opened up to it in ver. 18; Jehovah will therefore employ another means of correction (ver. 24): "*Therefore, declaration of Jehovah, of Jehovah of Hosts, of the Strong One of Israel, Ah! I shall enjoy myself on mine adversaries, and will avenge myself on mine enemies.*" Salvation through judgment is still and ever the only means of improving and preserving the congregation that takes its name from Jerusalem. Therefore Jehovah seeks to satisfy the demands of His holiness, and to sift Jerusalem through judicial dealing. Such an accumulation of divine names as occurs here is nowhere else found in Isaiah; cf. xix. 4, iii. 1, x. 33, xvi. 3, 15. The irrevocable decree concerning the sifting judgment is sealed with three names which indicate the irresistible omnipotence of God. The title אֱבִיר יִשְׂרָאֵל, "the Mighty One of Israel," is derived from Gen. xlix. 24, though the name of the nation is changed. In accordance with the deep and earnest pathos of the address, instead of אָמַר there is here used נָאָם, from נָאָם, for which the form in the Mishna is נָאָם; cognate is נָהַם, Arab. نَام, to speak softly, groan; نَم, to whisper quietly. All these verbs indicate the emission of a dull and hollow groan; hence נָאָם means that which is spoken significantly and secretly, solemnly and softly. The word occurs only in genitival connection with a following subject indicating the person who speaks, particularly in the expression נָאָם יְהוָה; it always forms a noun-clause ("declaration of Jehovah," *i.e.* Jehovah speaks). It is first found in Gen. xxii. 16; in the writings of the prophets, it is found even so early as in Obadiah and Joel, most frequently in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, usually at the end of a sentence, or parenthetically in the middle of it,—rarely, as here and in

lvi. 8 (see our commentary on Ps. cx. 1), at the beginning. The utterance commences with הָיָה, the painfulness of pity commingling with the outburst of wrath that has been determined. Along with the Niphal נָקַם ("to avenge one's self on") there stands the allied Niphal נָחַם (properly, "to console one's self"), the latter with *et*, the former (in accordance with the so-called Assyrian system of pointing) with *i* under the preformative, which is sometimes found elsewhere also, e.g. in Gen. xvi. 2, xxi. 24; Num. xxiii. 15; Ezek. xx. 36; 1 Sam. xii. 7. Jehovah is going to relieve Himself of His enemies by letting out on them the wrath that had hitherto burdened Him (Ezek. v. 13): thus does He now call the mass of the people in Jerusalem by their right name.

Ver. 25 declares wherein consists the revenge to which Jehovah has been inwardly constrained: "*And I will bring mine hand upon thee, and will smelt out thy dross as with alkali; and I will remove all thy pieces of lead.*" As long as God leaves any man's actions or sufferings alone, His hand is said to rest. יָרַח followed by עָלָה signifies the turning of the hand which has hitherto been at rest, either for punishing (Amos i. 8; Jer. vi. 9; Ezek. xxxviii. 12; Ps. lxxxi. 15), or even, though but seldom, for saving (Zech. xiii. 17) the person mentioned. Here the reference is to dealing towards Jerusalem, in which punishment and salvation are combined—the punishment as the means, salvation as the end. Jehovah's intervention is compared to a smelting which will sweep away; not Jerusalem, but the ungodly who dwell there. These are compared to dross or drossy ore, and—inasmuch as lead is removed in all refinement of silver—to those commingled pieces of lead which Jehovah will speedily and thoroughly separate כָּבַר, "like the alkali,"—the abbreviated mode of comparison, instead of כְּכַבֵּר, "as with the alkali." כְּרִילִים (from כָּרַל, to separate) are the pieces of tin or lead (lead-glance)¹ containing the silver, which, inasmuch as

¹ Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 24. 16) says that *plumbum nigrum* sometimes occurs alone, sometimes combined with silver: *ejus qui primus fuit in fornacibus liquor stannum appellatur*. What is here meant is the litharge which, in the process of obtaining silver from the lead-glance containing the precious metal, separates itself till it comes to be the so-called silver-glance. This dross, in the form of powder, is called כְּרִיל, and the pieces

all the baser metals are distinguished from the precious ones by the fact that they are combustible (oxidisable), are separated by smelting. Both **זָר**, i.e. potash (an alkali obtained from the ashes of wood and of land-plants generally), and **נָטֵר**, i.e. natron or soda (which is either mineral, or obtained from plants), which dissolves in water (see on Prov. xxv. 20), were employed from the earliest times, when one wished to extract a metal from its ore, as a means of accelerating the process of smelting. The conjecture of a different reading, **בְּכִיר** ("in the crucible"), is thus superfluous.

As the threat against Jerusalem, put in this allegorical form, does not refer to destruction, but to smelting, there is nothing strange in the fact that in ver. 26 it changes into pure promise, the meltingly soft, ardently mournful conclusion of the clauses in **יְהוָה**, which is the keynote of the later songs of Zion, being continued: "*And I will restore thy judges as in the olden time, and thy counsellors as in the beginning; afterwards thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, a faithful citadel.*" Even the threatening itself was relatively a promise, in so far as what could stand the fire in Jerusalem would survive the judgment, the specific object of which was to bring back Jerusalem to the precious metal of its true nature. But after this has been accomplished, still more than this shall also come to pass. The imperishable kernel that remains becomes the centre to which all elements of excellence are attracted,—Jerusalem again receiving from Jehovah its judges and counsellors, whom, from the time that it became the city of David and the seat of the temple, it had possessed in the best days of the kingdom,—not, indeed, the same persons, but men of like excellence. The two time-limitations have the force of accusatives attached to the predicate: "as in the beginning," i.e. of the same character as they were before. **הָרִאשֹׁנָה** signifies, in a neuter sense, what is

בְּרִיָּאִים; on the other hand, **זָרָה** is the name of the solid lead which is obtained by melting down lead-glance which does not contain silver. But that **בְּרִיָּאִים** signifies lead (*plumbum nigrum*), Zech. iv. 10, as well as tin (*plumbum album*), Num. xxi. 22, is accounted for in the same way as the homonymy of iron and basalt, oak and terebinth: the two metals are called by the same name on account of external resemblance and common properties,—softness, flexibility, colour, and specific gravity.

temporally or locally (lx. 9) the first; and the fact that, in **בְּכִלְאִשְׁתָּהּ**, a second preposition follows **בְּ**, is not without example elsewhere, as Gen. xxxviii. 24; Lev. xxvi. 37; 1 Sam. xiv. 14 (also x. 27, if we read **בְּמַחֲרָשׁ**, which is suggested by the LXX.); cf. also **בְּעַל**, Ps. cxix. 14; Isa. lix. 18, lxiii. 7. Under such divinely commissioned leaders, Jerusalem will then become what it had been, and will be what it ought to be; and the names by which the city is called are the expression of the effect produced on the minds of others through the manifestation of its true nature and character (cf. Zech. viii. 3). With Isaiah the giving of a name is the perception and recognition of the real existence of what has come into outward manifestation. The second designation applied to Jerusalem is without the article: this term **קִרְיָהּ**, of such weighty and definite purport, is never used in Isaiah with the article, and, indeed, never occurs with it anywhere except in 1 Kings i. 41, 45.

Jehovah has thus announced the course irrevocably fixed, and leading to salvation, which He will pursue with Israel: this is the leading principle of God's dealings henceforth, the law of Israel's history. Its purport, briefly and tersely put, is thus expressed in ver. 27: "*Sion will be redeemed through judgment, and her returning ones through righteousness.*" **מִשְׁפָּט** and **צְדִיקָה** are in other places called divine gifts (xxxiii. 5, xxviii. 6), lines of conduct on the part of men that are well-pleasing to God (i. 21, xxxii. 16), royal and Messianic virtues (ix. 6, vi. 3-5, xvi. 5, xxxii. 1). Here, however, the idea is not this peculiarly human one (as Cheyne thinks), but, as shown by parallel passages like iv. 4, v. 16, xxviii. 17, it is to be referred to Jehovah, and the words are to be regarded as meaning God's justice and righteousness in their primarily judicial self-fulfilment. A judgment of God the Righteous One will be the means through which Zion,—so far as it has remained faithful to Jehovah,—and those who in the midst of the judgment return (**שׁוֹבֵי**, instead of which Luther read **שְׂבִי**), will be redeemed. This judgment will fall upon sinners and sin, and will be the means of breaking that power which has restrained and impeded the nature and workings of Zion, as these were designed of God; it will further be the medium through which those who turn to Jehovah are incorporated

into His true Church. When God therefore reveals Himself in His punitive righteousness, He is working out a righteousness which is bestowed as a gift of grace on those who escape the former. The idea of "righteousness" (δικαιοσύνη) is here, as in Hos. ii. 21, on New Testament lines. In front, there is the fire of the law; behind, there is the light of the gospel. Behind the wrath is hidden love, as the ultimate motive-power, like the sun behind the thunder-clouds. Zion, as far as it is truly Zion and is becoming Zion, is redeemed; only the ungodly are destroyed, but these without mercy, as is added in ver. 28: "*But the destruction of the transgressors and sinners [shall be] together, and those who forsake Jehovah shall perish.*" In this way even the judicial aspect of the approaching act of redemption is expressed in a manner that can be understood by every one. The impassioned exclamatory clause in the first half of the verse is explained by the declamatory verb-clause of the second. מַשְׁעִים are those who in heart and in outward conduct have broken away from Jehovah; חַפְזִים are those who spend their lives in open and prevailing sins; עֲזָבֵי יְהוָה are those who have become estranged from God in one or other of these ways.

Ver. 29, beginning with an explanatory כִּי, declares how God's judgment of destruction falls upon all these: "*For they shall be ashamed of the terebinths in which ye delighted, and ye must blush because of the gardens in which ye had pleasure.*" The terebinths and gardens (this second word with the article, as in Hab. iii. 8 first בְּטֵרִים, then בְּגִנֹּתֵי) are not referred to as objects of luxury (as Hitzig and Drechsler suppose), but as unlawful places of worship (see Deut. xvi. 21) and objects of worship: both of them are frequently mentioned by the prophets with this meaning, lvii. 5, lxv. 3, lxvi. 17. חָסַד and בָּחַר are the usual verbs employed in speaking of Gentile will-worship (ἑθελωθρησκεία), as in xliv. 9, xli. 24, lxvi. 3; and בּוֹשׁ is the customary phrase for indicating the shame that comes over idolaters when the helplessness of their idols proves that they are nothing. Regarding בּוֹשׁ (to be disturbed, lose self-command) and חָסַד (to be covered over, become covered with shame), see our commentary on Ps. xxxiv. 6, xxxv. 4; cf. Wünsche on *Hosea*, i. p. 54. The LXX. and other ancient versions incorrectly render אֵלִים by εἰδωλα, though the feeling

by which they were prompted is correct: the places of worship here (cf. Jer. xlviii. 13) stand for the idols (עֲלִים, for which the form עֲלִים is never written when *Dii* is the meaning). The abrupt transition from plain statement to direct address shows how excited the prophet is here at the close of the discourse.

In this animated strain he continues; and, led by the association of ideas, he makes terebinths and gardens the future figures of the idolaters themselves. Ver. 30: "*For ye shall be like a terebinth with withered leaves, and like a garden in which there is no water.*" Their prosperity is being destroyed, and they are thus like a terebinth נִבְלֶה עֲלֶה. This last expression does not mean "withered its foliage," i.e. whose foliage is withered (for עֲלֶה is masc.), but "which is withered in its foliage"¹ (genitival construction, as in xxx. 27; see Ewald's *Syntax*, § 288c); their sources of help are dried up, and thus they resemble a garden that has no water, and is therefore waste. The terebinth (turpentine-pistacia), a native of southern and eastern Palestine, casts its leaves (which are small, and resemble those of the walnut-tree) in the autumn. In this dry and parched condition, terebinth and garden, to which the idolaters are compared, are readily inflammable. There is but needed a spark to kindle, and then they are consumed in the flames.

Ver. 31, in a third figure, shows the quarter from which this kindling spark will come: "*And the wealthy one becomes tow, and his work a spark; and both shall burn together, and no one extinguishes them.*" The form מַעֲלֵה primarily suggests a participial meaning, "he who prepares it;" but הַמְסֵךְ would be an unusual epithet to apply to the idol. Besides, the figure, on this view, becomes distorted, for certainly the natural order is that the idol is what kindles or inflames, while man is the object to be kindled,—not the converse. Hence מַעֲלֵה here means "his work" (as in the LXX, Targum,

¹ The noun עֲלֶה is a collective, and not till we come to Nehemiah do we find the plur. עֲלִים, just as it is not till we reach the post-Biblical Hebrew that a plur. מְסָכִים is formed from the collective מְסָכָה. We might have expected עֲלֶה instead of עֲלֶה,—like עֲרֶה in 2 Kings viii. 3; but such nouns from verbs לָה are mostly combined with the suffixes *shu*, *sha* (e.g. מְסָכָה for מְסָכָה, Lev. xiii. 4, xx. 25), the termination *-aj* having an influence on the choice of the suffix-form (Gesen. § 91, note 1b).

and Vulgate): the forms מַעֲלֵל and מַעֲלִיל (cf. lii. 14; Jer. xxii. 13) are two equally possible modifications of the fundamental form מַעֲלֵל (מַעֲלִיל). As ver. 29 referred to the worship of idols, מַעֲלֵל does not here mean work in the general ethical sense (as Gesenius thinks, *Thes.*), but the idol, as something made (cf. ii. 8, xxxvii. 19, etc.). The wealthy idolater, who out of the abundance of his possessions (חֵסֶךְ , xxxiii. 6) could afford gold and silver for making idols, will become tow (Talm. $\text{נְעוּרָה שֶׁל מִשְׁתָּה$, "refuse of flax," from נָעַר , to shake out, viz. in the swingling and combing; and, on the other hand, חֵסֶךְ is the Talmudic word for flax that is still uncombed and undressed), and the idol will be the spark that sets this mass of fibres on fire, so that both will burn without any possibility of being saved (regarding נֶפֶשׁ , see the remarks on iv. 4).¹ For the fire of judgment that consumes sinners does not need to come from without: sin carries within itself the fire of wrath. But the idol is the *corpus delicti*,—the sin of the idolater, as it were, set forth and embodied in visible form.

The time when this first prophetic discourse was composed is a difficult problem. Caspari, in his *Contributions*, has thoroughly examined all possible dates, and has finally decided in favour of the view that it belongs to the time of Uzziah, on the ground that vers. 7-9 do not relate to an actual, but merely to an ideal present. But this view is, and must continue to be, arbitrary. Every unprejudiced reader will receive from vers. 7-9 the impression that what is there depicted is something actually present. Moreover, during the period of Isaiah's ministry the land of Judah was actually laid waste on two occasions, on both of which Jerusalem was spared only through the miraculous protection of Jehovah,—once during the reign of Ahaz, in the year of the Syro-Ephraimitish war; and the second time during Hezekiah's reign, when the Assyrian host laid waste the country, only to be finally dashed to pieces at Jerusalem. Gesenius, Maurer, Movers, Knobel, Driver, and

¹ This חֵסֶךְ is an old Hebrew word preserved in the Mishna (*Shabbath* ii. 1). Rabbi Joseph there explains it, with reference to the present passage, $\text{כִּיתְנָה דְּרִיָּק וְלֹא נִפְּץ}$, flax which has been broken, but not yet combed; and it seems to be assumed there that Isaiah, when he calls the idolater הַחֹסֶךְ , alludes to חֵסֶךְ : "As the נְעוּרָה proceeds from the חֵסֶךְ , so will the idolatrous חֵסֶךְ become נְעוּרָה ."—(Dr. H. Ehrentreu.)

others decide in favour of the year when the Syro-Ephraimitish war took place; while Hitzig, Umbreit, Drechsler, Luzzatto, and Küper hold that the time was that of the Assyrian oppression. Whichever view we may take, there ever remains, as the test of its admissibility, the difficult question, How has this prophecy come to stand at the beginning of the book, if it belongs to the times of Uzziah and Jotham? This question we shall endeavour to answer when we reach chap. vi.

THE PATH OF GENERAL JUDGMENT, SHOWING THE COURSE OF
ISRAEL FROM FALSE TO TRUE GLORY, CHAPS. II.-IV.

The limits of this discourse cannot be mistaken. From the beginning of chap. ii. to the end of chap. iv. a complete circle is formed. After frequent changes between exhortation, reproach, and threatening, the prophet reaches the object of the promise with which he began. On the other hand, chap. v. commences with a wholly new subject, forming an independent discourse, though connected with that which precedes by the superscription in ii. 1: "*The word which Isaiah the son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.*" Chaps. ii.-v. may possibly have already existed under this heading before the whole collection was formed: this superscription was then taken over into the entire work, in order to call attention to the transition from the prologue to the body of the book. What the prophet utters concerning Judah and Jerusalem he calls "the word which he saw." When men speak one to another, the words are not seen, but heard; but when God speaks with the prophet, this is done in a supersensuous manner, and the prophet sees it in this way,—for though the spirit of man has neither eyes nor ears, yet when enabled to perceive the supersensuous, it is altogether eye.

The way in which Isaiah begins this second discourse is without a parallel; there is no other prophetic address whatever that commences with יְהִי (for Ezek. xxxviii. 10 is not a beginning, but a continuation). It is easy to tell the reason, however. This "consecutive preterite" receives the meaning of a future only from the context; whereas יְהִי (with which historical books and sections very commonly begin) shows its character by its very form. It is further to be noted that the copu-

lative meaning of the ו in the "consecutive imperfect" retains less of its living force than in the "consecutive perfect." The prophet accordingly begins with "and;" and that וְהָיָה is meant to bear a future sense is to be made out, not from what precedes, but from what follows. This, however, is not the only strange thing here; for there is, further, no other case in which a prophetic address—especially one like this, which runs through all the phases of prophetic discourse (exhortation, reproof, threatening, promise)—begins with a promise. We are in a condition, however, to see clearly the reason of this remarkable phenomenon; for vers. 2–4 are not at all the words of Isaiah himself, but the words of another, taken out of their connection. "Every one of the prophets," says the *Pesikta de-Rab Cahana* 125b, "follows the precedent set him by those who have gone before (נביא נביא); but thou, O Isaiah, dost prophesy under the direct influence of the divine majesty" (מפי הבורה). This is a grand testimony to the originality of Isaiah, yet it does not exclude his falling back on his predecessors. For we also find the words of vers. 2–4, in a slightly different form, in Micah iv. 1–4; and whether Isaiah took the words of this prediction from Micah, or whether both prophets derived them from a common source, in any case they are not Isaiah's originally.¹ Nor was it at all intended that they should

¹ The statement in Jer. xxvi. 18, that Micah uttered the threatening recorded in Micah iii. 12 (the counterpart of which is the promise in Micah iv. 1–4 and Isa. ii. 2–4) during the reign of Hezekiah, seems to militate against the idea that Isaiah borrowed from Micah. Independently of each other, Ewald (*Prophets of the Old Testament*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. pp. 27, 314) and Hitzig (*Commentary on Isaiah and Micah; Studien und Kritiken* for 1829, 2) have conjectured that both Micah and Isaiah repeat what was first uttered by a third and earlier prophet, whom Hitzig further supposes to have been Joel; Cheyne also (1868) thinks this probable. The passage in question has actually many points in common with the Book of Joel, such as the picture given of the reforging of the אֵתִים and מִזְמֹרֹת (iv. 10), the combinations of רַב and עָצוּם , of נֶפֶשׁ and תַּאֲמָה (cf. with Micah iv. 4). In Micah, however, it forms the obverse side of the threat of judgment that preceded; ver. 3 also reminds us of Micah's style (see the remarks on that verse); and the statement in Jer. xxvi. 18 is quite compatible with the supposition that Isaiah borrowed these words of promise from Micah (see the closing remarks on chaps. i.–vi.). Cf. Caspari on *Micah*, p. 444 ff.

seem to be his. Isaiah has not fused them into the general current of his own address, as prophets are elsewhere wont to do with the predictions of their predecessors. He does not reproduce them, but, as we are meant to observe, from the abrupt beginning, he quotes them. This certainly does not seem to agree with the heading, according to which the succeeding declarations are the word of Jehovah which Isaiah saw; but there is no real disagreement. It is just the spirit of prophecy which here brings into Isaiah's remembrance a prophetic utterance already recorded, and makes it the starting-point of the series of thoughts which follow. The borrowed promise is not by any means cited for its own sake, but serves merely as a basis for the following exhortation and threat of judgment, through which, after the borrowed introduction, Isaiah's discourse aspires to a conclusion of its own.

The subject-matter of the borrowed words of prophecy is the future glory of Israel. Ver. 2: "*And it comes to pass at the end of the days, the mountain of the house of Jehovah will be established on the top of the mountains, and exalted over hills, and all nations stream unto it.*" The expression "the last days," or "end of the days" (אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים), which does not occur anywhere else in Isaiah, may either, in contrast with the time of commencement, signify the time of the end, or, in contrast with the present, the time that follows (as in Deut. xxxi. 29; Jer. xxiii. 20); according to preponderating usage, however, this expression is applied to the future that forms the close of history. Whether we render it by ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις or (as in 1 Tim. iv. 1) by ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, the idea it presents is eschatological, but this in relation to the horizon of the speaker. This horizon is very varied; and the history of prophecy is just the history of its gradual extension and completion. In the blessing of Jacob, Gen. xlix., the occupation of the land of Canaan stands in the foreground of the "last days," and regulates the perspective; but here, in Isaiah, "the last days" mean the time of the end in the most simple and literal sense. The prophet predicts that the mountain on which the temple was built will one day visibly tower above all the heights of the earth, and be enthroned like a king over his subjects. At present, the south-eastern hill on which the temple is built is sur-

passed in height by the south-western hill; and the basaltic mountains of Bashan, rising in bold peaks and columns, look down with scorn and contempt on the little limestone-hill which Jehovah has chosen (Ps. lxxiii. 16 f.),—a wrong relation which the last times will remove, by making the outward correspond to the inward, the appearance to the reality and intrinsic worth. That such is the prophet's meaning is confirmed by Ezek. xl. 2, where the temple-mountain appears gigantic to the prophet, and by Zech. xiv. 10 (parallels, which Cheyne also compares), according to which all Jerusalem will one day, as the actual centre and apex (cf. Ezek. v. 5), tower above the country round about, which shall have become a plain. If this be the meaning of the passage, there still remains doubt regarding the sense attaching to מְרֹאֶשׁ. Is it meant that Moriah will come to stand "upon the top" of the mountains surrounding it (מְרֹאֶשׁ being rendered as in Ps. lxxxii. 16), or that it will stand "at the head" of them (the expression being used as in 1 Kings xxi. 9, 12; Amos vi. 7; Jer. xxxi. 7)? The former is the view of Hofmann (in his *Weissag. und Erfüllung*, ii. 217): his opinion is, not that the mountains will be piled up, one on the top of the other, with the temple-mountain over all (as it is said in *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* 144b, that God will bring together Sinai, Tabor, and Carmel, and erect the temple-building upon the top of them), but that Zion will seem to float on the summit of the other mountains: this is also the explanation given by Ewald. But inasmuch as the expression כִּבְיָן, "established," is not favourable to this mode of getting rid of a wonderful phenomenon, and because מְרֹאֶשׁ, in the sense of "at the head," occurs still more frequently than with the meaning "on the top," what is meant is the exaltation of Zion by means of lifting, yet this in such a way that the physical and visible elevation is but a means to the dignitative and moral, and easily changes from the literal sense to the ideal. Raised to a position towering over everything besides, the mountain chosen of God becomes the place of meeting and the centre of unity for all nations. It is the temple of Jehovah which now, visible to the nations from afar, exercises such magnetic powers of attraction, and with such results (cf. lvi. 7; Jer. iii. 17; Zech. viii. 20 ff.). Now, it is but a single nation, Israel,

that makes pilgrimages to the temple-mount on great festivals, —then it will be otherwise.

Ver. 3: "*And peoples in multitudes go and say, Come and let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, to the house of the God of Jacob: let Him instruct us out of His ways, and we will walk in His paths.*" This is their watchword for the starting, this is their song on the way that they go (cf. Zech. viii. 21 f., ii. 15). What urges them is the desire of salvation. Desire for salvation expresses itself in the name they give to the goal of their journey: they call Zion (= Mount Moriah, 2 Chron. iii. 1) the "mountain of Jehovah;" they call the temple built on it "the house of the God of Jacob;" "Israel," as the name of the people of God, has by frequent use become common, so they employ the more refined name "Jacob,"—the name dear to Micah, of whose style (see iv. 11, 13, v. 6 f.) we are further reminded by the expression "many nations." Desire of salvation shows itself in the object of their journey; they wish Jehovah to teach them "out of His ways" (מִדְרָכָיו) —rich material for instruction with which they would like to be gradually intrusted (מִן is here used in a partitive sense, —"out of the fulness of this material for instruction," cf. xlvii. 13, and the somewhat different מִן in Ps. xciv. 12): "the ways of Jehovah" are those in which He Himself walks and in which He conducts men, the revealed ordinances of His government and His will. Desire of salvation also shows itself in their resolution to set out: they not merely wish to learn, but they have made glad resolve to act in accordance with what they have learned: "so will we walk in His paths," —the cohortative, as frequently is the case (e.g. Gen. xxvii. 4), being used as the expression of the subjective purpose, or the subjective inference.

Here end the words of the multitude of the heathen who are going up to Zion; but the prophet, at the end of ver. 3 further adds the reason and motive of this holy pilgrimage of the nations: "*For from Zion will a law go forth, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem.*" Zion¹ was originally the name of the south-eastern hill (not, as is now acknowledged, of the south-western hill which was erroneously considered

¹ On the meaning of the word, see Wetstein in my *Commentary on Genesis*, 4th edition (English translation, Edinburgh 1889).

Zion) on which, at several successive stages of descent, were built the temple, the palace of Solomon, and the city of David;¹ then it came to be specially applied to the height on which the temple stood, and by synecdoche to the whole of Jerusalem, the true centre of which is the sanctuary. The greatest emphasis is laid on the expressions "out of Zion" and "out of Jerusalem," which indicate a feeling of triumph, and remind us of John iv. 22, ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν. From Zion-Jerusalem will go forth $\overline{\text{נְטִינָה}}$, i.e. instruction regarding the questions which man has to ask at God; and "the word of Jehovah" is that by which the world was created and by which it is spiritually transformed. Hence, what makes the nations truly prosperous comes from Zion-Jerusalem. Thither assemble the nations, thence they carry away a blessing with them to their homes, and thus Zion-Jerusalem becomes the source of all-embracing good; for, from the time that Jehovah chose Zion, the sanctity of Sinai (according to Ps. lxxviii. 18) was transferred to Zion; and what was begun at Sinai for Israel is completed from Zion for all the world. This was fulfilled at that Feast of Pentecost when the first-fruits of the Church of Christ proclaimed the law of Zion, i.e. the gospel, in all the languages of the world. It is fulfilled, as Theodoret here remarks, in the fact that the word of the gospel, beginning at Jerusalem $\sigma\lambda\omicron\nu\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma$, ran through the whole inhabited world (cf. Luke xxiv. 47, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ).

All these fulfilments, however, were but preludes to an end still to be expected, and forming their completion. For there is no fulfilment yet of what is predicted in ver. 4: "*And He will judge between the nations, and pronounce judgment to many nations; and they forge their swords into coulters, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation lifts not up the sword against nation, neither do they learn war any more.*" When the nations thus betake themselves as pupils to the God of revelation and to the word He has revealed, He becomes among them the supreme judicial tribunal. When dispute arises, it is no longer decided by force of arms, but by the word of God, to which they all bow with willing

¹ See Klaiber in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iii. 201.

submission. רבים, used in this way by itself (without the parallel עמים, found in Micah iv. 3), signifies "many," not "great." When this power of the peace-producing word of God is in active exercise (Zech. ix. 10), there is no longer need for iron weapons: these are re-forged into tools for works of peace,—into אמתים (instead of which we find אמתים in 1 Sam. xiii. 21, from אמת, to break), "coulters" which prepare the furrows while the ploughshare turns them up, and into סמורות, "pruning-hooks" or "bills," with which the vine is pruned, in order to increase its fruit-bearing power. Neither is there any more need for military exercises, for there is no need in learning what can no longer be applied: it is useless, and men turn from it in disgust. There is peace; yet not an armed peace, but a full, true, and God-sent peace. The true humanity that was overwhelmed and choked by sin now gains the mastery, and the world observes its Sabbath. What is set forth in Ps. xli. 9 f., Hos. ii. 20, was seen more fully by Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah, is a moral postulate laid down in Scripture, the goal of the history of redemption, the predicted counsel of God.

Isaiah comes before his contemporaries with this older prophecy regarding the noble and world-embracing calling of the people of Jehovah; he holds it up to them like a mirror, and exclaims (ver. 5): "*O house of Jacob, come! and let us walk in the light of Jehovah!*" This exhortation is formed under the influence of the context from which vers. 2-4 are taken (as may be seen from Micah iv. 5), and of the cited words themselves; Micah prefers עקב to ישראל, though the former name is not unusual in Isaiah (see viii. 17, x. 20 f., xxix. 23), and in chaps. xl.-lxvi. comes into prominence. With the words "O house of Jacob" he turns to his own nation, for whom, because Jehovah has shown Himself graciously present among them, so glorious a future is in store; and he calls on them to walk in the light of such a God, unto whom, in the end of the days, all nations shall come in crowds. The summons, "Come, and let us walk," is the echo of the summons, "Come, and let us go up," in ver. 3; and Hitzig quite correctly remarks, "Like Paul in Rom. xi. 14, Isaiah seeks to rouse his fellow-countrymen to a noble jealousy by pointing to the example of the heathen."

"The light of Jehovah" (an expression in which there is a not unintentional reference to אֱלֹהִים in ver. 3; cf. Prov. vi. 23) is the knowledge of Him that has been revealed. It is now high time to walk in the light of Jehovah, *i.e.* to turn this knowledge to regulate daily life; and the exhortation to this is highly necessary for Israel just now, when the nation, because it did the contrary, had been given over to a perverse mind.

This sad thought, which the prophet is constrained to make the basis of his warning cry, comes from him in ver. 6, in the form of a prayer breathing sighs: "*For Thou hast rejected Thy people, the house of Jacob; because they have been filled from the East, and are sorcerers like the Philistines, and with the children of foreigners they go hand in hand.*" Once more we have twice עַל, in immediate succession; the first gives the reason for the warning cry, the second introduces the justification of this reason. The address is directed to Jehovah, not to the people. Of early commentators, Saadia and Gecatilia (cf. also Rashi), and among modern writers, J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, and Luzzatto take the first words to mean, "Thou hast given up thy nationality" (עַל being taken for עַלְמָא). But עַל signifies "people," not "nationality;" and this interpretation would not have been thought of if the sudden introduction of the address to God had not been considered strange. But in ii. 9, ix. 2, etc., the prophecy also assumes the form of a prayer; moreover, the combination of עַל with עַלְמָא as an object, recalls such passages as Ps. xciv. 14; 1 Sam. xii. 22. Jehovah has cast away His people from Him (*i.e.* rejected them), and left them to themselves (עַלְמָא); the perfect is not a prophetic one (as Cheyne thinks), but speaks of what has actually occurred, as is shown by the various symptoms pointed out: (1) They are full from the East (עַלְמָא: here עַל indicates the source from which the filling comes, Ezek. xxxii. 6; Jer. li. 34; and see my commentary on Eccles. i. 8), *i.e.* full of Oriental manners and fashions, particularly idolatrous usages. עַלְמָא is the name given to Arabia down to the peninsula of Sinai, together with the Aramean countries adjacent to the Euphrates. Under Uziah and Jotham, whose dominion extended as far as Elath, the seaport of the Elanitic Gulf, the influence of the south-western

Orient predominated; but under Ahaz and Hezekiah, on account of their relations to Assyria, Syria, and Babylon, that of the north-east was predominant. The conjectural reading מִקְסָם (suggested by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*) or מִקְסָם (supported by Ewald and Böttcher) would remove the name of the extensive region from which Judah's disposition to imitate received its impulse and material; but perhaps Isaiah wrote קָסָם מִקְרָם ("fully of sorcery from the East"). (2) They are עֲנִיִּים (a form which is interchanged with the more complete מְעַנִּים, Deut. xviii. 14, etc., from the Poël עָן, Lev. xix. 26; 2 Kings xxi. 6), not "Tagewähler," as Luther renders it—for the form is opposed to the derivation from עוֹנֶה, "time" (see *Sanhedrin* 65b; and cf. Rashi on Lev. xix. 26), but those who observe the clouds for signs of the future (a rendering which Aben-Ezra also very properly prefers), or—more in accordance with the meaning of the Poël—those who bring clouds and storms¹ like the Philistines (who were subdued by Uzziah, and afterwards by Hezekiah), among whom

¹ There is no ground for the explanation "concealing" (i.e. practising secret arts); for the meaning "to cover" is arbitrarily transferred to the verb קָן from the roots קָנָן and קָנָן (see on Ps. lxxx. 16) with which it is said to be allied. But as a denominative from קָן ("a cloud," as meeting the eye), קָנָן might mean "he gathered auguries from the clouds." Or—if we take קָן as synonymous with קָן, Gen. ix. 14 (for, in the Targums, קָן and קָנָן interchange with the Hebrew קָנָן and קָנָן, apoc. קָנָן)—it means "to cause a storm;" we would then have the rendering "storm-raisers," *tempestarii*, *νεφεδιωκται*. (On storm-raising through incantations, especially among the Turanian nations by means of the "rain-stone," see Bernstein's edit. of Kirsch's *Syriac Chrestomathy*, p. 111, line 9 ff.; Wüstenfeld's edit. of *Kaswint*, i. p. 221, line 10 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte der goldenen Horde in Kiptschak*, pp. 206 f., 435–438.) The derivation of קָנָן from קָן in the sense of the Arab. *'āna* (imperf. *ja'īnu*),—as it were "to ogle," in modern Greek *ὀφθαλμίζω*, *oculo maligno petere et fascinare* (see the Journal of the German Oriental Society, xxxi. 539),—though in itself philologically possible, founders on the Targumic קָן (to practise sorcery), which cannot possibly be traced to קָן. From a purely philological standpoint, however, another explanation still remains possible. From the idea of "coming to meet," *'āna* obtains the transitive sense of holding back, preventing, restraining (as it were *contrariet*), especially to rein in the horse with the bridle (*indn*), in application to sexual relations.

sorcery was practised by incorporated guilds (1 Sam. vi. 2), while a famous oracle of Beel-Zebûb existed at Ekron (2 Kings i. 2). "And with the children of foreigners they make themselves familiar;" such is the rendering we must give this expression, following Gesenius, Knobel, and Nägelsbach: כפפ with כפפ signifies to clap hands (Job xxvii. 23); the Hiphil is used only here with כפפ in the sense of striking hands with a person. On the other hand, the LXX. and Syriac render the expression in accordance with the idea of abundance or fulness elsewhere presented in כפפ (or כפפ); but whether it be translated "in the children of foreigners they find satisfaction," or "with the children of foreigners they provide themselves abundantly," the rendering is equally opposed to the usage of the language, which nowhere points to this construction with כפפ. But the Hiph. כפפ may be compared with the Arab. صَفَّ IV., to give the hand (as a token of agreement and approval); it is here combined with כפפ after the analogy of כפפ, *foedus pangere cum aliquo*. Jerome, following Symmachus, here translates *pueris alienis adhaeserunt*; but כפפ is equivalent to כפפ (lx. 10, lxi. 5), only with stronger emphasis on the unsanctified birth, the heathenism inherited from their mother's womb. The prophet means to say it is with born heathens that the people of Jehovah make themselves common,—make common cause in the ordinary business of life.

He now goes on, in vers. 7, 8, to describe how, in consequence of this, the land of the people of Jehovah is crammed full of objects of luxury, self-trust, and estrangement from God: "*And their land is filled with silver and gold, and there is no end to their treasures; and their land is filled with horses, and there is no end to their chariots. And their land is filled with idols; to the work of their hands they bow down in worship, to that which their own fingers have made.*" The glory of Solomon's days, which revived under Uzziah's reign of fifty-two years, and was maintained during Jotham's reign of sixteen years, carried within it the curse of the law; for the law regarding the king, in Deut. xvii. 14 ff., forbids both the multiplying of horses and the multiplying of gold and silver. Standing armies and stores of national treasures, like everything that lends support to carnal self-trust, are opposed to the spirit of the theocracy. Nevertheless Judea is immeasur-

ably full of those things which entice to apostasy (אֱלִילִים, from אָלַל, according to Abulwalid and others, like אֱלִילָה, אֱלִילָה; cf. אָלַל), and not only so, but also of things that openly show it; אֱלִילִים are "idols" (in the Pentateuch only found in Lev. xix. 4, xxvi. 1; in the singular אֱלִיל, "empty, worthless," Assy. *ulālu*, from אָלַל, to be weak, decaying, null;¹ not, as Heidenheim thinks, from אָל, "a false god;" nor, as Movers supposes, a diminutive, meaning a little god, a small image of a god). The condition of the country is thus at variance not merely with the law regarding the king, but also with the decalogue. The existing splendour is the most offensive caricature of what had been promised; for the nation whose God will one day become the desire and salvation of all nations had exchanged Him for the idols of the nations, and vied with them in the appropriation of heathen religion and practice.

This was a condition of affairs ripe for judgment, and from which the prophet can at once proceed to the proclamation of the judgment, ver. 9: "*Thus, then, men are bowed down, and masters brought low; and forgive them—nay, this thou shalt not!*" The moods of the verbs mark the judgment as one that arises through an inward necessity from the worldly and ungodly glory of the present; this use of the verb-forms frequently occurs, as in ix. 7 ff. It is a judgment through which small and great, i.e. people of all classes, are brought down from their false eminence. אָשַׁח, as in xxix. 4 (cf. Eccles. xii. 4), might be the imperfect Niphal (cf. אָשַׁח, אָשַׁח), and Gesenius regards it as such; it is probably, however, the intransitive imperfect Qal (Stade, § 490a), for אָשַׁח, אָשַׁח, אָשַׁח hardly ever have formed a Niphal; the Qal in itself signifies to be bowed down, depressed, as אָשַׁח signifies to be humble and to be humbled. אָשַׁח and אָשַׁח are not mere interchangeable terms, without any essential difference (as Nägelsbach thinks), but differ as in v. 15; Ps. xlix. 3 (cf. iv. 3; Isa. liii. 3); Prov. viii. 4, and as in Attic Greek ἀνθρωπος differs from ἀνὴρ,—ordinary human beings who disappear in the crowd, and men who rise out of it;²—all (Rev. vi. 15) are

¹ See Friedrich Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 133.

² In the Arabic of Syria, אָשַׁח is strangely used in the latter sense; "people of importance" are called *awaddim*, or *nās awādim* (Journal of the German Oriental Society, xxii. 164).

thrown down to the ground by the judgment, and that without mercy. The prophet expresses the conviction (נֶאֱמַר being used as in 2 Kings vi. 27) that God can and will no longer take away their sin (this noun being the object we must regard as following the verb נָשָׂא, Ps. xxxii. 1; נָשָׂא is applied to God, and signifies to forgive, as in Hos. i. 6).

No other course is now left open for them but to follow the sarcastic command of the prophet in ver. 10: "*Creep into the rock, and bury thyself in the dust, before the dread look of Jehovah, and before the glory of His majesty!*" The forms בּוֹא and הִטָּן are imperatives; the inf. constr. of the Niphal is sometimes indeed used instead of the infin. absolute (Num. xv. 31; 1 Kings xv. 39), but there is no instance of the latter form being employed as an imperative. The nation that was supposed to be a glorious one shall and must creep away and hide itself ignominiously, when the glory of God which it had rejected, but which alone is true glory, is judicially manifested. It must conceal itself in holes of the rocks as if from a host of foes (Judg. vi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 6, xiv. 11), and bury themselves with their faces in the sand, as from the deadly simoom of the desert, that they may but avoid the necessity of enduring this intolerable sight. When Jehovah reveals Himself thus in the fiery glance of judgment, there follows the result summed up in ver. 11: "*The haughty looks of the people are brought low, and the pride of the lords is bowed down, and Jehovah, He alone, stands exalted in that day.*" The result of the judicial process is expressed in perfects; הִתְעַלָּה is the 3rd pers. of the preterite, not the participle: "Jehovah is exalted," i.e. shows Himself exalted; while the haughty demeanour of the people is abased (שָׁפַל is a verb, not an adjective, in agreement, by attraction, with the genitive, instead of its governing word; see also 2 Sam. i. 21; Lev. xiii. 9; Ps. cxl. 10, *Kethib*; Dan. iii. 19, *Kethib*), and the pride of the lords is bowed down (שָׁפַח = שָׁחָה, Job ix. 13). Here ends the first strophe of the proclamation of judgment, appended to the borrowed prophetic passage in vers. 2-4. The second strophe extends as far as ver. 17, where ver. 11 is repeated as the conclusion.

Looking at the expression, "on that day," we ask ourselves, what kind of day is this? To this question the prophet

replies in the second strophe, first of all in ver. 12: "*For Jehovah of Hosts has a day over everything, towering and high, and over everything lofty, and it becomes low.*" יְהוָה אֵל, "Jehovah has a day" (xxii. 5, xxxiv. 8), which even now forms part of what He has freely and independently determined and appointed beforehand (lxiii. 4, xxxvii. 26; cf. xxii. 11), the secret of which he makes known to the prophets, who, from the time of Obadiah and Joel, announce this day, in terms ever the same, like a watchword. But when the time appointed for this day arrives, it passes into the history of time,—a day for the judgment of the world, which, through the omnipotence by which Jehovah rules over the highest as well as the lowest spheres of all creation, passes upon all worldly glory. With לֵבָשׁ the accent used is *Tiphcha* (Luzzatto, Baer); but certainly *Athnach* would be more suitable, as in Lev. xiii. 18. As the future is spoken of, the perfect יִשָּׁלַח acquires the force of a future (*pret. consec.*), "and it shall be brought low (or, sink down)."

The prophet now enumerates all the high things on which this day falls, arranging them together two by two, and combining them in pairs by a double correlative $\{$. The day of Jehovah falls, as the first two pairs declare, on everything lofty in nature (vers. 13, 14): "*As upon all cedars of Lebanon, the lofty and exalted, so upon all the oaks of Bashan; as upon all mountains, the lofty ones, so upon all hills, the exalted ones.*" But why upon all this majestic beauty of nature? Has this language a merely figurative meaning? Knobel understands it figuratively, and regards it as referring to the grand buildings of Uzziah and Jotham, for the erection of which like timber had been brought from Lebanon and Bashan, on the western slope of which the old shady oaks (*sindian* and *ballút*) still continue to grow luxuriantly. But that trees may mean the houses built of them cannot be proved from ix. 9, where the reference is not to houses made of sycamore and cedar wood, but to the trunks of such trees; nor again from Nah. ii. 4, where הַבְּרָשִׁים mean the fir lances which are brandished about in eager desire for the fight. As little can mountains and hills mean the castles and fortresses upon them, especially because ver. 15 expressly refers to these, in literal terms. In order to understand the prophet, we must bear in mind what sacred

Scripture assumes throughout, that all nature is joined with man to form one common history; that man and the whole world of nature are inseparably connected as centre and circumference; that this circumference likewise is under the influence of the sin which proceeds from man, as well as under the wrath and the grace which proceed from God to man; that the judgments of God, as proved by the history of nations, bring a share of suffering to the subject creation, and that this participation of the lower creation in the corruption and the glory of man will come into special prominence at the close of this world's history, as it did at the beginning; and lastly, the world in its present form, in order to become an object of the unmixed good pleasure of God, stands as much in need of a regeneration (*παλιγγενεσία*) as the corporeal part of man himself. In accordance with this fundamental view of the Scriptures, therefore, we cannot wonder that, when the judgment of God goes forth upon Israel, it extends to the land of Israel, and, along with the false glory of the nation, overthrows everything glorious in surrounding nature which had been forced to minister to the national pride and love of display, and to which the national sin adhered in many ways. What the prophet predicts was already actually beginning to be fulfilled in the military inroads of the Assyrians. The cedar forest of Lebanon was being unsparingly shorn: the hills and vales of the country were trodden down and laid waste, and, during the period of the world's history beginning with Tiglath-Pileser, the holy land was being reduced to a shadow of its former predicted beauty.

From what is lofty in nature, transition is now made in vers. 15, 16 to what is exalted in the world of men,—the fortresses, commercial structures, and the works of art that minister to the lust of the eye: "*As upon every high tower, so upon every precipitous wall. As upon all ships of Tarshish, so upon all works of curiosity.*" By erecting lofty and precipitous, i.e. difficult of ascent (*מגדל*), fortifications for defence and offence in war, Uzziah and Jotham particularly desired to render service to Jerusalem and the country generally. The chronicler (2 Chron., chap. xxvi.) states that Uzziah built fortified towers over the corner-gate, the valley-gate, and the southern point of the cheese-makers' ravine, and strengthened

these places (till that time, possibly, the weakest positions in Jerusalem); also that he built towers in the wilderness (perhaps in the wilderness extending from Beersheba to Gaza, for increasing the safety of the country, and its vast flocks that were pastured in the הַבְּשָׁרִי, i.e. the western portion of Southern Palestine). The Books of Kings (2 Kings xv. 32 f.) and Chronicles relate of Jotham that he built the upper gate of the temple; and the Chronicles, moreover, record (2 Chron. xxvii.) that he still further fortified the Ophel, i.e. the southern spur of the temple-mount; that he founded cities in the hill-country of Judah, and erected strongholds and towers in the forests (for watching and repelling hostile attacks). Hezekiah also distinguished himself by such building enterprises (2 Chron. xxxii. 27-30). But the mention of ships of Tarshish points to the times of Uzziah and Jotham (as Ps. xlviii. 8 points to the time of Jehoshaphat), for the seaport of Elath, which, according to 2 Kings xiv. 22, was recovered by Uzziah, was once more lost to the kingdom of Judah under Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 6). From this Elath (Ailath), Jewish ships, following in the wake of the Phenicians, used to sail through the Red Sea and round the coast of Africa, landing at the harbour of Tartessus, the ancient Phenician emporium of the maritime district abounding in silver and watered by the Baetis (i.e. the Guadalquivir), which was itself also called *Tάρησσος*: they returned through the Pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar, so called after the landing of Tarik in 711: Gibraltar = *Gebel-Târik*). The expression סִפִּי תַרְשִׁישׁ was primarily applied to these vessels sailing to Tarshish, then probably to merchant-ships generally.¹ The following expression סִפִּי תַרְשִׁישׁ is taken in too restricted a sense if we confine it, with the LXX., to the ships, or, with Gesenius, understand it as meaning beautiful flags. Jerome has correctly rendered the

¹ Jerome, on the verse we are now considering (where the LXX. renders *ἐπὶ πᾶν πλοῖον θαλάσσης*), gives it as a Jewish opinion that תַּרְשִׁישׁ is the proper Hebrew name for the sea, while יָם was originally derived from the Syriac; and in conformity with this, Luther says that the Hebrew has two words for indicating the sea, יָם and תַּרְשִׁישׁ, the latter being used specially to indicate the ocean. Perhaps this view is meant to reconcile 2 Chron. ix. 21, xx. 36 with 1 Kings ix. 26 ff. (Kamphausen in *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1876, p. 170.)

clause *et super omne quod visu pulchrum est*. שִׁכְיָה, from שָׁכַח, to see, behold (see my commentaries on Job xxxviii. 36 and Gen. iii. 6), is sight in a quite general sense (*θέα*); while חִסְדָּה is used here in something of the same way as in Ezek. xxvi. 12, but without the need of understanding it, as in that passage, to mean splendid buildings, with the additional idea of watching, or outlook, in accordance with the Targumic חִסְדָּה = מַעֲרָה (Ewald, Cheyne); the proper place for mentioning these would rather have been after ver. 15, before the ships of Tarshish. What is meant, therefore, is every kind of works of art, made of stone or metal, and painted (שִׁכְיָה, *θέαμα*, display; cf. Lev. xxvi. 1; Ezek. viii. 12), which delight the beholder by their imposing and tasteful appearance.

Ver. 17 now concludes the second strophe of the announcement of judgment appended to the earlier prophetic passage: "*And the pride of the people is bowed down, and the haughtiness of the lords brought low; and Jehovah, He alone, stands exalted on that day.*" This refrain-verse only slightly differs from ver. 11. The subjects of the verbs in ver. 17a have been transposed. It is almost a rule to put the predicate at the beginning of the sentence in the masculine (שָׁמַיִם, but אֲדָמָה in Ps. xlv. 26), though the subject following is a feminine noun, when this denotes a thing or things (see Gesenius, § 145. 7, a).

The refrain-verse of the two following strophes (in vers. 19–21) is based on the closing portion of ver. 10, and runs out into the concluding words שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ. The announcement of judgment now turns to the idols, which were mentioned before (in vers. 7, 8), but last in order, as the root of evil, among the things with which the land abounds. In a brief verse, consisting of one member and but three words, their future is declared (ver. 18) as if with a swift lightning-flash: "and the idols pass utterly away." The combination of the plural nominative with the verb in the singular is intended to signify that the idols, one and all, are a "mass of nonentity" which will be reduced to annihilation: they will disappear כָּלֵל, i.e. either they will utterly perish, or (seeing that כָּלֵל is not elsewhere used adverbially) they will all perish (Judg. xx. 40, a passage which shows that one might

also say (וּכְלֵל הַמַּלְאִיִּם),—their images, their worship, even their names and their memory, Zech. xii. 2.

In ver. 19 is declared what the idolaters will do when Jehovah has so thoroughly deprived their idols of all divinity, by rising from His heavenly throne, while His glory revealed in heaven returns to earth and manifests itself as a judicial fire: "*And they will creep into caves of rocks, and into cellars of earth, before the dreadful look of Jehovah, and before the glory of His majesty, when He rises to put the earth in terror.*" מְעָרָה (from עָרַד, to go down deep, to be sunk down) is a cave naturally formed, and מְחִלָּה (from חָלַל, to bore through, or bore out) is an artificial excavation underground: in this way, apparently,—to judge from the added genitives,—we must distinguish between the two synonyms. לְעֵיץ הָאָרֶץ is a significant paronomasia which admits of being easily rendered in Latin: *ut terreat terram*. The judgment thus falls on the earth without limitation,—on men, its inhabitants, and on all nature, intimately associated with human history,—a whole in which sin, and therefore wrath, has gained the mastery.

The fourth strophe begins with ver. 20: "*On that day will man cast away his idols of gold and idols of silver which they made for him to worship, to the moles and to the bats.*" The traditional text separates לְחֹפְרֵי בָּרוֹת into two words, without giving us to understand what they are intended to signify.¹ The division was due to the fact that in early times pluriliterals were misunderstood, and regarded as compound words; cf. lxi. 1; Hos. iv. 18; Jer. xlvi. 20. The word as uttered by the prophet was certainly לְחֹפְרֵי בָּרוֹת (see Ewald, § 157c); and הַמְּסַפְּרָה (a form similar to שֶׁמֶסְפֶּרֶת, the dawn) would appear

¹ Abulwalid, Parchon, and others regard the double word as the singular of a noun which signifies a bird (perhaps a woodpecker), as an animal that pecks fruits (בָּרוֹת). Kimchi prefers to take לְחֹפֵר as an infinitive (cf. Josh. ii. 2), signifying "to dig holes," comparing the Talmudic מִּיר, a pit or hole, a grave. No one renders the expression "into the mouse-hole," because מִיר, mouse = מִירָה, more exactly מִירָה (from *fa'ara*, to dig, dig up), is not a Hebrew word, and was taken from the Arabic only at a late period (hence the Hebraeo-Arabic מִירָה, a mouse-trap). The name of the mole in Arabic is نَارِ أَعْمَى, i.e. the blind mouse (rat).

to be the mole, and to have received the name as an animal that digs and throws up the soil with its shovel-like forefeet, Lat. *talpa* (as translated by Jerome and explained by Rashi). Against this view, Gesenius and Knobel make the objection that the mole does not live in houses; but it actually burrows underneath the floors of houses, barns, etc., forming its holes beneath them. And are we obliged to think that the shamed idolaters throw their idols into lumber-rooms, instead of rather hiding them outside, thrusting them into holes and crevices? Along with the mole is named "the bat," עֵיטָא (the sound of which is but accidentally similar to *talpa*): this name, since the time of Bochart and Schultens, has been regarded as a compound of עַיִל = עֵלָא and עֵי (cf. *νυκτερίς*, *vespertilio*, Ital. *nottola*, etc.).¹ Moreover, the mole, the shrew-mouse, and the bat are regarded by ancient and modern naturalists as closely related. The bat is among birds what the mole is among smaller predatory animals. Even in the LXX. we find מַלְבִּים לִזְזָטוֹ conjoined with these two words: Malbim and Luzzatto likewise make this connection,—as if the idolaters would descend to the most absurd forms of animal-worship. The accentuation, however, which does not make the division of the verse at עֵיטָא starts from a correct understanding of the meaning: the idol-worshippers, convinced by God's judicial manifestation that their idols are nonentities, and furious over their unfortunate deception, will throw away with imprecations their gold and silver images which artist hands

¹ The Semitic arrangement of the words would certainly be עַיִל עֵי, as the bat is in Arabic called not merely *waṭwāt*, but also *ʿīr el-līl*: the order עֵי עַיִל is like that of the Persian name of the bat, شَبَر =

شَبَّ پَر (i.e. night-flyer), Journal of the Germ. Oriental Soc. xxxii. 241. Fleischer says that "Fürst's ظلف, *occultare*—put in this general way—is a fiction. The probable etymology, as correctly explained in Freytag, is غَطْلُ, applied to the heavens, and night. From this comes

غَطْلَسٌ, one in the dark, *tenebrio*, i.e. wolf; and this form resembles עֵיטָא, alike in its quinqueliteral form and in its general etymological meaning. See *Bericht der kön. sachs. Ges. der Wiss.* Band i. 1846 and 1847, pp. 430, 431."

made to their order, and thrust them like smuggled goods in bat-holes and mole-heaps to hide them from the eyes of the Judge, that, after casting away the useless burden that would condemn them, they may then betake themselves to flight.

Ver. 21 : “ *To creep into the hollows of the stone-blocks, and into the clefts of the rocks, before the dreadful look of Jehovah and before the glory of His majesty, when He arises to put the earth in terror.*” Instead of במערות, in ver. 19, there is here found בְּקִיקוֹת, “into the hollows” (from קָצַר, to dig a hole); and instead of במחלות עפר, there is here בְּקַעֲמֵי הַפְּלָעִים, “into the crevices of the rocks” (פֶּלֶעַ, a rock, properly a cleft, like *rupes*, from *rumpere*). Thus ends the fourth strophe of this “*dies irae dies illa*,” appended to the quotation from the earlier prophet.

Now follows a closing *nota bene* in ver. 22 : “ *O then, let man go, in whose nose is a breath; for at what is he to be valued?*” The LXX. leaves this verse wholly untranslated : was it not to be found in their copy of the Hebrew? Cheyne regards it as a marginal note, dating from post-exilic times, which breaks the connection; but it is the moralizing conclusion drawn from what precedes, and the basis of the proclamation of judgment (introduced by בִּי) which follows with the opening of the next chapter. Instead of בָּפֶה, Jerome (like *Berachoth* 14a) read בָּכֶת, giving the strange rendering, *excelsus reputatus est ipse*; and it appears that Luther also allowed himself to be misled by this. If we look both backwards and forwards, we cannot possibly miss the proper meaning of this verse, which must be regarded as not only giving the result of what precedes, but as forming the transition to what follows. What has gone before is the prediction of utter ruin to everything of which men are proud, and of which they boast; and in the beginning of the following chapter the same prediction is resumed, with more special reference to the Jewish state from which Jehovah is taking away every support, so that it is falling into a state of collapse. Accordingly, ver. 22 exhorts to renunciation of trust in man and all that is human, as in Ps. cviii. 8 f., cxlvi. 3; Jer. xvii. 5. The view taken is as general as in a gnome or apothegm. The ethical dative לָכֶם is in this case also the dative of advantage: out of regard for yourselves, for the sake of your own salvation, do cease from

man, i.e. from trust in him, in whose nose (*in cujus naso*, as in Job xxvii. 3; on the other hand, in Gen. ii. 7 is found the equivalent נִשְׁמָתוֹ, *in nares ejus*) is a breath, a breath of life, which God has given him, and can take from him again as soon as He pleases (Job xxxiv. 14; Ps. civ. 29). Upon the breath which goes out and in through his nose depends his earthly existence, which, once lost, is gone for ever (Job vii. 7). On this breath, therefore, there also depends all the trust that is placed on man—how weak a foundation! Under these conditions, and in view of this transitoriness, the worth of man as a basis of trust is as nothing. This idea is here expressed in interrogatory form: "At (*or for*) what is he reckoned (*or to be reckoned*)?" The passive partic. נִחְשָׁב combines with the idea of actuality (*aestimatus*) that of necessity (*aestimandus*) and that of possibility, or what is fit and becoming (*aestimabilis*). The כִּי is here that of price or value, corresponding to the Latin genitive (*quanti*) or ablative (*quanto*),—a species of the instrumental כִּי, the price being represented as the means of exchange or purchase: hence the meaning is, "At what is he reckoned?" not, "With what is he compared?"—an idea which would be expressed by כִּי (liii. 11; cf. *μετά* in Luke xxii. 37) or עִי (Ps. lxxxviii. 5). There is here used נִחְשָׁב, not נִחְשָׂב, because this looser form is usually found only when a relative clause follows (*eo quod*, see Eccles. iii. 22), and not נִחְשָׂב; because the long final vowel in this case is employed only when the succeeding word begins with א, or when נִחְשָׂב stands in pause (as in 1 Kings xxii. 21); under all other circumstances נִחְשָׁב is used. The question thus introduced cannot be answered with a positive fixing of value; the worth of man, considered in himself, and apart from God, is as nothing.¹

At this porism a pause is made in the announcement of judgment, but only for the purpose of gathering new strength. In four strophes, concluding in the same way, the prophet has proclaimed the divine judgment on every exalted thing in the world that has fallen from communion with God, just as

¹ In a fragment of Aeschylus preserved in Plutarch, *De Exil.*, Tantalus is represented as saying of himself: "My courage, which formerly reached to heaven, now sinks to earth, and cries to me, Learn not to esteem too highly what is of man."

Amos begins his book with a round of judgments, forming seven strophes which begin in the same way, and bursting forth like seven thunder-peals upon the nations on the stage of history; the seventh stroke falls on Judah, on whom, as on its proper object, the storm of judgment remains. Similarly with Isaiah here, the universal proclamation of judgment concentrates itself more especially on Judah and Jerusalem. The current of discourse now bursts the banks confining it in strophic form,—though otherwise it flows with freedom,—and the exhortation in ii. 22 not to trust in man, which rests on what has gone before, becomes the stepping-stone from the universal proclamation of judgment to the more special one in iii. 1, while the prophet assigns a new reason for the exhortation: “*For, behold, the Lord, Jehovah of hosts, removes from Jerusalem and from Judah support and means of support, every support of bread, and every support of water.*” That the announcement of judgment here begins anew is evident even from the name of God, הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, with which Isaiah everywhere (i. 24, x. 16, 33, xix. 4) introduces the judicial dealings of God. Trust in man was the great sin especially prevailing in the times of Uzziah and Jotham. The national glory at that time carried within it the wrath of Jehovah, which began to break out even in the days of Ahaz, and during Hezekiah’s reign was merely restrained, not changed. This outburst of wrath Isaiah here proclaims, describing how Jehovah is throwing down the Jewish State into ruins by removing from it the supports of its existence and the pillars of its fabric. In מְסָכָה the full idea is placed in the foreground; the two nouns, which are but one and the same word in different forms, and these determined by the gender (cf. Micah ii. 4; Nah. ii. 11; Zeph. i. 15, ii. 1; Ezek. xxi. 3; Ewald, § 172b), serve to generalize the notion: *fulcra omne genus (omnigena)*. Both are “instrumental” forms, and signify that which is used in giving support, whereas מְסָכָה means what supports: hence the three perhaps correspond to the Latin *fulcrum, fultura, fulcimen*. Of the various means of support, bread and water are first named, not in a figurative sense, but as the two absolutely indispensable conditions, and the basis of human life. Life is supported by bread and water (מְסָכָה being synonymous with קֶעֶר, Ps. civ. 15, etc.); it goes, as it

were, on the crutch of bread, and "to break the staff of bread" (Lev. xxvi. 26; Ezek. iv. 16, v. 16, xiv. 13; Ps. cv. 16) is thus equivalent to physical destruction. The fall of the Jewish State accordingly begins with the withdrawal from it by Jehovah of all support afforded by bread and water, all stores of both. And this was actually fulfilled; for, both in the Chaldean and in the Roman periods, Jerusalem perished under dreadful famines such as were threatened in Lev. xxvi. and especially Deut. xxviii.,—both chapters filled with curses to follow the commission of sin; on both occasions, the inhabitants were reduced to such extremity that women devoured their own children (Lam. ii. 20; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vi. 3. 3, 4). No real objection, therefore, can be made against the opening of the enumeration with "every support of bread, and every support of water." Nevertheless these words are regarded by Hitzig, Knobel, Meier, Cheyne, and Reuss as a gloss. We grant that the transition from these words to what follows ("hero and man of war") shows a certain abruptness and want of homogeneity, and that this fact, of course, arouses suspicion; on the other hand, if they be omitted, we regretfully miss the arrangement of ver. 1 into two members (cf. xxv. 6).

Vers. 2 and 3 continue the enumeration of the supports which Jehovah takes away: "*Heroes and men of war, judges, and prophets, and soothsayers, and elders: captains of fifty, and highly respected men, and counsellors, and masters in art, and those skilled in muttering.*" As the State, under Uzziah and Jotham, had become a military one, the prophet in both verses begins with the mention of military officers: *נָבִיר* is a commander who has already proved himself brave; *אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה* is the common soldier who is armed, and had been well trained (see Ezek. xxxix. 20); *שָׂר חֲמִשִּׁים* is the leader of a company consisting of fifty warriors (see 2 Kings i. 9, etc.; similar officers were also found in the Assyrian army). Moreover, the leading members of the State are mixed together, so that the picture here given presents great variety of colour: *שֹׁפֵט* is the officer appointed by the government to administer justice and carry out the law; *זֶקֶן* is the oldest member of his family, and the senator appointed by the city corporations; *יִצְחָק* is the counsellor standing nearest the king; *נִשְׂאָה פָּנִים* (properly,

one whose face (*i.e.* personal appearance) is accepted—*i.e.* one who is beloved and respected: Saad. *wāgh*, from *wāgh*, the face, appearance) is a person held in esteem, not merely in virtue of his office, but also on account of his wealth, age, benevolence, etc.; הָכֵם הָרָשִׁים is in the LXX. rendered σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων, and very well explained by Jerome as *in artibus mechanicis exercitatus easque callide tractans*. In the Chaldean captivities, skilled artisans especially were carried away (2 Kings xxiv. 14 ff.; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxix. 2); hence there can be no doubt that הָרָשִׁים, from the sing. הָרֵשׁ (different from הָרָשִׁים, workmen, the singular of which is הָרֵשׁ, for הָרֵשׁ, though in 1 Chron. iv. 14, cf. Neh. xi. 35, we find the vocalization הָרָשִׁים in this personal sense also, from הָרֵשׁ, following the analogy of the form הָכֵם), is intended to mean mechanical arts (not "magical arts," as Gesenius, Hitzig, and Meier affirm), and the הָכֵם הָרָשִׁים therefore does not signify, as Ewald formerly rendered the expression, a sorcerer or wizard. The masters of the black art are introduced under the designation נֶבִּיחַ לְחֵשׁ: נֶבִּיחַ is the whisper, the muttering of magical formulas. Moreover, the master of the black art further comes before us under the name לִסָּם, a term which (from the radical idea of making fast—as seen in קָם; קָשׁ,—swearing, conjuring), together with נְבִיאָה, the false prophet of Jehovah whose predictions are also merely קָם (Micah iii. 11; Ezek. xxii. 28), signifies a soothsayer that cherishes heathen superstition: the word is found as early as in Deut. xviii. 10, 14. After bread and water, these are the supports of the State. They are here intermingled thus, without any attempt at arrangement, because the mighty and magnificent State, properly regarded, is but a heterogeneous mixture of Judaism and heathenism, and the godless glory will become a mass of utter confusion when the wrath of Jehovah bursts forth.

Deprived of its proper foundation and torn from its grooves, the kingdom of Judah falls a prey to the most audacious despotism, as shown in ver. 4: "*And I give them boys as princes, and childish caprices shall rule over them.*" The revived glory of Solomon is thus anew followed, as before, by Rehoboam-times. The king is not expressly mentioned,—intentionally so: he has sunk to the mere shadow of a king; it is not he who rules, but the party of aristocrats around

him, who move him about like a puppet as they choose, treating him like one of themselves. Now, if it is in itself generally a misfortune when the king of a country is a lad (נַעַר, Eccles. x. 16), it is doubly so when the princes or magnates surrounding and advising him are also youths (נַעַרִים) or youngsters, in the bad sense of the term: this produces a government of נַעַרִים. None of the nouns of this form has a personal meaning. According to the root-idea of the verb-stem, it is possible that the word may be explained (with Ewald, § 167b) as signifying "childishness," and this as being equivalent to "little children" (the abstract being used for the concrete, like τὰ παιδικά). But there is no need for supposing that נַעַרִים stands for נַעַרִים (or נַעַרִים; see under ver. 12); or, what is comparatively more admissible, that it is an adverbial accusative (the opinion of Cheyne, who translates the passage, "and with wilfulness shall they rule over them"); for נַעַרִים does not necessarily require a personal subject (cf. Ps. xix. 14, ciii. 19). The form נַעַרִים (which occurs only in the plural, and is formed like נַעַרִים) takes its meaning from the reflexive נַעַרִים, which signifies to meddle with, make sport of, give vent to one's caprice; hence this noun signifies "vexations, annoyances" (lxvi. 4). Jerome, who translates the word by *effeminati*, appears to have been thinking of נַעַרִים in an obscene sense; better is the rendering of the LXX. which gives *ἐμπαίχται*, though *ἐμπαίγματα* would be more exact; here, in association with נַעַרִים, it denotes outbursts of youthful caprice, which, whether in joke or in earnest, do injury to others. It is not law and righteousness that will rule, but the very opposite of righteousness,—a course of conduct which treats the subjects as the helpless plaything, at one time of their lust (Judg. xix. 25), at another of their cruelty. Varying humour, utterly unregulated and unrestrained, rules supreme.

Then the people become like the government: passions are let loose, and all restraints of modesty are burst asunder. Ver. 5: "*And the people oppress one another, one this and another that; the boy breaks out furiously upon the old man, and the despised upon the honoured.*" As shown by the clause describing the mutual relation of the persons, נַעַרִים is a Niphal with reciprocal meaning (cf. נַעַרִים, xix. 2); this verb, followed

by **ב**, signifies to treat as a tyrant or taskmaster (see ix. 3). The meanest selfishness then stifles all nobler motives; one becomes a tyrant over another, and rude insolence takes the place of reverence, which, by the law of nature, as well as the Torah (Lev. xix. 32) and custom, is due to the aged and superiors from boys and those in the humbler ranks. **נִקְלָה** (from **נָקַל**, which is synonymous with **קָל**, viii. 23, xxiii. 9; cf. xvi. 14; the root of which is **לָק**, to be light, small) means one who belongs to the lowest stratum of society (1 Sam. xviii. 23), and is the opposite of **נִבְבֵּר** (from **בָּבַר**, to be difficult, weighty): the LXX. well renders *ὁ ἄριμος πρὸς τὸν ἐντιμον*. When there is this disregard of the distinctions due to age and rank, the State in a short time becomes a wild and waste scene of confusion.

At last, there is no longer any authority bearing rule; even the desire to govern dies out, for despotism is followed by mob-rule, and this by anarchy in the most literal sense; distress becomes so great that he who has a coat (cloak), so as to be still able in some degree to clothe himself respectably, is besought to undertake the government. Vers. 6, 7: "*When a man shall lay hold of his brother in his father's house [and say], 'Thou hast a cloak; thou shalt be our ruler, and take this ruin under thy hand,' he will cry out on that day, saying, 'I do not want to be a surgeon, when there is in my house neither bread nor cloak; ye cannot make me ruler of the people.'*" The population will have become so lean and dispirited through hunger, that, with a little energy, it would be possible to decide, within the narrow circle of a family, who is to be ruler, and to carry out the decision. The father's house is the place where (**בֵּית** being here the local accusative) one brother meets the other; and one breaks out into the following words of urgent entreaty, which are here introduced without **לֵאמֹר** (cf. xiv. 8, 16, also xxii. 16, xxxiii. 14). **לִבְנֵה** is a rare mode of writing **לִבְנֵה**, found also in Gen. xxvii. 37; **תִּחְיֶה** indicates the assumption, without any ceremony, that he will agree to what is expected. In Zeph. i. 3, **תִּשְׁלֵחַ** means that through which one comes to ruin; here it means the thing itself that has been overthrown, and this because **שָׁלַח** (not merely to stumble, trip, slip, but actually to tumble over after being thrown off the equilibrium by a

thrust from the outside) is not used of buildings that fall into ruin, and with a reference to the prosopopeia which follows in ver. 8. He who has the advantage over many, or all others, of still being able to clothe himself respectably (even though it were merely with a blouse) is to become supreme ruler or dictator (cf. מֶלֶךְ, Judg. xi. 6), and the State, now lying in a wretched state of ruin, is to be under his hand (i.e. his dominion, his protection and care: 2 Kings viii. 20; Gen. xli. 35; cf. xvi. 9, where, instead of the more usual singular מֶלֶךְ, the plural is found). With ver. 7 begins the apodosis to the protasis introduced by מֵעַתָּה as a particle of time. The answer given by the brother to the urgent request of those who make the appeal is introduced by the words, "he will raise (viz. his voice; see xxiv. 14) on that day, saying:" it is stated in this circumstantial manner because it is a solemn protest. He does not like to be מִשְׁבָּר, i.e. a binder (viz. of the broken arms and legs and ribs of the ruined State, xxx. 26, i. 6, lxi. 1). It is implied in the form מִשְׁבָּר that he does not like it, because he is conscious of his inability. He has no confidence in himself, and the assumption that he has a coat is false; not merely has he no coat at home in his house (in view of which we must remember that the conversation is carried on in his father's house), but he has no bread; hence what is expected from him, almost naked and starving as he is, becomes impossible. "When the purple of the ruler," says the Midrash on Esth. iii. 6, "is offered for sale at the market, then woe to the buyer and the seller alike!"

This deep and tragic misery, as the prophet proceeds to show in vers. 8-12, is righteous retribution. Ver. 8: "*For Jerusalem is overthrown and Judah is fallen, because their tongue and their doings are against Jehovah, to defy the eyes of His glory.*" The name of the city of Jerusalem is regularly (Ges. § 122. 3a) treated as feminine, the name of the people of Judah as masculine; names of nations appear as feminines only when there is a blending of the two ideas, the country and the people (as, for instance, Job i. 15). The two preterites מָשַׁח and מָשַׁח express the general fact which will prove the occasion of such scenes of misery as have just been described. The second clause (a substantive one), on the other hand, beginning with מֵעַתָּה, assigns already

present sin, not sin still future, as the reason of the coming judgment. **אֶל** is employed to indicate hostile direction, as in ii. 4; Gen. iv. 8; Num. xxxii. 14; Josh. x. 6. The capital and the country are in word and deed against Jehovah **לְמַרְוֹת עֵינֵי כְבוֹדוֹ**. Here **עֵינֵי** = **עֵינֵי** and **לְמַרְוֹת** (as in Ps. lxxviii. 17) is the syncopated Hiphil inf. for **לְמַרְוֹת** (cf. the syncopated forms in xxiii. 11, i. 12). The Qal **מָרָה**, which is likewise pretty often construed with the accusative, means to reject in a contumacious manner, and the Hiphil **הִמָּרָה** to treat contumaciously, — properly, to oppose strenuously, *avertely, obniti*: the root is **מָר**, *stringere*, and this is connected with **מָר**, the name of anything bitter, as being astringent, though there is no warrant for the rendering in the LXX. of **מָרָה**, **הִמָּרָה**, **הִמָּר**, Ex. xxiii. 21, by *παπαυκαρπαιευ*. The **לְעֵינֵי** is a somewhat shortened expression for **לְעֵינֵי**, Amos ii. 7; Jer. vii. 18, xxxii. 29. But what does the prophet mean by “the eyes of His glory”? The construction is certainly just the same as is “the arm of His holiness” (lii. 10), and a reference to the divine attributes is thus intended. The glory of God is that eternal manifestation of His holy nature in its splendour which man pictures to himself anthropomorphically, because he cannot conceive of anything more sublime than the human form. It is in this glorious form that Jehovah looks upon His people. In this is mirrored His condescending yet jealous love, His holy love which breaks forth into wrath against all who requite His love with hate.

But Israel, instead of living in the consciousness of being a constant and favoured object of these majestic and earnestly admonishing eyes, is studiously defying them in word and deed, not even hiding its sin through fear of them, but exposing it to view all unabashed. Ver. 9: “*The appearance of their faces testifies against them, and their sin they declare like Sodom, without concealing it; woe to their soul! for they do evil to themselves.*” In any case, what is meant is the insolent look which their sinfulness is stamping upon their faces, without the self-condemnation which in others takes the form of dread to commit sin (Seneca, *de vita beata*, c. 12). The construct form **הִפְרָת**, if derived from **הָפַר** (Jos. Kimchi and Luzzatto), would follow the analogy of **בְּפָרַת**

in Ezek. xxxiv. 12. But חָכַר = Arab. *hakara* (*hakira*), affords no suitable meaning; חָקַרְהוּ is the active noun formed from the Hiphil חָקַר. The common expression חָקַר פְּנֵים signifies to look searchingly, inquiringly, keenly into the face of a person, to fix the eye upon him; and, when used of a judge, to take the side of a person, by showing undue regard to him (Deut. i. 17, xvi. 19). This latter meaning, however ("their respect of persons," "their partiality," Prov. xxiv. 23, xxviii. 21), though supported by Hitzig, Maurer, and Gesenius, is inadmissible here, simply because the words do not refer to judges specially, but to the whole nation. "The appearance of their faces" is to be understood here in an objective sense, their look (ὁ εἶδος, Luke ix. 29), as the *agnitio* of Jerome is also to be taken as meaning *id quo se agnoscendum dat vultus eorum*. This is probably the usual Hebrew designation for what we call physiognomy,—the meaning indicated by the expression of the face, and then the latter itself. The expression of their countenance testifies against them (פְּנֵיהֶם as in lix. 12); for it is the distorted and troubled image of their sin that cannot and will not hide itself. They do not even content themselves, however, with this open though silent display; they further speak openly of their sin, making no concealment of it, like the Sodomites who proclaimed their fleshly lust (Gen. chap. xix.). Jerusalem is, in fact, spiritually Sodom, as the prophet called it in i. 10. Through such shameful sinning they do themselves harm (פָּגַע, allied to פָּעַל, signifies to complete, then to carry out, to show by actual deed): this is the undeniable fact, the actual experience.

But seeing it is the curse of sin that the knowledge of what is perfectly clear and self-evident is just what is marred and even obliterated for man, the prophet dwells still longer on the fact that all sin is self-destruction and self-murder, presenting this general truth with its opposite in palillogic fashion, like the Apostle John, and calling to his contemporaries in vera 10, 11: "*Say of the just, that it is well with him; for they will enjoy the fruit of their doings. Woe to the wicked! it is ill; for what his hands have wrought will be done to him.*" What is declared in Prov. xii. 14 is here re-echoed in prophetic form. We cannot, with Vitringa and

some modern commentators, translate "Praise the righteous one;" for, though **טוב** is sometimes construed with the accusative (Ps. xl. 11, cxlv. 6, 11), it never means to praise, but to utter, express (see also Ps. xl. 11). We have here the transposition familiar to us even from Gen. i. 4,—simple and natural in the case of the verbs **האיר** (cf. also xxii. 9; Ex. ii. 2), **עיר** (1 Kings v. 17), and **טוב** (like λέγειν, John ix. 19): *dicite justum quod bonus* = *dicite justum esse bonum* (Ewald, § 336b): the object of seeing, knowing, or saying is first mentioned generally, and then what qualifies it or defines it in some way. **טוב** and, in ver. 11, **עיר** (**עיר** when not in pause) might both be the 3rd sing. perfect of their verbs, used in a neuter sense: **טוב**, "it is well," viz. to him (as in Deut. v. 30; Jer. xxii. 15 f.); and **עיר** (from **עיר**), "it is ill" (as in Ps. cvi. 32). But Jer. xlv. 17 shows that we may also say **טוב** **הוא**, **עיר** **הוא**, in the sense of *καλῶς ἔχει*, *κακῶς ἔχει*, and that both expressions have been so regarded, and hence in both cases do not need **לו** to be supplied. The form of the first favours this, while in the second the accentuation vacillates between **טוב** with *Tifcha*, **עיר** with *Munach*, and **טוב** with *Merkah*, **עיר** with *Tifcha*; the latter mode of accentuation, however, which favours the personal view of **עיר**, is presented by important editions (such as those of Breschia, 1494; Pesaro, 1516; Venice, 1515 and 1521), and rightly preferred by Luzzatto and Baer. The summary statements, "the righteous is well," "the wicked is ill," are established by the latter end of both, in the light of which the previous misfortune of the righteous appears as good fortune, and the previous good fortune of the wicked as misfortune. With reference to this difference in the eventual fate of each, the call "say," which is common to both clauses, summons to a recognition of the good fortune of the one and the ill fortune of the other. O that Judah and Jerusalem recognised this for their salvation, ere it becomes too late! For the state of the poor nation is already sad enough, and they are very near destruction.

Ver. 12: "*My people,—its oppressors are boys, and women rule over it; my people, thy leaders are misleaders, and they have swallowed the way of thy paths.*" The idea that **לעגל** signifies those who maltreat or abuse others, is opposed by

the parallel נָשִׁים; moreover, the notion of despotic treatment is already contained in נָשִׁים. Along with women, one expects to find children;¹ and this, too, סְוֹלָה means, but not a suckling (Ewald, § 160a), like עָל and עָלִי (see our commentary on Job xvi. 11), for the active form requires an active idea; but עָל does not mean "to suckle" (rather to support, nourish), much less then "to suck," so that it would thus need to signify the suckling in the sense of one who is nourished. This is improbable, however, for the simple reason that it occurs in Jer. xlv. 7 and Lam. ii. 11 along with עָלִי, and thus cannot have exactly the same meaning as the latter word, but, like עָלִי and עָלִי (the former of which may have been contracted from סְוֹלָה), signifies a boy as playful and wanton (*lascivum, protervum*): see the remarks on ver. 4 (where סְוֹלָה occurs with נָשִׁים), and cf. the Bedouinic عَالِل, plur. 'awālil, with the sense of *juvencus* (a young bull, three or four years old). Böttcher correctly renders the word by *pueri* (*lusores*); סְוֹלָה, however, is not, as he supposes, in itself a collective form, but the singular is used collectively; or perhaps better still, the predicate is meant to apply to every individual included in the plural idea of the subject (cf. xvi. 8, xx. 4; Gesenius, § 145. 5), so that the meaning is,—the oppressors of the people, every one without exception, are (even though advanced in years), in their way of thinking and acting, like boys or youths, who make all those subject to them the plaything of their capricious humour. The person of the king — נָשִׁים being understood by Hitzig, Ewald, and Cheyne as a plural of excellence—is here also placed in the background; but the female sway, afterwards mentioned, points us to the court. This must have been the state of the case when Ahaz, a young spendthrift, twenty years of age (according to the LXX., twenty-five), came to the throne, after the end of Jotham's reign. Once more the prophet, with deep pain, repeats the words "my people," and, addressing them directly, passes from the rulers of the nation to the preachers,—for the סְוֹלָה are prophets (Micah iii. 5); but what characters!

¹ An Arabic proverb (*Cat. Codd. Lips.* p. 373) runs thus: "I flee to God in order to escape from the domination of boys and the government of women."

Instead of leading the people on the straight road, they lead them astray (ix. 15; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 9); for, as we know from the history of this gang of prophets, they ministered to the godless interests of the court, making themselves the slaves either of the dynasty or the demagogues; or they pandered to the desires of the people, which were of no higher tone. Moreover, "the way of the path" of the people (*i.e.* the main-road or highway, by the branches of which the people were to reach the goal designed by God) have they "swallowed" (*i.e.* taken away the eyes and feet of the people), so that they cannot find it and walk in it. Nägelsbach renders this passage differently,—“they drag down thy path of life into destruction;” but the solemn nature of the expression rather points to the conclusion that “way” means law, or the path of duty (Theodoret, Jerome, Luther). Whatever is swallowed is invisible; it has disappeared without leaving a trace behind. “To swallow,” in the sense of *deglutire*, is expressed by the Qal, as in xxviii. 4; the Piél שָׁלַט signifies absorption, in the sense of annihilation. The way of salvation shown in the law is no more to be seen or heard; it has perished, as it were, in the preaching of the false prophets with their misleading doctrines.

Such is the state of matters. The exhortations of the prophet have no great range or breadth of view, for he must ever recur to the announcement of judgment. The judgment of the world comes anew before his mind in ver. 13: “*Jehovah is standing to plead, and has stepped forward to judge the nations.*” When Jehovah, wearied of exercising patience, arises from His heavenly throne, this is called קָם, as in ii. 19, 21, xxxiii. 10; when He sits down on the judgment-seat before the eyes of all the world, this is called יָשָׁב, as in Ps. ix. 5; Jonah iv. 12; when He descends from heaven (Micah i. 2 ff.) and comes forward as accuser, this is called קָם or קָמָה, Ps. lxxxii. 1,—the latter word signifies to go forward and stand, in contrast with sitting; while the former means to stand, with the additional idea of being firm, fixed in purpose, ready. But Jehovah’s pleading (רָבָה, Jer. xxv. 31) is likewise judging (רָבָה), because His accusation, which cannot possibly be denied as false, is at the same time the sentence of condemnation; and this sentence, which

irresistibly operates, is at the same time also the execution of the punishment. Thus God stands—Accuser and Judge and Executioner in one Person—in the midst of the nations (Ps. vii. 8). But among the nations it is Israel specially, and among the Israelites it is particularly the leaders of the poor misguided and neglected people against whom He stands, as shown in vers. 14, 15: “*Jehovah will enter into judgment with the elders of His people and their princes,—and you, ye have eaten up the vineyard; the plunder of the sufferer is in your houses. What do you want, that you crush my people, and grind the face of those in suffering? Declaration of the Lord Jehovah of hosts.*” With the first part of ver. 14 cf. Ps. cxliii. 2. The address of God begins with אֲנִי; the clause to which this “and ye” (or “but ye”) forms the contrast is wanting, just as in Ps. ii. 6, where the address of God begins with אֲנִי, “and I” = “but I.” The suppressed clause, however, is easily supplied in some such way as this: “I set you over my vineyard, but ye have eaten up the vineyard.” The question has been asked whether it is God Himself who silently passes over this clause, or the prophet; but certainly it is Jehovah Himself. The majesty with which He comes before the rulers of His people of itself practically and undeniably declares, even without express statement in words, that their majesty is but a shadow of His, and that their office is held from Him and under Him. But their office is owing to God’s having committed His people to their care; the vineyard of Jehovah is His people,—a figure which the prophet, in chap. v., forms into a parable. Jehovah appointed them to be keepers and preserves of this vineyard, but they have themselves become the cattle (בָּצִיר) which they were to drive off; the verb בָּצַר is used in speaking of the cattle that utterly devour the stalks of what grows in a field, or the tender vines in a vineyard (Ex. xxii. 4). The property of which their unhappy fellow-countrymen have been robbed is in their houses, and attests the plundering that has been carried on in the vineyard. הָעָנִי forms an explanation of הָרָעָה; for a lowly and distressful condition is the usual lot of the community which God calls His vineyard; it is an oppressed Church, but woe to the oppressors! In the question מַה לָּכֶם there is implied the

want of understanding and the bold insolence of the beginning they have made: **כִּהִי** is here, after the manner of a prefix, fused into one word with **לָכֵם**, as in Ex. iv. 1; Ezek. viii. 6; Mal. i. 13. The *Qeri*, by resolving the *Kethib*, helps us to understand the meaning. **כִּלְכֵּם** should properly be followed by **כִּי** (*quid est vobis quod atteritis populum meum*, as in xxii. 1, 16), but the discourse hurries on (as in Jonah i. 6) because it is an outburst of wrath. Hence also the expressions setting forth the conduct of the rulers of the people are the strongest possible. **דָּכָא** occurs also in Prov. xxii. 22, but **דָּכָא פָּנֵי** is a strong metaphor of which no other example is found. The former signifies to beat (or pound), while the latter (the extreme opposite of **חָלָה פָּנֵי**) means to grind small (to powder), as the millstone grinds the grain. They beat the face of those who are already bowed down, repelling them with such merciless harshness that they stand as if they were annihilated, and their face becomes pale and white, from oppression and despair,—or even (without any reference to the loss of colour) so that their joyful appearance is exchanged for the features and gait of men in despair. Thus far, language still affords figurative expressions fitted in some measure for describing the conduct of the rulers of Israel, but it lacks the power of adequately expressing the boundless immorality of this conduct; hence the greatness of their wicked cruelty is set before them for consideration in the form of a question: "What is it to you?" i.e. what kind of unutterable wickedness is this you are beginning? Thus the prophet hears Jehovah speak,—the majestic Judge whom he here calls **אֲדֹנָיִי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת** (to be read *Adōnāy Elohīm Zebaoth*, according to the traditional vocalization). This threefold name of God, which pretty frequently occurs in Amos, and also in Jer. ii. 19, first appears in the Elohist psalm lxix. (ver. 7),—as this judgment-scene generally is painted with psalm-colours, and especially reminds us of Ps. lxxxii. (Elohist, and a psalm of Asaph).

But though the prophet has this judgment-scene thus vividly and dramatically before him, yet he cannot help breaking off, even after he has but begun the description; for another message of Jehovah comes to him. It is for the women of Jerusalem, whose sway is now, when the prophet

is delivering his burden, not one whit less influential in the capital (see ver. 12, beginning) than that of their husbands, who had forgotten their calling. Vers. 16, 17: "*And Jehovah hath spoken: Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with necks stretched forth and twinkling with the eyes, walk with tripping gait, and tinkle with their foot ornaments; therefore the Lord maketh the crown of the head of Zion's daughters scabbed, and Jehovah will make bare their secret parts.*" Their pride of heart (נָּבִיחַ is used as in Ezek. xvi. 50, cf. Zeph. iii. 11) reveals itself in their outward conduct. They go with outstretched neck, i.e. bending back the fore part of the neck, seeking to make themselves taller than they are, since they think themselves exceedingly great. Cornelius à Lapide here remarks: *instar gruum vel cygnorum; habitus hic est insolentis ac procacis*. (The *Qert* here substitutes the usual form נָּבִיחַ, but Isaiah perhaps intentionally employed the more rare and rugged form נָּבִיחַ, for this form actually occurs in 1 Sam. xxv. 18, as also its singular נָּבִיחַ for נָּבִיחַ in Job xv. 22, xli. 25.) Moreover, they go twinkling (נָּבִיחַ, not נָּבִיחַ, "falsifying") the eyes (like נָּבִיחַ, the accusative of closer specification), i.e. in pretended innocence casting wanton and amatory glances about them (LXX. *νεύματα ὀφθαλμῶν*): this participle comes from נָּבִיחַ=נָּבִיחַ, not in the sense of *fulcare* (Targum, *Shabbath* 62b, *Yoma* 9b, Luther), properly "to dye reddish-yellow" (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 132a, "with red collyrium;" Talm. שָׁרַח, parall. כָּחַל, *Kethuboth* 17a); but secondarily to paint the face. This derived sense is in itself not probable here, from the simple fact that the painting of the eyelids black with powdered antimony (נָּבִיחַ, liv. 11) was not considered a piece of vanity, but regarded as an indispensable item of female adornment. The verb is rather used in the sense of *nictare* (LXX. Vulgate, Syriac, cf. Saad. "making their eyes flash"), syn. נָּבִיחַ, cf. נָּבִיחַ, Syr. to squint, Targ. = נָּבִיחַ, Job xx. 9. Compare also the Talmudic witticism, "God did not create the woman out of Adam's ear, lest she might become an eavesdropper (נָּבִיחַ); nor out of Adam's eye, lest she might become a winker (נָּבִיחַ)." ¹

¹ Cf. also *Sota* 47b: "Since there has been increase in the number of women with extended neck and winking eyes, there has also been increase of the cases in which the curse-water (Num. v. 18) had to be used." To

The third descriptive clause states that they walk *incedendo et saliendo*: the second infinitive absolute is here, as usual, that which gives the definite colour to the expression, while the other keeps before the eye the occurrence that would be denoted by the verb in its finite form. They go skipping along (קָפְצוּ, cf. طَفَّرَ طَفًّا, to spring, so called from drawing the

feet together; hence קָפְצוּ, the skipping little family), i.e. taking short and tripping steps, almost always placing the heel at the great toe, as the Talmud everywhere says. The LXX. gives a rendering of interest for the history of luxury in dress: καὶ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν ἅμα σύρουσαι τοὺς χιτῶνας. Quite as appropriate, but contrary to the meaning of the words, is the rendering of Luther, "they walk along and waggle," i.e. *clunibus agitatis*, a meaning for which the Semitic has other expressions (see *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xvi. 587).¹ But the rendering should rather be "tripping;" for only such little steps can they take, owing to their pace-chains, which join together the costly foot-rings (קָפְצִים) that were placed above the ankle. With these pace-chains, which perhaps even then as now, were sometimes provided with little bells, they make a tinkling sound,—an idea which is here expressed by the denominative verb קָפַץ; with their feet they make a tinkling sound, clinking the ankle-ornaments, by placing the feet in such a way as to make these ankle-rings strike one another. In view of this fact, בְּרִנְיָהֶם for בְּרִנְיָהֶן is perhaps not an unintentional interchange of gender; they are not modest *virgines*, but bold *viragines*, and thus in their own persons display a *synallage generis*. This coquettish clinking,

such an extent, indeed, did the evil grow, as is well known, that Johanan ben Zaccai, the pupil of Hillel, completely abolished the ordeal of the Sota (i.e. the woman suspected of adultery); his contemporaries were thoroughly adulterous (μοιχαλίδες). Synonymous with מְשַׁקֵּרֶת is *pada*, a Latin epithet of Venus, which Philoxenus glosses by μέγαν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς; but a different meaning is conveyed by ὀφθαλμοί, which also is a term having reference to the eyes.

¹ The translation of the Targum בְּרִנְיָהֶן קָפְצִים is explained in the same way by Gesenius (*Theaurus*, p. 554) to mean *clunes agitanes*, but more correctly by Rashi to signify "putting on false hair-toupees," פְּתָא = פְּתָא (הַפְּתָא). See Levy's *Targumic Dictionary*, under נָקָה I. and פְּתָא.

though forbidden by the Qoran, is still the delight of women in Moslem Oriental countries at the present day, as the women of Jerusalem enjoyed it in Isaiah's days. Great is the attractive influence of natural charms, especially when enhanced by lavish employment of art; but the prophet, blind to this display of splendour, sees only the filthiness within, and announces to the women of rank a foul and by no means aesthetic fate. The Almighty will smite with scab the crown of their head, from which long hair now flows down (פִּתְחָהּ has 1 consecutive, and, at the same time, forms the apodosis; the verb is a "denominative" from כִּפְחָהּ, which means the scab or scurf which deposits itself on the skin); and Jehovah, by delivering them over to the violation of and insult of coarse enemies, will uncover their nakedness, —the greatest disgrace in the eyes of a woman, who covers herself as carefully as possible from every stranger (xlvi. 3; Nah. iii. 5; Jer. xiii. 22; Ezek. xvi. 37). The noun פֶּתַח is derived from a verb פָּחַח (Arab. *faut*, *tefāwut*, signifying *intercapedo*), so that פִּתְחָהּ or פִּתְחָהּ (cf. Stade, § 353b, and, further, פָּחַח for פִּתְחָהּ in Ezek. xxxiv. 31) is thus a designedly disrespectful term; cf. פִּתְחָהּ, plur. פִּתְחוֹת, a Biblical and Talmudic word signifying *cardo femina*. The Babylonians read פִּתְחָהּ from פֶּתַח, which is rather derived from פָּחַח (cf. יִרְכָּן; also פִּתְחָהּ in the sense of *vulva*, in *Pesachim* 87a; and in explanation of this passage, *Shabbath* 62b).¹

The prophet now proceeds in vers. 18-23 to describe further how the Lord will tear from them their whole toilet as plunder for their foes: "*On that day will the Lord remove the splendour of the ankle-clasps, and of the forehead-bands, and of the crescents; the ear-drops, and the arm-chains, and the light veils; the tiaras, and the stepping-chains, and the girdles, and the smelling-bottles, and the amulets; the finger-rings and the nose-rings; the gala-dresses, and the sleeved-frocks, and the wrapping-cloaks, and the pockets; the hand-mirrors, and the*

¹ Luzzatto explains פֶּתַח by the Aram. פִּתְחָהּ, "forehead;" but this word, the full form of which is פִּתְחָהּ, is equivalent to פָּנִים, פְּנִיָּה, the face or countenance; moreover, the Syriac *fāt* (whence comes *l'fāt* = לִפְתִּי), which Bernstein regards as a collateral form from *fām*, פִּי, the "mouth," is the apocopated *apāt* = *apai*.

Sindu-covers, and the turbans, and the gauze-mantles." The oldest commentary on this passage, important for the information it affords regarding ancient costumes, though itself needing explanation, is found in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Shabbath* vi. 4. Later writers who have industriously treated of these articles of female dress are Nic. Wilh. Schröder, in his *Commentarius de vestitu mulierum Hebraearum ad Jes.* iii. 16–24 (Lugd. Batav. 1745, 4to), and Ant. Theod. Hartmann (sometime Professor in Rostock), in his work entitled, *Die Hebräerin am Putztische und als Braut*, 1809–10 (3 vols. 8vo); cf. Saalschütz's *Archäologie* (1885), chap. 3 of which treats of the dress of men and women; and Sal. Rubin, נאמן ירושלים (on the luxury, love of show, and mode of living among the Hebrew women referred to in the Bible), in vol. i. of the monthly magazine called *השחר* (also published separately, Vienna 1870). [See also Keil's *Biblical Archaeology* (English translation, Edinburgh 1888), vol. ii. 142.] It is not customary elsewhere with Isaiah to be so detailed in his descriptions; among all the prophets, Ezekiel most displays this style of writing (see, for example, chap. xvi.); nor do we find anything similar again in other prophecies against women (cf. xxxii. 9 ff.; Amos iv. 1 ff.). Here ends the enumeration of articles of female finery and show; and while it forms a trilogy with the enumeration of the props of State in iii. 1–3, and the enumeration in ii. 13–16 of persons and things lofty and exalted, it has its own special ground in the boundless love of ornament which had become prevalent especially during the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, it is intended to make a serious impression, and yet show the ridiculous character of the unrestrained luxury actually existing; for it is the prophet's design in this address throughout to draw a sharp contrast between the titanic, party-coloured, noisy, worldly glory, and the true glory, which is spiritual, grandly simple, and shows itself in working outwards from within. Indeed, the subject of the whole address is the course of universal judgment from false glory to the true. The general idea of "splendour" or "glory" (*האֲדָמָה*), which stands at the head and forms the foundation of the whole, already points to the contrast which follows in iv. 2, with quite another kind of glory.

In explaining each particular term, we must content ourselves with stating what is most necessary and comparatively most certain regarding the words which here occur. **עֲקָסִים** (from **עָקַס**, **عكش عكس**, to bind, see the remarks on lix. 5) are rings worn round the ankles, and made of gold, silver, or ivory: hence the denominative verb **עָקַס** (used in ver. 16), to make a clinking sound with these rings. **שָׁבִיטִים** (from **שָׁבַץ=שָׁבַץ**, to weave) are bands woven of gold or silver thread, worn on the forehead and under the hair-net, and extending from one ear to the other; plausible, but less probable, is the explanation current since Schröder's time, that the word means sun-like balls (**שָׁבִיטִים**), worn as ornaments round the neck (Arab. *sumeisa*, *subeisa*, a little sun). **שִׁירָיִים** are *bullulae* of this kind, moon-shaped ornaments (Arab. **شهر**, Aram. **סדר**, moon), fastened round the neck, and hanging down on the breast (Judg. viii. 26; cf. 21, royal ornaments), half-moons or crescents (*hilálat*), like those of which an Arabic girl usually possesses several kinds, for the *hilál* (new moon) is an emblem of increasing good fortune,¹ and, as such, the most approved means of warding off the evil eye.² **נִסְמוֹת** are ear-drops (found in Judg. viii. 26 as a designation of the ornament worn by Midianite kings); hence the Arab. *munattafa*, a female adorned with ear-rings. **שָׁרִיט** (from **שָׁרַר**, to twist) are chains, and these, too (according to the Targum), chains for the arms, or spangles for the wrists, corresponding to the spangles for the ankles; the arm-chain or bracelet is still at the present day called *siwár* (hence the denominative **סוּר**, to present or adorn with a bracelet). **רָעָלֹת** are veils (from **רָעַל**, Aram.

¹ In this sense the crescent is the sign (*waam*) with which the tribe of the *Ruwaile* mark their herds as their property.

² "Amulet" and "talisman" are both words derived from the Arabic; the former comes from **حَمِيْلَة** instead of the plural **حَمَائِل** (from

حَمَلَ, to bear, carry), which is more usual in this sense,—see, however, Gildemeister (in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxviii. 140-142), who considers *amuletum* an old Latin word: the latter is from

طَلِسْم, the Arabic form of *τίλισμα*.

גרל, גרל, גרל, to be loose and flaccid, to hang down or hang over loosely); these were more costly and of better quality than the ordinary veil worn by maidens, which is called צַיִת. פְּאָרִים are *tiaras*; the term occurs elsewhere in Scripture only in passages in which the word is applied to coverings for the heads of men (the priests, the bridegroom, and persons of rank). צַעֲרוֹת are the stepping-chains (from צָעַר, which primarily means a step or pace; then the little chain which makes the pace short and elegant). קֶשֶׁרִים (from קָשַׁר, to gird) are dress girdles, such as the bride wears on the marriage-day (cf. Jer. ii. 22 with Isa. xlix. 18); the Targum wrongly renders קַלְמָסִים hair-pins (καλαμίδες). בְּתֵי נֶפֶשׁ are holders of scent (נֶפֶשׁ being used only here in the sense of the breath of an aroma). Luther appropriately renders the expression "musk-apples," i.e. capsules filled with musk. לְחָשִׁים (from לָחַשׁ, to whisper, to work magically) are amulets worn either as charms or as a protection against witchcraft, perhaps something like the later שְׂמִיטָה (Shabbath 60a), i.e. small plates with an inscription, or small bunches of plant-roots with sanative powers. טָבָעוֹת (from טָבַע, to sink into, seal) are signet-rings worn on the finger, corresponding to the חֹמֶם worn by men on a string hanging down over the breast. קְנִי הָאָז are the nose-rings in common use from patriarchal times (Gen. xxiv. 22) till the present, generally put through the right nostril, and hanging down over the mouth; they are different from חָה (a word occurring seven times), which is the ring put through the nose of animals, though this term is also found along with נֶחֱם in Ex. xxxv. 22 as the designation of an ornament.¹ מַחְלָאוֹת are garments such as a person of rank brings out and presents to another,—gala-dresses, robes of honour (from חָלַע, חָלַע, to draw out; as a denominative verb it signifies to put on a gala-dress); the Arab. is خَلَعٌ (usually pronounced خَلْعَةٌ, whence our "gala," Spanish *gala*; it does not come from حُلِّي = حُلِيَّة, حُلِيَّة, jewellery, ornaments).

¹ This נֶחֱם signifies also an ear-ring, which afterwards came to be called קְנִי by way of distinction; see the essay on "Ohrgehänge (נְחִים) als götzendienerisches Geräth," in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, x. (1872) pp. 45-48.

מַעֲטָפָה is the second tunic or frock, which was worn over the ordinary one,—the Roman *stola*. מַעֲטָפוֹת (from מָפַח, to spread out) are wrappers or broad wrapping-cloths,¹ like the one which Ruth wore when she crept close to Boaz in her best attire (Ruth iii. 15). תְּרִיטִים (here written תְּרִיטִים with the article, according to the Masora) are pockets into which people put money (2 Kings v. 23), which at other times is carried in the girdle or in a purse (פֶּסֶם). גְּלִיטִים (according to LXX. διαφανή λακωνικά, sc. ἱμάτια) are Lacedaemonian gauze or crape dresses, which reveal rather than conceal the nakedness (from גָּלָה in the sense of laying bare); Kimchi (in his Lexicon, under גָּלָה) compares the Arab. جلوة, a transparent dress; but the word is more certainly mirrors with handles, polished plates of metal (from גָּלָה, جلا, جلى, in the primary sense of making smooth), for גְּלִיטִין elsewhere signifies a smooth table, as in the later Hebrew it means the empty space on the page of a book, the margin.² קְרִינִים are veils or coverings made of the finest linen, perhaps of Sindu or Hindu texture (συνδόνες); for *Sindu*, the country of the Indus, is the ancient name of India (see our commentary on Prov. xxxi. 24).³ צִנִּיפּוֹת (from צָנַף, to roll up) are the turbans or headbands formed of cloths of various colours, twisted round the head.

¹ The term מַעֲטָפָה is very commonly used in the Mishna and the Gemara to signify a wrapping-cloth, such as a bath-sheet, or a cloth in which articles (e.g. the Levitical utensils) are wrapped up, a cloth for wiping off (such as a hand towel or bath towel); see, for example, *Kelim* xxiv. 13, xxviii. 5. On the other hand, מַחְלָצוֹת has no connection with the Mishnic term מַחְצֵלוֹת, which means plaited mats for covering and laying on the top of an object, but not for folding round anything.

² The Jerusalem Talmud everywhere explains גְּלִיטִים by גְּלִיטִיָּה, and in *Bereschith rabba* c. 19, גְּלִיטִין occurs as a specific article belonging to the class of תְּרִיטִים, corresponding to the articles of male attire named קַלָּסֶה, *galeae*; Levy accordingly renders it by "headband," and derives it from גָּלָה=גָּלָה. But, as shown by the use of the word in other passages, the root does not mean to roll or wind, but to make smooth, or lay bare.

³ The Mishna (*Kelim* xxiv. 13) distinguishes between three kinds of סְדִינָן, the material used for bed-clothes, the material used for curtains, and that used for embroidering. The Sindon is pretty often mentioned as a covering for the body; and in *Menachoth* 41a we read לְקִיטָא סְדִינָא, "the sindon is summer clothing, the sarbal (cloak) is winter clothing,"—a passage which explains Mark xiv. 51 f.

רִידִים (from רִיד = רִיד, to spread out) are wide mantles, light and loose, for throwing over the shoulders and the body.

No mention is made of stockings and pocket-handkerchiefs; the former were not introduced into Western Asia from Media till long after Isaiah's time, and a lady of Jerusalem needed a pocket-handkerchief as little as one of Greece or Rome. The *σουδάρια καὶ σιμικλυθία* mentioned in Acts xix. 12 were not used for cleaning the nose. Nor did the veil (*burka*), now commonly used for muffling the face, excepting the eyes, form a portion of female dress among the ancient Israelites.¹ The prophet mentions together twenty-one articles of personal adornment, a threefold evil seven, especially for the husbands of these State dolls. In the enumeration there is no order observed, — from above downwards, or from without inwards; there is as little arrangement in it as in the whole array of attire itself.

When Jehovah now will take away all this grandeur with which the women of Jerusalem are laden, they will become wretched-looking captives, disfigured by ill-treatment and dirt. Ver. 24: "*And instead of balmy fragrance there will be a mouldy smell, and instead of a sash a rope, and instead of artistic dressing of hair a baldness, and instead of a wide cloak a frock of sackcloth, branding instead of beauty.*" Then, in place of the בִּשְׁם (i.e. the odour arising from the powder of balsam, and aromatic powder in general) there comes mouldiness (רֶמֶס, as in v. 24, the dust of things that have rotted or moulded away) from which a dust may be raised, and the smell of which cannot but be felt; and in place of the חֲנִיתָה (the beautifully embroidered girdle, Prov. xxxi. 24) there shall be נֶקֶבָה. This word signifies neither a "wound" (as interpreted by the Targum and Talmud) nor "rags" (the opinion of Knobel in his first edition), — views which find some support in the derivation from נָקַף as meaning to smite through, cut through, — but it denotes the rope (as rightly rendered in

¹ Rashi remarks on *Shabbath* 65a, "The Israelitish women in Arabia go out veiled (רַעֲלוֹת), wearing a veil that muffles the countenance), while those in India go out פְּרוּצוֹת (with a cloak fastened together above, about the mouth)."

the LXX. Vulgate, and Syriac) which is thrown over them as prisoners: the word is derived from *קָנָה*, to turn round, revolve, and is thus the feminine of a masc. *קָנָה* or *קָנָה*: it is unnecessary to assume the existence of a verb *קָנָה*=*קָנָה*, signifying to twist (as is done by Meier, and by Knobel in his second edition).¹ A baldness takes the place of *מַעֲשֵׂה מְקֻשָּׁה* (not *מַעֲשֵׂה*, so that the second noun is in apposition, as in the case of two indeterminate notions; see also Ezek. xxii. 18; 1 Chron. xv. 19, etc.; cf. also the remarks on xxx. 20), i.e. not (as the LXX. renders) a golden head-ornament, though *מַעֲשֵׂה* in other passages signifies embossed or carved work in metal or wood: by "artificial turned-work" is here meant hair either crisped with the curling-iron, or artificially plaited and set up, which custom compels them to cut off in times of mourning (xv. 2, xxii. 12), or which falls off from them through grief. A *מַחְלֵט שֵׁשׁ*, i.e. a smock of coarse hair-cloth, comes in place of the *פְּתִילִים*, i.e. dress cloak (from *פָּתַח*, the root of which is *פָּתַח*, to be open, spreading, with the noun-ending *ל*: *Targ.* *פָּתַח*=*לְבוּשׁ*; *סִרְיָן*; by the old interpreters, beginning with the Talmud, the word was misunderstood, as if it were a compound of *פָּתַח* and *נִיל*); and in place of beauty comes *קִי*, a branding mark (= *קִי*, the cognate form being *קִיָּה*, which occurs in the legal enactment, Ex. xxi. 25; the word is derived from *קָיָה*, Arab. *كوى*, which is especially used of cauterizing with the *مَكْرَاة*, i.e. red-hot iron, as practised by surgeons), which is burnt by the conquerors into their forehead, though proud and beautiful as Juno's. For *קִי* (Arab. *كوى*) is a noun,² not a particle, as in Jer. ii. 34; in correct codices it stands without Maqqeph, and with *Tifcha*, but *מַחְלֵט* with *Mercha*, and the first letter of this word with Dagesh.

¹ Of cognate origin perhaps is the Arab. *nukba* (explained in Zamachšari, *Mokaddima*, Wetstein's edition, p. 62, by the Persian *mijân-bend*, a waist-belt), a kind of apron fastened by means of a drawing-string, according to the Turkish *Kâmûs*.—*FL*

² In Arabia the application of the *kej* by means of a red-hot piece of iron (*mikwâh*) plays an important part in the medical treatment of man and beast. One sees many people who have been burned, not merely on the legs and arms, but also on the face; and the most beautiful horses are generally disfigured by the *kej*.

The form of the word is like אָ, עָ, זָ, נָ, Job xxxvii. 11; along with נָ, Simson ha-Nakdan also compares זָ in Ezek. xxvii. 32. The inverted arrangement of the words in the last of the five clauses is very effective. In the fivefold exchange, shame and sadness take the place of the haughty rejoicing of luxury.

The prophet now, by a sudden transition, directly addresses the people of Jerusalem; for the "daughters of Zion" are the daughter Zion in her present degenerate state. The daughter Zion loses her sons; the daughters of Zion thereby lose their husbands. Ver. 25: "*Thy men will fall by the sword, and thy heroism in the war.*" The plural מְחִיִּים (the singular of which—in Ethiopic, *met*, "man" in the sense of husband, the Latin *maritus*—is still found only in the form מְחִי, with the union-vowel *u*, as a constituent part of proper names) is a prose-word in the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy; elsewhere it is a poetic archaism. מְחִיִּים is changed for מְחִיִּיּוֹתָי, "thy heroic power," an abstract expression meaning the inhabitants of the city, in the same way as *robur* and *robora* are also used in Latin (probably in like manner Jer. xlix. 35).

What the prophet here predicts for the daughter Zion he sees in ver. 26 as fulfilled on her: "*Then will her gates lament and mourn; and she is made desolate, sits down on the earth.*" The gates where the husbands of the daughter of Zion, now fallen in the war, used at one time to assemble in such numbers, have been deserted, and in this condition one as it were hears them complain and sees them mourn (xiv. 31; Jer. xiv. 2; Lam. i. 4); and the daughter Zion herself is quite vacated, thoroughly emptied, utterly stripped of her former population. In this state of saddest widowhood, or bereavement of her children, brought down from her former exalted position (xlvi. 8) and princely adornment (Jer. xiii. 18), she sits on the ground in the manner shown on Roman commemorative medals, struck after the destruction of Jerusalem, which represented Judea as a woman utterly crushed and in despair, sitting under a palm-tree before a warrior standing erect, while there is inscribed at the side, *Judaea capta* (or *devicta*). The LXX. translates in accordance with the general sense, καὶ καταλειφθήσῃ μόνῃ καὶ εἰς

τῇν γῆν ἐδαφισθήσῃ (cf. Luke xix. 14),—only יָשָׁב is not the second, but the third person, as also יִשְׁבּ is third person perfect Niphal (for יִשְׁבּ), a pausal form, such as is often found also with smaller distinctive accents than Silluk and Athnach (here in connection with *Tifcha*, as also in v. 9, xxii. 14; 1 Kings v. 31; Amos iii. 8). The clause יָשָׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל follows without any connecting particle, as is pretty frequently the case when one of the two verbs stands in relation to the other as a closer specification which would otherwise be expressed adverbially, as for instance in 1 Chron. xiii. 2, and with inverted arrangement of the words, Jer. iv. 5; cf. xii. 6: in her depopulated and therefore isolated condition, or her deprivation also of even the most necessary articles of household furniture (cf. xlvii. 1, 5, and the Talmudic נָקַי מִכֶּסֶּי, “robbed of his property”), Zion sits on the earth.

When war shall have thus unsparingly swept away the men of Zion, then will arise an unnatural state of things: women will not be sought by men, but men by women. Chap. iv. 1: “*And seven women shall lay hold of one man on that day, saying, Our own bread will we eat, and in our own garments will we clothe ourselves; only let thy name be named upon us, take away our reproach.*” The division of the chapters is wrong, for this verse is the closing one of the prophecy against the women, and the concluding portion of the whole discourse only begins with iv. 2. The present pride of the daughters of Zion, every one of whom deems herself the greatest, as the wife of so-and-so, and whom many men now woo, comes to an end with the self-humiliating fact that seven of them offer themselves to one man,—any one,—and that, too, with a renunciation of the claim, legally resting on the husband, for food and clothing (Ex. xxi. 10). It is enough for them to be allowed to bear his name (שָׁם is employed, as in lxiii. 19: the name is put upon what is named, because giving it its definiteness and its character); he is to take away their reproach merely by letting them be called his wives (viz. the reproach of being unmarried, liv. 4, as in Gen. xxx. 23 the reproach was that of being childless). Grotius appropriately compares Lucan (*Pharsalia*, ii. 342): *Da tantum nomen inane connubii, liceat tumulo scripsisse Catonis Marcia*. The number seven (seven women to one man) is explained by

the fact that there is an evil seven as well as a sacred seven (for example, Matt. xii. 45).

With iv. 1 end the threatenings addressed to the women of Jerusalem. It is the side-piece which accompanies the threatenings against the rulers of the nation. Both scenes of judgment are but parts of the picture showing the doom about to fall on Jerusalem and Judah as a State or commonwealth. And even this again is but a part, namely, the central group in the picture of a much more comprehensive judgment about to fall on everything lofty and exalted on the earth. Jerusalem is thus the centre and focus of the great judgment-day for the world. In Jerusalem there is concentrated the ungodly glory now ripe for judgment; here, too, will concentrate the light of the true glory in the latter days. To this promise, with which the discourse returns to its starting-point, the prophet now passes directly. But indeed no transition-stage is needed; for the judgment in itself is the medium of salvation. Jerusalem is sifted by being judged; and by being sifted it is delivered, pardoned, glorified. In this sense the prophet proceeds, with the words "on that day," to describe the one great day of God at the end of time (not a day of twenty-four hours any more than the seven days of creation) in its leading features, as beginning with judgment but bringing deliverance. Ver. 2: "*On that day will the sprout of Jehovah become an ornament and glory, and the fruit of the earth pride and splendour for the saved ones of Israel.*" The four terms signifying glory, here combined in pairs, confirm us in the expectation that after the mass of Israel have been swept away together with the objects of their worthless pride, mention will be made of what will become an object of well-grounded pride for the "escaped of Israel" (i.e. those who have escaped destruction, the remnant that has survived the judgment). According to this interpretation of what is promised, it is impossible that it can be the Church of the future itself that is called "the sprout of Jehovah" and "the fruit of the earth" (the opinion of Luzzatto, Malbim, and Reuss); moreover, considering the contrast drawn between what is promised and what is set aside, it is improbable that צִמְחַת יְהוָה and פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ (not "fruit of the ground," פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה) mean the blessing of harvest bestowed by Jehovah, the rich produce of

the land. For though "the sprout of Jehovah" may possibly signify this (Gen. xix. 25; Ps. civ. 14), and though fertility of the land is a permanent feature in the promise regarding the latter days (as seen in xxx. 23 ff.; Zech. ix. 16 f.; cf. the close of Joel and Amos, also the end of Hos. ii.), while it is also said that the fruitful fields of Israel will become famous in the eyes of the nations (Ezek. xxxiv. 29; Mal. iii. 12; cf. Joel ii. 17), yet this earthly, material good, of which, moreover, there was no lack during the times of Uzziah and Jotham, was wholly unsuited for forming a contrast that would quite outshine the worldly glory hitherto prevailing. Even after granting what Hofmann says, "that the blessing which comes from the fields, as the natural gift of God, may form a contrast with the studied works of art and articles imported from abroad of which men had hitherto been proud," yet what Rosenmüller had previously remarked remains true, "that the grandeur of the whole discourse is opposed to this interpretation." Let any one but compare xxviii. 5, where Jehovah Himself is in like manner called the glory and ornament of the remnant of Israel. But if צֶמַח יְהוָה is neither the delivered remnant itself, nor the fruit of the field which Jehovah causes to sprout, it will be the name of the Messiah: such is the view given in the Targum, and such also is the opinion, among modern commentators, of Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Steudel, Umbreit, Caspari, Drechsler, Strachey, and de Lagarde.¹ The great King coming in the future is called צֶמַח (*ἀνατολή* in the sense of Heb. vii. 14), as a Sprout arising from soil which is at once earthly, human, and Davidic,—a Sprout that Jehovah has planted in the earth, and causes to burst through and sprout up as the pride of His congregation, which was waiting for this heavenly Child. In the parallel member of the verse, this Child is likewise called בְּרִי הָאָרֶץ, as the fruit which the land will bring forth,—just as Zedekiah is called בְּרִי הָאָרֶץ in Ezek. xvii. 5, because the same reasons

¹ In his *Semítica* (i. 178) on this passage, this writer explains צֶמַח יְהוָה as *αὐτομάτως φύειν* and *ἀναθίεν διδωρημένον*, so that, taken in conjunction with Jer. xxxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15, it points to a descendant of the house of David whom Jehovah causes to be born in a time of darkness and distress, in contrast with the natural descendant that had become utterly useless and worthless.

for which צֶמַח יְהוָה cannot mean the blessing of the fields apply with like force to פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ , instead of which there would be used the expression פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה , if the produce of agriculture were intended,—for whenever the former expression occurs instead of the latter, there is always a probable reason for the choice, as in Num. xiii. 20, 26 ; Deut. i. 25 ; cf. Lev. xxv. 18 f. Here, however, it was necessary to say “the fruit of the ground” in order to make clear the meaning of the expression “the sprout of Jehovah,” for it is self-evident that אֲדָמָה means the land of Israel. In this way therefore will the Messiah be the “fruit of the earth” as the noblest fruit of the land in the future,—fruit in which all growth and bloom in the history of Israel reaches the end that has been promised and appointed of God.

Without importing New Testament ideas into the passage, we may nevertheless account for this double designation of the Coming One merely on the ground of the endeavour to describe the twofold aspect of His origin : on the one side, He comes from Jehovah, and yet on the other side He is also of earthly origin, by His going forth from Israel. We have here the passage on the basis of which צֶמַח has come to be adopted in Jeremiah (xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15) and Zechariah (iii. 8, vi. 12) as a proper name of the Messiah. There is much that commends itself, however, in Bredenkamp's interpretation : “The prophet here depicts the circle of light forming part of the future glory, but not its centre. The Sprout of Jehovah—an expression which points to the silent and mysterious power of creative grace—and the fruit of blessing with which the land is clothed, is the same as is called in Hos. iii. 5, ‘the goodness of Jehovah,’ the good things of the last days, which, as the gift of God, will present themselves on the ruins of the glory that has passed away.” Nägelsbach also understands what is promised in the sense of the declaration in lxi. 11.

Connecting itself with the expression $\text{קָדִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ in ver. 2, ver. 3 goes on to describe the Church of the future : “*And it shall come to pass, whoever is left in Zion and remains in Jerusalem,—holy will he be called, every one who is written down for life in Jerusalem.*” The keynote of the whole verse is given by the word “holy.” Whereas formerly, in Jerusalem, persons were distinguished according to their

rank and their fortune, without regard to their moral worth (iii 1-3, 10 f.; cf. xxxii 5), "holy" will then be the one chief name of honour befitting every individual, inasmuch as the national vocation of Israel (Ex. xix. 6, etc.) would now be realized in every one. Hence the expression "he shall be called" is not, of course, equivalent to "he shall be," but it presupposes this, as in i. 26, lxi. 6, lxii. 4. "Holy" (קדוש) means what is separated from the world and superior to it; the congregation of the saints, or holy ones, who now inhabit Jerusalem, are what remain after a smelting; their holiness is the consequence of a washing. The term הַנִּשְׁאָר is interchanged with הַנּוֹתָר: the former word contains the idea of intention as a part of its meaning, and thus signifies what has been purposely left behind; the latter points more to the simple fact, and signifies what remains over or is left. The latter part of ver. 3 declares the character and the numbers of those who will constitute this "remnant of grace." This apposition-clause means something more than those who are entered as living in Jerusalem; for לְחַתֵּב signifies not merely "to inscribe as" something, but (like חַתֵּב with the accusative, Jer. xxii. 30) "to inscribe as destined for" something. Whether we translate לְחַיִּים "for life" (as in Dan. xii. 2), or—a less probable meaning, however, as the form is not לְחַיִּים—"for living ones" (cf. Ps. lxix. 29; 1 Sam. xxv. 29), there is always contained in the expression לְחַתֵּב the idea of predestination, the presupposition of a divine "Book of life" (Ex. xxxii 32 f.; Dan. xii. 1; cf. Ps. cxxxix. 16; Rev. xx. 12, etc.), and thus a meaning like that which is contained in the words of Acts xiii. 48, ὅσοι ἠσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. The reference is to persons who, on account of the good kernel of faith which is in them, have their names standing in the book of life as those who are to be partakers of the life in the New Jerusalem, and who, in accordance with this divine purpose of grace, have been spared amidst the sifting judgment. For it is only by passing through the judgment, which sets free this kernel of faith, that such a holy community can be formed.

Whether ver. 4 belongs to ver. 3 and specifies the condition and the time of the fulfilment of what is there indicated, is a question as difficult to decide as the similar case in

Ps. lxiii. 7a. It seems more likely and natural, however, that ver. 4 is a hypothetical protasis to ver. 5: the combination of clauses will then be like what is found in 2 Sam. xv. 33 f.: "*When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughter of Zion and purged away the blood-guiltiness of Jerusalem from the midst of her, by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of sifting; then Jehovah creates*" . . . Here, as in xxiv. 13, **נָסָה** followed by a preterite forms the *futurum exactum* (Gesen. § 106. 3c), and introduces that through the preceding occurrence of which the other is conditioned. The imperfect **יִסְּף** (Hiphil, to wash or rinse away, as in 2 Chron. iv. 6; Ezek. xl. 38, to rinse off; from **נָסָה**, to push away) likewise obtains the meaning of a *futurum exactum* through the preterite **נָסָה** (cf. the very same consecution of tenses in vi. 11). The double purification corresponds to the two scenes of judgment described in chap. iii. The filth of the women of Zion is the moral pollution hidden under their showy and coquettish finery; and the bloody deeds of Jerusalem are the judicial murders committed by its rulers on the poor and innocent. This filth and these spots of blood the Sovereign Ruler washes and purges away (see 2 Chron. iv. 6) by the pouring out of His Spirit or breath (xxx. 28) over the men and women dwelling in Jerusalem. This breath is called **רוּחַ מִשְׁפָּט**, inasmuch as it punishes what is evil, and **רוּחַ נֶזֶק**, inasmuch as it sweeps it away or removes it. **נֶזֶק** is to be explained, as in vi. 13, in the same way as in Deut. xiii. 6, etc.; cf. especially xix. 13, xxi. 9. The rendering of the LXX. (which is followed by the Vulgate), *ἐν πνεύματι καύσεως*, is based on another meaning of the verb, which not merely signifies to cut away, sweep away, depasture (iii. 14, v. 5, etc.), but also to burn, consume by fire (xliv. 15, etc.). The "spirit" is in both cases the Spirit of God, which pervades and works throughout the world, not merely giving and sustaining life, but also destroying and sifting, as seems good (xxx. 22 f.); and such is the case before us.

In ver. 5, the imperishable glory is described as breaking forth: "*And Jehovah creates over every spot of Mount Zion, and over her festal gatherings, a cloud by day, and smoke, and the brightness of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory*

comes a canopy." As the Israelites who had been redeemed from Egypt were led and screened by Jehovah through the day in a smoke-cloud and through the night in a fire-cloud, which moved before them in the form of a pillar and floated over them as a roof (Num. xiv. 14, etc.),—the continued manifestation of His self-revelation at Sinai,—so will He also shield the Israelites of the final redemption-days, who, because they have no longer to wander, no longer need the pillar of cloud, but only the roof of cloud. Such a cloud-roof Jehovah will create, as the "consecutive perfect" **וַיִּבְרָא** declares. The verb **וַיִּבְרָא** (for the pre-exilian use of which, in the sense of "creating," we have vouchers in such passages as Ex. xxxiv. 10; Num. xvi. 30; Amos iv. 13; Deut. iv. 32) always indicates a miraculous divine production having a beginning in time, for even when God does anything natural, such action is in itself always supernatural; here, however, the reference is to a new manifestation of His gracious presence, in a sphere exalted above the present course of nature and the world. This manifestation takes the form, by day (Cheyne thinks that **וַיִּבְרָא** has by an oversight been taken from ver. 5), of a cloud, and this too (as is designedly made prominent by the hendiadys **עָנָן וְיָרֵחַ**, viz. cloud as regards form, and smoke as regards substance) in a cloud of smoke (not a watery cloud, like those which naturally cover the sky), and by night in a fiery splendour, and this, too, not a calm brightness resembling fire, like that of the sunset, but, as shown by **לְהִבָּה**, which here follows (as in Lam. ii. 3; Ps. cv. 32), a brilliantly flaming and therefore a real and living fire. The purpose of the cloud is not merely to afford a shade, but also to serve as a protecting wall (see Ex. xiv. 19) to withstand opposing influences; and the fire is not merely for the purpose of giving light, but also by flaming and sparkling to ward off hostile forces. But the cloud and fire are above all meant to serve as a token of the near presence of God and of His goodwill. In the most glorious times of the temple, a smoke-cloud of this kind filled the Holy of Holies, and only once (namely at the dedication of Solomon's temple, 1 Kings viii. 10) the whole building; but now the cloud, whose smoke, moreover, still changes into flaming fire by night, spreads over every spot

(צִיּוֹן used as the more poetic word instead of מִצְדֵּי) of Mount Zion and Zion's festal gatherings. The whole mountain has thus become a Most Holy Place, and is holy, not merely to the extent of its being the dwelling-place of Jehovah, but wholly sacred as the meeting-place of a congregation of the saints. The word מִצְדֵּי, or according to another mode of writing, מִצְדֵּי (a defective plural form, as in Jer. xix. 8), refers to Zion. There is no need for taking this noun (as is done by Gesenius, Meier, Hitzig, Ewald, Luzzatto) in the sense of "meeting-halls"—a meaning which it has nowhere else; it may, however, also signify (as in i. 13) the meetings or assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι).

Though ambiguity rests on the explanatory clause כִּי עַל-כֵּן הָפָה, this is no reason for holding (as Cheyne does) that the text has been mutilated; rather may we suppose these words, as a general statement, to be a gloss. Schegg and others regard the clause in this way, as a *locus communis*, and render it: "because, for everything glorious, protection and covering are seemly;" and certainly הָפָה bears the meaning of covering and concealing generally. As a noun, הָפָה in Ps. xix. 6, Joel ii. 16, does not signify, as in post-Biblical Hebrew, the nuptial canopy, but the bridal chamber. from its being concealed. But the verb-forms הָפָה, הִפְּפָה also signify to cover, to clothe for adornment; and in this way the הָפָה here will also serve, not merely for a guard or protection, but also as an honour to the object covered. A cloud of smoke and a blaze of fire floats over Mount Zion like a canopy. (It is thus unnecessary to take הָפָה as the 3rd pers. Pual, inasmuch as הִפְּפָה, which immediately follows in ver. 6, readily suggests itself as a word to be supplied.) The only question is whether כָּל-כְּבוֹד means "every glory," or, as in Ps. xxxix. 6, xlv. 14, "pure glory, nothing but glory." There is much that commends itself in the view of Hofmann, that Jerusalem is now all glory, as its inhabitants are all holiness, and that therefore this screen is spread out over pure glory; nevertheless we prefer the former view, as more in accord with the noun-clause. The glory of which Zion has now become a partaker no longer suffers any decay; Jehovah acknowledges it by tokens of His gracious presence, for there will henceforth be nothing glorious in Zion over which,

in the way indicated, there will not be a canopy to afford shade and light, to cover, protect, and adorn.

In this way, Zion becomes a safe retreat and shelter against all adversities and misfortunes. Ver. 6: "*And there will be a booth for a shade by day from the heat of the sun, and a refuge and hiding-place from storm and from rain.*" Just as in this passage, the place of concealment and safety is also called קִפָּה in Ps. xxxi. 21, lxxvii. 5. The subject of the verb הִתְחַיֶּה is not the miraculous roofing, for עָנָן (cloud) is masculine; and to say of a קִפָּה (canopy) that it will be a קִפָּה (booth) is absurd. But הִתְחַיֶּה is either used in a pregnant sense (as in xv. 6, xxiii. 13), so as to mean "and there will be a booth;" or "Zion" in ver. 5 is the subject. Considering that "Zion" is so far away, we prefer the former alternative; the preservation naturally applies to the dwellers in Zion. Hitzig, with whom Nägelsbach agrees, thinks the end of ver. 5 should be read in undivided connection with ver. 6 ("for over everything glorious will arise a canopy and a booth for a shade by day," i.e. serving as such, etc.). But the combination of the synonymous terms הִתְחַיֶּה וְקִפָּה is not in Isaiah's style, and the preservation from the glowing heat of the sun does not properly accord with the inanimate object בְּלִי-כְבוֹד. With מִחֶסֶה (i.e. not מִחֲסֵה) from חָסָה, which is allied to חָשָׂה (cf. the Assyrian *hasû* and *hâsu*), "to flee for refuge,"¹ מִסְתוֹר is combined (only here in the Old Testament), for the sake of alliteration, instead of מִתְּרָ, which is more frequently used by the prophets in other passages, as xxviii. 17, xxxii. 2. The temporal adjunct יוֹם, "by day" (which stands in construction with לַיָּל; cf. Ezek. xxx. 16), is purposely left without a corresponding לַיָּל, "by night," because what is meant is a place of safety and concealment at all times, whether by night or by day. Instead of speci-

¹ This word is shown by the sound of its initial letter (*h* not *h*) to be different from the Arab. حَسَى; from which comes ماء الحسى, the water that is preserved under or by means of a covering of sand, or by means of the rock below, from evaporating or oozing away. In a biography of Mohammed (MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin, Sect. Wetzel. ii. Nr.

311), it is said in the section on the battle at Mûta: "الحسى (*hisd* or *haad*) is a sandy spot under which there is a rocky bottom; if rain falls upon this sand, the water dries up, but the rock prevents it from running

‘fying the most manifold dangers, the burning heat of the sun, storm, and rain are mentioned as examples; but it is a striking fact that the rain, which certainly is a benefit earnestly desired by one in a state of חֶרֶב, i.e. drought and burning heat, is also mentioned. At the present day, when rain falls in Jerusalem, the whole city leaps for joy. But the effects of rain, especially of the winter rain which suddenly pours down, are certainly very often destructive. The Jerusalem of the latter days is like Paradise restored (Gen. ii. 5 f.); one will not then be any longer exposed to the destructive changes of the weather. In this way the end of this prophetic address runs into the beginning. This Mount Zion, roofed over with a cloud of smoke by day and the shining of a flaming fire by night, is no other than the mountain of the house of Jehovah, which is exalted above all mountains, and to which the nations make their pilgrimage; and this Jerusalem, which is holy within and all-glorious without, is no other than the place from which one day the word of Jehovah will go out into all the world. But what kind of Jerusalem is that? Is it the Jerusalem which is to see the glorious days of the people of God in this present life (Rev. xii.), or is it the Jerusalem of the new heavens and the new earth (Rev. xx.)? The proper answer is, Both in one. In the vision of the prophet, the Jerusalem of the latter days on earth and Jerusalem of the life beyond—the glorified Jerusalem of earth and the glorified Jerusalem of heaven—are fused together as one. For it is a characteristic of the Old Testament that it views the closing period of the present life and the eternity that lies beyond as forming one continuous line, and looks upon the whole as if its character were that of earth. The first cross-line was drawn by the New Testament.

away, and the sand keeps the heat of the sun from drying it up; if any one therefore digs under this sand, he finds water.” According to this, it might appear that חָסִי originally means to “hide one’s self.” But the

proper signification of the old Arabic حَسِيَ يَحْسِي is to draw out (water), to exhaust, empty, and, metaphorically, to find out something secret, to draw secret thoughts out of any one by questions, etc. The water of a حَسِيَ is gradually taken out from under the sand, hence the name.

THE JUDGMENT OF DEVASTATION UPON JEHOVAH'S VINEYARD,
CHAP. V.

Concluding Discourse of the First Cycle of Prophecy.

The foregoing discourse, at the close of chap. iv., has run through all the phases of prophetic address; and it has so completely worked out its fundamental thought,—the overthrow of the false glory and the establishment of the true glory of Israel, which is realized through judgment,—that chap. v. cannot be regarded either as a continuation or as a completion of it. Unquestionably chap. v. contains various allusions to chap. ii.-iv. The parable of the Vineyard in chap. v. 1-7 grows as it were out of chap. iii. 14; and in chap. v. 15 the recurrent verse or refrain of chap. ii. 9 is repeated, but varied in a similar manner as in chap. ii. 17. Yet these and other points of contact with chap. ii.-iv. do not prove that chap. v. was not independent, but only that the two were written about the same time. The contemporary circumstances or situation of the two discourses is the same; and the range of the prophet's thought from its relation to his surroundings at the time, is therefore closely related. Nevertheless the fundamental thought which is carried out in chap. v. is an entirely different one. The basis of the discourse is constituted by a parable of Israel as the Vineyard of Jehovah, which, contrary to all expectation, was bringing forth bad fruit, and therefore was given up to devastation. What sort of bad fruit this was, is described in a sixfold woe; and what kind of devastation it was to be, is told in the gloomy night-like close of the discourse, which is wholly without a promise.

The prophet began the first discourse in chap. i. like another Moses, and the second not less intensely with the text of an older prophecy; and now he begins this third discourse like a player who has a crowd of people around him, and who with alluring words addresses and rouses up himself and his hearers. Ver. 1a: "*Come, I will sing of my beloved; a song of my dearest about his vineyard!*" The winged rhythm, the musical euphony, and the graceful assonances of this invocation are inimitable and cannot be reproduced in a translation. The ל of לִידִי and לְכֶרֶם

indicates the reference: the song refers to his Beloved; it is a song of his dearest one himself about his vineyard (not of his cousin, *patrueus*, as Luther, following Jerome, translates it, for דוד signifies *patruus*, uncle, but here the meaning is determined by דוד, ἀγαπητός). The song of the beloved one is more definitely designated a song of the beloved one himself; it is not a song composed about him or composed for him, but a song as he himself has sung it and has to sing it. Knabenbauer rightly says: "The prophet recites it out of the thoughts of God." Cheyne, with Lowth, conjectures the reading שירת דודים; but this is not appropriate, for it is not a "love-song." The little song is short, and runs thus, 1b-2: "*My Beloved had a vineyard on a fatly nourished mount. And he dug it up and cleared it of stones, and planted it with noble vines, and built a tower in it, and also hewed out a winepress therein, and he hoped for grape-bringing, but it brought wildings.*" The vineyard כרם (originally meaning hill, like the Assyrian *karmu*, cf. Talm. כרם, to heap, to heap up¹) lay upon a קרן, i.e. a mountain peak projecting like a horn, and consequently open to the sunshine on all sides; for "apertos Bacchus amat colles," as Virgil says (*Georg.* ii. 113). This mountain-horn or peak was בן שומן, a child of fatness; fatness was innate in it, it belonged to it by nature. שומן, as in chap. xxviii. 1, is used to indicate the richness of a soil capable of cultivation. On this vineyard the possessor bestowed all possible trouble and care. On account of the steep side of the mountain, the plough could not be used; and therefore he dug it up, i.e. the soil, which was to become the vineyard, with a hoe (פָּלַח, to hoe, i.e. with the hoe; Arab. *mīzak*, *mīzakā*, to hand hoe in order to make fertile; Mishn., to draw a trench around something, whether a plant or a place, which is followed by the LXX., cf. Mark xii. 1: καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα, see Kimchi's Dict. under פָּחַק). And as he found it covered over with stones and *débris*, he proceeded to get rid of this rubbish by throwing it out (סָקַל, privative Pi; lit. taking to do with stones, to clear of stones, like מֵרַץ, removing sickness, healing, cf. casting the skin, scaling off, and such like).

¹ The Gemara, *Shabbath* 88b, says of the verb כָּרַם: "it has the sense of heaping, gathering" (לִישָׁנָה דְּמַכְנֵשׁ הוּא).

After the soil had been brought under cultivation, he planted it with שֵׁרֵץ, the finest kind of eastern vine with bright-red grapes ; for it is a colour word, not (like the Arab. name of wine, *ez-zerkā*, the bright-blue, the bright) indicating the colour of the drink, but that of the grapes (שֵׁרֵץ = شَرِيقٌ, to be suffused with red, i.e. to be dark red, different from شَقَر, signifying to be light red). Then, in order to protect and adorn the vineyard, planted at such cost, he built in the midst of it a tower. וְנִם sets prominently forth that he also hewed out a wine-press trough in it (יִצְבֵּן, the trough into which runs the must pressed out in the wine-press נֶחַל, *lucus* in distinction from *torcular*) ; using a rocky portion of the soil in order that the trough may be the more immoveable and lasting. הָעֵצָה בּוֹ has not the accent retracted, as e.g. אֵהָבָה וְעָתָה, Prov. xii. 1, xvii. 19, and הִפְסִיז בִּי, Ps. xviii. 20, because a *Beth* would thereby easily become inaudible, and hence there is also more firmness given to הָעֵצָה by the pronunciation הָעֵצָה ; and in like manner in chap. x. 15 we have הָעֵצָה בּוֹ and בְּבִתְּהָ for בְּבִתְּהָ, chap. xi. 14 ; cf. Comm. on Ps. cxxxii. 10. This was a difficult piece of work, as the וְנִם gives us to understand ; it was difficult, and for that reason gave evidence of surest expectation. But how utterly was this deceived ! The vineyard brought forth no such fruit as is expected from a sored-planting ; it brought forth no עֲנָבִים at all, i.e. no berries or clusters such as a cultivated vine bears, but it brought בְּאֵשִׁים, wildings. Luther at first translated this word as wild grapes, and latterly as harsh or sour grapes ; but they come to the same thing. The wild and the noble vine are only qualitatively different ; the *vitis vinifera* is, like all cultivated plants, assigned to human nurture, under which it becomes ennobled, whereas growing in its wild state it falls short of its destination. Hence בְּאֵשִׁים designates the small sour berries of the wild vine (Rashi : *lambruches*, i.e. berries of the *labrusca*), as well as those berries of the noble vine which have remained unripe and stunted (but which are not like בִּטָּר, which are only not yet ripe).¹ Such berries as these were brought forth

¹ In the Jerusalem Talmud such stunted berries are called אֵהָבָה ; and in the Mishna (*Ma'asereth* i. 2, *Shebitth* iv. 8), הַבְּאֵשִׁים is the word used regularly of grapes that have become half-ripe.

by that vineyard; they were such as are produced by the wild vine, but not such as are to be expected from the most carefully cultivated vines of the noblest sort.

The Song of the Beloved One, so sorely deceived, thus ends. The prophet recites it, and not his dearest one himself; but because the two are one heart and one soul the prophet can continue thus in vers. 3 and 4: "*And now, ye inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, between me and my Vineyard! What was there further to do for my Vineyard which I did not do for it? Why hoped I for the bringing of grapes, and it brought wildings?*" The person of the Beloved may already be discerned, from the fact that the prophet speaks as if he were the beloved himself. The Beloved of the prophet and Lover of the prophet, יְהוָה and יְהוָה, is Jehovah, with whom he is so united through a *unio mystica*, elevated above earthly love, that, like the Angel of Jehovah in the primeval histories, he can speak as if he were Jehovah Himself (see especially Zech. ii. 12–15). To one who has insight, the parabolical meaning and purpose of the song, therefore, betrays itself already here; and even the inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah (יְהוּדָה and יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, taken collectively, as in chap. viii. 14, ix. 8, xxii. 21, cf. xx. 6), who are appealed to as adjudicators or umpires, are not so utterly stupefied by sin that they should not perceive at what the prophet was aiming. They are called upon to decide on which side the guilt of this unnatural issue lies, of this מַעֲשֵׂה of the Vineyard, so contradictory to the מַעֲשֵׂה of the Lord: that instead of the bringing of grapes, which was hoped for, it has brought wildings. On מַה לַּעֲשׂוֹת, *quid faciendum est?* see Comm. on Hab. i. 17; Ges. § 132. 1. Instead of (לְמַה) לְמַה, we have the more appropriate לְמַה; for the latter asks for the *causa efficiens*, or the cause, whereas the former asks for the *causa finalis*, or the purpose. The parallel passage in chap. l. 2 resembles this passage, both in the use of the מַעֲשֵׂה, and also in the fact that there, as well as here, it relates to both clauses, and especially to the latter of the two. This paratactical construction is also found in the case of other conjunctions, as in chap. xii. 1, lxv. 12. They are called upon to decide and answer as to this *what* and *wherefore*; but they are silent, just because they clearly see that they would have to

condemn themselves (as David similarly condemned himself on the occasion of Nathan's parable, 2 Sam. xii. 5). The Lord of the vineyard, therefore, again proceeds to speak. He, its accuser, will now also be its judge.—Ver. 5: “*Now then, I will let you know what I will forthwith do to my vineyard: take away its hedge, and it shall be for grazing; pull down its wall, and it shall be for trampling upon.*” Before נִתְּחָה, as in chap. iii. 14, we must imagine a pause; the Lord of the vineyard breaks the silence of the umpires, which betrays their consciousness of guilt. They shall hear, then, from Him what He is going to do to His vineyard (ל in כִּכְרֵי, as, for example, in Deut. xi. 6). אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה, *fut. instans*, equivalent to *facturus sum* (Ges. § 134. 2 b). In the following *inf. abs.* the content of the אֲתָא אֲשֶׁר, *id quod*, is unfolded. On this explicative use of the *inf. abs.*, see chap. xx. 2, lviii. 6, 7; in such cases it represents the place of the object, as elsewhere of the subject, but always in an abrupt, stiff manner. He will take away the מְשׁוֹכָה, i.e. the green thorny hedge (Prov. xv. 19; Hos. ii. 8 = כְּסוּכָה, Micah vii. 4 fr. שָׁכַךְ = שָׁחַךְ, סָחַךְ, סָחַךְ, to hedge round), with which the vineyard is enclosed, and will pull down the גִּיר, i.e. the low stone wall (Num. xxii. 24; Prov. xxiv. 31; cf. Ezra ix. 9 ending, according to Cheyne, in allusion to Isaiah's parable), which had been surrounded by the hedge of thorn-bushes to make a better defence, as well as for the protection of the wall itself, more especially against undermining, so that the vineyard, in consequence of this, is exposed to grazing and trampling down (LXX. καταπάτημα), i.e. becomes an open way and resort for men and beasts.

Thus the unthankful vineyard comes to an end, and indeed to a hopeless end. Ver. 6: “*And I will utterly ruin it: it shall not be pruned, and it shall not be hoed, and it shall shoot up in thorns and thistles; and I will command the clouds not to rain rain over it.*” בָּתָּה = בָּתָּה fr. בָּתָּה = בָּתָּה (בֵּת, akin to בָּתַר, בָּרַר), *abscindere*, signifies the sharply cutting off, and, as the action is viewed as a quality: what is sharply cut off, *abscissum præruptum*, vii. 19, or it is also transferred to the result of the action: the sudden total destruction.¹ This is the

¹ In the Arabic, البتة, *elbatta* (Vulg. *halbatt*), from the meaning *absolutely*, comes to be commonly used for “surely.”

meaning here, where שִׁית בָּתָּח is a more refined expression for the more usual עָשָׂה כָּלָה, both being construed with the accusative of the thing which is brought to a total end. Further, pruning (זָמַר) and hoeing (עָרַר, different from another עָרַר, to put in order, 2 Chron. xii. 33, 38) with the weeding-hoe (מַעְרֵר, vii. 25), would not improve it, but only bring new disappointments: it is the will of the Lord, therefore, that the deceitful vineyard shall shoot up thorns and thistles (עֵקֶה is applied to the soil, as in chap. xxxiv. 13 and Prov. xxiv. 31; cf. צִמָּה, Eccles. ii. 6, with acc. of the object, according to Ges. § 138, 1, 2, applied here to the exclusively and peculiarly Isaianic שִׁית וְשִׁמֵּר). And in order that it may remain a wilderness, the clouds receive commandment from the Lord not to rain upon it. There can now be no longer any doubt who the Lord of the vineyard is. He is the Lord who gives commands to clouds (cf. Gen. ii. 16), or in respect to the clouds (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 8, according to the old interpretation, to the angels), and therefore the Lord of heaven and of earth. It is He who is the prophet's Beloved and dearest One. The song which opened in so loving and harmless a tone, has now become sharply severe, and terribly repulsive. The husk of the parable, which has already been broken through, now falls completely off (cf. Matt. xxii. 13, xxv. 30). What it sets forth in symbol is true. This truth the prophet establishes by an open declaration in ver. 7: "*For the vineyard of Jehovah of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah are the plantation of His delight; he waited for justice, and behold rapine; for righteousness, and behold an outcry.*" The conception is not that the Lord of the vineyard lets no more rain fall upon it, for this Lord is Jehovah (which is not indeed said in what follows וְיָ); but more generally: this is how it stands with the vineyard, for all Israel, and especially the people of Judah, is this vineyard, which so bitterly deceived the expectations of its Lord, and, moreover, it is the vineyard of Jehovah of hosts, and therefore of the omnipotent God, whom even the clouds must serve when He punishes. The וְיָ justifies, as in Job vi. 21, not only the truth of what was last stated, but the truth of the whole simile, including this; it is כִּי, *explic.*, which opens the *epimythion*. "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts"

(בֵּית ה' עֲבָדוֹת) is the predicate. "The house of Israel" (בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל) is the whole nation, which is also symbolically represented in other passages under the same figure of a vineyard (chap. xxvii. 2 sqq.; Ps. lxxx., etc.). But because Isaiah is prophet in Judah, he applies the figure more particularly to Judah, which is called Jehovah's favourite plantation, inasmuch as it was the seat of the divine sanctuary and of the Davidic kingdom. נָטַע const. along with נָטַע, like נָטַע in Num. xi. 7, Ew. § 213*a*, and נִטְעִים, an abstract plural form: the delighting, from the Pilpel, occurring in chap. xi. 8, in the sense of delightful playing, literally, stroking or caressing; Luther has *seine zarte Feser*, a term applied to the vine-shoot which is planted. This makes it easy enough to interpret the details of the simile. The fat mountain-peak is Canaan, flowing with milk and honey (Ex. xv. 17); the digging up of the vineyard, and clearing it of stones, is the clearing of Canaan from its former heathen inhabitants (Ps. xlv. 3); the sorek-vines are the holy priests and prophets and kings of Israel of the better early times (Jer. ii. 21); the protecting and ornamental tower in the midst of the vineyard is Jerusalem as the royal city, with Zion the royal fortress (Micah iv. 8); the winepress-trough is the temple, where, according to Ps. xxxvi. 9 (8), the wine of heavenly joy flows in streams, and by which, according to Ps. xlii. and many other passages, all the thirst of the soul is quenched. The grazing and trampling down are explained in Jer. v. 10 and xii. 10. The bitter deception experienced by Jehovah, is expressed in a play upon two words, indicating the surprising change of what was hoped for, into its opposite. The explanation which Gesenius, Caspari, Knobel, and others give of מִשָּׁפָה, as "shedding" = bloodshedding, does not commend itself; for even if שָׁפַח occurs once or twice in the Arabizing book of Job (chap. xxx. 7, xiv. 19) in the sense of *effundere*, like سَفَح, yet this verbal root is otherwise strange to the Hebrew (and the Aramæan). Moreover, מִשָּׁפָה in any case would only mean pouring out, or shedding, and not shedding of blood; and although the latter might indeed be possible in reference to the Arabic *saffâh*, *saffâk* (blood-shedder, blood-man), yet it would be an ellipsis such as cannot be substantiated anywhere

else in Hebrew usage. On the other hand, **חֲסַד**, rendered "leprosy," does not yield any appropriate sense, as (**חֲסַד**) **חֲסַד** is never generalized anywhere else into the general meaning of "dirt" (Luzzatto: *sozzura*), nor does it appear as an ethical conception. We therefore prefer to connect it with a meaning assuredly belonging to the verb **חָסַד** (see *Kal*, 1 Sam. ii. 36; *Niphal*, xiv. 1; *Hithpael*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19), viz. "to associate or to join," of violent annexation, or from the root-conception of "snatching," and specifically "carrying forcibly away," etc.; cf. **חָסַד**, **חָסַד**, **חָסַד**. Hence we regard the word as denoting the grasping appropriation and unjust heaping up of worldly possessions; certainly a suitable antithesis to **חַיִּים**, as **חָסַד** *vox oppressorum* (not *sanguinis*, which would be said) to **חַיִּים**. The prophet depicts, in full-toned figures, how the expected noble grapes had turned into wild grapes, with nothing more than an outward resemblance to grapes. The introduction to the prophecy goes thus far.

The prophecy itself follows next, a sevenfold discourse composed of the sixfold woe contained in the following vers. 8-23, and the announcement of punishment in which it issues. In this sixfold woe the prophet describes the bad fruits individually. Confirming our explanation of **חָסַד**, the first woe relates to *πλεονεξία*, covetousness and avarice, as the root of all evil.—Ver. 8: "*Woe unto those joining house to house, who lay field to field, till there is no more room, and ye are made to dwell alone within the land.*" **נָנַע**, as also **קָרַר**, is construed with **וְ** in Judg. xix. 13 and Ps. xci. 10. The participle, because equivalent to a relative clause, is continued in the finite verb, as in ver. 23 and x. 1; the regular syntactical construction in cases of this kind (Ges. § 134. 2). The preterites after **וְ** (there being two such preterites, for **חָסַד** is an intensified **חָסַד** including the verbal idea) correspond to future perfects: they, the insatiable, rest not till, after all the smaller landed properties have been swallowed up by them, the whole land has become their possession, and no one besides themselves will be settled in the land (Job xxii. 8). Such covetousness was all the more condemnable, as the law of Israel had provided very stringently and carefully, that as far as possible there should be a proper proportional distribution of the ground and soil (Num. xxxiii. 54), and that hereditary

family property should be inalienable. The curse in Deut. xxvii. 17 was directed against the displacing of a boundary (in the language of the Roman law, *Crimen termini moti*). All landed property that had been alienated reverted to the family every fiftieth year, or year of jubilee; so that alienation had reference only to the usufruct of the land till that time. But how badly the law of the jubilee year was observed, may be inferred from Jer. xxxiv., according to which the law of the manumission of Hebrew bondsmen in the Sabbatical year had fallen entirely into neglect. The same complaint which Isaiah makes is brought forward by his contemporary Micah, in chap. ii. 2 (cf. Ps. xlix. 12; Job xxii. 8). The announcement of punishment is also there expressed in terms similar to what we have here in vers. 9 and 10: *"Into my ears Jehovah of hosts: Truly many houses shall become a desolation, large and beautiful ones without any inhabitants. For ten yokes of vineyard land will yield one pailful, and a quarter of seed corn will bring forth a bushel."* How the prophet thinks of the nominal clause, Into my ears (or literally in my ears) is Jehovah - Zebaoth, is made clear from chap. xxii. 14: He is revealing Himself there to me. וַיִּשְׁמַע, pointed with Kamez along with Tifcha, as in that parallel passage, reminds us of what is to be interpolated in thought. In Hebrew, to say into the ears did not mean to speak secretly and softly; but, as Gen. xxiii. 10, 16, Job xxxiii. 8, and other passages show, it means to speak in a manner that is distinct and intelligible, and which excludes all misunderstanding. It is true that the prophet has not Jehovah now locally external to him, but he has Him notwithstanding objectively over against his own ego, and he is able to distinguish distinctly the thoughts and words of his own ego from the inspeaking of Jehovah which rises aloud within him. This inspoken word tells him how it will go with the rich insatiable landowners. וַיִּשְׁמַע introduces an oath of an affirmative sense (the complete form being וַיִּשְׁמַע יְיָ וַיִּשְׁמַע), just as וַיִּשְׁמַע, e.g. Num. xiv. 23, introduces an oath of a negative sense. A universal desolation will ensue; וְכָל signifies not less than all, for the houses (pronounced *báttim*) form altogether a great number (cf. וְכָל, chap. ii. 3, and *πολλοί*, e.g. Matt. xx. 28). וְכָל is double, and is thus abso-

lutely negative (so that there is not no inhabitant). How such a desolation of the houses will come about, is explained by יָבֵשׁ, beginning in ver. 10: failure of crops brings famine, and this brings depopulation of the country. Ten יָמִים (with *Dag. lene*, Ewald, § 212b) of vineyard land are ten pieces as large as can be ploughed daily with a yoke of oxen, as is shown by the analogous נֶדָן (נְדָן), which signifies the plough-span with belongings, and then the field, and particularly (in accordance with the Turkish *Kamus*) a cultivated field of the extent of 400 roods. On the assumption that vineyards, on account of their many curves, are difficult to calculate by yokes, and that they were never ploughed, Noskowsky (in his treatise, *De valle Hadhramaut*, 1866) understands the meaning to be ten pieces of yoke-like espaliers of vines trained on cross-laths (called *vina jugata* in Varro). But 1 Sam. xiv. 14 decides for *jugum* (*jugerum*) as a measure of land. כְּרִמִּים is also applied to vineyards lying in the plain, and צֶמֶר may be a measure of corn-land transferred to vineyard land, which undoubtedly was not worked with the plough but with the hoe. Moreover, we want the intermediate links requisite to furnish the proof that the ancient Israelites had the same chief field-measure as the Romans.¹ Thus, then, ten days' work will only produce a single בֵּית. This measure of liquids, which first appears in the time of the kings, was equivalent to אֵיפָה as a dry measure (Ezek. xlv. 11). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 2. 9), it contained 72 Roman sextarii, or a little more than 33 Berlin quarts. The חֲסִיר (perhaps an ass's burden,² cf. חֲסִיר, 1 Sam. xvi. 20), a dry measure generally called לָר after the time of the kings, contained (according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 2) about ten Attic μέδιμνοι,³ a μέδιμνος being a little more than 15 pecks. If any one sowed 150 pecks of grain, not more would be reaped from it than 15 pecks: the harvest there-

¹ See on the *jugerum*, Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, 1862, p. 68 f.

² It has been objected to me that, according to *Menia* 80a, a לָתֶרֶךְ is already equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ חֲסִיר = חֲסִיר, the amount of a normal ass's burden.

³ Or rather $7\frac{1}{2}$ Attic Medimni = 10 Attic Metreti = 45 Roman Modii; see Böckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, p. 259.

fore would only yield the tenth part of the seed sown, for the **אִמָּה** is the tenth part of **חֶמֶר**, or three seahs, the usual minimum for one baking (e.g. Matt. xiii. 33). In the translation, these relations of measure could not be exactly reproduced.

The second woe, to which the curse falling upon the vine cultivation (ver. 10a) leads by association of ideas, is directed against the revellers who carry on their indulgence in carnal security into the day. Ver. 11: "*Woe to those who rise up in the early morning to run after strong drink, who continue till late in the evening, wine inflaming them.*" **בֶּכָר** (from **בָּקַר**, *bakara*, to slit, tear up, split) is the break of day, and **נֶזֶף** (from **נָשַׁף**, to blow, sigh) the evening twilight (*Berachoth* 3b), when it begins to become cool (1 Sam. xxx. 17), and the night into which it passes (chaps. xxi. 4, lix. 10). **אָחַר**, to continue till late, as in Prov. xxiii. 30; the construct state before words with a preposition, as in chaps. ix. 2, xxviii. 9, and often elsewhere (Ges. § 116. 1). **שֶׁכָּר**, standing with **וְ**, is the general name of all other strong drinks, especially of wines made artificially from fruit, honey, raisins, dates, etc., including barley-wine, *οἶνος κριθινος*, or beer (*ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ* in *Æschylus*, Suppl. 930, elsewhere called *βρωτόν βουτόν*, *ξύθος* *ξύθος*, and various other names), acquaintance with which goes back to Egypt, which was half a wine country and half a beer country, and is traceable up to the time of the Pharaohs. The form **שֶׁכָּר** is formed like **עָבַר** (Arab. *ʿinab*), from **שָׁכַר**, to intoxicate; according to the Arabic, literally to close by stopping up (**כָּסַר**, **כָּסַר**), i.e. to stupefy (cf. Hos. iv. 11). The clauses after the two participles indicate the circumstances (chap. i. 5a) under which they run out already in the early morning, and remain sitting till late into the darkness at these *tempestiva convivia* (*Cicero, De Sen.* 14); they hunt after mead, they heat themselves with wine, particularly in order to lull the conscience amid their deeds of darkness.

Ver. 12 describes how these blind ones carry on their music-making and carousing: "*And guitar and harp, kettle-drum and flute and wine is their carouse; but the work of Jehovah they regard not, and the purposing of His hands they do not see.*" Their carouse (**כִּשְׁתֵּי־יָדַיִם**), only plural in appearance,

rather a singular, as in Dan. i. 10, 16, and frequently with a softened ' of the ground form $\text{מְשַׁכְּרָה} = \text{מְשַׁכְּרָה}$; cf. on עֵלֶה , chap. i. 30, and עֵשֶׂה , chap. xxii. 11, Ges. § 93, 9) is that and that, i.e. it consists of such things, it is composed of intoxicating music and wine. Knobel construes it thus: "And there is guitar, etc., and wine is their drink;" but the sentence thus divided becomes feeble, and the other mode of expression is employed in the Semitic to the widest extent, e.g. Ezek. xxxviii. 5, "they all are shield and helmet," i.e. they appear in this armour. קִנּוּר , guitar (an onomatopœic word like קִנּוּר ,

cataract, صَنَار , spindle), is the general name of the instruments which have their strings drawn (upon a bridge) over the sounding-board; and קָנָה (harp and lyre) is the general name of those instruments which have their strings swinging freely, so that both hands could at the same time seize the strings; דָּוָה (Arab. *duff*.) is the general name for the tambourine, the drum, and the kettledrum; נֶלֶל (bored through) is a general name for the flute and double flute. In this rioting and revelling they have no perception and no eye for the work of Jehovah and the project of His hands. This expresses in idea God's eternal counsel (chap. xxxvii. 26, ver. 19), which leads to salvation by the circuitous ways of judgment (chap. x. 12, xxviii. 21, xxix. 23), in so far as that counsel is realized in history which is shaped by the invisible interposition of God's hands. In their carousing and revelling they have no sense for the moving and working of God in history; nor do they at all observe the judgment which is being prepared in the present. And therefore will the judgment fall upon them in this blind, dull, stupid, animal state.

Ver. 13: "*Therefore my people goes into banishment from want of knowledge; and its glory turns into hungry ones, and its tumult into men with burning thirst.*" As לָקַח (as in chap. i. 24) opens the threat of punishment, אָלַהּ (to emigrate, properly, to lay bare, i.e. the land) is a prophetic preterite. Israel must vacate his land, must go into exile, and moreover מִבְּלִי יָדָע . The $\text{בִּלְ$ of מִבְּלִי is causative as in מִבְּלִי יָדָע , Deut. ix. 28, cf. Num. xiv. 16, and also in Hos. iv. 6: from want of knowledge; and to regard it here as the negative (as in

מִיָּד), because דַּעַת is indeterminate, is not justified; and besides, our view is supported by מְבִלִי דַּעַת, being immediately joined to 12b as a fundamental statement. Moreover, מְבִלִי דַּעַת does not signify "unawares," but unknowingly = undesignedly, and yet more frequently "in non-understanding," Job xxxv. 16, xxxvi. 12, cf. iv. 21. The knowledge which they lack, according to 12b, is knowledge of the ruling of God and of the moral order of the world, according to which calamity is the necessary consequence of wrong-doing. In the sequel, מְבִלִי and מְבִלִי are, as the predicates show, collective terms used in a personal sense; the former signifies the *élite* of the people (cf. Mic. i. 15), and the latter the crowd that lived in riot and revelling. The former become מְבִלִי רָעָב, men of famine (מְבִלִי, as in Gen. xxxiv. 30; Job xi. 11; otherwise מְבִלִי, 2 Sam. xix. 29, or מְבִלִי, 1 Sam. xxvi. 16); and the latter מְבִלִי צָמָה (sing. as the subj.), parched with thirst. Instead of מְבִלִי, the LXX. and Jerome read מְבִלִי (dead ones); but the reading adopted by Hitzig, Roorda, Ewald, and Böttcher, מְבִלִי (מְבִלִי), after Deut. xxxii. 24, and exactly corresponding to the parallel צָמָה, is more probable; it signifies sucked out or emaciated by hunger. צָמָה (ἀπ. λεγ.) is formed like מְבִלִי, מְבִלִי, and other adjectives which express defects; the place of the *ē* is represented in such forms of verbs לִי by an *ū* that has arisen out of *ay*. The debauchees of rank must starve, and the low boon companions must thirst to death.

The threat of punishment commences again with לָנֶחָמ; it has not yet satisfied itself, and therefore reaches deeper still. Ver. 14: "*Therefore the under-world opens wide its throat, and stretches its mouth immeasurably wide; and the pomp of Jerusalem goes down, and its tumult and uproar, and those who are jubilating in it.*" The verbs which follow לָנֶחָמ are prophetic preterites, as in ver. 13. The feminine suffixes attached to what the lower world swallows up, do not refer to שָׁמַיִם, but, as expressed in the translation, to Jerusalem, which is necessarily required by מְבִלִי בָּהּ; שָׁמַיִם has, according to the rule, *Dag. forte conj.* The withdrawal of the tone from מְבִלִי to the penultimate (cf. מְבִלִי in Ps. xviii. 20, xxii. 9, Ezek. xxii. 25, whereby the Zere, which cannot be shortened into Segol, gets the checking Metheg) is here omitted; the rhythm thereby becomes more picturesque: one hears the

falling object rolling down, and at length striking upon something. A mouth is ascribed to the under-world, also a שֶׁן, i.e. a greedy soul, in which sense שֶׁן is applied metonymically sometimes to a thirst for blood (Ps. xxvii. 12), and sometimes to devouring greed (chap. lvi. 11), and even, as in the present passage and Hab. ii. 5, to the throat or gullet which the soul opens "without measure" (cf. Mal. iii. 10, עַד-בִּלְיָ, to insufficiency), when its craving knows no bounds (*Psychol.* p. 204). One is reminded here of Cerberus, whose original was Egyptian: the devourer in Amenthes (nether-world).¹ The prophet appears to connect שֶׁן (which is feminine, like the names of countries) in thought with the verb שָׁן (cf. Hab. ii. 5; Prov. xxx. 15): the God-ordered accursed power which calls for and swallows up all that is upon the earth. The idea of "decision" appears to be really connected with the Assyrian *šudlu*.² But the view always still recommends itself, which holds that the Hebrew word starts from the idea of sinking or depth; for the fundamental meaning of the שָׁן is *χαλάν*, not to be hollow, as it might appear after שָׁן (hollowing, properly deepening of the hand), שָׁן (hollow way, properly a sinking of the ground), שָׁן (*excavator* = *cavorum habitator*, properly deepener, one who digs himself in). The designation corresponds to the notion, universal in antiquity, which assigned Hades to the depths below the upper world. As God reveals Himself in heaven among blessed spirits according to the light of His love, so does He reveal Himself in Sheôl, in the darkness and fire of His wrath. And, with the exception of Enoch and Elijah in the Old Testament, with their singular departure from this life, the way of all mortals went hither, until Jesus Christ changed the dying of all believers on Him from a descent into Hades into an ascension to heaven. But even under the Old Testament the believer might know that whoever hid himself on this side the grave in Jehovah the living One, would retain his eternal germ of life even in Sheôl in the midst of the shades, and would taste the divine love even in the midst of wrath. It was this postulate of faith which lay at the foundation of the fact,

¹ See Ludw. Stern, *Ueber das äg. Todtengericht*, Ausland 1870, Nr. 46.

² See Alfred Jeremias, *Die babyl.-assyrl. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 1887, p. 62.

that already under the Old Testament the all-comprehending range of the idea of לִמְבו begins to be contracted into the narrower notion of a limbo or fore-hell (see *Psychol.* p. 415). This is the case in the passage before us, where Isaiah predicts of everything of which Jerusalem was proud, and in which it revelled, including the jubilating persons themselves, descent into Hades; just as the Korahite author of Ps. xlix. wrote (ver. 14) that the pomp of the godless will be given up to Hades to be consumed, without having hereafter a place in the upper world, when the righteous will have dominion over them at some future time. Hades even there is almost equivalent to the New Testament $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha$.

The prophet now repeats a recurring thought of the second prophetic discourse (chap. ii. 9, 11, cf. ver. 18). It acquires here a much deeper sense, from the connection in which it stands. Vers. 15, 16: "*Then are mean men bowed down, and lords humbled, and the eyes of lofty men are humbled. And Jehovah of hosts shows Himself high in judgment, and God the Holy One hallows Himself in righteousness.*" What had exalted itself above earth to heaven, must go down earthwards into hell. The consecutive imperfects exhibit the future, here represented as historically present, as the direct sequel of what is also represented as present in ver. 14: Hades opens up, and then both low and high in Jerusalem sink down, and the soaring eyes now wander about in a horrible depth. It is the will of God, who is both exalted and holy in Himself, that as the exalted One He shall be exalted, and that as the Holy One He shall be sanctified. But Jerusalem has not done this; and He therefore proves Himself the exalted One by the execution of justice, and sanctifies Himself (שׁוֹפֵט is to be rendered as a reflective verb, as in Ezek. xxxvi. 23, xxxviii. 23, whereas the reading שֹׁפֵט is the expression of a resulting fact), by the manifestation of righteousness, in consequence of which the people of Jerusalem must give Him the glory against their will, as $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (Phil. ii. 10). Jerusalem has been thus swallowed up twice by Hades: once in the Chaldean war, and again in the Roman war. But the invisible background of the outward event was the fact that it had already fallen under the accursed power of hell. Even

in its outward reality, ancient Jerusalem, like the company of Korah (Num. xvi. 30, 33), has become subterranean. Just as Babylon and Nineveh, the ruins of which are dug out of the inexhaustible mine of their wide-stretching foundation and soil, have sunk into the earth, so do men walk about in the present Jerusalem over ancient Jerusalem, which has sunk beneath the ground; and many an enigma of topography will remain an enigma so long as ancient Jerusalem is not scraped out of the earth again.

And considering that the Holy Land is at the present time a great pasture-ground for tribes of Arab shepherds, and that the modern Jerusalem, which has been built out of rubbish, is a Mohammedan city, what ver. 17 prophesies has been literally fulfilled: "*And lambs feed as upon their pasture, and nomad shepherds enjoy the waste places of the bloated ones.*" There is no necessity to supply an accusative object to the verb נָרַע (Knobel and others), namely, the devastated lands mentioned in the second clause (נָרַע, to pasture, as in chap. xxx. 23), nor is פָּדְדָרָם that accusative (Caspari); but the place is determined by the context thus: Where Jerusalem is sunken, there lambs feed in the manner of their own pasture-ground, i.e. just as if they were in their old accustomed pasture (נָרַע, as in Micah ii. 12, from נָרַע, the Targum word for נָרַע in Exod. iii. 1, is to drive, and פָּדְדָרָם is equivalent to פָּדְדָרָם). The lambs meant are those of the נָרַע mentioned in the second clause, which word, used so substantively as here in distinction from נָרַע, indicates strangers putting up anywhere yet settled down, those roaming inconstantly about or leading a nomadic life. Were נָרַע (cf. chap. xi. 6) referred to the lambs themselves, it would be an idle word. The LXX. translation has ἀγρῶν, and therefore there must have been read נָרַע or נָרַע (which is approved by Ewald, Knobel, Reuss, and Bredenkamp). But one of the lines in the prophecy, which is authenticated by the historical fulfilment, is thereby obliterated. הָרִבּוֹת פָּחִים are the lands of those who were formerly full of marrow (i.e. full-fed, and strutting about in fullness of enjoyment), which lands have now become wastes. With ver. 17 the second woe closes. It is the longest of the woes. This also confirms the fact that luxury was the chief vice of Judah under Uzziah and Jotham, as it was of

Israel under Jeroboam II. (see Amos vi., where the threat of punishment is also the same).

The third woe is pronounced upon the supposed strong-minded men who challenge the judgment of God by presumptuous sins and blasphemous sayings. Ver. 18: "*Woe unto those who draw criminality with cords of unrighteousness, and sin as with the cart-rope.*" As מִשֵּׁף is also used in Deut. xxi. 3 in the sense of drawing at the yoke, that is to say, drawing a plough or cart, and as the cart or waggon, עֲגִלָּה (the word commonly used for a transport waggon, as distinguished from מִרְכָּבָה, the state-carriage or even the war chariot), is here expressly named, the figure might appear to be the same as that which underlies the New Testament ἐρεπο-*ζυγεῖν* (2 Cor. vi. 14), and to mean: Evil-doing is the burden which they draw behind them with cords of שֵׁף, and sin the waggon to which they are harnessed as with (Ewald, § 221b) a thick cart-rope (Hofmann, Drechsler, Nägelsbach, Cheyne, and Knabenbauer). But this is hardly the meaning of the prophet. The מִשֵּׁף thus put without אַחֲרֵיהֶם presupposes the signification *attrahere* in itself, as in Ps. x. 9; Job xl. 25 (Knobel and most commentators), and it means this in what is regarded as the closest parallel, Hos. xi. 4: I drew them (i.e. to myself) with man's bands, with cords of love. Bredenkamp says rightly: The actual drawing to, is in contrast to the implied farness. שֵׁף means desolation and emptiness (see Comm. on Ps. xxvi. 4, and especially on Job xv. 31), and in the ethical sense: irreligiousness, unconscientiousness, characterlessness. The cart-rope is an image of the coarse boldness with which they diligently draw to them the sin, which is here considered as making them liable to punishment.¹ They sin forgetful of duty and boldly, because they set themselves in their unbelief above the prophetic threatenings, and look upon the day of Jehovah as an idle terror.

¹ From this Isaianic verse, which is cited in *Sanhedrin* 99b as בקבלה (i.e. to be found in the prophetic division of the Holy Scripture), springs the proverb להיות כעבותות אבל סופו להיט של כוביא אבל סופו להיות כעבותות דענלה; see *Sifri* 33a, ed. Friedmann. Hesba Stretton has made it the motto of her novel, *Cobwebs and Cables*, 1882, where it is rendered: *Sins are at first like cobwebs, at last like cables.* The English *cob* corresponds to the Talmudic כוביא.

Ver. 19 : " *Who say, Let him hasten, let him then speed on his work that we may see ; and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel now draw near and come so that we may experience it.*" They doubt that the day of Jehovah will ever come (Ezek. xii. 22 ; Jer. v. 12 f. ; cf. 2 Pet. iii. 3 f.) ; and they go so far in their unbelief as to wish for what they cannot and will not believe, and challenge it to come so as to see it with their own eyes and experience it (Jer. xvii. 15 ; otherwise than in Amos v. 18 and Mal. ii. 17–iii. 1, where this wishing does not proceed from scorn and defiance, but from impatience and littleness of faith). As the two verbs denoting haste are used both intransitively (Judg. xx. 37, to make haste, to hasten) and transitively, the passage may also be translated : let his work haste, hurry itself on (Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, and Drechsler) ; but we prefer the transitive sense in accordance with chap. lx. 22. The forms *הִיָּשֵׁה* (*Hi*, from *הָיָה* = Beduin *حاس*, to move oneself quickly, to drive along ; DMZ. xxii. 159 f.) and *הִבְיָה* are, along with Ps. xxiv. and Job xi. 17, in fact the only examples of a voluntative in the third person, strengthened by the *ah* of summons or challenge ; for the imperfects in *ah* in Ezek. xxiii. 20 and Job xx. 21 are double feminine forms (Ges. § 48, 3). The fact that the freethinkers call God *קֹדֶשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל*, while they yet scoff at His self-attestation actually authenticating this name, is explained from chap. xxx. 11 : They take this name of God out of the mouth of the prophet, so that their scorn applies to both God and His prophet at the same time.

The fourth woe is expressed in ver. 20 : " *Woe to those who call evil good, and good evil ; who give out darkness for light, and light for darkness ; who give out bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.*" The previous woe had reference to those who made the facts of sacred history the butt of their naturalistic doubt and ridicule, especially so far as they were the subject of prophecy. This fourth woe relates to those who adopted a code of morals that completely overturned the first principles of ethics, and was utterly opposed to the law of God ; for evil, darkness, and bitter, with their opposites, represent fundamental moral principles that are essentially related (Matt. vi. 23 ; Jas. iii. 11). Evil, as antitheistic, is dark in its

nature, and therefore loves darkness, and is exposed to the punitive power of darkness. And although it may be sweet as regards its material enjoyment, it is nevertheless bitter, inasmuch as it produces abhorrence and disgust in the godlike nature of man, and, after a brief self-deception, is turned into the bitter woe of miserable consequences. Darkness and light, bitter and sweet, therefore, are not tautological metaphors for evil and good; but designations of evil and good according to their essential natures, and their necessary and internal effects. The מֵרְחָה, with following ל, parallel to הָאֲמָרִים (with *Mercha*, not *Darga*), has a subjective meaning, as in Job xvii. 12.

The fifth woe, ver. 21: "*Woe unto those who are wise in their own eyes, and who are prudent in their own sight.*" The third woe had reference to the unbelieving naturalists, the opponents of prophecy, נְבוֹנִים; the fourth woe referred to the moralists, who brought ideas into confusion; and to this woe is attached by a closely-connected thought the woe denounced upon those whom want of humility makes inaccessible for the חֵכְמָה, which goes hand in hand with the נְבוֹנָה,—that wisdom of which the fear of Jehovah is the basis (Ps. cxi. 10; Prov. i. 7; Job xxviii. 28; Eccles. xii. 13). "Be not wise in thine own eyes," is a fundamental rule of this wisdom (Prov. iii. 7). Upon this wisdom rests the prophetic state-policy, whose warnings, as we read in chap. xxviii. 9, 10, they rejected so contemptuously. That in this woe the prophet had specially in view the untheocratic state-expediency, is shown by the sixth woe, which is directed to the administration of right in the State.

The sixth woe, vers. 22, 23: "*Woe unto those who are heroes to drink wine, and bold men to mix strong drink, who acquit evil-doers for a bribe, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from everybody.*" We see from ver. 23 that the drinkers in ver. 22 are unjust judges. The threatening of these is everywhere Isaiah's *ceterum censeo*; and accordingly it is also here the content of the sixth and last woe. They are heroes, yet not in avenging wrong, but in drinking wine; they are famous men, yet not for deciding between guilt and innocence, but for mixing strong drink, that is to say, with spices (so Cheyne, Knabenbauer, and others; cf. *vinum aromatites*,

myrrhinum, *absynthites*, etc. in Pliny).¹ The wine of the Jews of the present day in Jerusalem and Hebron, Guthe tells me, is always spiced, and it thereby acquires great power of heating, and passes violently into the blood, a fact which agrees with the ירליקם in chap. v. 11. But it always remains questionable (cf. on Song of Sol. vii. 3) whether it is not mixing with water that is meant. It was an old custom to temper or dilute wine and other spirituous liquors (שִׁכָּר, e.g. date wine and cider) by an addition of water, and to make them more agreeable for drinking (Maimonides' הלכות חמץ ומצה vii. 9), which is called כִּסְּף (in the Mishna כִּסְּף, *Aboda zara* 58b), wherefore this verb also comes to mean to pour in, to fill up, chap. xix. 14 (in Mishn. כִּסְּף), e.g. *Pesachim* x. 1, and elsewhere, and the classical *κεραινύσαι* and *temperare*. Accordingly כִּסְּף, כִּסְּפָה, or כִּסְּפָה signifies any kind of fine tasting wine which has been made palatable by spicing or diluting (Arab. *chamr memzūja*). In such preparation of intoxicating drinks they are praiseworthy and strong, and therefore the more accessible to bribery for acquitting the guilty and condemning the just (Deut. xxv. 1; Prov. xvii. 15); beclouding themselves with strong drink, they become blind to right, and get bold for wrong, chap. xxviii. 7 f.; Prov. xxxi. 5. עֲקָב (Arab. *'uḫb*, whereas עֲקָב, a heel = *'akīb*) is an adverbial accusative: in compensation for, or for pay; and כִּסְּפָה (which, as one is tempted to read כִּסְּפָה, belongs, according to the Masora, to the misleading כִּסְּפָה) refers back distributively to צִירִים; as, for example, in Hos. iv. 8.

In the three denunciations of woes in vers. 18–21, Isaiah confined himself to the mere unexplicated הִנֵּה. On the other hand, the first two woes denounced upon the covetous and the revellers were already expanded into a detailed announcement of punishment. But now, when the prophet has reached the bad judges, the announcement of punishment breaks out so vehemently that a return to the form of the mere expression of woe is not to be thought of. To the two therefore, לָכֵן, in vers. 13, 14, a third is now added in ver. 24: "Therefore as fire's tongue devours stubble, and hay collapses in flame, their root

¹ The Assyrian Syllabaries enumerate several kinds of such spiced wines, such as *karanu lāni* = Absinth wine (*karanu* = קָרַנָּה, *Aboda zara* 30a. Cf. Nöldeke in *DMZ.* xxxiii. 331).

will become as mould, and their blossom fly up as dust; for they have despised the Torah of Jehovah of hosts, and scornfully rejected the proclamation of the Holy One of Israel."

The persons primarily intended are those described in *vera*. 22, 23, but with an extension of the range of view to Judah and Jerusalem, the vineyard of which they are the bad fruit. The sinners are compared to a plant which moulders both above and below, and therefore altogether, into dust (cf. chap. xxxvii. 31; Job xviii. 16; Amos ii. 9; Mal. iii. 19; and the expression, "let there not be to him root below and fruit above," in the epitaph on the sarcophagus of the Phenician king אשמון'azar, Esmun'azar). Their root moulders in the earth, and their blossom (פֶּרֶחַ, the same as in chap. xviii. 5) turns to fine dust which the wind carries away. And this transformation of root and blossom takes place very suddenly as through the force of fire. In the expression כָּאֵלֶּךְ קֵשׁ לֶשֶׁן אֵשׁ הַיֵּשֶׁשׁ, which consists of five short words with five sibilants (cf. Jo. ii. 5), one hears the crackling sparks, the lambent flame. When the infinitive construct is connected with both subject and object, the subject generally stands first, as in chap. lxiv. 1, but here it is the object, as in chap. xx. 1 (with reference to the former, compare the similar Arabic form *katlun Zeidun 'Amran*). The infinitive construct passes in the second clause into the finite verb just as in the similarly constructed passage, chap. lxiv. 1. As יִרְפָּה has the intransitive meaning *collabi*, either לְהִרְבֶּה is *acc. loci*, or לְהִרְבֶּה הַיֵּשֶׁשׁ is the construct state, and means flame-hay, i.e. hay destined for the flame, or going up in flames.¹ As the reason

¹ In Arabic also, *hastî* signifies hay; but in common usage (at least in Syriac) it is applied not to dried grass, but to meadow-green grass or green barley: hence the expression *yahusî* here gives green fodder. Here, however, in Isaiah, הַיֵּשֶׁשׁ is equivalent to *hastî yâbîs*, and this is its true original meaning. In the time of the kings, as is evident from Amos vii. 1, the growth of grass was twice mown, specially in order to be used as fodder for cattle; לֶקֶשׁ there is hay in the proper sense, i.e. grass for fodder after the first cropping. In our day it is only in March and April that grass and green barley are cut and used as fodder; during the rest of the year the fodder is made up of barley and chopped straw (חֲבֵן, 1 Kings v. 28). When grass is otherwise cut, it is used for firing. Stubble and wild growths, when dried by the heat of the sun, are set on fire and burnt to ashes (see James Neil in *Jewish Intelligence*, 1886, pp. 66-69).

why the plantation of Judah so suddenly dies out, instead of certain particular sins, there is at once named the sin of all sins, the rejection of the word of God with the heart (כַּמָּאָס), and in word and deed (בַּמַּעַל). The twofold אַתָּה and אֲנִי give prominence to the object, and the קדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, changing with ה', makes the sin appear all the greater, the more exalted and holy the God is who reveals Himself in His word, and who has, moreover, revealed Himself to Israel as His own peculiar people. No sooner has the prophet named the guilty sin of Judah, than the proclamation of punishment has also got new fuel, and it flares forth anew in ver. 25: "*Wherefore the anger of Jehovah is kindled against His people, and He stretches His hand over it and smites it; then the mountains tremble, and its carcase becomes like outweepings in the midst of the streets,—with all this His anger is not stilled, and His hand remains stretched out.*" The last words are repeated in chaps. ix. 11, 16, x. 4, as a refrain. Cheyne thinks with Ewald, that vers. 25-30 had a place originally within chap. ix. 7-x. 4; and Bredenkamp expounds chaps. v. 24, 25, ix. 7-11, 12-16, 17-20, x. 1-4, as five connected strophes. But what could have occasioned their separation from each other? As chap. iii. 14 is a prelude to chap. v. 1-7, this passage from vers. 25-30, with the formula, "with all this His anger is not stilled . . .," may also be a prelude to chaps. ix. 7-x. 4; and further, in chap. v. 15 there is repeated chap. ii. 9, 17, without chap. v. and chap. ii. sq. therefore being a whole. The judgment upon Judah which stands here before the soul of the prophet, is certainly a future and not a past judgment; for the verbs after עַל־כֵּן are like those after the three previous לָכֵן, *praet. prophetica*. It is therefore impossible to interpret the phrase, "then the hills tremble," as a reference to the earthquake in the time of Uzziah (Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5). This judgment in the near future will consist in Jehovah stretching out His hand over His people, or, as it is elsewhere said, swinging it over them (Luther: swaying or moving it hither and thither), chaps. xi. 15, xix. 16, xxx. 30, 32; and bringing it down upon Judah with a blow, the violence of which gets to be felt by the surroundings of nature as well as by men. What sort of blow this will be, may be inferred from the fact that

the corpses lie unburied upon the streets like the common sweepings. The reading *הצות* is to be rejected, for either *הצות*, as the Complut., or *הוצית*, which has the Masora on Num. xx. 39 in its favour. It at once occurs to compare *פסותה* with the Arabic *kusāḥa*, sweepings, scourings, from *كسح*, to sweep, to scour (see on chap. xxxiii. 12); but *kusāḥa* is the common form for such refuse (e.g. *kulāma*, nail-paring), while *פסותה* must mean swept out, and then as there was no reason for using here the form *פסותה*, any more than *הלוק*, *הרץ*, *הפס* had to be written. Hence the *כ* is to be taken as that of comparison, and *פסותה* is to be derived from *פס* (*verrere*), as *פסתי* from *פסה* (*سكس* synonymous with *كسح*).

It will therefore not be a pestilence (which, moreover, as a stroke of God is indicated not by *הקה*, but *הנף*), but a carnage of war; and in reference to the still more fearful judgment threatened in vers. 26 sqq., which is to proceed from the world-power, it cannot be doubted that the spirit of prophecy here indicates the bloodshed brought about by the Syro-Ephraimitic war in Judah (see 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, 6). The mountains may well have then trembled under the marching of troops and the clashing of arms, and the felling down of trees, and the shrieks of woe, and nature in any case had to suffer along with what men had incurred; for nature is related to man according to God's creative order, as the body of man to his soul. Every infliction of the wrath of God which falls upon a people, smites at the same time the land which has deteriorated with it; and in this sense the mountains of Judah then quaked, although only to the hearing of initiated ears. But for all this (י, notwithstanding, in spite of, as in Job i. 22), Jehovah's anger, as the prophet foresees, will not turn away as it does when He is satisfied, and His hand will remain always still stretched out over Judah in order to strike again.

Jehovah does not take the human instruments of His further strokes anywhere from Israel and the neighbouring peoples, but from the peoples in far-off lands. Ver. 26: "*And He lifts up a banner for the distant peoples, and hisses to it from the end of the earth; and behold hurrying hastily it comes hither.*" What the prophet here prophesies already

began to be fulfilled in the time of Ahaz. But the prophecy which starts with this verse bears in it all the possible marks of being the opposite of a *vaticinium post eventum*. It is properly only what was threatened in Deut. xxviii. 49 sqq. (cf. chap. xxxii. 21 sqq.), which is here presented in a more plastic form, but which yet appears to the perception of the prophet as if emerging out of mist. God summons the far-off peoples; מִרְחֹק is here and in chap. xlix. 1 virtually an adjective, as Jer. xxiii. 23 it is virtually a substantive. It combines the meanings from afar, as *e.g.* in chaps. xxv. 1, xliii. 6, and far away, as *e.g.* in chaps. xxii. 3, xxiii. 6, cf. chap. xvii. 13, as in Homer, ἔκαθεν, from far, may have the sense of far away (so with the opposite, ἔγγυθεν, near); the measure of length being determined from the *terminus ad quem* backwards, instead of from the *terminus a quo* forwards. In this passage and elsewhere מִרְחֹק has become fixed into an expression of distance, with the whence and whither lost sight of (see on chap. xxxvii. 26). The visible working of God presents itself sensibly to the prophet in two figures. Jehovah plants a banner or standard which, like an optical telegraph, tells the peoples still at a far distance, like the battle-horn, שׁוֹפָר, that they are to band themselves together for war. יָם is a high staff with a fluttering banner (chap. xxxiii. 23), set up upon a bare mountain-top (chap. xiii. 2); נֶשֶׁא, in this favourite figure of Isaiah, alternates with הָרִים. The peoples through whom this was first fulfilled, were those of the Assyrian empire. These peoples are regarded as far off, dwelling at the end of the earth (chap. xxxix. 3), not merely inasmuch as the Euphrates formed the boundary to the north-east between what was geographically known and unknown to the Israelites (Ps. lxxii. 8; Zech. ix. 10), but also inasmuch as the prophet has in his mind a complex body of peoples stretching away into further Asia. The second figure is taken from a bee-master, who entices the bees with hissing or whistling to come out of their hives and settle on the ground; as Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 54) says to the bee-master who wants to make the bees settle down: "Raise a tinkling sound, and beat the cymbals of Cybele round the quarter."¹ Thus does Jehovah

¹ This tinkling with scythes and cymbals is now regarded as of no use; see Gedde's *Apiarium Anglicum* (1721), xv. § 13.

entice the banded peoples, like swarms of bees (chap. vii. 18), who now swarm hither, hurrying rapidly. The plural passes into the singular, for those who are approaching appear at first as an indistinguishable agglomerated mass; but it is also possible that the ruling people among the many is fixed upon. The perception and the expression are both misty, and this is quite characteristic. With *הִנֵּה* the prophet points to those who step into his circle of vision; *בְּהֵרָאֵל*, they are coming on, i.e. in the shortest time, with quick feet, and the nearer they come within his view, the more distinctly can he describe them.—Ver. 27: “*There is none wearied, and no one stumbling among them; they give themselves no slumber and no sleep, and to none is the girdle of his hips loosed; and to none is the thong of his shoes rent asunder.*” Notwithstanding the long, far march, there is no one fatigued, *אֵי*, who had been obliged to fall out singly and remain behind (Deut. xxv. 18; Isa. xiv. 31). There is no *בִּזְעַל*; for they march on, pressing incessantly forwards, as if on a levelled road (Jer. xxxi. 9). From their eagerness for the conflict they do not slumber (*נָמ*, mimetic of audible breathing), to say nothing of them sleeping (*נָמ*): they do not slumber in order to repose, and they do not allow themselves the usual night’s rest. The girdle of his armour-shirt or coat-of-mail in which the sword is inserted (Neh. iv. 12), is lacking in none; not even the shoe-thong of any one, with which the sandals are fastened and knotted, is rent asunder (*פָּרַץ*, *disrumpitur*). The description of their wanting rest forms a *climax descendens*, while the representation of the tightness and lastingness of their armour is a *climax ascendens*; the two statements follow each other after the manner of a *chiasmus*.

The prophet now describes their weapons and war-chariots. Ver. 28: “*He whose arrows are sharpened, and all his bows strung; the hoofs of his horses are accounted like to flint, and his wheels to the whirlwind.*” As perceived by the prophet, they are moving always nearer. For they have brought with them pointed arrows in their quivers (chap. xxii. 6). But all their bows are already trodden (which implies that, as they were in length as much as the height of a man, this was done by means of setting the left foot upon the inner bend); and the fact shows that they find themselves near their goal. The

right reading is יִנְהֹפֵךְ, with *Dag. dirimens* (Gesen. § 20, 2b), as, according to Abulwalid, Kimchi, and other witnesses, it is also in Ps. xxxvii. 15. As the horses in ancient times were not shod, firm hoofs, ὄπλαι καρτεραί, were, according to Xenophon's *Hippikos*, a prime quality of a good horse. The horses of the enemy now drawing near to Judah have hoofs which must be found like flint (רִצְ, אִפ. λεγ.=Arab. *ḡirr*, Syr. *ṭarānā*), hard, sharp-cornered or sharp-pointed stone. Homer calls such horses χαλκόποδες, brass-footed. And the two wheels of each of the war-chariots, in front of which the horses are harnessed, turn with such rushing rapidity, and throw everything down before them with such violence, not merely as if the whirlwind drove, but as if they were the whirlwind itself (chap. lxvi. 15; Jer. iv. 13). Nahum compares them to flashes of lightning, chap. ii. 5.—Thus far the description of the prophet moves on as if in double quick marches, through clauses consisting of from two to four words. Now the description becomes heavy and stealthy, and then springs, in a few sentences, like a carnivorous beast upon its prey. Ver. 29: "*A roar he raises like the lioness; he roars like the lions and growls low,—seizes the prey, carries it off, and no one rescues.*" The imperfects (*Kerē*, יִנְהֹפֵךְ), with the preceding לִי יִנְהֹפֵךְ, which is equivalent to a future (according to which also *Chethib*, יִנְהֹפֵךְ, is, therefore, admissible as *perf. consec.*), hold fast every separate factor of the description for consideration. The lion roars when he longs eagerly for prey, and such now is the battle-cry of the bloodthirsty enemy, which the prophet compares to the roar of the lioness (יִנְהֹפֵךְ, Copt. *laboi*, with the feminine form, יִנְהֹפֵכִי¹), and with the roar of young lions full of strength (יִנְהֹפֵכִי). In place of the roaring there succeeds a growling (רָמַם, *fremitus*, Prov. xix. 12), when the lion makes himself ready, and prepares to fall upon his prey.² And so the prophet hears, in the army thus ready for battle, a low, evil-foreboding hum. But he immediately also perceives how the enemy seizes his booty and drags it irrecoverably away (יִנְהֹפֵכִי, properly, how he makes it slip away, i.e. brings it into

¹ In Arabic, *en-nehem* is used to signify greediness (see Ali's *Proverbs*, No. 16).

² The Indo-Germanic names of the lion appear to be connected with יִנְהֹפֵכִי, perhaps also יִנְהֹפֵכִי; see Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.* No. 543.

a place of safety; cf. Micah vi. 14). This prey or booty is Judah. And it adds to the weird, gloomy character of the prophecy that the prophet does not name Judah. As if he was not able to let it pass his lips, this object still remains unexpressed in ver. 30: "*And there is a deep moaning over it in that day, like the moaning of the sea; and he looks to the earth, and behold darkness—tribulation and light—it becomes night in the clouds of heaven over there.*" The roar of the lion and the surging of the sea are so like each other in the impression they make, that *Sierra Leone* (Sierra = Arah. سِرَّة,

mountain chain) took its name from the fact that those who first landed there took the noise of the waves breaking on the steep shores for the roaring of lions. The subject of יְהוּדָה is the mass of the enemy; and in the expressions עָלָיו and נָפַח (with the Pi. used only here instead of the usual Hi. הִנִּיחַ) the prophet has the people of Judah in view as the enemy falls upon them with a roar like the sea, and thus rushes as in sea-billows over them. And when the people of Judah looked to the earth, and therefore to the land in which they dwelt, darkness presents itself to them,—a darkness in which is swallowed up every friendly and smiling aspect formerly exhibited by it. And what further? צַר וְאֹר have been explained as moon (= לְחָר) and sun (Jewish expositors), and as stone and gleam = hail and lightning (Drechsler); but these and similar explanations depart too far from the ordinary usage. And the separation of the words צַר and אֹר, proposed by Hitzig, Gesenius (*Thesaurus*), Ewald, Knobel, Umbreit, Schegg, Meier, Luzzatto, Nägelsbach (who refers to Job xviii. 16), and Bredenkamp, so that the one word closes a sentence ("darkness of tribulation") and the other opens one (Cheyne: "*yea, the light is dusk through the clouds thereof*"), is against the impression of the connection made by the two monosyllables, and which is supported by the punctuation. However, we thus obtain a connected thought, as in the Vulg.: *et ecce tenebrae tribulationis et lux obtenebrata est in caligine ejus* (Jer.). But if צַר וְאֹר are left together, a still more expressive meaning results. צַר וְאֹר are tribulation and lighting up, the one following the other and passing over into the other, like morning and night, chap. xxi. 12. This

as the preacher of the judgment of hardening;" and if chap. vi. stands in its true historical place, it would contain the result or sequel of the preceding prophetic preaching. But true as it is that the whole of the central portion of Israel's history, which lies midway between the commencement and the close, is divided into halves by the contents of chap. vi., and that the significant importance of Isaiah as a prophet consists especially in the fact that he stood upon the boundary between these two historic halves, yet there are serious objections which present themselves to such a view of chap. vi. It is possible, indeed, that this distinctive importance may have been given to Isaiah's calling and appointment at his very first call. And what Umbreit says—namely, that chap. vi. must make the impression upon every unprejudiced mind of its being the prophet's inaugural vision—cannot really be denied. But the position in which chap. vi. stands in the book itself exercises an influence contrary to this impression, unless that position can be accounted for in some other way. The impression, however, still remains (just as at chap. i. 7–9), and recurs again and again. We will therefore proceed to chap. vi. without labouring to efface it. It is possible that we may discover some other satisfactory explanation of the enigmatical position of chap. vi. in relation to what has preceded it.

THE PROPHET'S ACCOUNT OF HIS DIVINE MISSION, CHAP. VI.

The time of the occurrence narrated in the following words: *In the death-year of the king Uzziah*, is important as regards the prophet himself. The statement thus made in the naked form in which it is here prefixed, makes a much sharper impression than if it commenced with *וּבְשָׁנָה* (cf. Ex. xvi. 6; Prov. xxiv. 27). It was the year of the death of Uzziah (as he is also called in 2 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chron. chap. xxvi., whereas he is called Azaria in 2 Kings xiv. 21, 1 Chron. xii. 12, and in cuneiform inscriptions). It was therefore the year in which Uzziah was still reigning, although his death was at hand; not the first year of Jotham's reign, but the last of Uzziah's; for it is more than highly probable that in the calculation of the regnant years of the kings, the year of the accession of one king was reckoned to his prede-

from afar is couched in such nameless and general terms, and is so vague and misty, that we cannot but say that everything that was to happen to the people of God on the part of the world-power during the five great and extended periods of judgment that were now so soon to commence (viz. the Assyrian, the Chaldean, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman), is here unfolding itself out of the mist of futurity, and presenting itself to the prophetic eye of the seer. Already in the time of Ahaz the character of the prophecy changes in this respect. It is then that the eventful relation of Israel to the imperial power assumes its first concrete shape in the form of a relation to Assur (Assyria). And from that time forth the imperial power in the mouth of the prophet is no longer an unknown quantity; for although the notion of the world-power was not yet embodied in Assur, yet it is called Assur, and Assur represents it. It also necessarily follows from this, that chaps. ii.-iv., v. belong to the time anterior to Ahaz, i.e. to that of Uzziah and Jotham. But several puzzling questions suggest themselves here. If chaps. ii.-iv., v. were uttered under Uzziah and Jotham, how could Isaiah begin with a promise (chap. ii. 1-4) which is repeated word for word in Micah iv. 1 sqq., where it is the direct antithesis of the threat in chap. iii. 12, which was uttered by Micah, according to Jer. xxvi. 18, in the time of Hezekiah? Again, if we consider the advance made in this threatening prophecy from the general expressions with which it commences in chap. i. to the close of chap. v., in what relation does this discourse in chap. i. stand to chaps. ii.-iv., v., seeing that vers. 7-9 are not ideal, but have a contemporary historical reference, and therefore at least presuppose the Syro-Ephraimite war? And lastly, if chap. vi. does really relate, as it apparently does, to the calling of Isaiah to the prophetic office, how are we to explain the singular fact that three prophetic discourses precede the history of his call, which ought properly to stand at the opening of the book? Drechsler and Caspari have attempted to explain this by maintaining that chap. vi. contains an account of the call of the prophet, who was already installed in his office, to a particular mission. The proper heading to be adopted for chap. vi. would therefore be, "The consecration of the prophet

man, and his limitation by the present life. This is the mode of revelation characteristic of ecstatic vision (*ἐν ἐκστάσει* or *ἐν πνεύματι*). Isaiah, then, is here transported to heaven; for although elsewhere prophetic ecstasies have the earthly temple as the place and object of the seeing (Amos ix. 1; Ezek. viii. 3, x. 4, 5; Acts xxii. 17); yet here the high exalted throne (to which and to Him sitting on it, chap. lvii. 15, *כִּסֵּא דָּם* is to be referred) is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly throne of the mercy-seat; and therefore *לִיבָל* (properly, spacious hall, a name of the temple as the palace of God the King), as in Ps. xi. 4, xviii. 7, xxix. 9, and frequently elsewhere, is not the Jerusalem temple (Reuss and others), but the heavenly temple. There he sees the universal ruler, or, as we prefer to translate this name, formed from *לֵבָל=לֵב*,¹ the All-Lord sitting (*לֵב* is an accusative predicate, for the Hebrew expression is like the Latin form *vidi te ambulantem*), and, moreover, in human form (Ezek. i. 26), as is shown by the trailing robe, of which the floating ends or skirts fill the hall (*שָׂרָב*, as in Ex. xxviii. 33, from *שָׂר=סל*, *med. O*, and *לָב*, *med. Y*, to hang down loose, see on chap. v. 14). The LXX, Targum, Jerome have obliterated the figure of the trailing robe as too anthropomorphic. But John in his Gospel is bold enough to say that it was Jesus whose glory Isaiah beheld (John xii. 41); for the incarnation of the Logos is the truth of all the Biblical anthropomorphisms. The heavenly temple is the super-terrestrial place which Jehovah, by giving Himself to be beheld there by angels and saints, makes into a heaven and a temple. In giving His glory to be beheld, He must at the same time veil it, because the creature cannot bear it. But what veils it is not less splendid than what of it is made manifest. It is this which is symbolized to Isaiah in the long trailing robe. He sees the Lord, and what he further sees is the all-filling splendid robe of the indescribable One. As far as the look of the seer reaches, the ground is covered everywhere with this splendid robe. There is therefore no place to stand there. In accordance with this, the vision of the seraphim is determined in

¹ Comp. *Der Wallende* as applied to God by the Old German and Anglo-Saxon poets.

ver. 2: "Seraphim stood over Him, each one of which had six wings; with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew." לוֹ מַמְעַל is not to be explained as near to him; for although the mode of expression that one in standing finds himself עַל, over one sitting, Ex. xviii. 13, or even מַעַל, above him, Jer. xxxvi. 21 (2 Chron. xxvi. 19, מַעַל לְמִזְבֵּחַ הַקֶּטֶר, above the altar of incense), is also used of spirits, Job i. 6; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Zech. vi. 5; and of men, Zech. iv. 14, in relation to God upon His throne, where an actual towering above is not to be thought of; yet לוֹ מַמְעַל, that strongest expression for *supra*, cannot be otherwise than literally meant; and hence the Targum and Rashi explain it "above, for His service." The sequence of the accents can be taken as in favour of this view (Luzzatto); it is the same as in Gen. i. 5a. How Isaiah thinks of this standing above Him who is on the throne, is to be inferred from the use made of the wings of the seraphim. The imperfects do not state what they are accustomed to do (Böttcher and others), but what the seer saw them do; he saw them fly with two of their six wings (שְׁנַיִם, dual, instead of the plural, as also elsewhere in the case of words used for what is presented in pairs, DMZ. xxxii. 33). They therefore stood flying, that is, they hovered (cf. עָמַד, Num. xiv. 14), as is said of the earth and the stars: they stand although in free space, Job xxvi. 7; and as Apuleius says of the eagle when fixing his prey: *volatu paene eodem loco pendula circumtuetur*. It is true that the seraphim (how many not determined¹) are not to be regarded as towering over the head of Him who is sitting on the throne, although לוֹ applies to Him, and not to the throne (Jer. *super illud*, scil. *solium*); but they hovered over His robe that filled the hall, being supported by the two outspread wings, while with two other wings they covered their faces in awe before the divine glory (Targ. *ne videant*), and with two wings they covered their feet in the feeling of the deep distance of the creature from the Holiest of all (Targ. *ne videantur*), as the cherubim in Ezek. i. 11 do their bodies. This is the only

¹ Nestle draws my attention to the fact that Origen only accepts two seraphim, and refers the suffix of שְׁנַיִם and רַגְלָיו to God. The LXX. favour this view, for they have merely τὸ πρόσσωπον and τοὺς πόδας; (without σώματα, as in the imperfect text of the Stier-Theil Polyglott).

passage in the Holy Scripture where the seraphim are mentioned. The representation of the Church, which took its rise from Dionysius Areopagita, represents them as at the head of the nine choirs of angels; the first rank or order is formed by the seraphim, cherubim, and *throni*, for which view it may be adduced that the cherubim in Ezekiel bear up the chariot of the divine throne, whereas here the seraphim hover round the seat of the divine throne. In any case the seraphim and cherubim are heavenly beings, different in kind; the attempts to prove their identity have only an apparent support in Rev. iv. 8. Further, שֶׁרָפִים certainly does not mean merely spirits as such, but if not the most exalted of all, yet such as have a separate place before the others; for the Scriptures really teach a gradation in their rank, *hierarchia coelestis*. As the cherubim of Ezekiel are three-fourths in animal form, and the writer of the Apocalypse gives animal forms to three of the four ζῶα, which are six-winged, like the seraphim here (Rev. iv. 7, 8), the seraphim thus appear, apart from what was human shaped in them, necessarily to be represented as winged dragons; for the serpent lifted up by Moses is called שֶׁרָפָה in Num. xxi. 8, and the flying dragon in xiv. 29, שֶׁרָפָה מְעוֹפֶפֶת, from שָׂרַף (to burn, and particularly to cause burning wounds, whereas *serpens* is related to *εἶπευ*, *repere*¹). In any case the name seraphim includes the idea of burning, and in any view the sensible externality in which they appear to the seer is an emblematic embodiment of their supposed nature. While the seraphim hover above on both sides of the throne, and thus form two semicircular choirs hovering over against each other, they worship Him that sits on the throne as in a responsive hymn. Ver. 3: "*And one cried aloud to the other, and spake: Holy, holy, holy is Jehovah of hosts, filling the whole earth is His glory.*" The meaning is not that they raised their voice in concert at the same time (Luzzatto); nor is מְלִא used in Pa. xlii. 8 in this sense as = מְלִא; but it was an antiphonal song proceeding without interruption. Some of them commenced and others responded, whether they repeated the whole Trisagion or continued the

¹ Cheyne, like Riehm, sees in the cherub of the original extra-Israelite representation, the personified thunder-cloud, and in the seraph the personified serpent-like lightning.

מלא כל־הארץ כבודו with קדוש קדוש קדוש. Isaiah hears this antiphonal or hypophonal song of the seraphim, not merely to learn that endless worship of God is their blessed occupation, but it is with this doxology as with the doxologies of the Apocalypse: like the whole scene, its significance lies in its reference to the history of salvation. God is in Himself the Holy One קדוש, i.e. He that is separated; that is, from the world of the finite and also of sin, and who is exalted above it. His glory כבוד, as Oetinger and Bengel have formulated it, is His disclosed holiness, as His holiness is His inner glory. That God's holiness should become universally manifest, or what is the same thing, that His glory should become the fulness of the whole earth, is what was already brought into view in Num. xiv. 21 as the end of the work of God (cf. chap. xi. 9; Hab. ii. 14). This end of the work of God stands eternally present before God; and the seraphim also have it before them in its final completion as the theme of their song of praise. But Isaiah is a man in the midst of the history which is striving to this end; and the exclamation of the seraphim, as now thus precisely expressed, gives him the means of knowing to what it will eventually come on earth; and the heavenly forms which now present themselves visibly to him enable him to conceive the nature of the divine glory with which the earth is to become full. The whole Book of Isaiah bears traces of the impression of this ecstasy. The favourite name of God in the mouth of the prophet קדוש ישראל, is the echo of this seraphic *Sanctus*; and the fact that this name of God is already expressed in the discourses in chap. i. 2-iv. 5, and thus used by way of preference, is a further confirmation of the view that Isaiah is here narrating his first calling. All the prophecies of Isaiah bear this name of God on them as their stamp; it occurs thirteen times (and including chaps. v. 16 and x. 17, fifteen times) in chaps. i.-xxxix.; twelve times (and including chaps. xliii. 15, xlix. 7, cf. also lvii. 15, fourteen times) in chaps. xl.-lxvi.; and therefore twenty-nine times in all in the whole Book of Isaiah. On this Luzzatto remarks: "The prophet, as if foreseeing that the second part of his book would be denied to be his, has impressed the name of God, קדוש ישראל, as his seal on both parts, הֵתָם חֹתָמוֹ בְּכֵלָּי." The word elsewhere occurs, apart

from Hab. i. 12, only three times in the Psalms (Ps. lxxi. 22, lxxviii. 41, lxxxix. 19), and twice in Jeremiah in two passages (chaps. l. 29, li. 5), which the hypothesis of interpolation regards as introductions of their Isaiah II. It belongs to Isaiah's peculiar prophetic signature, סננ. Here we find ourselves at the very source of this phenomenon. Does the thrice holy indeed refer to God the Triune? ¹ Knobel contents himself with remarking that the expression serves for strengthening. No doubt men are accustomed to say thrice what they wish to say exhaustively and satisfyingly; for the three is the number of disclosed unity. But why is this so? The Pythagoreans said that number is the principle of all things; but the Scripture, according to which God creates the world in twice three days by ten words of power, and completes it in seven days, teaches that God is the principle of all numbers. That the three is the number of unfolded and self-enclosed unity has its ultimate ground in this, that it is the number of the threefold being of God; and that being admitted, the Trisagion of the seraphim (as well as that of the cherubim in Rev. iv. 8) therefore applies in the consciousness of those spirits to God the Triune, and it is called in the language of the Church, not without right, *Hymnus Trinitatis*.

Isaiah, hearing this, stands enraptured at the farthest distance from Him that sat on the throne, namely, under the door of the heavenly palace or temple; and what he there further felt and saw is related by him in ver. 4: "*And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the voice of those who cried; and the house became full of smoke.*" By אַפְסֵי הַסָּפִים the LXX. Jer. Syr. and others understand the posts of the lintels, the supporting beams of the מַשְׁקֵף closing the door at the top (Mishn. מַשְׁקֵף, Arab. ^{الأسكنة}). This may be taken as correct; for that סָפִים means not merely the thresholds, but also the horizontal beam which closes the framework of the door above, is proved by Amos ix. 1, where the

¹ Galatinus asserts that he saw a Targum in Lecce (a town in the Neapolitan province of the same name), in which the Trisagion was translated: קדישא אבא קדישא בר א קדישא רוח קודשא, doubtless an interpolation by a Christian hand.

command is given to smite the chapters of the temple of Bethel that the ספים may tremble, and to smash the upper beams, supported by the pillars, down upon the head of those assembled. Hence Böttcher's view (*Lehrb.* i. 428) recommends itself; he understands ספים to mean the upper and lower threshold together, as distinguished from the upright door-posts. אמות, however, does not mean, as Nägelsbach holds, "the right-angled frames, like the bend of the arm" (for which no parallel can be quoted), but the basis of the upper beam; אמה being related to אָם as *matrix* to *mater*, and being used of the receiving basis (e.g. Talmudic אֲמָתָא אֲמִיתָא, the frame or box of the hand-mill, *Berachoth* 18*b*, and אֲמִית סִנְיָה, the woodwork which runs along the back of the saw and holds it stretched, *Kelim* xxi. 3; cf. the German Schraubenmutter, literally, screw-mother or female-screw, which, with its hollowed windings, receives and holds the cylindrical screw).¹ As often as the choir of the seraphim began their song (הִתְפַּאֲרוּ, cf. the collective singular הִתְאַוֵּר, the ambush, in Josh. viii. 19; הִתְלַחֵץ, the men of war, in Josh. vi. 7 and elsewhere; and הִתְאָפֵּק, the rearguard, in Josh. vi. 9 and elsewhere), the lower and upper crossbeams of the portal which Isaiah stood in shook. The building was seized, as it were, with devout awe. At the same time it was filled with smoke. Reference in this connection has been made to 1 Kings viii. 10; but there God attests His presence by the cloud of smoke behind which He conceals Himself, whereas here such a self-attestation was not required, nor does God dwell here in cloud and mystery; and the smoke is not represented as the effect of the presence of God, but of the songs of praise of the seraphim. The material for producing smoke on the altar of incense is thereby set on fire. From this point some light begins to fall upon the name שַׂרְפִּים, which, when derived from a verb, שָׂרַף, in the sense of the Arabic *šarafa* (*šarufa*), to tower forth, to be set high, or highly honoured (Gesenius, Hengstenberg, Hofmann, Kurtz, Cheyne, Schultz, Bredenkamp), gives a sense which expresses

¹ Friedr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 107-110, carries back the cognate terms אָם, אֲמָה, אֲמָה to the fundamental notion of width (roominess), according to which אֲמָה in this passage would mean the holder which receives into it the beam or post.

little. On the other hand, to follow Knobel, who reads שְׂרָפִים, servants of God (Targ. שְׂרָפִים), would be a venturesome contribution of a new word to the lexicon. The verb שָׂרַף means *urere* and *comburare*; and if the name is explained therefrom, then the שְׂרָפִים are fire-spirits of a burning nature, and efficient in setting on fire or burning away. And in any case there exists a connection between the name of these heavenly beings and the name of the serpents, שְׂרָפִים, in Num. xxi. 6, especially as Isaiah himself uses שָׂרַף in chap. xiv. 29 as the name of a serpent. Why should not the seraphim be heavenly antitypes of that which the serpent was, which, apart from sin and the curse, belonged to the good creation of God, and even appears in Num. xxi. 6–9 as ἀγασθοδαίμων (cf. John iii. 14)? Like winged dragons, the seraphim hover round the throne of God as a crowning lustre. But it is only their being, which is invisible in itself to sensuous eyes, that thus makes itself visible to the seer.

At first, overwhelmed and intoxicated by the majestic spectacle, the seer now becomes conscious of himself. Ver. 5: "*Then I said, Woe to me, for I am lost; for a man of unclean lips am I, and I am dwelling among a people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, Jehovah of Hosts.*" It is a fundamental view of the Old Testament that man cannot see God without dying (Ex. xix. 21, xx. 19, xxxiii. 20; Deut. xviii. 16; Judg. xiii. 22). He must die,—not, as Ritschl and Schultz, in their theory of sacrifice, suppose, as a creature standing at a deep distance from God, but as an impure one and a sinner,—because the divine holiness is for the sinner a consuming fire, chap. xxxiii. 14. But besides, it is true that the infinite distance between the Creator and the creature exercises of itself a prostrating effect, which even the seraphim cannot sustain without veiling their faces, but not a death-producing effect. Here, in Isaiah, the two facts meet: he is a man, and, moreover, a sinful man. Therefore, as he has come to see God, he regards himself as undone, annihilated (נִרְמָה, like δολα, *perii*, the preterite of the fact viewed as complete for the individual's consciousness); and so much the more since, as regards his own person, he is unclean of lips, and at the same time is a member of a people of unclean lips. The unholiness of his own person, in virtue of the solidarity of the

natural connection, is doubled by the unholiness of the people to which he belongs. This unholiness he calls uncleanness of lips, because he sees himself transported into the midst of choirs of beings who praise the Lord with clean or pure lips; and he calls Jehovah the King, for he has in fact not seen Jehovah face to face, but he has seen the throne, the all-filling talar, and the seraphim hovering around the enthroned One and doing Him homage.—He has therefore seen the heavenly King in manifest majesty, and he designates what was beheld by the impression he received. Here, however, to stand in sight of Jehovah of Hosts, the King exalted above all, to whom everything pays homage: to stand here and, in the consciousness of deep uncleanness, to be compelled to remain dumb—this excites in him the annihilating anguish of self-condemnation. And this finds expression in the confession which is made by the contrite seer.

This confession is followed by forgiveness of sins, which is guaranteed to him through a heavenly sacrament, and is appropriated as his through a seraphic absolution. Vers. 6, 7: *"And there flew to me one of the seraphim, with a glowing coal in his hand; with the tongs he had taken it away from off the altar. And with it he touched my mouth, and said: Behold, this has touched thy lips and away is thine iniquity, and thus thy sin is expiated."* One of the seraphs hovering about the Lord flies to the altar of incense, the heavenly type of the golden altar of incense of the earthly tabernacle, which was reckoned as belonging to the Holiest of all, and in his hand a רִצְפָּה, which he had taken לָקַח=לָקַח, with tongs from the altar. רִצְפָּה is either a red-hot stone (Aq. S. Th. ψήφος, Jer. calculus) from the structure of the altar, or a red-hot coal (LXX. ἄσθαξ). The Masora distinguishes scholastically¹ רִצְפָּה, mosaic pavement (see Norzi on Ezek. xl. 17),² and רִצְפָּה,

¹ Comp. Nöldeke, *Syrische Gramm.* p. 18. An analogous example is the distinction between אב and אב, of which the former means a natural father, the latter a spiritual father (see Payne Smith, under אב).

² In the sense of burning coal or burning stone, רִצְפָּה is related to רִצְפָּה (ענת), 1 Kings xix. 6, as n. unitatis. Also in Arab. رُفْ (not

glowing coal; and the latter must be what is here meant, as the seraph would not have torn a stone out of the structure of the altar; and it is far from being natural to think of the heavenly altar as constructed of stones, according to the directions in Ex. xx. 25 (cf. Josh. viii. 31), which, moreover, refers to the altar of burnt-offering, and not to the altar of incense. With a pair of tongs he has taken it off from the altar, because even the seraph's hand does not immediately touch the structure consecrated to God, and the sacrifice belonging to God; and now he flies with this burning coal to Isaiah, makes it come into contact with his mouth (וַיִּקַּח, Hi. in the causative sense as in chap. v. 8; Ex. xii. 22), of whose uncleanness above the other members of the body he had complained (cf. Jer. i. 9, where the prophet's mouth is touched by Jehovah's hand, and is thereby made divinely eloquent), and assures him of the forgiveness of his sins, coincident with the application of this sacramental sign (cf. Zech. iii. 4). The וַיִּקַּח connects as simultaneous what is said by וַיִּקַּח and וַיִּקַּח; the וַיִּקַּח in the neuter refers to the burning coal; and וַיִּקַּח is a mode of sequence separated from its וַיִּקַּח, because the notion of the subject has to be made prominent. For it is really impossible that the removal of the guilt of sin is to be thought of as momentary and the expiation as taking place gradually: the very fact that the guilt of sin is done away, shows that the expiation is also completed. וַיִּקַּח, with the accusative or עַל of sin, signifies to cover up, extinguish, or wipe out this sin (see for the fundamental meaning, chap. xxviii. 18), so that it has no existence for the punitive justice of God. The sinful uncleanness is burned away from the prophet's mouth. The seraph therefore does here by means of fire from the

(רֶצֶף) is the name used for the stone made red-hot, which serves for roasting by: it and the flesh, wrapped up in leaves, being covered over. Two verbal stems of the form רָצַף are to be distinguished. The one, from which is derived רֶצֶף, *pavimentum*, means to lay firmly on or beside one another, Assy. *rušāpu* (whence, e.g., *arrip*, I erected, used of piling building-stones on one another), Arab. رَضَفَ, and the cognate word in Mishna, רָצַף, to join in rows, connect. The other meaning is to glow, Arab. رَضَفَ, cognate رָצַף. This distinction is correctly made by Muhlau-Volck. Stone, *calculus*, ῥήζος, as a part of the flooring, is a meaning erroneously adopted by Aquila and others.

altar, and therefore by means of divine fire, what his name denotes: he burns up, yet not in a destructive way, but in a wholesome way: he burns away as likewise from the elevated ܐܠܗ in Num. xxi. 6-9, there proceeds a healing power which makes the deadly poison ineffective. As the smoke which fills the house comes from the altar, and arises in consequence of the adoration of the Lord on the part of the seraphim, the incense-offering upon the altar and this adoration are thus closely connected. A fire-glance of God, and, moreover, as the seraphim are sinless, a pure fire-glance of love, has kindled the sacrifice. Now, if the fact that a seraph by means of this love-fire purges the seer of sin, presents an example of the historical calling of the seraphim in relation to salvation, the seraphim are the bearers and mediators of the fire of divine love, as in Ezekiel the cherubim are the bearers and mediators of the fire of divine wrath. For as in this instance a seraph takes the fire of love from the altar, so in that case (Ezek. x. 6, 7) a cherub brings forth the fire of wrath from the throne-chariot; and the cherubim therefore appear as the bearers and mediators of the wrath which destroys sinners; or at least of the *doxa* which has its fiery side turned towards the world, as the seraphim appear as the bearers and mediators of the love which purges away sin, or of the *doxa* which is turned on its side of light to the world.¹

After Isaiah is purged of sin, it becomes manifest what is the special purpose of the heavenly scene. Ver. 8: "*Then I heard the voice of the All-Lord saying: Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then I said: Behold me here; send me!*" According to Knobel, the plural ܐܠܗ is the plural of majesty, by which God frequently speaks of Himself in the Koran; but the Holy Scripture furnishes no certain example of this. It is rather the plural of inner reflection or of self-consultation (Hitzig), but the Biblical representation of the relation of the heavenly beings to the heavenly God decides for the view that the seraphim are included in the idea, as

¹ Seraphic love is the expression used in the language of the Church to denote the *ne plus ultra* of holy love in the creature. The Syriac fathers regarded the burning coal as the symbol of the incarnate Son of God, who is often designated in poetry as the "live or burning coal" (*kemurtâ denurâ*): *DMZ.* 1860, pp. 679, 681.

they form along with the Lord an assembled council (כֹּזֵבִים קְרוּשִׁים, Ps. lxxxix. 8), as in 1 Kings xxii. 19–22 ; Dan. iv. 14, and elsewhere (see comm. on Gen. i. 26). The mission for which the right man is sought is not only a divine mission, but generally a heavenly mission ; for it is not only a matter that concerns God that the earth shall become full of the glory of God, but it is also a thing incumbent on the spirits who serve Him. But Isaiah, whose longing to serve the Lord is no longer suppressed by the feeling of his sinfulness, has no sooner heard the voice of the Lord than he exclaims in holy self-consciousness : הִנְנִי שְׁלָחָנִי.

There now follows the terms of the mission and the substance of the message. Vers. 9, 10 : “ *He spake, Go and say to this people : Hear always, and understand not ; and but see ever and perceive not. Make the heart of this people greasy, and its ears dull, and its eyes sticky ; lest it see with its eyes, and hear with its ears, and its heart understand, and it be converted, and one bring about its healing.*” הִנְנִי שְׁלָחָנִי points back to the people of unclean lips, dwelling among which Isaiah had complained, and which the Lord cannot call עַמִּי (cf. Judg. ii. 20 ; Hagg. i. 2). He is called to go to this people and to preach to it, and therefore he is called to be the prophet of this people. But how sad does the divine commission sound ; it is the terrible opposite of the seraphic mission which was experienced by the prophet in himself. The seraph had purified Isaiah from sin by the burning coal, in order that he now as prophet may not purify his people from sin, but harden them by his word. They are to hear and see, and, moreover, as the added intensive infinitives say, on and on, by having the prophetic preaching *actu directo* always before them, but not to their salvation. The two prohibitives אַל־תִּבְנֶי and אַל־תִּרְעֶ express what, according to God’s judicial will, is to be the result of the prophetic preaching. And the imperatives in ver. 10 commission the prophet not merely to say to the people what God has determined ; for the proposition *saepe prophetae facere dicuntur quae fore pronunciant* (for which reference is made to Jer. i. 10, cf. xxxi. 28 ; Hos. vi. 5 ; Ezek. xliii. 3) has its truth not in a rhetorical figure, but in the very nature of the divine word. The prophet is the organ of the divine word, and the divine word is the

comprehension of the divine will, and the divine will is an intra-divine act, a divine act that has only not yet become historical. For this reason it may be said that the prophet executes what he proclaims as future: God is the *causa efficiens principalis*; the word is the *causa media*, and the prophet is the *causa ministerialis*. There are three figurative expressions for hardening: הִשְׁמִין , to make fat, *pinguem*, i.e. to make without feeling for the operations of grace (Ps. cix. 7); הִכְבִּיד , to make heavy, and especially heavy or dull of hearing (chap. lix. 1); הִשָּׁח or הִשָּׁע (whence *imper.* הִשָּׁע , also in *p.* הִשָּׁח), to spread thickly, to smear over, to do to any one what happens to diseased eyes when their sticky secretion during the night becomes a closing crust (from $\text{שָׁחַ$, syn. $\text{סָחַ$ or $\text{סָחַ$, chap. xlv. 18; Arab. كحل , *illinere collyrium* in the sense of *occaeare*; related to שָׁח , with which $\text{סָחַ$ is translated in the Targum). The three future clauses with יִשְׁחַח point back in the inverse order to the three demands. Spiritual sight, spiritual hearing, spiritual feeling are to be taken from them, their eyes becoming blind, their ears deaf, and their hearts covered over with the grease of insensibility. Ruled by these imperfections, the two preterites לֹא הִשָּׁח say what might have been the result, but what will not be the result, if this hardening had not taken place. לֹא הִשָּׁח is always elsewhere used transitively (e.g. Hos. vii. 1), for to heal any one or to heal a disease, and never subjectively, to become whole; here it gets a passive sense through the so-called impersonal construction, "and one heal it = and it be healed," according to which it is paraphrased in Mark iv. 12, whereas the three other New Testament quotations of it (in Matthew, John, and Acts) reproduce the *καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτοὺς* of the LXX. The commission which the prophet receives, sounds as if it were quite incompatible with the fact that God as the Good only wills the good. But it is not only God's will of love that is good, but also His will of wrath, into which His will of love is transformed when He is obstinately rejected. There is a self-hardening of man in evil which makes him absolutely incorrigible, and which is not less a judicial infliction of God than self-produced guilt of man. The two are involved in each other, sin bearing its punishment already essentially in itself, as a punishment which consists in the wrath of God

excited by it. Israel has delivered itself over to this wrath by obstinate sinning. Hence the Lord now closes the door of repentance to His people. But that He nevertheless has repentance preached to the people through the prophet, takes place because the judgment of hardening, while decreed upon the mass of the people, is yet not without the possibility of the saving of individuals.

Isaiah has heard with sighing, but with obedience, what the mission to which he has so joyfully offered himself is to consist in. Ver. 11a: "*Then I said, How long, All-Lord?*" He asks how long this service of hardening and this state of hard-heartedness were to continue,—a question which his sympathy with the people to which he himself belongs forces from him (cf. Ex. xxxii. 9–14), and one which is justified by the certainty that God, who is faithful to His promise, cannot cast off Israel as a people forever. The divine answer follows. Vers. 11–13: "*Until cities are made desolate, without inhabitants, and houses without men, and the ground shall be laid waste, a wilderness, and Jehovah shall remove men far away, and there shall be many forsaken places within the land. And if there is still a tenth therein, this is again given up to extermination; like the terebinth, and like the oak, of which, when they are felled, there only still remains a root-stock—a holy seed is such a root-stock.*" The answer intentionally begins, not with עֲרֵבִי, but with עֵר אֲשֶׁר אִם (which is only elsewhere found in Gen. xxviii. 15 and Num. xxxii. 7),—an expression which, without dropping the conditional אִם, means that the end of the judgment of hardening is only coming after the condition is realized that the cities, houses, and soil of the land of Israel and its surroundings have been first laid waste (pret. and imperf., thus in the sense of fut. ex. as in chap. iv. 4; cf. Num. xxiii. 24); and, moreover, utterly and thoroughly as the three successive accompanying determinations declare (without inhabitants, without men, wilderness). יְרוּק is a still wholly vague designation of the exile (cf. Joel iv. 6; Jer. xxvii. 10), for which chap. v. 13 already presents the proper designation in using גִּלָּה. Instead of some national designation, the expression here employed is general, אֶת־הָאָדָם, along with the process of depopulation, its consequence, the lack of men, being thus expressed. Like יְרוּקָה, יְרוּק is also a perf.

consec. with accent on the last syllable (Olsh. p. 482); and הָעֲזוּבָה, "the forsaken," embraces the idea of places which were formerly full of life, with the life now extinct and fallen into ruins (chap. xvii. 2, 9). This judgment will be followed by a second, which will also subject the remaining tenth of the people to a sifting; שָׁב וְרָחֵם, to become again (Ges. § 142, 3); הָיָה לְבָעַר, not as in chap. v. 5, but as in chap. iv. 4, after Num. xxiv. 22, the feminine refers to the tenth. Up to לְבָעַר the announcement is a threatening one; but from that point up to בָּמָּה a comforting prospect already begins to dawn, which in the last three words lines the horizon of this gloomy announcement like a distant streak of light. It will fare with them as with the terebinth and the oak. These trees, with which a multitude of associations from the early times of Israel were connected (see on Gen. xii. 6), have (like certain others, as, for instance, the beech, the nut tree, and the alder) the property of renewing themselves again from the root-stump even when their trunk has been felled. As the forms יָבֵשׁ (dryness), דִּלְקָה (fever), עֵצָה (blindness), שָׁחַת (consumption) designate certain conditions, and especially faulty ones, so שָׁלָחַ is not the throwing down or felling as an act, but the condition of a tree which is thrown down or hewn down: the state of fallenness, not (which would here be too little) that of defoliation (Targum) or of the falling of the fruit from the stalk (Syr.). Perhaps also the name of the gate of the temple, שַׁעַר שָׁלָחַ, points to trees which formerly stood there, and had been felled down. בָּמָּה . . . אֲשֶׁר goes together *in quibus*; בָּ has its primary significance of cleaving to something. Of the felled terebinth or oak, deprived of its trunk and its crown, there is still a כְּצֵבֶת (collateral form of כְּמִצְבֵּה, *i.e.* there is a root-stock, *truncus* (a *cippus*, which the word otherwise signifies, but it is a natural cippus, and capable of shooting), fast fixed in the ground,—an image of the remnant surviving the judgment, which becomes a יָרֵעַ קֵץ from which a new Israel shoots out after the old Israel is exterminated. In a few weighty words the way is thus sketched upon which God will henceforth go with His people. It presents an outline of the history of Israel to the end of time. It is repeated in Zech. xiii. 8, 9, where instead of the tenth we have a third, and they are therefore both to be taken as the symbolical

designation of a fraction, but not as its arithmetical measurement. Israel as a people is imperishable in virtue of divine promise; but the mass of the people is henceforth destined for destruction in virtue of a divine decision, and only a remnant which is converted will finally propagate Israel's prerogative as a people, and inherit the glorious future.

Now, if the impression which we have received from vers. 5-8 is not a false one,—namely, that the subject of chap. vi. is the inaugural vision of the prophet, and not his calling *ad unum specialem actum officii*, as Sebastian Schmidt holds,—this impression will be verified by the fact that the discourses in chaps. i.-v. do not merely give a picture of the state of the people ripening for the fatal event in chap. vi., as Strachey holds, but that these discourses already contain the elements here conveyed to the prophet in the way of a revelation, and that the prophet is there already found executing his fateful commission. The impression also actually stands the application of this test. For the very first discourse, after it has shown to the people as such the gracious way of justification and sanctification, takes in the consciousness of its being all in vain, the turn indicated in chaps. xi.-xiii. The theme of the second discourse is that it will only be after the overthrow of the false glory of Israel that the promised true glory will be realized, and that after the extermination of the mass of the people, only a small remnant will live to experience its realization. The parable with which the third discourse begins, rests upon the supposition that the measure of the sin of the people is full, and the threatening of judgment which is introduced by this parable agrees actually, and in part verbally, with the divine answer received by the prophet to his question, עֲרִיכָהּ. From all sides, therefore, we have the view confirmed, that Isaiah in chap. vi. relates his consecration as a prophet. The discourses in chaps. ii.-iv. 5, which belong to the time of Uzziah and Jotham, do not fall earlier than the death-year of Uzziah, from which date the whole time of Jotham's sixteen years' reign is open for them. Now Micah appeared on the scene under Jotham; but his book, by working up the proclamations he delivered in the time of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, has taken the form of a chronologically indivisible summary, which, as we may learn from Jer. xxvi.

18, he recited or published in the time of Hezekiah; and hence Isaiah may thus quite well have taken the word of promise in chap. ii. 1-4 (certainly borrowed from some source) from Micah's lips, though not from Micah's book.

Further, the position of chap. vi. is not inexplicable. Hävernicks has already observed that the prophet in chap. vi. is justifying, on the ground of a divine commission, the manner and style of his previous proclamation. But this only serves to explain the intention from which chap. vi. was not made to stand at the commencement of the collection, and not why it is found exactly in this and no other place. Prophecy and fulfilment are brought together; for, on the one hand, chap. vii. brings manifestly forward the judgment of hardening suspended over the Jewish people in the person of king Ahaz; and, on the other hand, we find ourselves in the middle of the Syro-Ephraimitish war, which forms the transition to the judgments of extermination prophesied in chap. vi. 11-13. It is only the position of chap. i. which still remains obscure. If the verses chap. i. 7-9 are meant to have a historical reference to the times, then chap. i. was composed when the danger of the Syro-Ephraimitish war was averted from Jerusalem, while the land of Judah was still bleeding from the opened wounds which this war, aimed at its annihilation, had inflicted upon it. Accordingly chap. i. is more recent than chaps. ii.-v., and also more recent than the connected chaps. vii.-xii. It is only the comparatively more indefinite and general character of chap. i. which seems to tell against this view. This objection, however, is removed, if we assume that chap. i. is not, indeed, the first spoken discourse of the prophet, but the first of his discourses that was written down, and that it was primarily designed to form the proöminm to the discourses and historical narrations in chaps. ii.-xii., the contents of which are ruled by it.¹ For chaps. ii.-v. and vii.-xii. are two cycles of prophecy; chap. i. is the portal which leads into them, and chap. vi. the band which connects them

¹ A different view is taken by v. Hoffman (*Hermeneutik*, herausgeg. von Volck, p. 133), who regards chap. i. as the preface to chaps. ii.-xxxv. Nägelsbach again holds chaps. i. 2-v. 6 to be the threefold introitus of the whole book in its two divisions, chaps. vii.-xxxix., xl.-lxvi., and chap. i. to be the portion of the collection which was written last.

together. The cycle of prophecy in chaps. ii.-v. may, with Caspari, be called the *Book of hardening*, and chaps. vii.-xii., after the example of Chr. Aug. Crusius, may be called the *Book of Immanuel*. For in all the stages through which the proclamation in chaps. vii.-xii. passes, the future Immanuel is the banner of consolation which the proclamation lifts up amid the judgments which are now breaking in, in consequence of the doom pronounced in chap. vi.

PART II.—CONSOLATION OF IMMANUEL IN THE ASSYRIAN OPPRESSIONS, CHAPS. VII.-XII.

THE DIVINE SIGN OF THE WONDROUS SON OF THE VIRGIN, CHAP. VII.

As the following prophecies cannot be understood without reference to the contemporary historical events into which they entered, the prophet begins historically. Ver. 1: "*It came to pass in the days of Ahaz, the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, the king of Judah, that Rezin, the king of Aram, and Pekah, the son of Remaliah, the king of Israel, went up towards Jerusalem to war against it; and was not able to war upon it.*" We read the same words again, only a little varied, in the history of the reign of Ahaz in 2 Kings xvi. 5. That the author of the Book of Kings takes them from the Book of Isaiah, is betrayed by the fact that he interprets them. Instead of "and he was not able to war upon it," he says particularly: "and they besieged Ahaz, and could not war upon him." The singular לֹא יָרָם in Isaiah is transformed into the simpler plural; and the fact that the two allies could not assault or storm Jerusalem (which must be the meaning of לֹא יָרָם here) is more exactly determined by saying that they vainly besieged Ahaz (לֹא יָרָם is the usual expression for *obsidione claudere*, cf. Deut. xx. 19). This *et obsederunt Ahazum* cannot merely mean *obsidere conati sunt*, although we know nothing in detail about this siege, and 2 Kings xvi. 5, from the secondary relation of this passage to Isa. vii. 1, cannot be regarded as a historical source. But happily we have

two accounts regarding the Syro-Ephraimitish war, in 2 Kings xvi. and 2 Chron. xxviii. The Book of Kings relates that the incursion of the two allies into Judah began already at the end of the reign of Jotham (2 Kings xv. 37); and apart from the statement taken from Isa. vii. 1, it mentions that Rezin reconquered for Edom the port of Elath which belonged to the kingdom of Judah (in 2 Kings xvi. 6 read לְאֶרֶם instead of לְאָרָם); and the Book of Chronicles relates that Rezin brought a multitude of Jewish captives to Damascus; and that Pekah conquered Ahaz in a bloody battle, in which his forces were destroyed. However unquestionable the credibility of these events is, yet it is as difficult to bring them into an indubitably certain connection in relations of fact and chronology, as Caspari has attempted to do in a monograph on the Syro-Ephraimitish war, published in 1849. If we could assume that 1b, יָלַל (not יָכַל), is the authentic reading, and that the thwarting of the attempt to take Jerusalem, related here, had its ground, not in the intervention of Assyria, but in the strength of the city,—so that accordingly 1b would not be an anticipation of the ultimate thwarting of the whole undertaking, although such summary anticipations are in the manner of the Biblical mode of writing history, and likewise also in the manner of Isaiah,—then the course of events might be so represented that while Rezin marched to Elath, Pekah wished to deal with Jerusalem, but did not attain his purpose; but that Rezin was more successful in his easier undertaking, and that after the conquest of Elath he joined his allies.

It is this which may thus be taken to be referred to in ver. 2: "*And it was told the house of David: Aram has settled down upon Ephraim,—then his heart shook, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest shake before the wind.*" The נָפַל עַל indicates here the coming down of the one army after the other in order to strengthen it; whereas ver. 19, 2 Sam. xvii. 12 (cf. Judg. vii. 12), indicates a hostile attack, and 2 Kings ii. 15, a spiritual *katastrophe*. אֲפָרַיִם (feminine, like the names of countries, and of the peoples thought along with their countries, see chap. iii. 8), as the name of the chief stock of Israel, is used as the name of the whole kingdom, and here of the whole military power of Israel. Following

the combination indicated above, we find that the allies now prepared themselves for a second united march against Jerusalem. In the meantime, Jerusalem was in the condition indicated in chap. i. 7-9: like an invested city in the midst of a land overrun by a plundering enemy setting everything on fire. Elath had fallen, as Rezin's opportune return from it showed; and it was quite natural, humanly regarded, that in the face of his approaching junction with the united army of the allies, the court and people of Jerusalem should tremble like aspen leaves. **יָנַע** is a contracted impf. *Qal* ending in *a*, not in short *o*, on account of the guttural, as in **יָנַח**, Ex. xx. 11, and such like; and **נָוֶה**, otherwise the form of the *infin. abs.* chap. xxiv. 20, is here and only here *inf. constr.* instead of **נָוֶה** (cf. **נָוֶה**, Num. xi. 25; **לֶב**, Josh. ii. 16; **כֹּחַ**, Ps. xxxviii. 17, and frequently).

7 In this time of terror, Isaiah received the following divine instructions. Ver. 3: "*Then said Jehovah to Isaiah, Come, go out to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-Jashub, thy son, to the end of the aqueduct of the upper pool by the road of the fullers' field.*" The fullers,¹ i.e. cleaners and thickeners of woollen stuffs, received as workmen the name **כְּבָסִים** from **כָּבַס**, related to **כָּבַשׁ**, **كَبَسَ**, *subigere*, which is related to **רָץ**, as **πλύνειν**, likewise specially used in reference to clothes washing, is related to **לוֹבֵט**. The **שֶׁרֶה כֹּבֵס**, so called as 'being their washing and bleaching place, lay, as Robinson, Schultz, von Raumer, Thenius, Unruh, Schick, and most expositors hold, upon the western side of the city. Zimmermann, in his maps and plans of the topography of ancient Jerusalem (1876), places the two great pools on the west of the city, the lower pool and north-west therefrom the Mamilla pool, eastward from which in the same line lies the Hezekiah pool, through which an aqueduct led the water of the upper pool to the upper city. On the other hand, Williams, Kraft, Meier, and Hitzig transfer the upper pool with the fullers' field to the north-east of the city, beside the monument of the fuller (Joseph.

¹ In the Aramaic of the Talmud and Targums the fuller is called **קָרָר**, as in Arab. we have also *kassār* and *mīṣṣar*, the cylindrical round fuller's club, which, according to Hegesippus (in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23), was the instrument by which James the Just was beaten to death. A **כֹּבֵס** appears in the controversial dialogue with a Christian in *Sanhedrin* 38b.

Wars, v. 4. 2). But Rabshake encamping by the upper pool (chap. xxxvi. 2) comes from Lachis, and therefore from the south-west. Furrer (in the *Bibel-Lex.* ii. 464) also recognises the Mamilla-pool as the "upper pool in the fullers' field." Explorers have not yet succeeded in discovering a living spring on the west side;¹ both pools were probably even in former times only fed by rain, for catching which the lie of the land is very favourable.² If the upper pool was the Mamilla-pool, then the road מִסְּפָה, which ran past this fullers' field, was the road which led from the western gate to Joppa. Here in the west of the city, outside the enclosing wall, king Ahaz now found himself engaged in preparations for the event of a siege of Jerusalem, which received the most part of its water supply from the upper pool; and here, according to Jehovah's direction, Isaiah with his son was to meet him. These two are like a blessing and curse in person, offering themselves to the king for him to make his choice. For the name מְשִׁיכַח, i.e. remnant is converted (chap. x. 21, 22), is a kind of abbreviation of the divine answer which had been given to the prophet in chap. vi. 11-13, and is, moreover, at once threatening and promising, but in such a way that it has the curse, as it were, before it, and the grace behind it. The prophetic name of the son of Isaiah is intended to urge the king by threat to Jehovah, and the prophetic announcement of Isaiah himself, whose name points to salvation, מְשִׁיחַ, is designed to entice him by promise to Jehovah.

No means remain untried. Ver. 4: "*And say to him, Take heed, and keep thyself quiet; fear not, and let not thy heart become soft from these two smoking stumps of firebrands,—at the burning anger of Resin and Aram, and the son of Remaliah.*" The imper. "take heed" is regularly pointed הִשָּׁמֶר (see especially, Ex. xxiii. 21; Job xxxvi. 21), and thus הִשָּׁמֶר! הִשָּׁמֶר! will accordingly be infinitives absolute in the sense of urgent imperatives (Hitzig): take heed, and keep at rest! =

¹ Schick believed he had discovered it in 1865 about ten minutes' walking distance from the Jaffa gate; see Ausland, Nr. 38, 1865.

² This is entirely different from the Gihon, a running, although intermittent spring, probably the same as the Mary-spring at the east foot of Ophel, and therefore in the eastern side of the city.

be on your guard, and do not act precipitately, rather keep at rest. The first is a warning against self-willed acting; the latter is an exhortation to undismayed equanimity. Calvin correctly renders it: *ut et exterius contineat sese et intus pacato sit animo*. The explanation given by Jewish expositors of **וְהָצִיטָם**, *conside super faeces tuas* (Luzzatto, *vivi riposato*), according to Jer. xlviii. 11 and Zeph. i. 12, gives an unseemly sense to the exhortation. The object of terror before which and at which the king's heart is not to be dismayed, is first introduced with **וְ**, and then with **אֲ**, as in Jer. li. 46. The two allies are at once designated as what they are before God, who sees through things in the future. They are two tails, i.e. nothing but the fag ends of wood pokers (**זָמָה**, properly turners, namely, fire-turners, an Arabic figure for a warrior, Ges. *Thes.* p. 157b),¹ half-burned off and wholly burned out, so that they do not burn any longer, but only still keep smoking. Certainly they are not this yet at the time in question as regards outward reality, where, as **בְּחֵרֵי** does not conceal, their anger has not yet been long kindled, but they are such before God, who makes the prophet cognisant with Himself of His counsel. Along with **רִצָּן** (in cuneiform inscriptions *Rasûna* ²), in order not to honour it with the name of a king, **אַרָם** is specially named, and Pekah is called **בְּדָרְמִלְיָהוּ**, to recall the lowness of his descent, and the want of any promise in the case of his house.

The **וְכִי** which now follows does not belong to ver. 4, as might appear in consideration of the Sethume after it (fear not on this account that), cf. Ezek. xii. 12, but it gives the motive of the following sentence of judgment as in chap. iii. 16. Vers. 5-7: "*Because that Aram has resolved evil against thee, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, saying, We will march against Judah, and strike it with terror, and conquer it for ourselves, and make the son of Tabel king in the midst of it: thus saith the All-Lord Jehovah, It shall not come about, and not take place.*" The promise to Ahaz is founded upon the wicked design with which the war has been begun. How far the allies had already advanced on the way to their

¹ Cf. Schwartzlose, *Waffen der alten Araber*, p. 32.

² Schrader, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd ed. 1883, p. 260 sqq.

ultimate goal, the overthrow of the Davidic kingdom, it does not say. But we know from 2 Kings xv. 37 that the invasion had already begun before Ahaz had ascended the throne, and we may see from ver. 16 of Isaiah's prophecy that the **נִקְצָה** (from **קָצַח**, *taedere, pavere*, for which the Syrian translator has **נִקְצָה** from **קָצַח**, *abscindere*) had been successfully attained. The **הִבְקֵעַ**, i.e. cleaving, forcing of the passes and fortification (2 Kings xxv. 4; Ezek. xxx. 16; 2 Chron. xxi. 17, xxxii. 1) can therefore not be regarded as pertaining to the future. For history knows nothing whatever of a successful resistance of Judah in this war. Only Jerusalem has not yet fallen, and this, as **מִלֵּךְ בְּתוֹכָהּ** shows, is what is specially referred to under **יִירֵדָהּ**, just as **אֲשִׁיר** in chap. xxiii. 13 refers to Nineveh. Here they intend to appoint as king a favourite named **מְבַאֵל**¹ (see Ezra iv. 7, in *p.* intentionally **מְבַאֵל**, a vocalic change which the tone-long *z* of **אֵל** does not otherwise admit; cf. *DMZ.* xxxiii. 30, but which here separates the name of God from the name of "this good-for-nothing fellow"); but the intention remains a mere wish, the thing wished does not come about (cf. Prov. xv. 22), and is not realized (cf. Zech. xiv. 8).

The allies will not succeed in altering the course of history as the Lord has ordered it. Vers. 8-9: "*For head of Aram is Damascus, and head of Damascus Resin, and in other sixty and five years Ephraim will be broken to pieces as a people. And head of Ephraim is Samaria, and head of Samaria the son of Remaliah; if ye believe not, verily you will not remain.*" It naturally occurs to regard 8b as a later interpolation (Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Maurer, Knobel, Meier, Dietrich, Cheyne, Reuss). The prophecy here becomes divination, and one might hold that an indefinite expression of the near future would have been more effective than this fixing of a considerably distant terminus, and it is, in fact, probable that instead of **וְנִבְעֹר שְׁשִׁים וְחִמֵּשׁ שָׁנָה** there stood in the original text the expression of what was only but a short delay (chap. xvi. 14, xx. 3, xxi. 16), and that a later hand glossed the unprecise expression by a reference to the history of the

¹ The name has not yet been traced out in the cuneiform inscriptions; see Schrader, *u.s.* p. 384, and comp. his *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung*, p. 396.

fulfilment of the prophecy. If 8*b* be left out, the whole idea is only this, that the two hostile powers will remain in their previous relationships without an annexation of Judah. If 8*b* is retained (under the supposition of such a phrase as "within a short time" instead of the "within sixty-five years"), then 8*a* and 9*a* similarly say that the old condition of things will remain; but 8*b* states that while Syria gains nothing, Ephraim, which had become involved in an unnatural and irreligious league with it, will lose its national independence, and 9*b*, that Judah, although Samaria's attempt to take away its independence fails, yet if it gives up its trust in Jehovah and makes flesh its arm, it will have no continuance, i.e. will lose its national independence. Ver. 8*b* is a prophecy announcing the destruction of Ephraim; 9*b* is a warning, threatening Judah with destruction in so far as it rejects the promise from unbelief. The colour of the style of 8*b* is entirely Isaianic (cf. on חַיִּי, chap. xxi. 16, xvi. 14; and on נַפְשׁ, away from being a people = so that it is no more a people, cf. chap. xvii. 1, xxv. 2, and Jer. xlviii. 2, 42). But it cannot be asserted that the sixty-five years are false, and that they are in contradiction with chap. vii. 16. Certainly they do not come out if we refer the prophecy to what happened to Ephraim in consequence of the Syro-Ephraimitish war carried on by Tiglath-Pileser, and to what was done to it by Salmanassar in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, to which events, and more especially to the former, chap. vii. 16 relates. But there is another event through which the existence of Ephraim, not merely as a kingdom, but also as a people, was broken, namely, the carrying away of the last remnant of the Ephraimitish population, and the planting of East Asian colonists upon the soil of Ephraim. While the land of Judah remained desolate after the deportation to Chaldea, and a new generation grew up there, which, being in exile, might again return, the land of Ephraim was occupied by heathen settlers, and the few who remained behind were fused with these into the mixed people of Samaritans, those in exile being lost among the heathen. This is the view which was already held by Malvenda, Calmet, and Usher as to the *terminus ad quem*. Bosanquet reckons the sixty-five years from the year 736 as the con-

jectural date of the meeting of Isaiah with Ahaz, and as extending to 671, founding upon the fact that even after the fall of Samaria, a kingdom of Samaria continues to be always mentioned in the inscription, but it is found for the last time in one that dates from 681 to 673. This calculation by the Assyrian monuments has, however, meanwhile become doubtful by more correct reading of them. Nevertheless the fact remains that the populating by Esarhaddon (2 Kings xvii. 24, Ezra iv. 2, and his successor Asnappar = Asurbanipal, Ezra iv. 10) of the land of Ephraim with colonists from Eastern Asia is the fulfilment of the $\text{יָחַדְתִּים מִמֶּנּוּ}$; and if it was Esarhaddon under whom Manasseh was carried away to Babylon about the middle of his reign (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11), then we get just sixty-five years from the second year of the reign of Ahaz to the final ending of the existence of Ephraim as a people (fourteen years of Ahaz + twenty-nine of Hezekiah + twenty-two of Manasseh = sixty-five). Then was fulfilled what is here unconditionally predicted, $\text{יָחַדְתִּים מִמֶּנּוּ}$ (certainly not 3 *impf. Qal*, but *Ni. Yith*, Mal. ii. 5), just as the conditionally threatened לֹא תִחַזְקוּ was fulfilled on Judah by the Babylonian exile. For תִּחַזְקוּ signifies to have a fast hold, and לֹא תִחַזְקוּ to prove fast holding. If Judah does not *hold fast* to his God, he will lose his *fast hold* by losing the country in which he dwells, the ground beneath his feet. The same play on words is found in 2 Chron. xx. 20. The suggestion that the original reading was $\text{אִם לֹא תִחַזְקוּ בִי}$, but that בִּי appeared objectionable and was altered into בִּי , is improbable.¹ Why should it have been objectionable when the words form the conclusion of a solemnly introduced direct discourse of Jehovah? On this בִּי , which has passed from the confirmative into an affirmative meaning, and here opens the consequence of the hypothetical clause, cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 39; Ps. cxxviii. 4; and (as used in the formula כִּי עָשִׂיתָ) Gen. xxxi. 42, xliii. 10; Num. xxii. 29, 33; 1 Sam. xiv. 30. Their continuance is conditioned by faith, as this בִּי surely asserts.²

¹ Geiger in *DMZ.* 1861, p. 117, and previously in the *Review* חלהך, 1860, p. 89.

² It is worth quoting what Augustine remarks on this subject in his *De doctrina Christiana*, ii. 11: *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis* [so LXX. and Itala]. Alius [Jerome] interpretatus est: *Nisi credideritis, non per-*

Thus Isaiah speaks, and thus Jehovah speaks through him, to the king of Judah. We are not informed as to whether he replied or what he replied. He is silent, for in his heart he hides a secret which consoles him better than the word of the prophet. The invisible assistance of Jehovah and the distant prospect of the fall of Ephraim are not sufficient for him. His mind is already made up. His trust is in Assur (Assyria), with whose help he will be superior to the kingdom of Israel, as that kingdom had been to the kingdom of Judah through the help of Damascene Syria. The pious theocratic policy of the prophet comes too late. He therefore lets the enthusiast talk, and thinks he knows what it is worth at the best. Nevertheless, the grace of God does not give up the unhappy son of David as lost. Vers. 10, 11 : "*And Jehovah continued to speak to Ahaz as follows: Ask thee a sign from Jehovah thy God, going deep down to Hades or high up to the height above.*" Jehovah continued,—what a deep and firm consciousness of the identity of the word of Jehovah and the word of the prophet is expressed therein! It occurs also in chap. viii. 5. According to an astonishing *communicatio idiomatum* which runs through the Old Testament books of prophecy, the prophet speaks at one time (as, e.g., in Zech. ii. 13 and 15) as if he were Jehovah, and at another time, as in this passage, Jehovah speaks as if He were the prophet. Ahaz is to ask a sign from Jehovah his God. Jehovah does not scorn to call Himself the God of this son of David who so hardens himself. Perhaps the holy love which pulsates in this אֱלֹהֵיךָ may yet move his heart; or perhaps he may reflect upon the covenant promises and covenant duties *manebitis*. Quis horum vera secutus sit, nisi exemplaria linguae praecedentis legantur, incertum est. Sed tamen ex utroque magnum aliquid insinuat scienter legentibus. Difficile est enim ita diversos inter se interpretes fieri, ut non se aliqua vicinitate contingant. Ergo quoniam intellectus in specie sempiterna est, fides vero in rerum temporalium quibusdam cunabulis quasi lacte alit parvulos, nunc autem per fidem ambulamus, non per speciem, nisi autem per fidem ambulaverimus, ad speciem pervenire non poterimus, quae non transit, sed permanet per intellectum purgatum nobis cohaerentibus veritati: propterea ille ait: *Nisi credideritis non permanebitis*. Ille vero: *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis*. Et ex ambiguo linguae praecedentis plerumque interpret fallitur, cui non bene nota sententia est, et eam significationem transfert, quae a sensu scriptoris penitus aliena est.

which this אֱלֹהִים recalls to mind. He is to ask for a מֹמֶה from this his God. מֹמֶה (from מָמַח, to indicate) is a thing, event, or act which may serve to guarantee the divine certainty of some other thing, event, or act. This happens partly through sensible miracles presently performed (Ex. iv. 8, 9), or through fixed symbols of the future (chap. viii. 18, xx. 3), and partly through prophesied events, which, whether miraculous or natural in themselves, are not to be humanly foreseen; and therefore if they occur, they authenticate either the divine causality of other events retrospectively (Ex. iii. 12), or their divine certainty prospectively. The thing to be here guaranteed is what the prophet has just prophesied with great definiteness: the preservation of Judah with its kingdom, and the fruitlessness of the wicked enterprise of the two allied kingdoms. If this was to be guaranteed to Ahaz in a manner that would break down his unbelief, it can only be done by a sign, מֹמֶה, which breaks through the regular course of nature. As Hezekiah, when Isaiah announces his recovery and a prolongation of life for fifteen years, requires a מֹמֶה, and the prophet gives him it (chap. xxxviii.), so does Isaiah here meet Ahaz with the offer of such a sign, and, moreover, by laying before him heaven, earth, and Hades as the sphere of the miracle. הָעֵמֶק (הָעֵמֶק) and הַיַּבֵּה are either *infin. abs.* or *imper.*, and שְׁאֵלָה is apparently *imper.*: שְׁאֵל with the *He* of challenge, which is given here instead of שְׁאֵלָה as שְׁאֵלָה (as likewise elsewhere with distinctive accents, as in Dan. ix. 19, and even without any pause in xxxii. 11, *q.v.*); but in no case do we need to read, with Hupfeld, שְׁאֵלָה with the tone upon the last, in the sense of שְׁאֵלָה; and thus: *in profundum descende* (or *descendendo*) *precare*. But שְׁאֵלָה may also be a pausal collateral form for שְׁאֵלָה, which is allowable in itself (cf. יִחְפֹּץ, always in *p.* for יִחְפֹּץ, and other examples, Gen. xliii. 14, xlix. 3, 27),¹ and here it appears to be preferred on account of its consonance with לְמַעַן (Ewald, § 93. 3). We give the preference to this latter possibility, with Aq. Sym. Theod. Jer. (βαθύνων

¹ The passing of the *o* into *a* (*ā*) likewise produces the infinitive form לְמַשְׁחֹךְ, 1 Sam. xv. 1; לְהַרְנוּךְ (according to Norzi), 1 Sam. xxiv. 11; עֲמַדָּה, Obad. ver. 11. On corresponding imperative forms, see on chap. xxxviii. 14.

עִס אֲדֹנָי, against the Targum; it corresponds to the antithesis (cf. Job xi. 8), and if the words before us were unpointed, this would first suggest itself. The challenge, accordingly, amounts to this: Descend down deep (in thy asking) to Hades, or ascend high up to the height; but more probably (as the closer construction is more pleasing, and הִנְבֵּה as imper. would be well distinguished from the inf. by the form הִנְבֵּה, cf. הִרְקֵה, Ezek. xxiv. 10, with a gerundive acceptation of הִנְבֵּה and הִנְבֵּה, Ewald, § 280a): going deep down to Hades, or אֵל, from אָזַח, as *vel*, from *velle*) going high up to the height. This offer of the prophet of any kind of miracle in the upper or lower world cannot but perplex the adherents of the modern view of the world. The prophet, says Hitzig, is here playing a dangerous game, and if Ahaz had closed with the offer, Jehovah would certainly have left him in the lurch. So Meier observes: it cannot have at all come into the mind of an Isaiah to wish to do a miracle. And de Lagarde says: If he had done it, he would have been an enthusiast whom the failure of such a מַעֲשֶׂה would have subjected to punishment for lying, or whom an artificial performing of it would have made a deceiver. None of these commentators can recognise the miraculous power of the prophet, because they do not at all believe in miracles; whereas Ahaz knows the miraculous power of the prophet, but is not to be constrained by any miracle to renounce his own plans and believe on Jehovah. Ver. 12: "*But Ahaz answered, I may not ask, and may not tempt Jehovah.*" How pious this sounds, and yet his self-hardening culminates in these pious-sounding words! Hypocritically he hides himself under the mask of Deut. vi. 16, in order not to allow himself to be disturbed in his Assyrian policy, and he is so unthinking as to call the acceptance of what Jehovah Himself offers him a tempting of God. He studiously draws down upon himself the fate indicated in chap. vi.; and not merely upon himself, but upon all Judah. For under the successor of Ahaz, the host of Assyria will stand upon this same fullers' field (chap. xxxvi. 2), and demand the surrender of Jerusalem. In this hour when Isaiah stands before Ahaz, the fate of the Jewish people is decided for more than two thousand years.

The prophet might now be silent, but in accordance with

the command in chap. vi. he must speak, although his word be a savour of death unto death. Ver. 13: "*He spake, Hear, then, O house of David: Is it too little for you to make men weary, that ye also weary my God?*" He spake. Who spake? The speaker, according to ver. 10, is Jehovah, and yet what follows is given as the word of the prophet. Here again the statement proceeds on the assumption that the word of the prophet is the word of God, and that the prophet himself, even when he distinguishes himself and God, is the organ of God. The address is directed to בֵּית דָּוִד, i.e. to Ahaz, including all the members of the court. אֲנִי is the plural of the category, and by it the prophet indicates himself. The prophet would, indeed, well have borne that those of the house of David should yield no results to his zealous human efforts, but they are not satisfied with this (cf. on the expression *minus quam vos = quam ut vobis sufficiat*, Num. xvi. 9; Job xv. 11); they also weary the long-suffering of his God by letting Him exhaust all the means of their correction without effect.¹ They will not believe without seeing; and when signs are about to be given them to see in order that they may believe, they will not even look at them.

Jehovah, then, will give them a sign against their will after His own choice. Vers. 14, 15: "*Therefore the All-Lord, He will give you a sign: Behold, the virgin² is with child, and bears a son, and calls his name Immanuel. Butter and honey will he eat when he knows to reject the bad and to*

¹ Perhaps חָלָה and אָחִי form an intended enantiophony; see the collection of examples in the Review *ההלך*, Jahrg. 2 (1853), pp. 94-99.

² [As will be seen by what follows, "virgin" is not strictly the correct rendering of עַלְמָה, according to Dr. Delitzsch's own view; but as he retains *Jungfrau* in the German, it has been thought better in like manner to retain the usual English term rather than introduce "damsel," "maid," or "maiden." Cheyne renders עַלְמָה, "the young woman," "so Hitzig, R. Williams, Nägelsbach, and (in effect) Gesenius;" gives the rendering of Ewald and Delitzsch (*Jungfrau*) as "the maiden;" and quotes the late Professor Weir of Glasgow as retaining "virgin," while observing: "But the Hebrew, strictly speaking, does not correspond to our 'virgin.'" Dr. Kay in his comm. on Isaiah in the *Speaker's Commentary*, s.l., says: "Our English word 'maiden' comes as near, probably, as any to the Hebrew word." "Or *maiden*" is added in the margin of the Revised Version. Prof. Drever remarks: "Probably the English word *damsel* would be the fairest rendering" (*Isaiah*, p. 41).—TR.]

choose the good." In its form the prophecy recalls Gen. xvi. 11: "Behold, thou art with child, and wilt bear a son, and call his name Ishmael." Here, however, the words are not addressed to her who was afterwards to bear the child, although Matthew gives this form to the prophecy;¹ for קָרָאת is not 2 *p.* but 3 *p.* = קָרָאתָ (ground form *kara'at*, which occurs for קָרָה, "it takes place," Deut. xxxi. 29; cf. Gen. xxx. 11; Lev. xxv. 21; Ps. cxviii. 23).² The question as to whether the clause is to be translated: Behold, the virgin is with child, or shall be with child, ought not to have been raised. הנה with the following participle (here participial adjective; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 5) is always presentative, and the thing presented is always either a real thing, as in Gen. xvi. 11 and Judg. xiii. 5; or it is an ideally present thing, as is to be taken here; for except in chap. xlvi. 7, הִנֵּה always indicates something future in Isaiah. This use of הנה in Isaiah is of itself opposed to the view of Gesenius, Knobel, Friedmann (*De Jesaiæ vaticiniis Achaso rege editis*, 1875), S. Davidson, and others, who understand הַעֲלִמָה to apply to the already pregnant young wife of the prophet, and who, like Raven (see on chap. viii. 3) and Reuss, identify Immanuel and Mahershalal.³ But it is already very improbable that it is the wife of the prophet who is meant; for if he meant her, one cannot well see why he did not rather say הַנְּבִיאָה. Further, the meaning and use of עֲלָמָה are against the reference of the אִמָּה to the prophet's own household. For while בְּתוּלָה (from בָּתַל, related to בָּרַל, to separate, *sejungere*) signifies the virgin maiden living retired in her parents' house, and still a long while from marriage (Assyr. has also *batûlu*, a youth), עֲלָמָה (from עָלַם, to be strong, full of sap and vigour, arrived at the age of puberty, גָּל, to swell) is the

¹ Jerome discusses this difference in an exemplary manner in his *Ep. ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi*.

² The pointing makes a distinction between קָרָאת (she calls) and קָרָאתָ (as Gen. xvi. 11 should be pointed), thou callest (see Abenezra's *Zachoth*, 7a, and Jekuthiel ha-Nakdan on Gen. xvi. 11); and Olshausen (§ 35b) is wrong in pronouncing the latter form of writing the word a mistake.

³ Another view is taken by the expositor to whom Jerome refers: Quidam de nostris Judaizans Esaias duos filios habuisse contendit Jasub, et Emmanuel. Et Emmanuel de prophetissa uxor ejus esse generatum in typum Domini salvatoris, etc.

mature woman who is near marriage.¹ Both names may be applied to a female who is betrothed or even married (Joel i. 8; Prov. xxx. 19; see Hitzig on these passages). It must also be admitted that the idea of immaculate virginity is not necessarily connected with נָשִׁי (as in Gen. xxiv. 43, cf. 16), since in such passages as Song of Sol. vi. 8 it can hardly be distinguished in sense from the Arab. *Surriya*. It must also be admitted that it might be said of one who has a still youthful fresh wife, that he has a נָשִׁי for his wife; but it is inconceivable that in a religiously earnest and well-weighed style a woman who has been already for a long time married, like the prophet's wife, could be called absolutely נָשִׁי without qualification.² On the other hand, the expression warrants the assumption that the prophet by נָשִׁי means one of the נָשִׁי of the royal harem (Luzzatto); and if we consider that the birth of the child in the view of the prophet is to take place in the near future, his look might have been directed to that *Abijah* (*Abi*) *bath-Zechariah* (2 Kings xviii. 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1) who became the mother of king Hezekiah, to whom the virtues of his mother appear to have been transmitted in contrast with the vice of his father. But while the expression might admit this view, reference to Hezekiah and his mother is excluded by the fact that he was born to the young king Ahaz before his accession to the throne, and therefore he cannot be meant either here or

¹ Vercellone, in a lecture (in his *Dissertazioni accademiche*, Roma 1864), has defended at considerable length the assertion of Jerome: *Hebraicum נָשִׁי nunquam nisi de virgine scribitur, significat enim puellam virginem absconditam*; but his defence is untenable. The root is not נָשִׁי, to conceal, according to which Aq. translates Gen. xxiv. 43, ἀπόκρυφος. Luther, in 1523, expressed himself to better effect thus: "Well, then, to oblige the Jews, we shall not translate the word *Alma* as virgin, but as a maid, although in German maid means a woman who is still young, and wears her crown with honour, so that it is said: she is still a maid and not a wife. Thus, then, the text of Isaiah is most properly translated: Behold, a maid is with child." In fact, the translation ὁ υἱοῦς (Aq. S. Th.) is more exact than ὁ παρθένος (LXX. Syr.). In medieval sermons Christ is called "the son of the maid."

² A young and newly-married wife might be called נָשִׁי (as in Homer, *νύμφη* = *nubilis* and *nupta*; Eng. *bride*); but even in Homer a married woman, if young, is sometimes called *παυριδίη ἀλοχος*, but not *κούρη νεῖμης*).

in chap. ix. 5.¹ But, in any case, even if the prophet thought of one of the *מלכ* of the then royal house, the child thus prophesied of is the Messiah, that wondrous heir of the Davidic throne whose birth is exultingly greeted in chap. ix. It is the Messiah whom the prophet here beholds as about to be born, then in chap. ix. as born, and in chap. xi. as reigning,—three stages of a triad which are not to be wrenched asunder, a threefold constellation of consoling forms, illuminating the three stadia into which the future history of his people divides itself in the view of the prophet. Or is *העלמה* no determinate person at all, or not any single person? Duhm asserts that wife and son are merely representative ideas; and Reuss holds that by the virgin is meant *la femme comme telle*. Kuenen thinks that some particular woman of the time was meant; and Henry Hammond as early as 1653 expounded this view, maintaining that the prophecy has found in Jesus Christ a fulfilment which goes beyond its immediate sense, that in its primary sense pregnancy, birth, and maturity are only parabolical facts subservient to the chronological measurement of time. But all this is opposed by the address in chap. viii. 8, which demands a definite and highly significant personality. And, further, the view is not to be accepted which holds that the house of David is the *מלכ*, and that her son is a future new Israel (Hofmann, Ebrard, Köhler, Weir); for while it is true that in contrast to the widowhood of the community of Israel a youthful age of it, *עלמים*, is spoken of in chap. liv. 4 (cf. Jer. ii. 2), yet the community of Israel is never absolutely called *העלמה* or *הבתולה*, and the text is here thoroughly individual in its reference, and does not point to a

¹ According to 2 Kings xvi. 2, Ahaz on ascending the throne was twenty years old, and according to 2 Kings xviii. 2, Hezekiah on his ascending the throne was twenty-five years old. Now, as, according to 1 Kings xvi. 2, Ahaz reigned sixteen years, he thus died in his thirty-sixth year, and would thus have to be regarded as father of Hezekiah when eleven years old. According to the LXX. and Pesh., in 2 Chron. xxviii. 1 he was twenty-five years old on ascending the throne, and therefore died when forty-one years old, so that Hezekiah, according to this reckoning, would have been born to him in his sixteenth year. This might have been possible. But however Hezekiah's accession to the throne may be regarded (see the tables on pp. 32–33), the result is always reached that Hezekiah was already born when his father succeeded to the government (cf. Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 40).

twofold *persona moralis*. The prophet would have said בְּתוּלָה; מלכה in this kind of personification is unheard of, and the house of David, as then before the view of the prophet, was not at all deserving of such a designation. There is therefore no other alternative left but to accept the view that the prophet means by מלכה a particular virgin, and one, moreover, belonging to the house of David, as the Messianic character of the prophecy desiderates. She who is meant is the same as is named by Micah v. 2, יוֹלֵדָה. It is the virgin whom God's spirit presents before the prophet, and who, although he cannot name her, yet stands before his soul as selected for something extraordinary (cf. the article in הַנֶּשֶׁר in Num. xi. 27 and similar passages). How exalted this mother appears to him, is seen from the fact that it is she who gives the son his name, the name עֲשָׂתָאֵל (here to be written as one word).¹ The purport of this name is purely promissory. But if we look at the לֵב and the occasion which preceded it, the אֵם can be no mere promise and no pure promise; we expect (1) that it will be an extraordinary fact which the prophet announces, and (2) a fact with a threatening presentative side. Now a humiliation of the house of David is already included in the fact that the God it will not recognise nevertheless shapes its future as the emphatic הֵאָּ says: He (αὐτός) from His own impulse and out of His own choice. But this shaping of the future must also be as threatening for the unbelieving house of David as it is promising for the believers of Israel. And the threatening of the אֵם cannot be to be sought exclusively in ver. 15, seeing that both לֵב and הֵאָּ transfer the central bearing of the אֵם to ver. 14; and further, the externally unconnected addition of ver. 15 shows that what is said in ver. 14 is the main thing, and not conversely. In ver. 14, however, a threatening element of the אֵם can only lie in this, that it is not Ahaz and not a son of Ahaz, or generally of the house of David as then hardening itself, through whom God saves His people, but that a nameless virgin of humble rank, whom God has chosen, and whom He shows to His prophet in the mirror of His counsel, will bring forth the divine deliverer of His

¹ See on this the tractate *Sofrim* iv. *Halacha* 8, and pp. 67, 68 of the edition by Joel Müller, 1878.

people in the midst of the impending tribulations. And by this it is indicated that He who is the pledge of the continued existence of Judah does not come until the present degenerate house of David, which is bringing Judah to the brink of destruction, is removed even to the stump (chap. xi. 1).

But now comes the further question, Wherein consists the extraordinary characteristic of the announced fact? It consists in this, that according to chap. ix. 5, Immanuel Himself is a אֱלֹהִים,—He is God in bodily self-presentation. If, however, the Messiah is מָלְאִךְ in the sense that, as the prophet in chap. ix. 5 (cf. chap. x. 21) expressly says, He is Himself אֱלֹהִים, His birth must also be a wonderful or miraculous one. The prophet, it is true, does not say that the מָלְאִךְ whom no man has yet known will bear Him without that happening, so that He is born not so much out of the house of David, as into it, a gift of heaven; but this מָלְאִךְ was and remained in the Old Testament an enigma or mystery, powerfully inciting to the *ἐπευνῶν* mentioned in 1 Pet. i. 10–12, and waiting for its solution in a historical fulfilment. Thus the מָלְאִךְ is on the one side a mystery staring threateningly at the house of David, and on the other side it is a mystery rich in comfort to the prophet and all believers; and it is couched in such enigmatic terms in order that they who harden themselves may not understand it, and in order that believers may so much the more long to understand it. It is the result of the self-hardening of Ahaz, that the מָלְאִךְ withdraws itself from his comprehension, just as the proclamation of the kingdom of heaven, according to Matt. xiii. 10–17, was wrapped in the veil of parable to the benefit of the disciples, but for the punishment of the hardened masses.

In ver. 15 the threatening element of ver. 14 then becomes alone predominating. It would not be so if thickened milk and honey were meant here, as the usual food of the tenderest age of childhood (as maintained by Gesenius, Hengstenberg, and others). But the reason on which it is grounded in the following verses, 16, 17, conveys another view. Thickened milk and honey, the food of the desert, will be the only provisions which the land will furnish in the time contemporaneous with the ripening youth of Immanuel. חֲמָצָה (from חָמַץ, *חָמַץ*, to be thick, clotted) is butter including the

cream (both included in Arab. سمن), as בִּינָה means cheese including the curd. The object to ידע is expressed in vers. 15, 16 by *inf. absoluti* (cf. the more usual mode of expression in chap. viii. 4). The ל in לִדְעוֹ is that of time (Spurrel on Gen. iii. 8); it is used in a somewhat vaguer manner than עַר, as in לִקְצוֹר, Amos iv. 7; לִבְקֹר, Deut. xvi. 4, where all the three parallel passages, Ex. xii. 10, xxiii. 18, Num. ix. 12, have עַר; לִפְנֵי in Lev. xxiv. 12 is a designation of the *terminus ad quem*, as it also interchanges in reference to space in Ps. lix. 14 with עַל and עַד. The incapacity to distinguish between bad and good belongs characteristically to the age of childhood (Deut. i. 39 and elsewhere), and to old age when it relapses into childish ways (2 Sam. xix. 36). The commencement of the capacity to distinguish things is equivalent to entering into the so-called *anni discretionis*, into the riper age of conscious free self-determination. The notion implied in the expression is not purely ethical, and therefore the ל is not to be taken as the ל of purpose. By the time when Immanuel has advanced to this age, all the blessings of the land will be reduced to this, that a land full of luxuriant corn-fields and vineyards would have turned into a great wooded pasture land, only furnishing milk and honey and nothing more. The fact that אֶרֶץ זֵבֶד הָלֶב הַיָּבֵשׁ is used in the Torah as the characteristic designation of Canaan, ought not to disturb this view. The desolation of the land is the reason of the limitation of Immanuel to that most simple and uniform kind of food, a food which is also most meagre and insipid when compared with the fat of wheat and the exhilaration of wine.

This limitation thus finds its reason in vers. 16, 17; there are two successive and causally connected events which bring about that universal desolation. Vers. 16, 17: "*For before the boy shall understand how to reject the evil and choose the good, laid waste will be the land before whose two kings thou art in terror. Jehovah will bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days such as have not come since the day when Ephraim tore himself from Judah—the king of Assur.*" The land of the two kings, Syria and Israel, is first devastated by the Assyrians who are called hither by Ahaz.

Tiglath-Pileser conquered Damascus and a part of the kingdom of Israel, and took away a large portion of the inhabitants of both regions into captivity (2 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 9). Judah is then also devastated by the Assyrians as a punishment for having scorned the help of Jehovah and having preferred their human help. Days of misfortune will come upon the royal house and the people of Judah, such as (רָעָה, *quales*, as in Ex. x. 6) have not come upon them since the days of the calamity of the falling away of the ten tribes (לְמִיָּהּ with prefixed לְ, the vague expression of direction in time, as in Judg. xix. 30; 2 Sam. vii. 6; for which elsewhere is also used לְמִיָּהּ, with following infin., Ex. ix. 18; 2 Sam. xix. 25). The calling in of Assur laid the foundation for the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah not less than for that of the kingdom of Israel. Ahaz thereby became a tributary vassal of the Assyrian king, and although Hezekiah again became free from Assyria through the miraculous help of Jehovah, nevertheless what Nebuchadnezzar did was only the accomplishment of the frustrated undertaking of Sennacherib. אֵת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר stands with incisive force at the end of the two verses. The אֵת is frequently placed where to an indefinite object is appended the more particularly defined object (Gen. vi. 19, xxvi. 34). Clieyne thinks that the closing words אֵת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר weaken the energy of the expression, and that their ultra-distinctness betrays the fact of their being an interpolation. Like Knobel and others, he rejects them as a gloss. But even if בְּמֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר in ver. 20a be a gloss, here the words appear to me to be like the arrow point of vers. 16, 17. The very king to whom Ahaz has recourse in his terror will bring Judah to the brink of destruction. Besides, the entirely loose unconnected succession of ver. 17 after ver. 16 is very effective. The hope which ver. 16 gives rise to in Ahaz, is suddenly transformed into bitter deception. In the view of such catastrophes, Isaiah prophesies the birth of Immanuel. At the time when he will understand aright what is good and bad, he will eat only thickened milk and honey; and this fact has its reason in the desolation of the whole of the old territory of the Davidic kingdom which will precede his maturer youth, when he would choose other kinds of food if they were to be found. Consequently the birth of Immanuel in the vision of the prophet occurs in

the interval between that present time and the Assyrian oppressions, and his earliest childhood runs parallel with the Assyrian oppressions. In any case, their consequences are still lasting during the time of his riper youth. This cannot be taken away from the prophecy; nor does Bredenkamp (who takes לרעה as determining a purpose "in order that he may know what Ahaz has not known: to reject the evil and to choose the good") succeed thereby as he intends in separating the birth of Immanuel from being interwoven with the Syro-Ephraimitish war. We shall afterwards see how, notwithstanding this involvement, the truth of the prophecy nevertheless continues to exist.

What now follows in vers. 18–25 is only the development in detail of ver. 17. The promising side of the נאם remains in the background. In the presence of Ahaz the promise must be dumb. So much the more eloquent is the threatening of judgment expressed from ver. 18: "*And it comes to pass in that day, Jehovah shall hiss for the fly that is at the end of the Nile-arms of Egypt, and the bee that is in the land of Assur; and they come and settle down all of them in the valleys of the declivities, and in the clefts of the rocks, and in all the thorn thickets, and in all the meadows.*" The prophet already said in chap. v. 26 that Jehovah would hiss for distant peoples, and now he is able to name them by name. Bees and swarms of flies are also used as a Homeric image for swarms of peoples, *Il.* ii. 87: ἦντε ἔθνεα εἰσὶ μελισσῶν ἀδινάων, and 469: ἦντε μυριάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλά. Here the images are likewise emblematic. The Egyptian people, being unusually numerous, is compared to the swarming fly (זָבִיב, זָבִיב, from זָבַ, to move much and inconstantly hither and thither); and the Assyrian people, being warlike and eager for conquest, is compared to the stinging bee, which is so difficult to turn away (*Deut.* i. 44; *Ps.* cxviii. 12); דָּבָר, דָּבָר, from דָּבַר, to be behind one another, to follow one another, drive, swarm. The emblems also correspond to the nature of the two countries; the fly to slimy Egypt, which, from being such, abounds in insects (see chap. xviii. 1),¹ and the bee to the more moun-

¹ Egypt abounds in midges, gnats, gadflies, and especially *muscariae*, including a species of small flies (نَاعُوس), so called from their humming,

tainous and woody Assyria, where bee-culture still constitutes one of the principal branches of trade in the present day. יָאֵר, pl. יְאֵרִים, is a name of the Nile and of its arms; the word is Egyptian (*yaro*, with the art. *phiaro*, plur. *yarôu*), but also Semitic (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Hebr. Language*, p. 25). The end of the Nile-arms of Egypt, from a Palestinian point of view, was the farthest corner of the land. The army of Egypt marches out of the whole extent of the country, meets with the Assyrian army in the Holy Land, where both settle down (נָחָה, according to the Masoretic evidence, *Milra*, like נָחַ, chap. xix. 1; תָּסֹו, Lev. xxvi. 36, and other instances), and cover it in such a way that נְחָלֵי הַבְּתוֹת, the valleys of steep overhanging heights (cf. on chap. v. 6), and נְקִיטֵי הַפְּלָעִים, clefts of the rocks, all נְעֻצֵּי־אֵשׁ, thorn hedges, and נְהַלְלִים, pastures (from נָחַל, according to the Assy., related to הָנִיחַ, הָרַבִּין, to make to couch, to bring to rest), are covered over with their swarms. Just such places are named as afford the flies and bees suitable shelter and abundance of nourishment, and this shows the faithfulness to nature with which the figure is depicted. If we look at the historical fulfilment, it also corresponds to the literal terms of the prophecy; for no collision of the Assyrian and Egyptian forces took place in the time of Hezekiah; and it was not till the time of Josiah that a collision took place between the Chaldean and Egyptian powers in the eventful battle fought between Pharaoh-Necho and Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, which was decisive for the fate of Judah. That the spirit of prophecy points to this eventful occurrence, is shown in ver. 20, where there is now no further reference to Egypt, because it succumbed to the Eastern Asian empire.

Ver. 20: "*In that day the All-Lord will shave with a razor that is for hire on the banks of the river, with the king of Assur, the head and the hair of the legs; and also the beard will it take away.*" Knobel takes the hair-growth as figurative of the vegetable produce of the country; but the allegation that the flora, as the hair-covering of the soil, is a Biblical representation, has only limited support in the use of נִיֵּר as a name of

DMZ. xii. 701, 702, Anm. 3), and they are a great plague to men in the whole region of the Nile (see Hartmann, *Naturgeschichtlich-medicinische Skizze der Nilländer*, p. 204 f., 1865). The wasp is found as a hieroglyphic sign, in Lower Egypt (see Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher, Moses* i. 73 f.).

the uncultivated vine left to itself (Lev. xxv. 5).¹ The people of Judah are viewed here, as chap. i. 6, as a stripped and naked man, who has not only the hair of his head and parts (רַגְלָיִם, euphemistically of the place where the two legs separate) shaved off, but, what is most shameful of all, also the hair of his beard, which is the sign of manly vigour, manliness, and manly dignity. For this purpose the All-Ruler uses a razor, which is more exactly designated as *conductitia in litoribus* (see on נַעֲבָרִי, 1 Sam. xiv. 4), *Euphratis* (נָהָר here instead of הַנָּהָר), and yet more precisely as the king of Asshur, although this בַּמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר may be an elucidative addition not belonging to the original text.² הַשִּׁכִּירָה might mean, as the genitive of a neuter, *conductitii*, or of an abstract term, *conductionis*, as it seems to have been so taken by the accentuation; but we take it rather adjectively: with a razor, that is to say, that which is for hire in the regions on both sides of the Euphrates—the king of Asshur. מַעַר is *masc.* in Num. vi. 5, but may be *fem.* in the same way as מַנִּיר in Hos. vii. 4, and as מַבְלֵל and מַחֲוֹם, with same nominal prefix *ta*, always is; and that it is thus understood here is shown by מַסְפָּה. The verb סָפַה has here its proper meaning, to shave off, *radere* (cf. סָפַג, *abstergere*, whence סָפֹג, σπόνγγος, σφόγγος, a sponge), which also takes on the special sense of scraping together, gathering in. In הַשִּׁכִּירָה there is involved the bitterest sarcasm for Ahaz; the cheap knife which he had hired for the deliverance of Judah is hired by the Lord in order to shave Judah wholly and most shamefully.

¹ In the Arabic (Persian and Turkish) we frequently find the hair of the head compared to long leaves (*DMZ.* vii. 373), to the foliage of vines (de Sacy, *Chrestom.* iii. 54), or to the branches of palms (Amrulkais, *Muall.* v. 33). In the classical usage, figurative terms like κόμη, φάβη, coma (*caesaries*) are commonly applied to woods and trees. In the Mishna, *Penh* ii. 3, the branches of two trees beating on each other are designated שֶׁעָרַב בְּהוֹשׁ.

² العبر also signifies the tract along the banks of a river (as the place for عبور, passing over), and نهر, that of the Euphrates, the whole tract of land stretching from the east bank of the Euphrates to the Tigris, and from the west bank to the Arabian desert (*ber-tjet-el-'arab*), from which, according to the Turkish *Kâmus* and *Lex geographicum*, ii. 232–3, is derived 'Ibri or 'Ibrâni, the name of the Jewish people, as having come from the land stretching from the bank of the Euphrates to the Tigris.

Thus shaven Judah is a depopulated and desert land, in which men nourish themselves no longer by cultivating corn and wine, or by trade and commerce, but exclusively by the rearing of cattle. Vers. 21, 22: "*And it will come to pass in that day that a man keeps a little cow and a couple of sheep. And it comes to pass, on account of the quantity of the milk produce, he will eat cream, for butter and honey shall every one eat who is left within the land.*" The former prosperity has gone down even to scantiest housekeeping. One man keeps carefully alive (חיה, like החיה elsewhere) a diminutive milch cow (only a heifer, for the strongest and finest of the cattle that are full grown have fallen as spoil to the enemy) and two head of smaller animals. שני, not שתי, because two female sheep or goats in milk are meant, and all the same this is enough; there are but a few men now in the country, and since all the land is pasture, the few beasts give milk in abundance; for, as a rural proverb says, "the cow is milked through the mouth." Bread and wine are unprocurable. Whoever has escaped the Assyrian razor eats thickened milk and honey; this, and nothing but this, without change *ad nauseam*; for the hills, formerly covered with vines and corn-fields, are now overgrown with thorns.

The prophet repeats this three times in vers. 23-25: "*And it will come to pass in that day, every place where a thousand vines stand at a thousand silver pieces, thorns and thistles will it become. With arrows and with bows will men go; for the whole land will become thorns and thistles. And all the hills which are wont to be hoed with the hoe, thou wilt not go to them from fear of thorns and thistles; and it becomes a gathering place of oxen, and a treading place of sheep.*" The אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף, i.e. 1000 shekels of silver, recall to mind Song of Sol. viii. 11; but there that is the value of the yearly produce. Here the thousand shekels are the value of a thousand vines, the designation of a peculiarly valuable bit of vineyard. In the present day the value of a vineyard in Lebanon and Syria is still reckoned according to the value of the separate vines, and usually one vine is reckoned as worth one piastre, a little more than two-pence each, just as in Germany a Johannesberg vine is valued at a ducat. Every piece of land where such precious vines stand will become a prey to thorny brushwood. People go

there (יָבוֹא שָׁמָּה), retraction of the tone, with following Milel)¹ with arrow and bow, because the whole ground will have become thorns and thistles (see on chap. v. 6a), and therefore wild beasts will make their abode among them. And thou,—thus does the prophet address the dweller in the country,—thou comest not to all the hills which have been hitherto most carefully cultivated,² thou comest not to them in order to make them again fertile, from fear (יִרְאָה in the accusative = קִירְאָה) of thorns and thistles, i.e. because the thick undergrowth frightens thee from attempting to reclaim such a fallow. Jerome, Vitringa, Ewald, and others interpret otherwise: *timor verprum non veniet illuc*, but לֹא-יָבֹא שָׁמָּה has a personal meaning; if יִרְאָה were the subject, the expression would have been יִרְאָה. Thus, then, they give the oxen free course there, and let what grows be trodden down by sheep and goats. The description is intentionally tautological and pleonastic, heavy and dragging. It aims at giving the impression of a waste heath, of a dull uniformity. Hence the repetitions of הָיָה and יִהְיֶה. In vers. 23-25, whatever is intended as historically future may be also in every case translated by the future; the impf. יִהְיֶה-שָׁם, ver. 23a, expresses the condition of things at the breaking in of the devastation ("where when this breaks so and so many vines will stand"); only יִדְרֹךְ in ver. 25a has not a future, but a present signification; not *sarriuntur*, and still less *sarriebantur*, but *sarriuntur*, as expressing the cultivation going on at present. The indefinite subject of יִהְיֶה in ver. 25b is all that lies round about.

Thus far does the discourse of Isaiah to king Ahaz go. He does not say expressly when Immanuel will be born, but only what will have happened before he enters upon the riper years of boyhood: namely, first the devastation of Israel and Syria, and then the devastation of Judah itself by the Assyrians. But when he represents Immanuel as eating thickened milk and honey as well as all those who survive the Assyrian oppressions in the Holy Land, he manifestly beholds and thinks of the childhood of Immanuel as coinciding with the time of the Assyrian calamities. In such a

¹ In the Codices the remark is expressly made on יָבוֹא: ב' בַּמָּעַס לְעֵל: יָבוֹא, i.e. twice occurring as Milel, here and in Deut. i. 38.

² Compare the reminiscence in the Mishna, *Peah* ii. § 2.

combined perspective view of events which lie far apart, consists what Chr. A. Crusius has designated the complex character of the prophecy.¹ The ground of this complex character of it is the human limitation attaching to the far look of the prophet, which limitation the Spirit of God allows to exist and makes subservient to Himself. If we cleave to the letter of the prophecy, it is possible on account of its complex character to find fault with its truth; but if we look upon the substance of what it contains, it will be found that its truth is not thereby destroyed. For the things which the prophet sees together are also essentially connected although not in time. If Isaiah here, in chaps. vii.-xii., looks upon Assyria absolutely as the universal empire (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 29; Ezra vi. 22), this is so far true, seeing that the four empires from the Babylonian to the Roman are really only the unfolding of the beginning which had its beginning in Assyria. And if, here in chap. vii., he thinks of the son of the virgin as growing up under the Assyrian oppressions, this is also so far true, since Jesus was actually born in a time in which the Holy Land, deprived of its earlier fulness of blessing, found itself under the supremacy of the universal empire, and in a condition which went back to the unbelief of Ahaz as its ultimate cause. Besides He, who in the fulness of time became flesh, does truly lead an ideal life in the Old Testament history. The fact that the house and people of David did not perish in the Assyrian calamities is really, as chap. viii. presupposes, to be ascribed to His presence, which, although not yet in bodily form, was nevertheless active. Thus is solved the contradiction between the prophecy and the history of its fulfilment. We do not need to have recourse to the expedient of Bengel, Schegg, Schmieder, and others, who hold that the *מן* consists in an event just about to happen, which points typically to the birth of the real Immanuel; nor do we require the expedient of Hofmann, who takes the words of the prophet as an emblematic prophecy of the rise of a new Israel which will come to spiritual understanding in a troublous

¹ Ed. König (*Offenbarungsbegriff des A. T.* ii. 388, 389, 1882) thinks this subject can be more correctly formulated thus: "God makes what was announced by prophecy separate itself in reality into different stages."

time, due to the want of understanding in the Israel of that present time. Rather is the view of Vitringa, Haneberg, Reusch, Vilmar, and others to be adopted, namely, that the prophet makes the stages in the life of the Messiah of the far future to be time-measures of the events of the immediate future. This he actually does; but in prophesying, without holding the birth of Immanuel to be an event of the distant future, he combines him who is seen in vision with the approaching tribulations. Far sight and near sight are combined with each other in his prophecy; the prophecy is divine within human limits.

TWO SIGNS OF THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, CHAP. VIII. 1-4.

In the midst of the continued turmoils of the Syro-Ephraimitish war, Isaiah receives God's instruction to perform a peculiar prophetic action. Vers. 1, 2: "*Then Jehovah said to me, Take thee a large tablet, and write thereon in common legible lines: In speed trophies, booty hastens.¹ And I will take for me trustworthy witnesses: Uriah the priest and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah.*" The tablet (cf. iii. 23, where the same word signifies a metal mirror), perhaps a smoothed tablet of wood, is to be large, in order to produce the impression of its being monumental; and the writing upon it is to be *בְּתֵבָה אֲנִישׁ*, the stylus of the people, i.e. writing in the usual popular character, consisting of inartistic lines easily read (cf. Rev. xiii. 18, xxi. 17). What is to be written is introduced with *לְ* of dedication, as in Ezek. xxxvii. 16, or, more generally, of relation, as, e.g., in Jer. xxiii. 9. But as it is not a personal name which the *לְ* introduces, but a thing, *לְמַחֵר* will have to be taken, as Luzzatto does, for *fut. instans*, according to Gen. xv. 12; Josh. ii. 5; Hab. i. 17 (see remark upon it) = *acceleratura sunt spolia*, spoils are about to be hastened. Most of the commentators confuse the nature of the thing by taking these words at once as the name of a person (Ewald, § 288c); they are not yet this at the outset, but only become such afterwards. At first they are an oracular announcement of what is future: trophies, booty, are at hand,—but who is the conquered one? Jehovah and

¹ [Maher-shalal-hash-baz.]

His prophet, although not initiated into the policy of Ahaz, know. But their knowledge is intentionally shrouded in the veil of mystery. For the inscription is not to predict anything to the people. It is only to be a means whereby publicly to announce that the course of events was one that was foreknown and pre-indicated by Jehovah. Accordingly, when what is said by the inscription on the tablet occurs, men will know that it is the fulfilment of this inscription, and therefore an event predetermined by God. On this account Jehovah takes to Himself witnesses. It is not necessary to read either *וְאֶעֱיֶדָה*, with Knobel and others (and I got to testify), nor *וְהָעֵיֶדָה*, with LXX. Targ. Syr. Hitzig (and get to testify). The relation is the same as with *אֶרְאֶה* instead of *הָרָא* in Ezek. v. 3. Jehovah says what He will do, and the prophet knows without its being necessary to be told him that it was to be done instrumentally through him. Uriah is doubtless the same person who afterwards set himself to serve the heathen desires of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 10 sqq.). Zechariah ben Jeberechiah (Berechiah), of the same name as the post-exile prophet, was perhaps the Asaphite mentioned in 2 Chron. xxix. 13. The two are reliable witnesses as being persons of high distinction whose testimony is of great authority with the people. Accordingly, when the history of the time itself solves the enigma of that inscription, these two will tell the people how long before it had been written down by the prophet as such.

In the meantime something occurred whereby the place of the dead tablet was taken by a more eloquent living one. Vers. 3, 4: "*And I approached the prophetess; and she conceived, and bear a son. Then said Jehovah to me: Call his name Swiftly—Trophies—Booty hastens; for before the boy will learn to cry my father and my mother, they will carry the property of Damascus and the trophies of Samaria before the king of Assur.*" How entirely different does ver. 3 sound from chap. vii. 14! The *נְבִיאָה* is not the *עֲלִמָּה* there; for if the son of the virgin is the Messiah, he is born into the house of David, and not into the house of the prophet. Besides, the prophet has already a son from his young wife, and she was no longer *עֲלִמָּה*.¹ To his son Shearjashub, in whose name the

¹ J. J. Raven (Cambridge), in his *Essay on Isaiah* vii.-ix. 7, observes on chap. viii. 3: "New to accomplish the sign that was given to Ahaz,

law of the history of Israel was formulated to the prophet on the occasion of his call in chap. vi., there is now added another son, to whom the inscription on the tablet (with omission of the ל) is given as a name, and who therefore symbolizes the approaching chastisement of Syria and of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Before this boy learns to lisp the name of father and mother, they will carry away (נָשָׂא, not 3 imperf. *Ni.* which is נִשְׂאָה, but *Kal* with the latent undetermined subject הַנְּשִׂאָה, Ges. § 137. 3) the treasures of Damascus and the trophies (*i.e.* spoils taken from the flying or slaughtered enemy) of Samaria before the king of Assyria, and he will therefore leave the territory of the two capitals as a conqueror. It is true that Tiglath-Pileser only conquered Damascus and not Samaria; but he wrested from Pekah, the king of Samaria, the land beyond the Jordan and also a part of the land on this side. The trophies which he took home from there to Assyria were not less מְאֹדָּהּ than if he, as Shalmanasar-Sargon afterwards did, had conquered Samaria. The birth of Mahershalal took place about three-quarters of a year later than the preparation of the tablet (for there is no need to take מְאֹדָּהּ in the sense of a plupf.); and the interval defined from the birth of the boy till the chastisement of the allied kingdoms amounts to about one year. Now, as the Syro-Ephraimitish war did not begin later than in the first year of Ahaz, and as the chastisement by Tiglath-Pileser occurred during the lifetime of the allies, whereas Pekah was murdered soon thereafter (2 Kings xv. 30), there elapsed from the beginning of the war to the chastisement of the allies at most three years, and the setting forth of the tablet cannot consequently be assigned a much later date than the scene with Ahaz. The inscription on the tablet adopted as the name of the child was not a purely consolatory prophecy, since the prophet had shortly before prophesied that the same Assyria would devastate Judah as well as the two allied countries. It was only a practical proof of the omniscient omnipotence of Jehovah shaping the history of the future. The prophet has indeed the melancholy vocation of the prophet takes to wife the young woman spoken of;” but this and other forced hypothetical explanations—such as that Ahaz may have adopted Mahershalal—convict themselves.

having to make obdurate, to harden. Hence his discoursing and acting are so enigmatical in relation to both the king and the people. Jehovah foreknows the consequences which the calling in of the help of Assyria will have for Syria and Israel. This knowledge He writes down with the certification of witnesses. If this is fulfilled, it is at the same time a termination to the rejoicing of the king and people in their self-obtained deliverance.

But Isaiah does not find himself surrounded merely by the very wide circle of an incorrigible people ripe for judgment. He does not stand alone, but is surrounded by a small band of believing disciples, who need consolation, and are worthy of it. It is to these that the promising other side of the prophecy of Immanuel belongs. Mahershalal cannot comfort or console them; for they know that when Assyria has done with Damascus and Samaria, the troubles of Judah are not over, but are only really about to begin. The prophecy of Immanuel is destined to be the stronghold of the believers in the terrible judgment time of the worldly power which was then commencing; and to turn into the light and unfold the consolation it contained for the believers, is the purpose of the discourses which now follow.

THE ESOTERIC DISCOURSES, CHAPS. VIII. 5-XII.

A.—*Immanuel's consolation in the coming darknesses,* chap. viii. 5-ix. 6.

The heading and introduction: "*And Jehovah continued further to speak to me as follows,*" extends to all the following discourses as far as chap. xii. They all tend to consolation. But consolation presupposes need of consolation. Hence the prophet must also begin here with threatening of judgment. Vers. 6, 7: "*Forasmuch as this people despises the waters of Siloa that go softly and hold with delight to Rezin and the son of Remaliah—therefore behold! the All-Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, the mighty and the great ones, the king of Assur and all his host; and it rises up over all his channels, and goes over all his banks.*" The Siloa has the name סִלְוָה, or, according to a well-supported reading, סִלְוָה

(the resolved open form like *צִינֹק*, *צִינֹר* is interchangeable with the sharpened form like *צִנּוֹר*, *צִנּוֹר*, and the full writing with the defective as in *שִׁחֹר*, *שִׁחֹר*, *ab emittendo*, either in an infinitive sense as shooting forth, or in a concretely coloured participial sense (after the form *צִנּוֹר*) as *emissus* (*ἀπεσταλμένος*, John ix. 7), bubbling forth; cf. Talm. *בית השלוח*, land to be artificially irrigated (*oppos.* *בית הכנעל*, fertilized by rain).¹ The "waters of Siloa" streamed from what is now called the Mary-spring, and they were brought from there to the western city by means of a canal sunk in the rocks; and they served besides for watering the gardens lying at the outlet of Tyropœon and the valley of Kedron (see Mühlau, Art. "Siloah" in Riehm's *Dict.*). The canal had a slight slope; the fall, therefore, was moderate; and, further, the spring was intermittent. These still-flowing waters² present an image of the invisible ruling of God which does not always appear sensibly to the eye,—that God whom Israel and the royal house with which He had connected His promise might call their own. The beautiful figure was the more appropriate, that the Siloa passage ran through the Ophel from the north-east to the south-west, and the Siloa water therefore to a certain extent streamed from Zion. But Zion and the mount of the temple are one, and hence Jerome has good ground for representing the *fons Siloe* as flowing *ad radices montis Sion*, and again *in radicibus montis Moria*. The reproach of

¹ Since Athias, the written form *שִׁחֹר* (without Dagesh) has come in. But all the editions from Soncin and the Complutensian to the Venetian of 1521 (as well as Nissel, Lombroso, and Hutter) have *שִׁחֹר*. The Cod. Babyl. also writes it thus with Dagesh (although a later hand has erased it), and the Targum has *שִׁחֹר*. It is true that Kimchi also erroneously quotes (under the form *שִׁחֹר* (*שִׁחֹר*)) but there is not a single text which presents this double *plena scriptio* with *ῥaphatum*.

² Rabban Simon b. Gamaliel—as we read in *Erachin* 10b—taught that the Siloah poured forth water only to the extent of an *as*, that is, so that the opening of the spring had only the circumference of an *as*. Then the king ordered that it (the Siloah) was to be enlarged, that it might give more water. But, on the contrary, it gave less, so that they again made it smaller, and it then ran as before; in order thus to confirm what is said in Jer. ix. 13: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might."

despising the waters of Siloah applies to Judah as well as to Ephraim, and not to the latter only (Nägelsbach): to the former, because it trusts in Assyria and despises the less tangible but surer help which the house of David—if it remained faithful—had to expect from the God of promise; to the latter, because it had allied itself with Aram to overthrow the house of David. And yet the house of David, although sunken and deformed, is the God-chosen fountain-head of the salvation which is realized in secret still course. The second reproach applies more especially to Ephraim. **וְאֵת** is a prep.: and (because) delighting (is felt) with (see on the form of connection before a following preposition, Ges. § 116. 1), i.e. in and by the fellowship with Rezin and Pekah, **וְאֵת** like **עִם** **רֵצִין**. The substantive clause is preferred to the verbal clause **וְאֵת** on account of the antithetical consonance of **מִלֵּשׁ** with **מִסָּם**. Knobel and others refer the reproof to dissatisfied Jews who were secretly favourable to the undertaking of the two allies. But although there may have been such under the misgovernment of Ahaz (to which Luzzatto refers the **הַלְלוֹת אֲנִשִּׁים**), yet chap. vii. 2 speaks of the people of Judah without exception, and **הָעָם הַזֶּה**, which in Isaiah mostly applies to Judah (e.g. chap. xxix. 13), but sometimes also to the whole people, with special reference to Ephraim (chap. ix. 15, cf. chap. ix. 7, 8), will consequently in attachment to chap. viii. 4 comprehend Ephraim. This is also confirmed by ver. 8; and chap. ix. 7 sqq. may be cited in support of it, where sin and punishment are also apportioned to Ephraim and Judah. An explanation which would allow the immediate reference of **הָעָם הַזֶּה** to Judah would be welcome. Such an expedient is furnished by Köhler (*Gesch.* ii. 1, p. 2), who refers 6a to Judah and explains 6b thus: "And because nothing but jubilation prevails with Rezin and the son of Remaliah about the previous succeeding of their plans." But **אֵת** after **וְאֵת** makes the impression that it indicates the object of the delighting. Perhaps **מִסָּם** is to be read with Meier and Bredenkamp, following which Reuss also translates: *et perd courage au sujet de Resin*; **מִסָּם**, melting away (chap. x. 18), for fear is perhaps pregnant for fearing, and is in virtue of a bold construction, *πρὸς τὸ σσημαινόμενον* (like **לִשְׁ**, chap. lxv. 18), connected with the

accusative of the object. This melting away would correspond to the trembling like aspen leaves in chap. vii. 2. But however the text is to be taken, what is threatened in vers. 7, 8 must be referred to Ephraim and Judah. The image of the invasion of Assyria is, as in Jer. xlvii. 2, taken from the periodic overflowings of the Euphrates. The overflow of the Assyrian host (כְּבוֹד here used of a heavy massive multitude) strikes Ephraim first, in whose territories it flows over everything. אֲסִי is the channel holding the water, and נָהָר the bank; נָהָר is abbreviated from נְהַיִת. The threat of punishment is introduced by וְלָכֵן; וְ is like the Arab. وَ, the mark of sequence (Ewald, § 348b). The words אֶת-מִלְחָתָאֲשֶׁר we take as an elucidation by the prophet himself, as in chap. vii. 17.

Not till then, but certainly then, and irresistibly, this overflowing reaches on to Judah. Ver. 8: "*And presses forward into Judah, overflows, and streams farther, till it reaches to the neck; and the spreadings out of its wings fill thy land, as broad as it is, O Immanuel!*" Ephraim is put wholly under water by the river; it perishes entirely. But in Judah the river rolling on (עָרַר, driving farther or there-over, Hab. i. 11) and pressing forwards (תָּקַף), really reaches the most dangerous height; yet if a deliverer is found, there is still a possibility of being saved. Such a deliverer is Immanuel. To him the prophet complains that the land which is his land, and not merely the land of his birth (Gen. xii. 1; Jonah i. 8) but of his dominion (cf. chap. ix. 6), is almost swallowed up by the world-power; the land has become filled in its whole breadth (cf. on נָהָר, Ges. § 147a) by the outspreadings (קְשֻׁתֹּת, a Hophal noun; cf. similar nominal forms in ver. 23, chap. xiv. 6, xxix. 3, and especially Ps. lxvi. 11¹) of the wings of the stream, i.e. of the masses of water covering the land, pouring from the main stream like two equally broad wings, on either side of the trunk. The figure of wings of the stream is introduced by the fact that the stream represents the army of Assyria, and the wings of the stream are the אֲנָשֵׁי, the wings of the army of Assyria.

¹ נָהָר, to spread itself out, applied to a river, corresponds to the Arab. *maddu*, *yamuddu*, which is also said of the water passing over its bank and the surroundings, and flooding them.

There now follows in ver. 11 an explanatory proposition. It seems at first sight to turn away to a different theme, but it stands in the closest connection with the triumphal words of vers. 9, 10. Immanuel is the stronghold, the fortress of the believers in the approaching time of Assyrian judgment. He and in Him God, and not any kind of human support. This is the connection of vers. 11, 12: "*For Jehovah has thus spoken to me, overpowering me with God's hand, and pressing it upon me not to walk in the way of this people, saying: Call not conspiracy all that this people calls conspiracy, and what is feared by it fear not, and do not think terrible.*" הַיָּד, the hand, is the absolute hand which, when it is laid upon a man, overpowers all his perception, feeling, and thinking; הַיָּד הַזֶּה (that is to say, עָלַי, Ezek. iii. 14) is therefore the condition in which God's hand shows itself peculiarly strong on the prophet, the state of a peculiarly pressing and impressive working of God. Luther, like the Syriac, erroneously interprets it: *as if he takes me by the hand*; הַיָּד is related to the *Kal*, *invallescere*, not to the *Hi*, *apprehendere*. This circumstantial statement, and not the main verb אָסַר, is what is carried on in יִסְרֵנִי; for the latter term is not 3 *p. prf. Pi.*, which would have to be יִסְרֵנִי, as Ps. cxviii. 18 (הוֹדִיעֵנִי, Josh. ii. 18, is the form of address to a woman, with *el* instead of *et*), nor does it need to so be corrected; rather is this 3 *p. imperf. Kal* (without suffix יִסֵּר, Hos. x. 10, whereas *imperf. Pi.* יִסִּיר) closely connected with הַיָּד הַזֶּה, according to the analogy of the usual passing of the participial and infinitive expression into the finite form. With overwhelming influence and instructively warning against going in the way of this people, Jehovah spake to the prophet as follows. The warning runs to the effect that the prophet and those who stand on his side are not to call קִשָּׁר what the mass of the people call קִשָּׁר (cf. the cry of Athaliah, קִשָּׁר קִשָּׁר, 2 Chron. xxiii. 13). The combination of Rezin and Pekah does not appear to be meant, for that was, in fact, an actual conspiracy or league against the house and people of David. Still less can the warning mean that believers, when they see how the unbelieving Ahaz brings the people into misfortune, ought not to enter into conspiracy against the person of the king (Hofmann, Drechsler); they are not warned, in fact, against making קִשָּׁר, but from joining in the

popular cry when the people say קִשָּׁר. Roorda is therefore perhaps right when he explains it thus: *sermo hic est de conjuratione, quae dicebatur prophetae et discipulorum ejus*. The same thing happened to Isaiah as to Amos (Amos vii. 10) and Jeremiah; when the prophets were zealous against calling in foreign assistance, they were treated as being in the service of the enemy, and as having conspired for the overthrow of the kingdom. Those who were honest were not to share in this confusion of ideas. But this explanation of Roorda is seen to be impossible, by the fact that the warning is introduced as addressed to the prophet himself; and even if it is to be regarded as applying mainly to the disciples gathered around him, yet it cannot exclude himself. No solution of the enigma justifies the transformation of the קִשָּׁר into קִשָּׁר, as held by Secker, Grätz, and Cheyne; for that Isaiah with his disciples is warned against making the religion of the people theirs, is a thought quite foreign to the connection, nor is it so expressed that the warning could be understood according to ver. 19. We are therefore thrown back upon the explanation which has been commonly adopted since Jerome: *noli duorum regum timere conjurationem*. The prophet and his followers are not to call the enterprise of Rezin and Pekah conspiracy; and they are generally not to join with cowardly political newsmongers (Nägelsbach) in the worldly ways of judging and speaking of the people who look upon things apart from God, nor in the hue and cry (2 Kings xi. 4) of the rabble who deny the higher hand in all things (Knabenbauer); they are not to fear (מִדָּרָא) what is to the people an object of fear (with subj. suffix, which is applied objectively in 1 Pet. iii. 14), nor are they to regard it as terrible, or feel it as terrible (הַעֲרִיץ), as in chap. xxix. 23; Deut. i. 29, and in the Jewish Tefilla תַּעֲרִיץ, "we shudder before thee").

The object of its fear was a very different one. Vers. 13-15: "Jehovah of hosts, Him sanctify; and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your terror; so will He become a sanctuary, but a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, a snare and trap to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them will stumble and will fall, and break to pieces, and be snared, and taken." With וְהָיָה commences

the logical apodosis to ver. 13. If ye actually confess Jehovah the Holy One as such a one (הַקָּדוֹשׁ, as in chap. xix. 23, for which there is only once *Pi* in Deut. xxxii. 51), and if it is He whom ye fear, and who fills you with terror, (מַעֲרִיץ, used of the object of the terror as מוֹרֵא of the object of the fear, and therefore it is that which terrifies in a causative sense), then He will become a מִקְדָּשׁ. מִקְדָּשׁ may indeed also denote the sanctified object or the object to be sanctified, as Knobel understands it here according to Num. xviii. 29 (cf. the plural in Lev. xxi. 23; Ezek. xxviii. 18, *res sanctae*); but keeping to the idea of the word, this gives an unmeaning apodosis. Usually מִקְדָּשׁ means the sanctified place, the sanctuary, with which the idea of an asylum is easily associated, because the temple was also regarded among the Israelites as an asylum, and was also generally respected as such (1 Kings i. 50, ii. 28; 1 Mac. x. 43; cf. Ex. xxi. 14). This is the explanation given here by most expositors; and the punctuators also took it in this sense, seeing that they have divided the two halves of ver. 14, as antithetical, by *athnach*; and thus מִקְדָּשׁ is to be understood really, and to be translated sanctuary (Driver), and not asylum or refuge, which would be too narrow. The temple is not only a place of shelter, but also of grace, of blessing, of peace. Whoever sanctifies the Lord of lords, him He encompasses like temple walls; He hides him in Himself while death and tribulation dwell without, and He comforts, feeds, and blesses him in his fellowship. הוּא הוֹמֵךְ לְמִקְדָּשׁ must thus be explained, as I still always think, according to such passages as chap. iv. 5, 6; Ps. xxvii. 5, xxxi. 21, and Prov. xviii. 10; for the sequence makes us expect the expression of what Jehovah will become for those who sanctify Him. Another view is held by Reuss, who understands מִקְדָּשׁ to mean an unapproachable ἄδυστον (حرم) (see Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 89), and similarly Bredenkamp, and v. Orelli: "Sanctuary, He showing Himself as the destroying one whom one does not profane unpunished;" Cheyne, "and He shall show Himself as holy." But this gives an idea that is not germane to the following series of synonyms, and a thought that is not to be expected in relation to ver. 13. One expects the statement that He will become

a sanctuary to those who sanctify Him, also on His side. The antithesis follows: to the two houses of Israel, on the contrary, *i.e.* to the mass of the people of the two kingdoms as a whole, which neither sanctifies nor fears Jehovah, He becomes a rock and snare.¹ The synonyms are intentionally accumulated (comp. xxviii. 13) in order to make the impression of a manifold but always inevitable fate of death. The first three verbs of ver. 15 refer to אֶבֶן (stone) and צֶרֶר (rock), and the last two to פֶּחַ (snare) and מִקְשָׁ (springe).² All those who do not give the honour to Jehovah are dashed to pieces by His ruling as on a stone, and they are caught in it as in a trap. Accordingly, פֶּחַ might refer to אֶבֶן and צֶרֶר (on them, as Gesenius, Hitzig, and Cheyne explain it); but why then not בּוֹ on Him? We take בָּם, with Ewald and Nägelsbach, partitively like בּוֹ in chap. x. 22.

The words that follow in ver. 16: "*Bind up the testimony, seal the doctrine among my disciples,*" is either a prayer of the prophet addressed to God (Drechsler and others), certainly not to Immanuel (Vitranga), or a command of God to the prophet. As the word of God to the prophet has preceded this, and as God is not expressly addressed, it is such an instruction as we find in Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9, Rev. xxii. 20, and elsewhere, addressed to the seers of things in the far future. The explanation of Rosenmüller, Knobel, and others, namely, by bringing in God-taught men (*adhibitis viris piis et sapientibus*), is grammatically impossible. As keeping safely requires a place, the immediate local significance of the פֶּחַ has to be maintained. People tie together (צֶרֶר, imper. צַר, instead of צָר, the more orthographic mode of writing it, not infin. absolute, which would be צֶרֶר) what they wish not to get separated and to be lost; men seal (חָתַם) what is to be kept secret, and is only to be opened by one entitled to do it.

¹ As Jerome on this passage informs us, the "two houses" were referred by Jewish Christians (*Nazaræi qui ita Christum recipiunt ut observationes legis veteris non admittant*) to the schools of Shammai and Hillel.

² Malbim correctly remarks: "פֶּחַ catches but does not injure; מִקְשָׁ catches and injures [*e.g.* by breaking off the legs or by crushing the nose, Job xl. 24]; the former is the simple snare [like the simple snare or gin for catching fieldfares]; the latter is the springe [a rod bent like a bow, of a flexible nature, which easily springs back], and the snare which catches by means of the springe (Amos iii. 5)."

And so the testimony of the prophet which relates to the future, and his instruction designed to prepare for this future—that **וְהָיָה** and **וְהָיָה** which the great mass in their obduracy do not understand, and spurn in their self-hardening—has to be deposited by him well secured and well preserved, as if by band and seal, in the hearts of those who with believing obedience receive the prophetic word (**נִפְסָה**), of the same form as **נָפַח**, ready to learn and learned, common to both halves of the collection of prophecy, chap. l. 4, liv. 13). For it would be all over with Israel unless a community of believers continued to exist; and it would be all over with this community if the word of God, which is the ground of their life, escaped from their heart. There is here already announced the great idea which the second part of the Book of Isaiah carries out in the grandest style. The command in ver. 16 stands unconnected without **וְהָיָה** like the beginning of a new discourse, and in ver 17 the prophet continues to speak of himself without **וְהָיָה**; **וְהָיָה** is the perf. of sequence. Ver. 17: "*I wait then upon Jehovah who conceals His face from the house of Jacob, and I hope on Him.*" There is a lacuna perceptible between vers. 17 and 16, and the supposition that something has fallen out (Cheyne) suggests itself. **וְהָיָה** gets from the fundamental meaning of "making fast" the meaning of firmly directing, of straining the mind towards something future, just as **נָפַח**, **נָפַח**, originally means to be strained, firm, strong, and **נָפַח** therefore signifies strained expectation, confident hope. With the *l* form **וְהָיָה**, the older *l* form **וְהָיָה** interchanges (Ges. § 75, 9). A time of judgment has now commenced which will last for a long time yet; but the word of God is the pledge of Israel's continuance in the midst of it, and of Israel's renewed glorification beyond it.

The prophet therefore hopes in the grace which has now hidden itself behind the wrath. The future is his home, and he also serves it with his whole house. Ver. 18: "*Behold, I and the children whom Jehovah has given me for signs and types in Israel from Jehovah of hosts, who dwelleth upon Mount Zion.*" He presents himself to the Lord with his children; he devotes himself with them to Him. His bodily children are meant, not his spiritual children (his disciples, as Jerome

Calvin, Vitranga, and Bredenkamp explain it). It is not the latter, for the obvious reason that it would then be expressed by הבנים, according to the analogy of בני הנביאים and בן, the "my son" of the Proverbs. They are indeed Jehovah's gift, and certainly given for a higher purpose than the common everyday happiness of the family. They serve as signs and types ministering to the purpose of the history of salvation. אִמּוֹ is a preindication and token, σημεῖον, in word and deed, which (whether it is itself something miraculous or natural) points to the future and is a pledge of it. מִזֵּמֶה (after the form מִזֵּמֶר = מִזְמֶר and מִזְמֶר, אִתּ, אִתּ = אִתּ = יָפֶת מִזְמֶר, מִזְמֶר from אִתּ, or after the form מִזְמֶר, מִזְמֶר from אִתּ, אִתּ =

אִתּ, אִתּ = אִתּ) is a miraculous work, τέρας, which refers to a supernatural cause or type, τύπος (*prodigium* = *porridigium*), which points beyond itself to something future and concealed, literally turned round, that is, opposed to the common, para-

doxical, striking, standing out; Arab. اُنْت, *res mira*, δεινόν τι.

His children are signs and enigmatic images of the future, and that from Jehovah of hosts who dwells on Zion. In accordance with His counsel (to which the עַם in מַעַם points), He has set up these signs and types, He who can realize the future which they represent as certainly as He is Jehovah of hosts, and who will realize it as certainly as He has chosen the hill of Zion for the place of His gracious presence on earth. Shear-jashub and Mahershalal are indeed figures of future wrath no less than of future grace, but the name of their father יְשַׁעְיָהוּ declares that the salvation of Jehovah is the ultimate end. Isaiah and his children are figures and emblems of the redemption which is making way for itself through judgment. The Epistle to the Hebrews in chap. ii. 13 puts the words of Isaiah into the mouth of Jesus, because the spirit of Jesus was in Isaiah,—the spirit of Jesus which in this holy family, bound together by bands of the shadow, pointed to the New Testament community, bound together by bands of the substance. Isaiah and his children, together with his wife, and the believing disciples gathered around this family, form upon the ground and soil of the present

massa perditā of Israel the stock of the community or church of the Messianic future.

To this *ecclesiola in ecclesia* is directed the admonition of the prophet in ver. 19: "And when they shall say to you, Inquire ye of the necromancers and of the soothsayers who chirp and whisper—shall not a people inquire at their God? for the living at the dead!" It is unnecessary to take 19a as an anacolouthon (as Cheyne does): 19b is the apodosis, as **כֹּה תֹאמְרוּ** easily completes itself. Those who are demanding are Jews of the existing stamp; for, from chaps. ii. 6, iii. 2, 3, we know that all kinds of heathen superstition had found their way into Jerusalem, and were practised there as a trade. Those to whom the prophet assigns the answer are his children and disciples. The circumstances of the time were critical. People were going to wizards to obtain information about the gloomy future. **אֹב** (from **אָב**, to be bellied or hollow, to sound indistinctly) means primarily the spirit of sorcery or witchcraft, then the possessor of such a spirit = **בַּעַל אֹב**, and more especially the necromancer or conjurer of the dead. **יִדְעֹנִי** means primarily the possessor of a spirit of soothsaying (**πύθων** or **πνεῦμα τοῦ πύθωνος**), Syr. *jādūa* (after the intensive form **עָדַף** with unchangeable vowels), then also the soothsaying spirit itself (Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 11), which may have been called **יִדְעֹנִי**, just as **δαίμων** is, according to Plato, = **δαίμων**. These people, designated by the LXX. here and elsewhere as *ἐργαστρούμθοι*, i.e. ventriloquists (*οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν*), imitated (as Isaiah ironically introduces into the summons itself) the chirp which was ascribed to the shades of Hades, whose voice as well as their whole being had become a mere phantom, according to Homer *ἀρπίζειν*, *Il.* xxiii. 101, *Od.* xxiv. 5–9; and, according to the Assyrian descent into hell of Istar, a bird-like existence (cf. the Arabic name for magicians, *zamāzimu*, whisperers; Aruch, **זמזם**, s.v.).¹ What an unnatural thing that Jehovah's people do

¹ The Mishna, *Sanhedrin* 65a, defines it thus: "**בַּעַל אֹב** is the Python (**פִּיתוֹן**), i.e. soothsayer (= **πνεῦμα πύθωνος ἔχων**), who speaks from his arm-hole; **יִדְעֹנִי**, he who speaks with his mouth." The **בַּעַל אֹב**, in so far as he deals with the bones of the dead, is called in the Talmud **אֹבֵה מַתְּמָה**, e.g. the witch of Endor, *Shabbath* 125b. On the history of the etymological explanation of the word, see Böttcher's *De inferis*, § 205–217.

not go to ask their God, but such heathenish demoniacal deceivers and deceived ones! (יִרְשׁוּ אֱלֹ, to turn oneself to any one to inquire, chap. xi. 10, synonymous with יִשְׁאַל, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6). What blindness to consult the dead in the interest of the living! The word of the prophet is the echo of the divine prohibition in Lev. xix. 31. יִמָּתִים here do not signify the idols, as in Ps. cvi. 28, but the dead, as is proved by Deut. xviii. 11; cf. 1 Sam. chap. xxviii.; and בָּעֵר is to be taken neither here nor elsewhere as equivalent to the substitutive יִמָּתִים, "instead" (Knobel), but, as in Jer. xxi. 2, as "for" = for the benefit of, as "for" elsewhere is equivalent to "on account of," Prov. xx. 17. The nekyiomancy (necromancy, medieval *nigromatia*, whence black art), which makes the dead teachers of the living, is a gloomy deception.

In opposition to such a falling away to miserable superstition, the watchword of the prophet and those who stood with him is thus given in ver. 20: "*To the doctrine of God and to the testimony! Or shall they not thus speak who are without a dawn?*" The summons: To the instruction and to the testimony, that is to say, to those of Jehovah of which His prophet is the medium, ver. 17, is like a watchword formed in time of war, Judg. vii. 18. In this formation the following אֵלֶּם gives the presumption of a conditional sense: he who has not this word is to be regarded as Jehovah's enemy, and will suffer the fate of such a one. This is to all appearance the meaning of the apodosis אֲשֶׁר אֵלֶּם אֲדֹתָיִם. Luther has given the rendering correctly thus: If they will not say this, they will not have the morning dawn; or, as he previously translated it, keeping more closely to Jerome: they shall never overtake the morning light, really, they are those for whom no dawn rises. But if we take אֵלֶּם as a conditional protasis, then אֲשֶׁר, as opening the apodosis, is and remains hard in style whether it is taken relatively: thus they are a people to whom, etc. (cf. 2 Sam. ii. 4), or as an alternative for the affirmative and recitative וְ, of which there is no certain example (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 20). On the other hand, אֵלֶּם also signifies "truly" (Ps. cxxxi. 2), according to which Luzzatto and Cheyne and Driver explain it: truly they shall speak thus when (אֲשֶׁר, *quum*, as, *e.g.*, in Deut. xi. 6) no dawn shows itself to them:

but this watchword is not suited for the people which is too late in thinking of something better, and that assertative meaning is got by לֹא אֵין only by means of the suppression of a principal clause (Ges. § 155. 2 f.), which would be insipid here. But it also means *annon, numne*; and this meaning suggests itself the more readily here since there is a preceding question with אֵין (cf. chaps. x. 9, xl. 28); and accordingly we adopt the explanation given by Knobel and Reuss: Or, will those who are without a dawn not agree with this word, this people whose present and future is surrounded by night, and which can hope for no breaking of light which could benefit them, inasmuch as they do not turn themselves to God's teaching and God's testimony, of which His prophet is the bearer?¹

There now follows the description of the people which is without a dawn, and the description proceeds in the singular, into which the plural of the interrogative clause has changed (the individuals being thrown together into one mass). Vers. 21, 22: "*And they will enter thereinto hard pressed and hungry; and it comes to pass when hunger comes upon it, it is roused to anger and curses by its king and by its God, and it turns itself upwards and looks down to the earth, and, behold, distress and darkness, the anguish of night around, and thrust out into darkness.*" Cheyne, agreeing with Siegfried, changes the order of these verses (arranging thus, vers. 20, 22, 21, 23). Diestel and Nägelsbach begin, without changing the order, by taking ver. 21 as the apodosis to ver. 20. According to the syntax this is possible, but it more naturally occurs to take it so that the description of those who are without a dawn is further carried on by וְעַבְרֵי: those who are without a dawn, and who will enter into . . . The singulars attach themselves to הוּא in ver. 19; הָאָרֶץ refers in the neuter to the land, as אֶרֶץ in Job vi. 20 to the place. The people roam about in the land—so far will it come in the approaching Assyrian oppressions—נִקְשָׁה, pressed by hard misery, and רָעָב, hungry, for all provisions are gone, and the fields and vineyards are laid waste. As often as it again becomes

¹ Strangely enough, vers. 19, 20 are regarded in *Lev. Rabba*, c. 15, as words of Beeri, the father of the prophet Hosea, incorporated in the Book of Isaiah.

sensible of hunger, it falls into rage (רָעָה, with ו of the apodosis and pausal *a* with *Rebiah*), and curses by its king and by its God, i.e. by its idol. We must thus explain the passage according to 1 Sam. xvii. 43 and Zeph. i. 5, if we would keep by the authenticated usage of the language, which shows no אָלֵל corresponding to the Latin *execrari in aliquem* (Gesenius, Cheyne, and others, following LXX. Symm. and Jer.); the object of the cursing is rather everywhere expressed in the accusative. The connection, king and God, refers to one and the same object, as in Ps. v. 3 and lxxxiv. 4 (otherwise than in 1 Chron. xxix. 20): they curse by the idol who is regarded by them as king and God;¹ they curse with, as they consider it, this most effective curse their unhappy condition, without recognising in it the just punishment of their apostasy, and humbling themselves penitently under the all-powerful hand of Jehovah. Consequently, all this reacting of their exasperation and of their rage avails nothing—whether they turn themselves upwards to see if the black sky is not unclouding itself, or look down to the earth, there meets them everywhere only distress and darkness, only, as נִצְוָה קָעוּהָ expresses in a sort of summary, a surrounding night of anguish (קָעוּהָ, a connective form of קָעוּהָ from קָעוּהָ,

עָלָה, *obtegere*, the veiling round, darkening). The judgment of God does not convert them, but only heightens their badness; just as in Rev. xvi. 11, 21, after the pouring out of the fifth and the seventh vials of wrath, men utter blasphemies and do not penitently cease from their works. After this statement of what the people sees when it turns up its eyes or casts them down, the participial closing clause of ver. 22 *fin.* tells how it sees itself: *in caliginem propulsum*. There is no need to supply a completing הָאָה, but from the preceding הָיָה there is easily repeated הָיָה or הָיָה, *en ipsum*; הָאָה, *acc. loci*, stands with emphasis first, as in Jer. xxiii. 12, הָאָה. What next follows would be directly connected if הָאָה מִנְּהָ could mean *at caligo dispellitur* (more exactly, *est aliquid quod dispellitur*). This is the view of Hitzig and of Chr. A. Crusius. But the verb נָדָה, the *part. Pual*, the shrill interruption of the

¹ Menahem b. Seruk in his Lexicon (written c. 950), under the word נָדָה, assumes the reading בְּכִלְכֹּל.

gloomy night-image whose close is expected, is altogether opposed to this interpretation. And yet the reason-giving **וְ**, which now follows, assumes the thought that it will not always continue thus; but as it remains unexpressed we must seek to get it by looking back to **לֵי שָׁחַר**.

The prophet gives the reason for the assumption involved in the words he has used, namely, that a renewed dawning of light is to be expected, although not for that present generation. Ver. 23: "*For it does not remain dark where there is now distress: at the first time he has brought into ignominy the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and in the last he brings to honour the road by the sea, the other side of the Jordan, the circle of the heathen.*" Is **וְ** to be understood as interrogative with Abrahanel and Luzzatto? (cf. 2 Kings v. 26); for is it not surrounded with night . . .? Such a form of address expressed by **וְ** with the accent of interrogation, is the style of Hosea, but not of Isaiah. Or is **וְ**, by supplying the intermediate clause, "it will not so continue," to be translated by "but" or "nay, rather, *immo*," Ewald, § 330b (Cheyne, 1870, "*nay*," now, "*surely*")? This would be a harsh ellipsis. We have not to read between the lines what is grounded by **וְ**; but the statement that the unbelieving people of Judah is passing into a night without a morning, is grounded on the fact that a morning is coming whose light, however, does not rise first over the land of Judah, but over other regions of the land. The transition is harsh, however explained. Reuss remarks: *Transition brusque* (chap. iv. 2, vi. 13) *à la prédiction d'un changement heureux*. **מִצֵּד** and **מִצֵּדֶיךָ**, because formed from **עָד** and **צָד**, cannot have arisen from **מִצֵּדֶיךָ** and **מִצֵּדֶיךָ** (as **מִצֵּדֶיךָ**, a tube for pouring through, from **מִצֵּדֶיךָ**), and are therefore to be regarded as Hophal nouns, like **מִצֵּדֶיךָ** in chap. viii. 8. They indicate that which (**עָד**, **צָד**) is darkened, oppressed, and then also that (**עָד**) it is darkened, oppressed, and therefore the fact or circumstance of darkening and oppression; and they thus pass into the meaning of abstract verbal terms, being darkened, being oppressed. The meaning is that there is not, *i.e.* there does not continue, a state of surrounding night on the land (**לָיְלָה**, like **לָיְלָה** in ver. 21, to be referred to **לָיְלָה**) which is now in a state of distress, and, moreover, those very regions which God formerly made to

experience deep humiliations, will be brought by Him in the future to honour (הַקֵּל-הַקֵּל, opp. הַכְבִּיד, as in chap. xxiii. 9). The height of the glorification will correspond to the depth of the ignominy. The noun עַץ, however it be construed, is used as masculine, although it is originally feminine, however it may be derived. It is not correct to translate with Knobel: as in the former time, etc., so that עַץ is *acc. temp.*, and עַץ=כְּאֵשׁ for עַץ is never used conjunctionally in this way (see on Ps. xxxviii. 15) and in chap. lxi. 11, Job vii. 2, the verbal clauses after עַץ are elliptical relative clauses. The rendering adopted by Rosenmüller and many others is also wrong: *sicut tempus prius vilem reddidit*, etc. Hence, too, the ׀ of הַאֲחֵרִית is not the *wav* of sequence used in place of ׀ of comparison, Ewald, § 360a. Both בְּעֵת הַרְאֵשׁתָּהּ and הַאֲחֵרִית are adverbial determinations of time. The prophet intentionally designates the time of ignominy with עַץ, because this is a period in which the same fate should occur again and again. And, on the other hand, he indicates the time of the glorification with *acc. temp.*, because it comes in at once in order to continue unchangingly. It is undoubtedly possible also that הַאֲחֵרִית is regarded as the subject, but the antithesis thereby become incongruent. The region (אֶרֶץ, *localis*, with the signification obliterated, as in Job xxxiv. 13, xxxvii. 12, cf. Ezek. xxi. 31) of Naphtali is the later Upper Galilee, and the region of Zebulon is the later Lower Galilee. In the antithetical parallel clause what is meant by the two regions is specialized: (1) אֶרֶץ הַיָּם is the tract of land on the western side of the יַם כְּנָעִית (Rashi, אֶרֶץ מְבָרָכָה); (2) עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן, the country east of the Jordan; (3) אֶרֶץ הַגִּלְיָה, the northern border district of Palestine, only a part of the later so called *Galilæa*. All these regions were exposed from the time of the judges, by their local position, to the disintegration of heathen influences, and to subjection by heathen enemies. The northern tribes on this side, along with those on the other side, suffered most in the almost incessant war of Israel with the Syrians and in the later war with the Assyrians; and the deportation of their inhabitants went on increasing under Phul-Tiglathpileser and Shalmanasar until it gradually came to utter depopulation (Caspari, *Beitr.* pp. 116–118). It is these very regions which will be remembered before all

others when that dawn of glory arises. How this has been fulfilled in the commencement of the Christian era, is stated in Matt. iv. 13 sqq. On the ground of this prophecy of Isaiah, and not, as Renan in chap. xiii. of his *Life of Jesus* says, of a "considerably erroneous exposition of it," the Messianic hope of the Jewish people was actually directed to Galilee.¹ The Nazarenes, indeed, according to Jerome on this passage, referred ver. 23b to the light of the gospel spread *in terminos gentium et viam universi maris* by the Pauline preaching. In the time of the crusades, the *via maris* was still the name of the way passing by the Mediterranean from Acco to Damascus; but it is impossible to take הַיָּם here as referring to the Mediterranean, for it was the Philistines and Phenicians who inhabited the יַרְדֵּן הַיָּם in this sense. But the prophet intends to designate the regions belonging to the Israelitish people which have suffered ignominy and affliction above all others. 7

The prophecy now takes together the inhabitants of those rejected and degraded regions, while at the same time the range of vision is widened. Chap. ix. 1: "*The people who walk in darkness see a great light; they who dwell in a land of the shadow of death—a light shines forth over them.*" The horizon is enlarged, not, however, to the heathen, but to the whole of Israel. Salvation does not break forth till it has become entirely dark along the horizon of Israel, as in chap. v. 30, till the land of Jehovah, on account of the falling away of its inhabitants from Him, has become a land of the shadow of death. צֶלְמָתָה is modified² in the manner of a composite

¹ It is a Jewish tradition that the Messiah will appear in Galilee, and that the redemption will break forth from Tiberias; see *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1843, Col. 776; cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 747.

² The shadow, צֶלַ, Arab. *ṣill* (radically different from *tall* = טַל, dew), gets its name *ab obtegendo*; and, according to the idea attached to it as the opposite of heat or of light, it was used as a figure of what is beneficial, shading (chap. xvi. 3—ظِلِّ الْمَوْتِ in a poetical passage of the Jâkūt of the thick terebinth-shadow of a valley), or of what was dark and horrible (cf. Targ. צֶלְמָי, a night-demon). The verb צָלַם, in the sense of the Arabic *ṣalima*, bears the same relation to צָלַל as בָּהָם to בָּהָה, עָרָם, to be naked, עָרָה. Another verbal stem is the צָלַם, from which comes צֶלְמָה.

word (צל = צל as, e.g., in צלאל), like the proper name עֲקֶמֶת in 2 Sam. xxiii. 31, being modified from צֶלְמָה according to the form קְרִידָה (from צלם, Aeth. *zalema*, Arab. *zalima*, to be dark). The apostate mass of the people is to be regarded as swept away; for if death has cast his shadows over the land, it must be quite desolate. In this state of things those remaining in the land behold a great light which breaks through the sky hitherto covered with blackness. The people which turns its eyes upwards in vain, because with cursing, chap. viii. 21, is no more; it is the remnant of Israel which sees this light of spiritual and material redemption rise above their heads.

The prophet, in what follows, tells what this light consists in, first describing the blessings and then the star of the new time. He tells it in a thanksgiving of prayer and praise. Ver. 2: "*Thou makest the nation numerous, preparest for it great joy; they rejoice before thee like the joy in harvest, as men rejoice when they divide spoil.*" הַיּוֹי is doubtless the Israel that has melted down to a small remnant. That God makes this again into a numerous people, is a leading feature in the picture of the time of glory (chap. xxvi. 15, lxvi. 8; Zech. xiv. 10, 11), which in this respect is a counterpart of that of Solomon in 1 Kings iv. 20. If our explanation is so far correct, then the *Chethb* לֹא, taken negatively, can only be understood if we translate, with Hengstenberg, Hitzig, and Schegg, thus: Thou increasest the nation to which Thou formerly didst not give great joy, which must signify *per litoten*, which Thou hast sunk into deep sorrow. But it is unnatural to take one of the prophetic preterites commencing with הִזְכִּיר in chap. viii. 23 in any other than a future sense. We must therefore give the preference to the *Keri* לוֹ,¹ and translate: *magnum facis numerum gentis, ei ingens gaudium paras*. לוֹ stands first without special emphasis, as in chap. xlv. 24; Lev. vii. 7-9; 1 Sam. ii. 3, *Keri*; Job xxix. 21; Ps. vii. 14, cxxxix. 17; Dreschler gives it such emphasis, rendering thus: To it, in which there was not any appearance at all of such an issue. And it is intentionally that הַנְּלֵלָה and הַרְבִּיּוּת stand beside each

¹ On the passages in which לֹא *Chethb* is לוֹ *Keri*, see commentary on Pa. c. 3, and in Job xiii. 15. הַנְּלֵלָה is an ingenious conjecture by Selwyn and others for הַנְּלֵלָה (הַרְבִּיּוּת) הַנּוֹי לֹא.

other, in order to co-ordinate the intensity of joy with the extensiveness of the multitude. This joy is a holy joy, as **לְשׂוֹן** indicates; the expression is the one used in Deuteronomy for the joy that is experienced at the meals connected with the sacrifices and tithes (chap. xii. 7, xvi. 11, xiv. 23; 26). It is a joy **בְּשִׂמְחַת בְּקָצִיר**, like the joy in the harvest-time (the temporal **בְּקָצִיר** operates here as a virtual genitive), just as men exult when they divide spoils. It is therefore joy over good things that have been obtained, and, moreover, in consequence of evil that has departed. For the division of spoil is a thing that is done by conquerors. This second figure is not merely a figure. The people so gladdened is actually a victorious and triumphant people. Ver. 3: "*For the yoke of its burden, and the stick of its neck, the stick of its driver, thou hast broken to pieces, as in the day of Midian.*" The suffixes refer to **אֲנִי**. Instead of **סָבְלוּ** from **סָבַל**, the more vigorous form **סָבְלוּ** is intentionally used with *Dag. dirimens* and *Chateph-Kamez*, under the influence of the previous *u*. The rhythm of the one-membered verse is anapaestic. **סָבְלוּ** and **נִישׁ בּוֹ** both recall the Egyptian bondage (Ex. ii. 11, v. 6). The future deliverance which the prophet celebrates is the counterpart of the Egyptian deliverance. But as at that time the whole of the great people of Israel was redeemed, whereas only a remnant participates in the final redemption, he compares it to the day of Midian, when Gideon broke the seven years' dominion of Midian, not with a great army, but with a handful of undismayed warriors strong in God (Judg. vii.). One asks here: Who is the hero, Gideon's antitype, through whom this is to happen? The prophet does not say this yet, but building a clause with **וְ** upon the others, he first of all gives a reason in ver. 4 for the ceasing of the despotic sway of the world-power from the annihilation of all the equipments of war. Ver. 4: "*For every boot of booted trappers in the tumult of battle, and cloak rolled in blood—all is for burning, a food of fire.*" The complex subject stands first in the way of a protasis, for the predicate begins in the way of an apodosis with **וְהָיָה**; cf. chap. xliv. 12; Ex. xxx. 33, 38 (Driver, § 123a). All the equipments of war are meant, wherever they may be found; but while in Zech. ix. 10 the representation referring to the fratricidal wars between the separated kingdoms applies primarily

to the whole of Israel, here it is applied by reference to the previous subjugation by the universal power primarily to the foreign enemies from whom the possibility of conquering Israel henceforth shall be withdrawn. What becomes נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ וְנִשְׂרָפָה is not merely kindled and burned out, but entirely burned away; it is consumed by the fire until it disappears without leaving a trace behind. This closing statement requires for נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ the concrete sense of a thing that can be burned; and this at once excludes the meaning, noise or din. (= נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ, Jer. Syr. Rashi, Malbim, and others). On the other hand, the meaning, equipment of arms, given by Knobel and others, is admissible; it is obtained by comparison of the derivatives of the Aramean נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ, נִשְׂרָפָה and the Arabic *zāna*, Impf. *yāzīn* (to deck, to equip); nevertheless the interchange of נ and ש in this word cannot be philologically established by the dialects. Jos. Kimchi has rightly referred to the Targumic נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ (Syr., also *sān*), which means shoe (see Bynaeus, *De calceo Hebraeorum*, p. 83), which is rather an Aramean than a Hebrew word, and the application of which in this place is explained from the fact that the prophet has in his mind the annihilation of the Assyrian forces. One would, indeed, rather expect נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ (*sān*), *σανδαλούμενος*, instead of נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ; but the denominative verb נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ may mean the appearing or coming up in the soldier's shoe or soldier's boot, *caligatum venire*, although the primary meaning is undoubtedly *calceare se* (Eph. vi. 15; Syr.). Accordingly we translate it: Every boot of the booted strider in the tumult of battle. Thus we do not take וְנִשְׁכָּרְתָּ (which Grätz, after the Targum, would transform into וְנִשְׂרָפָה), with Drechsler, as indicating the noise of the warrior proudly tramping in his war-boots, nor do we take it, with Luzzatto and Nägelsbach, as applying to the war-boot itself, for which, notwithstanding the *clavi caligares* of Pliny, *H. N.* ix. 8, the word is too strong; but we take it as referring to the noise of battle (as in Jer. x. 22), amid which the warrior, booted for military service, appears. נִשְׁכָּרְתָּ is genitive and וְנִשְׂרָפָה is attributive; rolled in וְנִשְׂרָפָה, that is, in violently shed blood, in which the mortally wounded warrior rolled about. The prophet intentionally names boot and cloak. The destruction of the hostile weapons is viewed as a matter of course, when even every single shoe which a soldier of the enemy

has worn, and every soldier's cloak lying on the battle-field, is given up to the fire.

The prophet upon the two sentences with *וְיָ* now rears a third. The ground of the triumph is the deliverance, and the ground of the deliverance is the annihilation of the enemy, and the ground of all the joy, of all the freedom, of all the peace, is the new great king. Ver. 5: "*For a child is born to us, a son is given to us, and the government rests upon His shoulder, and they call His name: Wonder, Counsellor, Strong God, Eternally Father, Peace Prince.*" He whom the prophet foretells in chap. vii. as the Son of the virgin, who was to grow up in a troublous time, is here beheld by him as born (but the words do not say that this is now seen only in the vision of the prophet), and as having entered upon possession of the government. In the former passage he appeared as a sign, and here as a gift of grace. The prophet does not say expressly here, any more than in chap. vii., that he is a descendant of David. But this follows of itself from the fact that he bears *הַמְשָׁלָה* (from *שָׁרָה*=*שָׂרָה*, *שָׂרָה*), the government with its official right, chap. xxii. 22, upon his shoulder; for the promise of eternal kingship, of which the new-born child is the fulfilment, has been bound up with the seed of David in the course of the history of Israel since 2 Sam. vii. In chap. vii. it is the mother who names the child; here it is the people, or any one who rejoices in him. *וַיִּקְרָא*, "they name, he is called," as Luther correctly translates, but under the mistaken idea that the Jews, in order to efface the Messianic sense of the passage, had altered the original *וַיִּקְרָא* into *וַיִּקְרָא*. The active *וַיִּקְרָא* has, in fact, been misused by Jewish expositors with this object in view, as Rashi, Kimchi, Malbim, and others, following the example of the Targum, explain the passage thus: The God who is called, and is *פֶּלֶא יִתְּן אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבִירֵינוּ*, calls his name *שָׁרָה*; but this explanation evidently tears asunder the connection in the clause from a motive or tendency. And Luzzatto rightly observes that one does not here expect attributes of God, but such as characterize the child; and therefore he translates thus: God, the Strong, the Eternally-Father the Peace-Prince, resolves upon something wonderful. He thus persuades himself that the whole of this long clause is meant to be the

proper name of the child, as, indeed, other proper names thus consist of whole verbal clauses, not merely in Arabic (as, for example, the giant's name, *baraka nahruhu*, his collar-bone flashes), but also in the Hebrew, as, for instance, the names of the two sons of the prophet. But granting such a sesquipedalian proper name to be possible, how unskillfully would it be formed, since the long-winded sentence, which yet should have to be spoken in one breath, would resolve itself in this form into separate clauses which are again names, and, moreover, contrary to expectation, names of God! This holds also against Cheyne, who maintains that what follows שֵׁם is one name, although not, as Luzzatto thinks, in the form of a connected proposition. There are, however, in any case five, or if, with Cheyne, Wonderful-Counsellor is taken together, four names, forming one name. According to Luzzatto's way of taking it, the name would also be one name as regards its form. Luzzatto frankly confesses what prompted him to his view. He formerly attempted, like Aben Ezra, to take the words from מֵלֵךְ to שֵׁם שְׁלֹמֹה as the name of the child, regarding אֱלֹהֵי נְבוּרָה as well as אֲבִיעֶזֶר as a hyperbolical expression, like the words applied to the king in Ps. xlv. 7a; but afterwards he could not help taking the view that it was absolutely impossible for a human child to be called אֱלֹהֵי נְבוּרָה, as God Himself is in chap. x. 21. The accentuators likewise appear to have shrunk from making אֱלֹהֵי נְבוּרָה be regarded as a human name. For if וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ was to be the introduction of the following string of names, then שְׁמוֹ would not have been marked with *geresh*, but with *zakeph*. It is inter-punctuated as if אֲבִיעֶזֶר שֵׁם שְׁלֹמֹה were the name of the child, and what precedes מֵלֵךְ were the name of the God who assigns to him these two names of honour. But wherefore should there be just here in connection with the naming of the child such a periphrastic designation of God, seeing that this is not Isaiah's habit elsewhere, and generally it is unexampled, especially in this form, without a prefixed ה' ? Moreover, the names of God, in order to mark them off in contrast to the two names of the child, should at least be determined thus: הַיֵּצֵר מֵלֵךְ הָאֵל הַנְּבוֹרָה. Supposing then that, according to the accentuation, the translation would be: "And He who is a Wonder of a Counsellor, or (as in this case we

expect a connective accent instead of the *telisha*, although the least separative accent) He who resolves upon something wonderful, the Strong-God, calls his name: Eternally-Father, Peace-Prince: "we must yet reject it as resting upon misunderstanding and misinterpretation. We take the whole from מְבָרַךְ—as the connection, expression, and syntax require—as a governed accusative predicate to the מְבָרַךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, which stands at the head: "they call his name" (cf. מְבָרַךְ, they name, it is called, Gen. xi. 9, xvi. 14; Josh. vii. 26, and *supra* chap. viii. 4, מְבָרַךְ, they will carry; chap. vii. 24, they will come, Ges. § 137. 3). If it be objected to the Messianic interpretation of chap. vii. 14, 15, that the Christ who appeared has not been called Immanuel, but Jesus, this objection is removed by the fact that neither did He bear as a proper name the five names by which He is to be called according to this second prophecy. Moreover, this objection does not less apply to the interpretations adopted by Jewish expositors, such as Rashi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Abravanel, Malbim, Luzzatto, and others, and also by such Christian expositors as Grotius, Gesenius, and Hendewerk, who are in favour of referring the prophecy to Hezekiah,—a view which is chronologically untenable, as has been shown in connection with chap. vii. 14. The name Jesus is a combination of all the Old Testament designations of the one to come, according to His nature and works. The designations given in chap. vii. 14 and chap. ix. 5 have not, however, disappeared in it; they continue to be in the mouth of all believers from Mary downwards; and there is none of these names under which worship and homage have not been paid to Him. The first name is מְבָרַךְ or מְבָרַךְ,¹ which is not to be taken along with רִנָּה, as might seem recommended according to chap. xxviii. 29, מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ. This is the view of the LXX, A S²: θαυμαστός σύμβουλος,² Theodoret: θαυμαστῶς βουλευόμενος. Explaining it

¹ To be written here with *zere*, according to Abulwalid, *Rikma*, p. 57, and Kimchi, *Michlol*, 202a. The codices vary (see Norzi).

² The μεγάλης βουλῆς ἀγγελος of the LXX. is evolved out of לֵא מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ from the view that not only מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ and מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ, but also מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ in Pa. viii. 6, and לֵא in Job xx. 15, can mean "angels." In A and S² there is interpolated after μεγάλης βουλῆς ἀγγελος a new independent translation of the five names: θαυμαστός σύμβουλος ισχυρός εξουσιαστής ἀρχὴν εἰρήνης πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. S² has also θεός before ισχυρός, which again is

in this way, מַלְאָךְ יְרֵךְ may be regarded as an inverted form for יְרֵךְ מַלְאָךְ: One counselling wonderful things; and the possibility of this inversion is proved by chap. xxii. 2, מְהִמָּה מְהִמָּה, i.e. full of tumult. Or we may, with Ewald, § 287g, after the analogy of מִרְא אִרְם, Gen. xvi. 12, take the connection as genitive or appositional (Nägelsbach): a Wonder of a Counsellor; in which case the separating *teltsha gedola* in מַלְאָךְ would have to be exchanged for a connecting *mahpach*. Both combinations have their weak points, and their meaning would rather lead us to expect יְרֵךְ מַלְאָךְ; whereas to take מַלְאָךְ and יְרֵךְ as two separated names has nothing opposed to it (not even the accentuation, which, in this combination of *pashta* with *teltsha gedola*, is without a parallel elsewhere, and is therefore unique). As the Angel of Jehovah answers Manoah in Judg. xiii. 18, when he asks how he is named, that his name is מְלָכִי (מַלְאָךְ), and therefore that his nature is incomprehensible by mortals, so the God-given Ruler is מַלְאָךְ (מַלְאָךְ, to split, separate) a phenomenon lying beyond human comprehension and natural occurrence. Not merely is this or that in him wonderful; he is himself entirely a wonder, *παράδοξασμός*, as Symmachus translates it. The second name is יְרֵךְ, Counsellor, because in his royal office (Micah iv. 9), by virtue of the spirit of counsel which he possesses (chap. xi. 2), he always knows how to find and to bring counsel for the best good of his people; he does not need to surround himself with counsellors; but without being counselled he counsels those who are without counsel, and he is the end of all lack of counsel for his people. The third name, מַלְאָךְ, ascribes to him a certain divine nature. This indeed is not so if we translate the words with Luther: "power, hero;"¹ or with Meier: "hero of strength;" or as Hofmann formerly did: "a God of a hero;" or with Ewald: "hero-God," i.e. he who combats and conquers like an invincible God. But all these and similar renderings break

a double translation of מַלְאָךְ. This interpolation of the LXX. is older than Irenaeus and Origen; see Field's *Hexapla*, in *loc*.

¹ Luther would have "power" understood in the sense of absolute might, but translated it more correctly in 1542 as *Deus fortis*. His accepted rendering is like the *ισχυρός*; *δυνατός* of Aquila and Symmachus, and Theodotion's *ισχυρός*; *δυνατός*. Only Syr. and Jerome give מַלְאָךְ its meaning "God;" and S^c has, as stated, *ὁ ἰσχυρός*; *ἐξουισμένος*.

down in connection with chap. x. 21, where he to whom the remnant of Israel again penitently turns is called **גִּבּוֹר**. Moreover, we cannot take **אֱל** (which in the sense of "mighty" only occurs in the plural, with the exception of Ezek. xxxi. 11, where the Orientals write **אֱל**) in this name of the Messiah otherwise than in **אֱלֹהִים**. And, in addition to this, **אֱל** in Isaiah is always a name of God, and he is strongly conscious of the contrast between **אֱל** and **אָדָם**, as is shown by chap. xxxi. 3 (cf. Hos. xi. 9). Finally, **אֱל גִּבּוֹר** is everywhere else a designation of God, as in Deut. x. 17; Jer. xxxii. 18; Neh. ix. 32; and the noun **גִּבּוֹר** is used in the designation adjectively, like **אֱל** in **אֱלֹהִים**. The Messiah is therefore here called "Strong God" (and so the designation is understood by Knobel and others), but he is thus named as a hero equipped with divine power; or according to Kuenen, who compares Zech. xii. 8, as a mighty God surpassing the children of men, and not as a supernatural ruler. We compare **יְהוָה צִדְקָה** in Jer. xxiii. 6 — a Messiah name which even the synagogue cannot call in question (see *Midrash Mishe* 57a, where it is cited as one of the eight names of the Messiah), and whose significance for the conscious faith of the Old Testament was that the Messiah would be the image of God as no other man (cf. **אֱל**, Ps. lxxxii. 1), and would have God dwelling in him (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 16). Who shall lead Israel to victory over the hostile world but God the Strong? The Messiah is the bodily presence of this Strong God; for He is with him, He is in him, He is in him with Israel. From the third name arises the fourth name: **אֱלֹהֵינוּ** (according to *Ochla weochla* and some manuscripts **אֱלֵינוּ**, in one word), Eternally-Father; for it is just what is divine that is eternal. He is thus named not merely as the possessor of eternity (Hengstenberg) in the same sort of way that the pre-Islamic Arabians called their time-god **أبو عوض**,¹ nor as creating a continued existence (Junilius, *Instituta regul.* i. 15: *Causa et genitor beatitudinis nostrae*), but as the tender, faithful, and wise trainer, guardian, and provider of his own in eternity (chap. xxii. 21). He is Eternally-Father as the eternal loving King, as Ps. lxxii. describes Him; the primitive word for king is Sanskr. *janaka*, begetter, i.e. father (see Max Müller's *Chips*, vol. ii.). He is

¹ See v. Orelli, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, p. 107.

Strong God, as the man in whom God exhibits Himself, and he uses his divine strength in a philanthropic gentle manner for ever for the good of his people. And he is accordingly, as the fifth name says, **יְרֵמְיָהוּ**, a Prince who removes all peace-disturbing powers, and secures peace among the peoples, Zech. ix. 10, as it were the embodied peace which has come down to the world of the nations (Micah v. 4). If **אֲבִיעַד** signified, according to Gen. xlix. 27, "father of booty" (as held by Hitzig, Knobel, Kuenen, Schultz, and others), then the advance to **יְרֵמְיָהוּ** would only express that he leads through a conflict rich in booty (Micah v. 3, 4; Isa. liii. 12) to peace; but **אֲבִיעַד** has, when a ruler is in question, presumptively the same sense in its favour as in chap. xxii. 21, and in genitive connections **עַד** always represents the adjective *aeternus* (e.g. chap. xlv. 17, lvii. 15).¹ He will therefore be thus named on account of the devoted protection and tender provision which he bestows upon his people, and which he indeed vouchsafes to them for ever. But the goal and the fruit of his dominion is peace. Intentionally the five names die away in **שָׁלוֹם**, like the three utterances of the Aaronic blessing. To elevate the Davidic government to a government of eternal peace is the end for which he is born, and for this end he proves himself to be what he is named and is.—Ver. 6: "*For increase of the government, and for peace without end upon David's throne and over his kingdom, to establish and support it through judgment and righteousness from now onwards for everlasting—the jealousy of Jehovah of hosts will accomplish this.*" **לְיִרְדָּה** (with **כְּתוּבָה**)² is here not a participle but a substantive, according

¹ Among the names of persons compounded with **אֲבִי** (see Nestle, *Eigennamen*, pp. 182–188), hardly one is found elsewhere in which the relation is genitival and the genitive has an attributive sense, for **אֲבִי שָׁלוֹם**, **אֲבִי שָׁמֶר** means, in fact, not father-of-peace, but the Father (God) is peace.

² In the Talmud the *Mem clausum* is represented as a mystery. When Bar-Kappara says (*Sanhedrin* 94a) that God designed to make Hezekiah the Messiah, and Sennacherib Gog and Magog, but that Hezekiah was not found worthy of this, and therefore the *Mem* of **לְמַרְבָּה** was closed **נִסְתָּמָה**, there is so far some sense in this, since the Messianic hopes really could cleave for a certain time to Hezekiah; whereas the assertion of a certain Hillel (*ib.* 98b), that Hezekiah was actually the Messiah of Israel, and no other was to be expected, is an absurd (perhaps antichristian) idea. Compare the beautiful Midrash on Neh. ii. 18, **הָיָה מְרַחֵם**, that

to the form *מַעֲשֵׂה מֶלֶךְ*, and not from *הִרְבָּה* but from *רָבָה*, an infinitive noun expressing abstract action or its actual result. The august king's child brings an always more widely extending dominion and endless peace when he sits upon David's throne and rules over David's kingdom. He is a *semper Augustus*, i.e. one always increasing the kingdom, yet not by war, but by peaceful spiritual weapons. Internally he gives the kingdom *מִשְׁפָּט* and *צֶדֶק*, as the foundations and pillars of its continuing existence: legal right which he pronounces and ordains, and justice which he himself practises and transmits to the members of the kingdom. This new time of the Davidic monarchy is as yet still a thing of faith and of hope, but the jealous zeal of Jehovah guarantees its realization. The accentuation is here misleading, since it gives the appearance as though the words *מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה וְעַד עֲלֵי* belonged to the closing clause, whereas the perspective which they open applies directly to the government of the great descendant of David, and only indirectly to the work of the divine jealousy. *קִנְיָה* (properly glow, cf. Deut. iv. 24) is one of the deepest conceptions of the Old Testament.¹ It is double-sided; the glow of love has for its obverse the glow of wrath. For jealousy is jealous for the object of its love in opposition to everything which trenches upon it and this love. Jehovah loves His people. That He leaves it to such bad Davidic kings as Ahaz, and gives it up to the world-power, is not compatible with this love in the long run. His love flames up, consumes all that is adverse to it, and gives His people the true king, in whom that which was typified in David and Solomon culminates as in its antitype. With this same expression: the jealousy of Jehovah of hosts, etc., Isaiah seals the promise in chap. xxx. 32.

the broken walls of Jerusalem will be closed in the day of salvation, and that the government will then be opened, which has been closed up to the time of King Messiah (*כְּתוּמָה עַד מֶלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ*).

¹ See my Introduction to Ferd. Weber's treatise on the Wrath of God, 1862, p. xxxv.

B.—*The punishing hand reaching out to inflict still more strokes,*
chap. ix. 7—x. 4.

The great light will not arise before the darkness has reached its deepest. The gradual increase of this darkness is prophesied in this second section of the esoteric discourses. Many difficult questions rise in connection with this section: (1) Is it directed only against the northern kingdom, or against the whole of Israel? (2) What is the historical standpoint of the prophet in time? Most commentators answer that the prophet is here only prophesying against Ephraim, and particularly after Syria and Ephraim had been already chastised by Tiglathpileser. The former position is incorrect; the prophet indeed starts from Ephraim, but he does not stop with Ephraim. The fates of both kingdoms, causally connected as in reality they are, flow into one another here, as in chap. viii. 5 sqq. And it is not merely this or that point, but all that is expressed historically in this section which the prophet has lying behind him from the standpoint he occupies. We know from chap. ii. 9, v. 25, that he uses the *imperf. cons.* as the preterite of the ideal past. We translate here in the present throughout, for our mode of representation is familiar with making a past event present, but not with this historicizing of the future. In its external arrangement, no section of Isaiah is so symmetrical as this one. We have had approximations to strophes with the same beginning in chap. v., and with the same ending in chap. ii. In this section chap. v. 25b is made the recurring refrain of four symmetrical strophes. In translating we shall always take a whole strophe at once.

Strophe 1, vers. 7-11: "*The All-Lord sends out a word against Jacob, and it descends into Israel. And the people altogether must make expiation, Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria speaking in arrogance and pride of heart. 'Bricks have fallen, and we build up with hewn stones; sycamore trees are hewn down, and we put cedars in their place.' Jehovah raises high Rezin's oppressors over him, and goads on his enemies. Aram from east, and Philistines from west, they devour Israel with full mouth,—for all that His anger does not turn*

away, and His hand is stretched out still." The word מַלְאָכִי is the messenger of the Lord in nature and history; it runs quickly through the earth (Pa. cxlvii. 15, 18); sent by the Lord, it comes to men to destroy or to heal (Ps. cvii. 20), and never returns to its sender with its object unaccomplished (chap. lv. 10, 11). Thus does the Lord even now send a word against Jacob (עֲלֵיךָ, not used otherwise than in chap. ii. 5). And this heavenly messenger passes down into Israel (עַל, as in Dan. iv. 28, and like the Arab. *nazala*, the term used of the coming down of divine revelation), turning to lodge, as it were, in the soul of the prophet. Its first commission is directed against Ephraim, which is so little humbled by the misfortunes experienced under Jehu (2 Kings x. 32) and Joahaz (2 Kings xiii. 3), that they are presumptuous enough to substitute for bricks and sycomores (*ficus sycomorus*,¹ which furnishes an excellent wood for building, but is a very common tree, 1 Kings x. 27) hewn building stones (חֲזִיתִי, Cod. Babyl. חֲזִיתָא from חָזַן, like בִּרְיָא from בָּרַר) and cedars. חֲזִיתִי is not used here as in Job xiv. 7, where it means *nova germina emittere*, but as in chap. xl. 31, xli. 1, where it means, with חָזַן, *novas vires assumere*, so that in this passage, where the object is something external to the subject, it means *substituere*, like the Arab. *achlafa*, to restore, to replace. The poorest style of building in the country is contrasted with the best, for "the sycamore is a tree which only flourishes in the plain, and there the most wretched dwellings are still built in the present day of bricks dried in the sun, and of knotty beams of sycamore."² If the war has destroyed these, then more lasting and stately dwellings will be raised in their place. Ephraim is to be brought to feel this defiance of the judgments of God (עַל, as in Hos. ix. 7; Ezek. xxv. 14). Jehovah gives to the adversaries of Rezin supremacy over Ephraim (עַלֵּיהֶם), and spurs on the enemies of Ephraim. עֲלֵיהֶם, as in chap. xix. 2, from עָלָה, in the root meaning, which is dialectically guaranteed, means to prick, *figere* (which has nothing to do with the meaning to plait and to cover); from which

¹ As distinguished from *συκίμορος* or *συκίμινος*, the sycamore, חָזַן, means the mulberry-tree, *morus*; see Imm. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, Nos. 332 and 338.

² Rosen, "Topographisches aus Jerusalem," in *DMZ.* 1860, xiv. 612.

we have ^{שִׁכָּה}שִׁכָּה, ^{פֶּקֶד}פֶּקֶד, ^{נִזְקָה}נִזְקָה, a prickle, a nail, peg, and the Aramaeo-Heb. ^{שִׁכָּה}שִׁכָּה, ^{סִכִּין}סִכִּין, a knife: and therefore the *pilpel* is to be translated to goad, to incite, according to which the Targum translates this passage and chap. xix. 2 and the LXX. chap. xix. 2. It is not necessary to adduce the Talmudic ^{סִכִּין}סִכִּין, to kindle (by friction), which never occurs in the metaphorical sense of to excite; our ^{סִכִּין}סִכִּין would be better taken as an intensive form of ^{סִכִּין}סִכִּין, in the sense of the Arab. ^{شك}شك, "to provide oneself with weapons, to arm;" but this is properly a denominative from that *šikka* which means an offensive weapon, from stabbing and spearing, from which the transition is easy to the meaning of spurring on and instigating. The "oppressors of Rezin" (^{צָרִי רִצִּין}צָרִי רִצִּין), like ^{הָיָה נָי}הָיָה נָי in chap. i. 4) are the Assyrians who were called in by Ahaz against Rezin. The indirect designation of them is peculiar, but neither does the striking out of the ^{צָרִי}צָרִי (Lagarde) nor its transformation into ^{שָׂרִי}שָׂרִי (Ewald, Cheyne) commend itself; most in its favour has the conj. ^{צָרִי}צָרִי with ^{רִצִּין}רִצִּין expunged (Bredenkamp), so that ^{צָרִי}צָרִי and ^{צָרִי}צָרִי are specialized in ver. 11. The range of vision here widens to the whole of Israel; for the northern kingdom has never had to suffer from the Philistines, whereas an invasion of Philistines into Judah actually belonged to the punitive judgments of the time of Ahaz, 2 Chron. xxviii. 16-19. Ephraim is overrun by Aram, that is to say (if ^{רִצִּין}רִצִּין is not expunged), by Aram as subjugated by Assur, and now tributary to it, and Judah is invaded by the Philistines, and becomes a fat prize of both. But this extreme distress is still far from being the end of God's punishments. Because Israel does not turn (^{שָׁב}שָׁב), God's wrath also does not turn (^{שָׁב}שָׁב).

Strophe 2, vers. 12-16: "*But the people turneth not unto Him that smiteth it, and they seek not Jehovah of hosts. Therefore Jehovah rooteth out of Israel head and tail, palm-branch and rush, in one day. Elders and the right honourable, this is the head; and prophets, teachers of lies, this is the tail: the leaders of this people have become mis-leaders, and their followers swallowed up ones. Therefore the All-Lord will not rejoice in their young men, and will not have compassion on their orphans and widows: for altogether they are impious and evil-*

doers, and every mouth speaketh blasphemy,—with all this His anger is not turned away, and His hand is stretched out still." The ך of חָמָם corresponds to the Latin *autem*. שֹׁמֵר is used of thorough conversion that does not stop half way. הַשֹּׁמֵר, the smiter of it, or he who smiteth it, is Jehovah (compare, on the other hand, chap. x. 20, where Assur is meant). The article and suffix are used as in chap. xxiv. 2; Prov. xvi. 4, and elsewhere. It might be thought that the ך of הַמְּכַבֵּר was inadvertently appended from the following וְהָאֵל; but the article could rather be dispensed with than the suffix; the case is similar to what we have in הַמַּעֲלֵם סָם, chap. lxi. 11, q.v. There is now coming a great day of punishment, like several which Israel has experienced in the Assyrian oppressions and Judah in the Chaldean oppressions; and in it head and tail, or, according to another proverbial expression, palm branch and rush are rooted out. One might think that by this is meant the upper and the lower classes, high and low; but ver. 14 makes another application of the first double figure by giving it a turn different from its popular sense (cf. Arab. *er-rū'ās w-al-ednāb* = high and low, in Dietrich, p. 209). Since Koppe this ver. 14 has been almost universally held to be a gloss (Hitzig, Ewald, Dietrich, Knobel, Cheyne, Diestel), and, moreover, a *sotte glose* (Reuss). But in opposition to this is to be put the habit of Isaiah (chap. i. 22, 23), and also of the other prophets and poets of interpreting their figures themselves (Hos. xiii. 15; Ps. xviii. 17, 18, cxliv. 7); against it also is the Isaianic conception in chap. iii. 3, xxx. 20; against, too, is the mediating relation of this verse to ver. 15; and against it further is the wit of the interpretation. The chiefs of the people are the head of the people as a body; and behind it sit the prophets, like the wagging tail of a dog, flattering the people,—prophets who love, as Persius says (iv. 15), *blando caudam jactare popello*. The prophet drops the figure of כֶּפֶף, the palm-branch forming the crown of the palm (which has its name from the fact that it is formed like the palm of the hand, *instar palmarum manus*), and אֶשְׁמֹךְ, the rush which grows out of the marsh.¹ It signifies the rulers of the people

¹ The noun אֶשְׁמֹךְ is used in the Old Testament as well as in the Talmud to signify both a marshy place (see *Metzta* 36b, and more especially *Aboda sara* 38a, where אֶשְׁמֹךְ אֶרֶץ signifies the laying bare of the marshy soil

and the rabble of the people. Accordingly, the demagogic prophets form the ignoblest extremity. For so far has it come, says ver. 15, that those who promise to lead by a straight way (יָשָׁר) lead astray, and they who allow themselves to be led by them are as good as already swallowed up by hell (cf. chap. v. 14, iii. 12). Therefore the All-Ruler will not rejoice over the young men of this people, i.e. He will let them be smitten by their enemies without going forth with them into the conflict, and he will deny his wonted compassion even to widows and orphans, for they are all utterly corrupt on all sides. The alienation, obliquity, and dishonesty of their heart is indicated by חָנָף¹ (from חָנַף, which has in itself the indifferent root-idea of inclination, whence, in the Arabic, *hanīf* conversely signifies one who is decided for right); the badness of their conduct is indicated by מַרְע, a sharpened form, as in Prov. xvii. 4, for מַרְע, *maleficus*,² and the vicious infatuation of their words is indicated by נִבְלָה. This they are and this they continue to be; and consequently the wrathful hand of God continues stretched out over them for the inflicting of new strokes.

Strophe 3, vers. 17-20: "*For the wickedness blazes up like fire: it consumes thorns and thistles, and kindles in the thickets of the wood; and they roll upwards in a high whirl of smoke. Through the wrath of Jehovah of hosts the land is charred, and the people has become like the food of fire: one does not spare his brother. They hew on the right, and are hungry; and devour on the left, and are not satisfied: they devour the flesh of their own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh: these together over Judah,—with all this His anger is* by the burning up of the reeds, and also the marsh grass (*Shabbath* 11a, "if all the אֲנָמִים were kalams, i.e. writing reeds, or pens;" and *Kiddushin* 62b, where אֲנָם signifies a stalk of marsh-grass or reed, a rush or bulrush, and is explained, with reference to Isa. lviii. 5, לִישָׁנָה דְּבִתְעֵלָה, הָאֵם, "it means a tender, weak stalk"). The noun אֲנָם, on the other hand, means only the stalk of the marsh-grass, or the marsh-grass, like the Aramaean אֲנָמָא, the marsh-growth, from خاس, to rot, to rust=אָנַם. אֲנָם.

¹ On the extra-biblical use of the חָנָף, see *DMZ.* xxiii. 635, 636.

² The reading מַרְע is wrong; the Masoretic reading is מַרְעֵ, and the interpretation in *synonyma* is therefore excluded.

not turned away, and His hand is stretched out still." The standpoint of the prophet is at the farthest end of the course of judgment, and from there he looks back ; consequently this link of the chain is also past in his view, and hence the consecutive imperfects. The curse, which the apostasy of Israel carries within itself, now breaks fully out. Wickedness רָעָה , i.e. the constant willing of evil, is a fire which man kindles in himself. And when the grace of God, which stifles and checks this fire, is at an end, it breaks forth ; the wickedness flames forth like fire (רָעָה , as in chap. xxx. 27, is used of God's wrath). So it stands with the wickedness of Israel, which now consumes first thorns and thistles, i.e. the individual evil-doers who are the most ripe for judgment on whom the judgment begins, and then the thicket of the wood (רָעָה or רָעָה , as in chap. x. 34, from רָעָה , Gen. xxii. 13 = רָעָה), that is to say, the mass of the people knit together by bands of iniquity, is set on fire (רָעָה , not reflexive Niphal, as in 2 Kings xxii. 13, to kindle, but *Qal*: to kindle into something = to kindle up, from רָעָה , related to רָעָה , literally to set on [fire]). The distinction which the two figures intend is therefore not the high and low (Ewald), not the useless and useful (Drechsler), but the individuals and the whole people (Vitringa). The fire into which the wickedness breaks out seizes individuals first, and then like a forest-conflagration it seizes the people in all its ranks and members who whirl up (roll forth) the ascending of smoke, i.e. they roll forth in high ascending smoke. רָעָה , *ἀπ. λεγ.*, a synonym of רָעָה , Judg. vii. 13, to turn oneself or roll (cf. Assyr. *abāku*, to turn) ; the smoke itself has the name עָשָׁן , from the pillars of smoke curling into one another (cf. עָשָׁן , used of the felted beard of the camel). This fire of wickedness is nothing else but God's רָעָה , for so wrath is called as breaking forth from within and spreading itself inwardly more and more, and then passing outwards into word and deed ; it is God's own wrath ; for all sin carries this within itself as its own punishment. By this fire of wrath the soil of the land is gradually and wholly burnt out, and the people of the land entirely consumed ; רָעָה , *ἀπ. λεγ.*, to glow (LXX. *συγκέ-*

καυται, and similarly also in Targum), and to be dark, black (Arab. *'alama*, late night), for what has burned out becomes black (cf. חָמָה, Aram. חֲמִים). Fire and darkness are correlates throughout the whole of Scripture. Thus far do the figures go in which the prophet unveils the inner nature of this stage of judgment. In its historical manifestation it consists in the most inhuman self-destruction during an anarchical civil war. Devoid of any gentler feeling (חֶסֶד אֵל, for אֵל, as in Jer. li. 3), they devour each other without being

satisfied; חָצַק, to cut, to hew into (whence the Arab. جَزَّار, the butcher), חֲזִק, according to Jer. xix. 9 = חֲזִקוֹ, a member of his family and tribe, who, as being a natural defence and support, is figuratively called his arm, Arabic *'adud* (see Ges. *Thes.* p. 433). The Talmud in reading חֲזִקוֹ testifies to the defective mode of writing חֲזִק (see Norzi). This interminable self-slaughtering and the king-murder conjoined with the jealousy of the tribes, shook the northern kingdom again to its destruction. And how easily the unbrotherliness of the northern tribes towards each other can turn into united hostility against Judah, has been sufficiently proved by the Syro-Ephraimitish war, whose consequences are always still going on, even now when the prophet is prophesying. This hostility of the brother kingdoms will still increase. But even this is not yet the end of the judgments of wrath.

Strophe 4, chap. x. 1-4: "*Woe unto them that ordain godless ordinances, and to the writers who prepare trouble; to force away the needy from demanding justice, and to rob the suffering of my people of their rightful claim, that widows may become their prey, and they plunder orphans. And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the storm that cometh from afar? To whom will ye flee for help, and where will ye deposit your glory? There is nothing left but to crouch down under captives, and they fall under the slain—with all this His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still.*" This last strophe is directed against the unjust authorities and judges. The woe upon them, as we have already several times seen, is the *ceterum censeo* of Isaiah. חָצַק (to cut in, originally to mark, chap. xxx. 8; Job xix. 23) is their deciding of decrees; and חָצַק (Piel occurring only here, and

in the perf. according to Ges. § 126. 3) is their official subscribing and writing (not scribbling, scrawling, Ewald, § 120b). Their decrees are חֲקֵי אֲמֹן (an open plural from a principal form חֲק=חָק, as in Judg. v. 15, cf. חֲרִי, חֲרִי, חֲרִי, חֲרִי, חֲרִי), inasmuch as their content is nothingness, i.e. is the direct opposite of moral reality: and what they write out is חֲרִי, trouble, i.e. unjust (cf. *πόνος, πονηρός*) oppression of the people.² Poor people who wish to enter upon legal proceedings are not allowed by them to do it; widows become their prey—that is, the object of their spoil, and they plunder the orphans entirely (compare on the diversion into the finite verb, chap. v. 24, viii. 11, xlix. 5, lviii. 5). For this the judgment of God cannot be escaped by them, and this is told them in ver. 3, the statement being clothed in three questions (beginning with וְכֵן, *quid igitur*). The noun פְּקֻדָּה of the first question always means simply a visitation of punishment. שׁוֹמֵם from שָׁמָּה is empty and waste, emptiness and wasteness, then the rumbling of what has fallen down into an empty deep; and more generally it is a catastrophe, destruction, and here “coming from afar,” because a distant people (Assur) is God’s instrument of wrath. The second question runs thus: Upon whom will ye throw yourselves when seeking refuge (עַל, *constr. praeagnans* only here)? Third question: Where, i.e. in whose hand, will ye deposit your wealth in money and property (כְּבוֹד, what is weighty in value and imposing in its appearance)? עִינִי with אֵל, as in Job xxxix. 11, or ?, Job xxxix. 14, is to leave anything with a person as property in trust. No one receives from them their wealth as a deposit; it is irretrievably lost. To this negative answer there is attached the following בְּלֹא, which as a preposition after a preceding negation signifies *praeiter*, as a conjunction *nisi* (אִם בְּלֹא, Judg. vii. 14), and when it governs the whole proposition, as in this case (cf. Gen. xliii. 3; Num.

¹ On the punctuation of חֶקֶץ with vocal *Shebā* (without *metheg*) see Kimchi, *Michlol*, 79b. In like manner Deut. xxxiii. 17 has רִבְבוֹת, not authenticated like רִבְבוֹת in Num. x. 36.

² The current accentuation, *ומתבים*, *mercha*, עַמֹּל, *tipchah*, is wrong. The correct accentuation is *וּמִתְבָּחִים*, *tipchah* (and *metheg*), עַמֹּל, *mercha*; then כְּהֵנוּ עַמֹּל is an attributive clause.

xi. 6 ; Dan. xi. 18), *nisi quod* ; and here, where the previous negation is to be supplied in thought, it signifies *nil reliquum est nisi quod*. The singular בָּרַע is used contemptuously, the high persons being taken together in the mass ; and הִתַּח does not mean *aeque ac* or *loco* (Ewald, § 217k), but *infra* in its primary local sense (cf. בָּתוֹךְ, Ezek. xxxii. 20). Some crouch down in order to find more room at the feet of the prisoners who are crammed closely together in the prison ; or if this is to be taken as referring to a scene of deportation, they sink under the feet of the other prisoners, being unable to bear their hardships. The others fall in war ; and as the carnage lasts long, in such a way that when corpses themselves they are covered by the corpses of the other slain (cf. chap. xiv. 19).¹ And even with this God's wrath is not yet satisfied. The prophet, however, does not follow out the terrible gradation further. The exile to which this fourth strophe points also actually forms the close of a period.

C.—*The annihilation of the imperial kingdom of the world and the rising of the kingdom of Jehovah in His Anointed, chap. x. 5–xii.*

The law of contrast which rules in the history of salvation also holds good in prophecy. When distress culminates, the course of events takes a turn and it is changed into help ; and when, as in the previous section, prophecy has become black as night, it suddenly becomes as bright as day, as in the section which now begins. The הָי spoken over Israel now becomes a הָי over Assyria (*Assur*).² Assyria, proud of its own power, after having served for a time as a rod of the wrath of Jehovah, itself now falls under the power of that wrath ; its attack upon Jerusalem becomes its overthrow, and

¹ Lagarde (*Symmicta*, i. 105 ; *Mittheilungen*, i. 210) reads בָּרַעַת בִּלְתִּי אֶסִּיר : "Beltis sinks down, Osiris is crushed" (according to xlvi. 1 ; Jer. l. 2). But the following וַתַּחַת הָרִנִּים יִפֹּל has then no connection ; and I still hold that it cannot be shown that Egyptian gods were worshipped in Judah in the time of the kings.

² [Dr. Delitzsch uses "Assur" rather than Assyria, and it is retained in the renderings of the Hebrew text.—Tr.]

on the ruins of this imperial kingdom of the world there rises up the kingdom of the great and righteous son of David, who rules in peace over his redeemed people and over the people who rejoice in him. This is the counterpart of the redemption from Egypt, and one rich in material for songs of praise, like that which happened on the other side of the Red Sea. The Messianic prophecy, which in chap. vii. turns the side of its curse towards unbelief, and the substance of whose promise breaks through the darkness in chap. viii. 5-ix. 6, like a great light, is standing now upon its third and highest stage. In chap. vii. it is like a star in the night; in chap. viii. 5-ix. 6 it is like the breaking in of the morning; and now the sky becomes entirely cloudless, and it appears like the noonday sun. The prophet has now penetrated to the fringe of the light of chap. vi. The name Shear-jashub, having emptied itself of the curse it contained, is now transfigured into a pure promise. And it now becomes as clear as day what the name "Immanuel" means, and what Immanuel's name **אל גבר** declares: the remnant of Israel turns itself to God the Strong, and God the Strong is henceforth with His people in the sprout of Jesse, who has the seven spirits of God dwelling in him. As regards the date of the composition of this third section of the esoteric discourses, most modern commentators agree in assigning it to the time of Hezekiah, because chap. x. 9-11 represents the conquest of Samaria as having already taken place. Now if the prophet had, in fact, already foretold in chap. vii. 8 and viii. 4, 7 that Samaria, and with Samaria the kingdom of Israel, would succumb to the Assyrians, he might presuppose it here as ideally a past. But vers. 9-11 really require us to assign the composition of this section, at least in its existing form, to the time of Hezekiah, and is opposed to the view that would assign its composition to the time of Ahaz, whether before or after the punishment inflicted on the two allies by Tiglath-pileser (Vitringa, Caspari, Drechsler).

The prophet begins with **והי**, which is always used as an expression of indignant pain in opening a proclamation of judgment over the party named; although this proclamation, as in the present case (cf. chap. i. 4, 5-9), does not always

immediately follow, but there may be prefixed to it a statement of the sin by which the judgment is brought about. First of all, Assyria is more definitely indicated as the chosen instrument of divine judgment upon all Israel. Vers. 5, 6 : "*Woe to Assur, the rod of mine anger and a staff is he in their hand—mine indignation. Against a reprobate nation will I despatch them, and against the people of my displeasure will I direct them to prey prey, and to spoil spoil, and to make it trodden down like street mire.*" What follows הוּי is not necessarily vocative, but it may be the designation of the object (without לְ, אֶל, עַל), as shown by chap. i. 4. וְזַמִּי is either permutative of the predicative הוּא, which is placed emphatically in front (cf. the אֲתָה־הוּא, similarly with *makkeph*, in Jer. xiv. 22), as we have translated it; or אֲשֶׁר הוּא בְיָדָם stands elliptically for אֲשֶׁר הוּא בְיָדָם, the staff which they use is my indignation (Aben Ezra, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and others), in which case, however, we should rather expect בִּידָם הוּא זַמִּי. It cannot, however, be rendered : "And a staff is he, in their hand is my indignation," as Knabenbauer gives it, for this breaks up the half verse too much. Nor is it permissible, following Knobel's view, to take זַמִּי as a separated genitive to כֶּמֶה, and to punctuate כֶּמֶה, which is altogether without an example in the Hebrew language.¹ Hitzig, Ewald, Diestel, and others eliminate הוּא בִּידָם as a gloss; but a glossator would have written אֲשֶׁר בִּידָם, and what remains would be a tautology. Instead of הִלְשִׁמוּ the *Keri* gives הִלְשִׁמוּ, as the infinitive combined with a suffix appears everywhere else; compare, on the other hand, 2 Sam. xiv. 7. Further, the manuscripts waver between מְרַמֵּס and מְרַמֵּס like מְבַמֵּה (Ewald, § 160c). Assyria is to be a means of inflicting the divine wrath on Israel; for Israel, and particularly (in accordance with the standpoint of this prophetic discourse) Judah, is the reprobate nation, the people which had become the object of the overflowing divine wrath.

The instrument of punishment, however, exalts itself and

¹ In Arabic this separation of the governed word from the governing word with a genitive relation (even apart from the allowable interposition of a word expressive of an oath) is a poetical licence; see de Sacy, *Gramm.* t. ii. § 270.

makes itself out of a mean into an end in itself. Ver. 7: "*Nevertheless he meaneth not thus, nor doth his heart think thus: for to destroy is his striving, and to cut off nations not a few.*" Assyria thinks לֹא־כֵן, not as he ought to think, in consequence of the fact that he is conditioned in his power over Israel by Jehovah. For what filled his heart (בְּלִבּוֹ) instead of the usual עִם־לִבּוֹ is the striving peculiar to the imperial power, not tolerating any independent people beside itself, to destroy peoples not a few (לֹא מְעַט) in apposition, as in Neh. ii. 12, cf. Num. ix. 20), i.e. as many peoples as possible, in order to extend the range of its dominion, and to deal with Judah as with all the rest; for Jehovah is to Assyria only as one of the idols of the peoples. Vers. 8-11: "*For he saith, Are not my generals all kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish, or Hamath as Arpad, or Samaria as Damascus? As my hand has reached the kingdoms of the idols—and their graven images were more than those of Jerusalem and Samaria—shall I not, as I have done to Samaria and her idols, likewise do to Jerusalem and her idols?*" The king of Assyria bore the title of the great king (chap. xxxvi. 4); in Assyrian *šarru rabbu*, or even (cf. Ezek. xxvi. 7) of the King of kings; in Assyrian, *šar šarrāni* (*šarru*, not *malik*, because the former, in the political linguistic usage of the Assyrian,¹ is a higher title than the latter). The generals in his army he can call kings, because the satraps² who led their contingents were like kings in the extent and splendour of their dominion, and some of them were also really subjugated kings (cf. 2 Kings xxv. 28). He proudly asks whether one of the cities named was not as incapable of resistance as the other, and yet had fallen before him. כְּרַבְּמֶשֶׁת (even after a connecting accusative, not כְּבִירְמֶשֶׁת, but כְּבִירְמֶשֶׁת,³ on account of the incompatibility of

¹ In the titular designations of the gods, *šarru* (*šarratu*) and *malik* (*malikatu*) interchange, as Schrader has shown against Stade.

² Σατραπῆς (cf. *satrap* in the Persian sense in the Acharnians of Aristophanes), in Theopompus ἑξατραπῆς, in inscriptions ἑξαθηραπῆς, is the old Persian (cuneiform) *kshatra pāvan*, i.e. government-keeper (*pāvan*, in neo-Persian abridged as نان in شهریان, *šarbān*, city-keeper, باغبان, *bāghbān*, garden-keeper), plur. Hebraized into אֶחָד־שָׂטְרָפִים.

³ Cf. on the rule, *Luth. Zeitschrift*, xxiv. (1863) p. 414. The punctuation adopted is כֶּבֶב, כֶּבֶב, even after אֶחָד; whether כֶּבֶב may also be adopted

the aspirates) is not Circesium nor Mabug, but the ruined site Gîrbâs (plur. Gerâbis), lying to the north-east of Aleppo, a name corrupted from *Eûρωπός* (*Ἰρωπός*), or the right bank of the Euphrates, right over against the town of *Biredgik* (Assyr. *Garkamîš*), lying on the left bank. *בִּלְנִי* is usually regarded as the later Ctesiphon, on the left bank of the Tigris.¹ (Was it the same as *בִּלְנִי*, Gen. x. 10, and *בִּלְנִי*, Amos vi. 2?) As to Arpad, which is now an uninhabited heap of ruins named *Tel Erfâd*, in the Pashalic of 'Azâz, about three German miles north from Haleb, see *DMZ.* xxv. 258, 259, 655. Hamâth = Epiphania, on the river Orontes (which is now called *العامى*, *el-'Asî*), is still a large and rich place. The king of Assyria had also conquered Samaria at the time when the prophet introduces him speaking. Samaria received its death-blow in 722 through Salmanassar, who died during the siege, and through Sargon, who succeeded in his place after the kingdom had been shorn of a great part of its territory in 734 by Tiglath-pileser. Damascus had been taken and plundered in 732 by Tiglath-pileser; and Carchemis, and with it the kingdom of the Hittites, whose capital it was, was subdued by Sargon in 717.² Neither, then, will Jerusalem hold out against him. As he had got idolatrous kingdoms into his power (*לְמַצֵּא*, to attain, as in Ps. xxi. 9, and *הָאֱלֹהִים* with the generic article), which had stronger idols than Jerusalem and Samaria, he will likewise overcome Jerusalem like Samaria, Jerusalem having equally powerless idols. *מִן*, *prae*, implies only a "more than" (as *e.g.* in Ezek. v. 6), which may be either a more in number, or, what is more directly suggested, a more in power (compare the similar question in Amos vi. 2). Note here that ver. 11 is the apodosis to ver. 10, and that the comparative clause of ver. 10 is repeated in ver. 11 in order to bring Samaria and Jerusalem specially into comparison. The king of Assyria calls the gods of the peoples by the name of idols without the prophet transferring to him his Israelitish standpoint. On the contrary, the chief sin of the Assyrian lies in this. For

(cf. Ps. xxvi. 12, cvi. 7, cxxix. 2, ed. Baer) is questionable; see Strack, *Proleg.* p. 116, *Liber Psalmorum Hebr. atque Lat.* p. ix.

¹ See on this *Chald. Genesis*, p. 293. *Paradies*, p. 225.

² See Schrader, *KAT.* 2 Auf. p. 385.

while he recognises no other gods than his own national gods, he places Jehovah along with the idols of the heathen cults which had been introduced into Samaria and Jerusalem. For the worshippers of Jehovah this fact brings the consolation that such blasphemy of the one living God cannot remain unavenged. For the idolaters, however, it brings a bitter teaching; for their gods really deserve nothing better than to be spoken of with scorn. The prophet has now characterized Assyria's sin. It is ambitious self-exaltation above Jehovah, carried even to blasphemy; and yet he is only Jehovah's rod, which it was in His power to use.

And when He has used this rod so far as He would, He throws it away. Ver. 12: "*And it will come to pass, when the All-Lord shall bring to an end all His work upon Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, I will come to punish on the fruit of the pride of heart of the king of Assur, and on the haughty glancing of his eyes.*" The statement about the Lord suddenly changes into a direct utterance of the Lord. When He will consummate His whole work, a work which, as in chap. xxviii. 21, is punitive (Cheyne, Orelli, and Bredenkamp), this will be done in Zion and Jerusalem, where He calls to Assyria "thus far and no farther," with the judgment on Assyria, the instrument of punishment which has become presumptuous and further unusable. אָבְסִינְדֶרֶ, *absindere* = *absolvere*, Lam. ii. 17, Zech. iv. 9, is a metaphor derived from the loom, as in chap. xxxviii. 12. There is no reason for taking אָבְסִינְדֶרֶ as *ful. exactum*, which would be expressed in the perfect in accordance with chap. iv. 4. The "whole work" is that which has been carried out to the utmost. The end of the work of punishment passes into the judgment upon the instrument of punishment, and therefore into the deliverance of Jerusalem from extreme distress. The אָבְסִינְדֶרֶ of the pride of the heart of Assyria is his vainglorious blaspheming of Jehovah, in which his whole disposition is concentrated, as the internal quality of the tree is in the fruit which hangs aloft amid the branches. הִתְפַּאֲרֶה, as in Zech. xii. 7, is the self-glorification which expresses itself in the lofty look of his eyes (Prov. xxi. 4). A considerable number of genitives are intentionally brought together in order to express that Assyria is greatly puffed up, even to bursting. But Jehovah, towards whom humility is the soul

of all virtue, will visit and punish this pride. When He has punished so far that by further punishing He would annihilate Israel, which is inconsistent with His grace and truth, He then turns His punishing against the instrument of punishment, which falls under the curse of all that is selfishly opposed to God. Vers. 13, 14: "*For he has said: By the strength of my own hand I have accomplished it, and by my own wisdom, for I am prudent, and removed the boundaries of the peoples, and I plundered their stores, and, as superior, put down enthroned ones, and my hand took out the possessions of the peoples like a nest; and as men gather forsaken eggs, I have gathered up the whole earth,—there was no one who stirred a wing and opened the mouth and chirped.*" The imperfects ruled by the preterites express what happened several times. The second of these preterites, שִׁנְיָהּ (= שְׁנִיָּהּ), is the only example of a *perf. Poel* of verbs לָיַהּ, and is only in appearance a mixed form from שִׁנָּה (Po. of שָׁנָה) and שָׁנָה (Pi. of שָׁנָה). The object to this is עֲתִידוֹת (Chethib) or עֲתִידוֹת (Keri), which means *parata* in the sense of τὰ μέλλοντα (Deut. xxxii. 35), or, as here, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. According to the Keri, it is further to be translated: and put down, a mighty one, enthroned ones; כְּבִיר, as in Job xxxiv. 17, 24, and xxxvi. 5. The Mishna (*Yadayim* iv. 4) has עֲתִידוֹת (Chethib), שְׁנִיָּהּ, and כְּבִיר (Keri). But the Chethib עֲתִידוֹת is suitable if the כ is taken, as in chap. xiii. 6, as כ *veritatis*: as a strong one (superior in strength), not: as a bull (Bredenkamp); for עֲתִידוֹת can be shown to have this meaning only in the plural (Ps. lxxviii. 31, xxii. 13, l. 13), although it would give a relevant sense. It is possible, however, that what is indicated by אֲבִיר, according to Ps. lxxviii. 25, is a superhuman power (Cheyne), as the bull-god (*alpu*, and also κατ' ἐξ. ἄλδου) appears in the inscriptions as a power marching through the enemy's lands and trampling everything down. In ver. 14 the stiffer ִ consec. appears before the 3rd pers. fem. The kingdoms of the peoples are here compared to birds' nests, which the Assyrian seizes upon and harries (חָרַס, as in Hab. ii. 5; cf. שָׁפַח in chap. v. 7); and their possessions are compared to lonesome eggs, the mother bird being away. And thus there is not even an appearance of resistance, and in the nest not one of the little birds stirs a wing to defend itself,

nor does any one open its beak to scare away by its chirping. Seb. Schmid correctly renders it thus: *nulla alam movet ad defendendum aut os aperit ad terrendum*. Thus proudly does Assyria look back upon his course of victory, and thus contemptuously does he look down upon the subdued kingdoms.

This self-exaltation is a senseless sin. Ver. 15: "*Dare the axe boast itself against him who hews with it, or the saw magnify itself against him who draws it? As if a staff were swinging those who lift it up, as if a stick were to lift up not-wood.*" What madness lies in this self-deification is indicated by the two questions. The boasting of the Assyrian is the bragging of an axe against (literally, over) him who hews with it (הַחֵבֵב בּוֹ), without moving back the tone, which is not usual, especially in participles of *Kal*, excepting לִה and לֵא, or of a saw (נִשֵּׁר from נִשַּׁר, Aramean נִסַּר, in Mishna נִסַּר, *serr-are*) against him who wields it (הַנִּיף), to move rhythmically, i.e. to and fro according to a determinate measure and time). Then follow two exclamations of astonishment at the absurdity of such a conceit of greatness; ׀ represents here a whole clause, as in the Arabic كَأَنَّ: it is the same as that, . . . it

is as if. לֵא-עֵץ is one word, as in chap. xxxi. 8.¹ The stick is wood, and nothing more, a thing that is motionless in itself; the man is not-wood, an incomparably higher living being. In order to lift up wood there must be not-wood; and in like manner, where a man accomplishes something extraordinary there is always a superhuman cause behind, namely, God, who stands in the same relation to the man as the man to the wood. The plural כְּרִימֵי points to the fact that by him who lifts up the stick there is symbolized Jehovah, the Cause of all causes, the Power of all powers.²

Next follows the punishment provoked by such self-deifica-

¹ Cf. لَا نَطْقِي as not-speech. There is used even the expression *el-lu ilāhiya*, the not-deity; the ׀ is to be regarded as *pars vocabuli*.

² The reading accepted by Baer, וְאֶת־מִרְמֵי, notwithstanding the imposing evidence in its favour, is certainly not the original one; it can be explained only in a way by taking ׀ as explicative: as if a staff were to swing, and indeed (were to swing) those who raise it; see my treatise, *Complutensische Varianten zum alttest. Texte*, 1878.

tion (cf. Hab. i. 11). Ver. 16: "*Therefore will the Lord, the All-Lord of hosts, send forth consumption against his fat men, and there burns under Assur's glory a brand like a fire-brand.*" There are three designations of God used here according to His unlimited, all-ruling omnipotence: **הָאֵלֹהִים**, which in Isaiah is always used in connection with manifestations of punitive power; **אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת**, a combination not met with elsewhere, similar to the expression found in the Elohimic Psalms, **אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת**; cf. on the other hand, chap. iii. 15, x. 23, 24. However, the expression **אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת** wants the evidence of the Masora,¹ while many codices and editions give **ה' צְבָאוֹת** (chap. xvii. 4) is a disease contained in the register of curses in Lev. xxvi. 16; Deut. xxviii. 22. Galloping consumption comes like an angel of punishment upon the fleshy lumps of the well-fattened Assyrian grandees; **מַשְׁחֵטָנִים** is personal, as in Ps. lxxviii. 31. And under the glory of Assyria, i.e. its expensively equipped army (**כְּבֹד**, as in chap. viii. 9), He who makes His angels flames of fire, puts fire so that it passes away in flames. This is expressed in such a way that one seems to hear the crackling and cracking, the spluttering and hissing of the fire as it lays hold round about. This fire, whatever it may be in its natural phenomenal appearance, is essentially the wrath of Jehovah. Ver. 17: "*And the light of Israel becomes a fire, and its Holy One a flame, and it sets on fire and devours its thistles and thorns in one day.*" God is fire, Deut. ix. 3, and light, Ps. xxvii. 1; 1 John i. 5; and in His self-life the former is taken up into the latter. **קָדוֹשׁ** stands here parallel to **אֱלֹהִים**; for that God is holy, and that He is absolutely pure light, is essentially one and the same thing. The nature of all creatures, and of the whole cosmos, is a mixture of light and darkness. The nature of God alone is absolute light. But light is love. In this holy light of love He has given Himself to Israel to be its own, and He has taken Israel to Himself as His own. But He has also in Himself a principle of fire which sin stirs up against itself, and which now breaks forth as a flaming fire of wrath against Assyria, when committing sin against Him and His people.

¹ For this passage is not included among the 134 instances of **הָאֵלֹהִים** enumerated by the Masora, i.e. "real" instances of **אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת** (not merely instances to be read, but actually written).

To this exterminating power of His penal righteousness the splendid host of Assyria is nothing but a crop of thistles and a tangle of thorns (here this pair of words, peculiar to Isaiah, שָׁמִיר וְיִשְׁתִּי, is given in reversed order), and as such they deserve to be burned, and are easily made to burn. According to the external appearance it is a forest and a park, but yet irretrievably lost. Vers. 18, 19: "*And the glory of his forest and of his garden field it shall destroy, both soul as well as flesh, that it is as when one mortally sick dies; and the remnant of the trees of his forest will let themselves be numbered, and a boy could write them.*" A forest, יָעַר, and a gardenfield, בְּרִמָּל, represent the army of Assyria, which resembled the former in being composed of many and various peoples, and the latter as glittering in the beauty of its men and armour; it is a forest of men and a park of men, and hence the idea of *penitus* is expressed by the proverbial מִנְפֶּשׁ וְעַד-בֶּשֶׁר (which is to be understood in accordance with Gen. xiv. 23; Deut. xxix. 10; Num. v. 3; 1 Sam. xv. 3). This gives occasion for a leap to the figure of the pining away of a נֶפֶשׁ (ἀπ. λεγ., the wasting one, from נָפַס, which comes from the same root-idea in נָפַס, Assyr. *enésu*). Bredenkamp puts the words from מִנְפֶּשׁ to נֶפֶשׁ after רָחַק, and thus obtains two figures that are more distinct from each other (consumption and forest-burning). The two words נֶפֶשׁ בְּמַסָּס depict the melting away, i.e. the dying out in the consuming fire of fever, and the representation is not only indicated by their slow movement, but also by their consonance and their accumulated sibilants, in which heavy-breathed expiring life becomes audible. By resuming the first figure the prophecy leads us from the death-bed to the scene of the burning of the forest. The proud beautiful forest is burned down, and only here and there does an isolated tree still tower over the desolate surface. Only a few trees of the forest, easily countable (מִסְפָּר, as in Deut. xxxiii. 6; cf. Isa. xxi. 17), will remain; a boy could count up their numbers, and write them down (compare the lad who is represented as doing much more in writing in Judg. viii. 14), as would be the figures representing the larger cedars of Lebanon which still remain. And so it actually came about; only a remnant of the army that marched against Jerusalem escaped.

The prophet now contrasts with this remnant of a large

destroying power the remnant of Israel, which is the seed of a new power that is rising. Ver. 20 : "*And it will come to pass in that day: the remnant of Israel and what has escaped of the house of Jacob will not continue to stay itself upon its chastiser, and will stay itself upon Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, in truth.*" Behind the judgment on Assyria lies the restoration of Israel. מִצְרַיִם is the Assyrian. Supporting itself upon the Assyrian, Israel was smitten, Jehovah making Israel's supporting stick the rod of His wrath. Thereafter, however, Israel will sanctify the Holy One of Israel by putting its trust in Him and not in man; בְּאֵמֶת, purely and faithfully, and no longer with hypocrisy and wavering. Then will be fulfilled what the name Shear-jashub promises after there is fulfilled what He threatens, as is seen in the following verse. Ver. 21 : "*The remnant will turn itself, the remnant of Jacob, to God the Strong.*" אֱלֹהֵי גִבּוֹר is He who has become historically manifest in the heir of David, chap. ix. 5. Whereas Hosea (chap. iii. 5) puts Jehovah and the other David side by side, Isaiah thus beholds them in each other.

So then the remnant of Israel will return, but only the remnant to the God who dwells in that son of David (according to the New Testament mode of expression, to God in Christ). Vers. 22, 23 : "*For although thy people were as the sand of the sea, the remnant thereof will turn itself: extermination is strictly determined, flowing in righteousness; for a thorough and strictly determined finish the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts, executes within the whole earth.*" As there is no preceding negation, אִם יֵשׁ do not go together in the sense of *sed* or *nisi*; but, as belonging to two clauses, the words mean *nam, si*. Were the highest number of the people of Israel attained according to the promise, yet will only the remnant among them or of them (וְ, partitively, like וְ in Zech. xiii. 8; 2 Kings ix. 35) be converted; or seeing that the more definite determination *ad Deum* is wanting, come again into their right position. With regard to the mass, extermination is irrevocably decided (וְ, τέμνειν, and then to determine something ἀποτόμως, 1 Kings xx. 40); an extermination which is overflowed by righteousness, or better, which flows along (וְ, as in chap. xxviii. 18), i.e. which flowing brings along righteousness, and therefore comes like a swelling

billow of divine righteousness, *i.e.* penal justice. It is not (as Luther translates) uprightness as the fruit of the penal judgment,—a thought which, though appropriate in itself, would not be expressed merely by one word, and it is excluded by the reason given in the following clause. On הַשֵּׁשׁ with the acc., see Ges. § 138. 2. That כָּלָה, as in Deut. xxviii. 65, is not used in the sense of perfecting, is shown by ver. 23, where כָּלָה (fem. of כָּלָה, that which vanishes, then the vanishing, the thorough ending) interchanges with it, and נִתְּנָה designates the judgment as a thing inexorably decided (as in chap. xxviii. 22, and borrowed thence in Dan. ix. 27, xi. 36). Such a judgment of extermination the Almighty Judge is about to execute (עֲשֶׂה in the sense of a *fut. instans.*) within the whole land (בְּתוֹכָהּ, within, not בְּתוֹכָהּ, in the midst of), or rather of the whole earth (LXX. *ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ*)—a judgment of the nations of which the judgment on Israel is a central constituent.

In these esoteric discourses it is not, however, the intention of the prophet to threaten and terrify, but to comfort and encourage. Therefore he turns to that portion of the people which is in need of consolation and is receptive of it, and he draws the inference from the element of consolation in what has been prophesied that they may be consoled. Ver. 24: "*Therefore thus saith the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts: Fear not, my people, which inhabitest Zion, before Assur if it will smite thee with the rod and lift up its stick against thee in the manner of Egypt.*" לִבְּנֵי never means in Hebrew, nor consequently here, *attamen* (Gesenius, Hitzig), but *propterea*. Already the address contained in the words: My people which inhabits Zion, is indirectly encouraging. Zion is, in fact, the site of the divine gracious presence, and of the kingdom which is imperishable according to the promise. Those who dwell there, and who are God's people (God's servants), not merely by their calling but by their inner qualities, are also heirs of the promise; and if the Egyptian bondage becomes renewed in an Assyrian bondage, they may be certain of this to their consolation, that the redemption of Egypt will also be renewed. בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרַיִם, in the way, *i.e.* in the manner of the acting of the Egyptians. דֶּרֶךְ is the course both of active procedure and also (as in ver. 26 and Amos iv. 10) of passive endurance.

The encouraging address is now based upon new reasons by taking up again the grounds of consolation from which the לָּבֵן derives it. Vers. 25, 26: "*For yet a very little, then is the indignation past, and my wrath turns to destroy them, and Jehovah of hosts shakes over him the scourge as He smote Midian at the rock of Oreb, and His staff reaches out over the sea, and He lifts it up in the manner of Egypt.*" The phrase: a very little (as in chap. xvi. 14, xxix. 17), is meant from the point of view of the ideal present, when Israel is threatened by Assyria with destruction. Then will the indignation of Jehovah at His people suddenly have an end (בָּלָה זַעַם), borrowed in Dan. xi. 36, and to be interpreted according to chap. xxxvi. 20); and Jehovah's wrath becomes or goes forth עַל-תְּבוֹלָתָם. Luzzatto recommends the conjectural reading: וְאִם עַל-תְּבוֹלָת יָמִים; and my wrath against the world will cease; תְּבוֹלָת being taken, as in chap. xiv. 17, with reference to the οἰκουμένη as enslaved by the empire. It would be better explained as: "and my wrath at the world will fulfil itself," תְּבוֹלָת being taken for the sinful world represented by the empire. But the traditional text gives an easier connection for ver. 26. We are not, however, to be misled by the עַל into explaining it as: my wrath (burns) at the destruction inflicted by Assyria on the people of God, or at the destruction endured by that people. It is the destruction of the Assyrians to which Jehovah's wrath is now directed; עַל is used here, as frequently, of that to which the look is directed, that to which the intention points (Ps. xxxii. 8, xviii. 42). When taken thus, ver. 25b leads on to ver. 26. The destruction of Assyria is here prophesied in two antithetical figures founded on facts of the olden time. The almighty criminal judge will brandish the scourge over Assyria (עוֹרֵר, *agitare*, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 18, in assonance with the following עוֹרֵב), and will smite it after the manner of the smiting upon Midian, chap. xxvii. 7, or of the blow (overthrow) which Midian experienced. The rock of Horeb is the place where the Ephraimites slew the Midian king Oreb (Judg. vii. 25). Then will His staff be over the sea, i.e. will be stretched out, like the miraculous staff of Moses, over the sea of tribulation into which the Assyrians have driven Israel (יָם, an emblem borrowed from the type, see Köhler on Zech. x. 11; cf. Ps.

lxvi. 6), and He will lift it up, commanding the waves of the sea that they swallow Assyria. **בִּרְדָּךְ מִצְרַיִם**, a Janus-word, as Cheyne calls it, indicated in ver. 24 how the Egyptians raised it, but here how it was raised over the Egyptians. The expression is intentionally conformed to that in ver. 24: Because Assyria had raised the rod in the Egyptian manner over Israel, Jehovah will also raise it in the Egyptian manner over Assyria.

The yoke of the world-power must then burst asunder. Ver. 27: "*And it will come to pass in that day, its burden will remove from thy shoulder and its yoke from thy neck, and the yoke will be destroyed from the pressure of the fat.*" There are two figures here: in the first (*cessabit onus ejus a cervice tua*), Israel is represented as a beast of burden; in the second (*et jugum ejus a collo tuo*), as a beast of draught; and this second figure divides again into two divisions. For **יִסֹר** only states that the yoke, like the burden, will be taken from Israel; but **הִבִּיל**, that it will itself spring the yoke by the counter pressure of its fat strong neck. Knobel, who alters the text, remarks against this view that the yoke was a cross piece of wood and not a collar. And undoubtedly the simple yoke is a cross piece of wood, but it lies upon the back of the neck of the ox (usually of two beasts yoked together, *jumenta = jugmenta*, like *jugum* from *jungere*), where it often rubs deep broad wounds on the nape, and is fastened under the neck by means of a cord, which at the same time connects it with the beam of the plough.¹ It is derived from **עָלָל = עָלַל**, *inire*, **غَلَّ**, *immittere*, to let in and close (as by a sort of stoppel, which the Kāmûs explains by **حشا**, to stop up). The conj. **עַל הִבִּיל** is therefore in accord with the thing. But that **פְּנֵי שֶׁמֶן** means "face of the fat," and refers to the head of the fat bullock, is contrary to the linguistic usage, according to which **פְּנֵי** must designate that before which the yoke must yield (cf. e.g. Ps. lxxviii. 3). We therefore do not get away

¹ Professor Schegg wrote to me after his return from a visit to Palestine, in the year 1866, in these terms: "I saw many oxen at the plough in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and at Ephesus; and the yoke (**نير**) was always a cross piece of wood laid on the back of the neck of the beast, and connected by a rope under the neck with the beam of the plough."

from the view that what is expressed is a bursting of the yoke produced by the increasing fatness of the ox, the yoke being a cross piece of wood with its connecting rope or strap. Undoubtedly חָבַל is not the most natural word for it; it means a *corrupti*, but such as has been produced by means of a *disrumpi*, which has resulted, lit., if we compare the Arabic خَبَل, by means of a crumpling, a crushing together, a wrench-

ing. Probably the word was chosen by reference to חָבַל, the yoke-rope, although there is no denominative *Pual* in the privative signification of being unroped (Nägelsbach). Kinichi makes the striking remark on this passage, that the yoke usually becomes hurtful to the fat flesh of the ox by pressure and rubbing, but that here the converse case occurs, that the fatness of the ox becomes the means of destroying the yoke (compare the figure of grafting in Rom. xi. 17, to which Paul there also gives a turn παρὰ φύσιν). There is no need for a correction of the text by removing חָבַל (Robertson Smith, Bredenkamp). The deliverance comes from within (27b) and from without (27a). It is no less a consequence of the world-overcoming power which is at work in Israel than a miracle performed for Israel upon the enemy.

The prophet now describes how the Assyrian army advances against Jerusalem without halting, and spreading terror around; and how, like a towering forest planted there, it breaks to pieces before the omnipotence of Jehovah. Eichhorn and Hitzig declare this prophecy to be a *vaticinium post eventum*, because it is too special for any other view. But the Assyrian army when it marched against Jerusalem did not come directly from the north, but from the way to Egypt out of the southwest. Sennacherib had conquered Lachish, then besieged Libnah, and marched thence against Jerusalem. The prophet, however, does not mean to give a piece of military history, but to present vividly the future fact that the Assyrian will advance to Jerusalem after devastation of the land of Judah. One need not object to calling the description ideal, or even poetical (see Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 73). It is not, however, on that account a chimera; for ideas are the essential roots of the real, and reality is their historical and external form. This external formation, their essential manifestation, may,

without detriment to their essentiality, be presented in particular momenta either in one form or in another form. The Assyrian has really come with the storm strides of a conqueror from the north, and the cities named have been really struck by the dangers and terrors of war. The description here given, when looked at aesthetically, is one of the most picturesque and magnificent representations that human poetry has ever produced. Vers. 28-34: "*He comes upon Ayyath, marches through Migron, in Michmash he leaves his baggage. They march right across the ravine;—let Geba be our night-quarters! Ramah trembles; Gibeah of Saul flees; Scream loud, O daughter of Gallim! O only listen, Laysa! Poor Anathoth! Hurries Madmena, the inhabitants of Gebim rescue. To-day he still makes a halt in Nob,—swings his hand over the mountain of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.—Behold, the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts, lops down the branches with terrible force, and those of towering growth are hewn down, and the lofty are laid low. And He fells the thickets of the forest with the iron; and Lebanon, by a majestic One it falls.*" The Assyrian suddenly assails אַיָּת, or as the two St. Petersburg MSS. write it, אֵיָּת (= עֵיָּת, 1 Chron. vii. 28, אֵיָּת, Neh. xi. 31, usually אֵיָּת or אֵיָּת), about six German miles to the north-east of Jerusalem (אֵיָּת comes hostilely upon, in the same sense as, e.g., Judg. xviii. 27), and in doing so he here steps for the first time upon Benjamite territory that was under the sway of Judah. The name of this 'Ay, which means a heap of stones, agrees with the name of *Tell el-hagar* (van de Velde), which lies at the distance of forty-five minutes' walk south-east from Beitin = Bethel; but such Arabic translations of the original names of a place as reproduce their recognised original meaning are not to be expected from tradition. Schegg,¹ who made a three days' excursion from Jerusalem for the sake of exploring this Assyrian marching route, and who returned by Teyyiba. Michmash, Geba, Anata, and Isawiya, puts Ay more probably (as the march would then be straightforwards) on the site of the present Teyyiba, six hours' journey to the north of Jerusalem, 2700 feet above the sea, upon an isolated hill from whence a wide view opens up

¹ See the notice of my Commentary in Reusch's *Theolog. Literaturblatt Jahrg.* ii. 80, 81.

towards the lowlands of Jaffa, to the hill of the Franks, over the Gor, and a great part of the Dead Sea, so that the deep blue mirror of its waters and the limestone hills encompassing it are seen nowhere else to such extent from one point of view. The hill, upon which lies the Christian village with about one thousand inhabitants, contains many ruins and the strong foundation walls of ancient fortresses and deep vaults, which point back to early pre-Roman antiquity. We give the preference to this determination of the situation of the place, as there is found in the neighbourhood of Teyyiba a small village with the name of *Chirbet 'Aî*. At this point the Assyrian army could survey the whole of the land yet to be conquered to the south. Instead of turning to the usual great north road (the "Nablus road"), the army marches straight by Michmash to Jerusalem without allowing itself to be delayed by the difficulties of the unlevelled way which led over mountain and valley. From Ay they pass MIGRON, the name of which appears to be preserved in the ruins of *Burg Macrûn*, which lies some eight minutes' walk from Beitin. MICHMASH (מִכְמָשׁ, according to Norzi, but in 1 Sam. xiii. מִכְמָשׁ, while in Ezra ii. 27 and Neh. xi. 31 it is מִכְמָשׁ, with ם) still exists as a small village with ruins on the eastern side of the Migron valley under the name of Michmâs. Schegg says of Michmâs: "It lies, like Jerusalem, upon a neck of land between two valleys, the one of which separates it from the tableland on the west and the other from that on the south, on which Geba lies and over which the road to Jerusalem goes. The latter valley running from west to east is not narrow, but it is difficult to cross, deep, and so furrowed, especially near the bottom of the valley, that it requires effort to pass over it. The stream of this Wadi es-Suweinit has scooped through the rock a deep narrow frightful bed about ten minutes' walking to the east of Michmâs. On the right and left, rocks—some of them 100 feet high, perpendicular, naked, and dingy red—form such a narrow outlet that the foaming waters of the winter torrent must still, it appears, struggle to escape. The rocky clefts of Kedron at Mar Saba are roomy valleys compared with this Suweinit. I did not see a rock outlet like it even on Lebanon with all its numerous ravines. Hence this Wadi has been called from of old מִיְּכָר

סִכְכָּשׁ, as in 1 Sam. xiii. 23." After the Assyrians had deposited (וּפָקְדוּ, Jer. xxxvi. 20) in Michmās as much of their baggage as they could dispense with—whether in order to leave it there or to have it sent after them by the easier road—they passed over the ford (מַעְבְּרָה, as in chap. xvi. 2), namely, that of the WADI ES-SUWEINIT. If they had marched through this rocky valley lengthwise, this would have led them to the Dead Sea; but they wished to go to Jerusalem, and therefore they cut through the valley and river crosswise. On their difficult march they encourage each other by saying, "GEBA be our night-quarters!" "The beautiful tableland between Geba and Hizma," Schegg further remarks, "was thoroughly fitted for this, and quite inviting; for it is large, fruitful, and even to-day is well cultivated. For the first time I saw here in Judah wide-stretching wheat-fields and beautiful groups of trees which picturesquely shade the surroundings of the little village of Geba." This Geba is now almost universally regarded, according to the view given by Gross, as not the Gibeah of Saul; but the latter is recognised in the towering *Tell (Tuleil) el-Fûl* which lies more to the south (Robinson, Valentiner, Keil, and others). And rightly so. For this mountain, the name of which signifies "bean-hill," presents a strong position suiting the Gibeah of Saul; and for the view that there were two Benjamite places of the name of גִּבְעָה, גִּבְעָה, or גִּבְעָה, there is the evidence of Josh. xviii. 21-23, where גִּבְעָה and גִּבְעָה are distinguished from each other. Besides, this mountain, which lies to the south of er-Râm, and therefore between ancient Ramah and Anathoth, fits into the marching route of the Assyrian as here indicated; and it is at least improbable that Isaiah should have named one and the same place first גִּבְעָה and then (without any visible reason) גִּבְעָה שְׂמַח. The Assyrian army therefore took up its night quarters in Geba, which still bears this name; and from there it spread terror to the west and east, and especially to the south. In the morning, having emerged from the deep valley between Michmash and Geba, they leave on their flank the Benjamite RAMA, now er-Râm, which lay half an hour's march west from Geba, and which, trembling, sees them march on. The inhabitants of GIBEATH OF SAUL, lying on the summit of the

"bean-hill" commanding the whole surrounding region, take to flight as they march past. Every station on their route brings them nearer Jerusalem. The prophet lives through it all in the spirit. It is so objectively present to him that it puts him into anguish and pain. The cities and villages of the region are lost. He calls upon the daughter, *i.e.* the inhabitants of GALLIM, to set up a far shrilling cry of woe with their voice (adv. acc. Ges. § 138. 1, R. 3); and to the near-lying LAYSHA (cf. on the two places which have now disappeared, Jndg. xviii. 29; and on the personal names, מִלְכִי בְדִלְיָשׁ אִשֶּׁר מְגִלִּים, 1 Sam. xxv. 44) he calls out sympathetically: O, only listen, nearer and nearer come the enemy; and over ANATHOTH (the still existing 'Anâth, which lies three-quarters of an hour's walking to the north-east of Jerusalem, a name which Cheyne regards as that of the Babylonian goddess *Anat*, the wife of *Anu*) he makes this lamentation, taking its name as an omen of its fate: "O, for the poor, Anathoth!" No change of the text is required. עֲנִיָּה, as in chap. liv. 11, is an exclamation, and עֲנִיָּהוּ follows according to the same order of words as in chap. xxiii. 12; it is a prefixed apposition as in Jer. iii. 6, מִשְׁכַּבְּהָ יִשְׂרָאֵל (compare in the Persian text ای فاخره بخارا, O, noble Buchârâ, DMZ. xxxviii. 330, 331). Ever nearer now to Jerusalem draws the crisis so much to be feared. MADMENA ("dung-heap," see on *Job*, pp. 62, 63) flees in anxious haste; the inhabitants of GEBIN ("water-pits") run off with their belongings; מִן הָעִיר from עָז, to flee (cf. הָרָשׁ, and also הָרָפָה),¹ and therefore to carry away in flight, to bring hastily into safety, Ex. ix. 19, cf. Jer. iv. 6, vi. 1, synonymous with הָרָשׁ, Ex. ix. 20, Judg. vi. 11; different from הָרָשׁ (Prov. xxi. 29, vii. 13), from עָז, עָזָה, to be firm, strong, defiant, from which is derived מָעֹז, mā'ôz, a fortification, in distinction from the Arabic مَعَان, ma'âd, refuge; cf. chap. xxx. 2, "to flee to Pharaoh's fortress," אֶל עָז, like عَان ب. Neither of these places has left any certain trace

¹ Hardly, however, עָרָשׁ, John iv. 11, which probably means, according to LXX. and Targ., *congregari*, and with which Gesenius compared the Arab. عَش in the erroneously accepted sense of "to hasten."

behind.¹ The passage is usually held to mean further that the army rested another day in Nob. But this is not conformable to the intention of surprising Jerusalem by the suddenness of the destroying blow. Hence we explain it thus: Even to-day he will make a halt in Nob (*in eo est ut subsistat*, Ges. § 132. R. 1) in order to gather up new strength in sight of the city doomed to destruction, and to arrange the plan of attack. The view held, that Nob is the still inhabited village of *el-'Isawiya* to the south-west of Anata, fifty-five minutes to the north of Jerusalem, is at variance with the situation as described by Jerome: *Stans in oppidulo Nob et procul urbem conspiciens Jerusalem*. "Isawiya," says Schegg, "lies at the commencement of the valley of that name, which is turned towards the Dead Sea; it is a very lovely place, but is so sunk in the valley, and surrounded on three sides by mountains, that one cannot think at all of identifying it with Nob." Perhaps what is meant is the height which rises on the north of Jerusalem, and which is called *Ṣadr* from its breast-like prominence or convexity. From this height the way leads down into the valley of Kedron, and the city spreads out at a short distance before one going down. It may have been here where the Assyrian is represented as halting in the vision of the prophet. Nor is it long (which is expressed by the יָמָא which follows ἀσυνδέτως) till, stretching out his hand for a blow, chap. xi. 15, xix. 16, he swings it over the mount of the daughter of Zion (chap. xvi. 1, not בֵּית, in connection with which the writer has thought of הַר בֵּית יְהוָה), over the city of the holy hill. What will Jehovah then do, the only one who can save His threatened dwelling-place from such a host?—Up to ver. 32a the discourse has moved in rapid stormy steps; then it begins to linger, and, as it were, to beat with anxiety, and now it breaks forth in dactylic vibrations like a long rolling thunder. The hostile army stands before Jerusalem like a broad thick forest. Then it is shown that Jerusalem has a God who does not allow Himself to be taunted with impunity, nor does He leave His city at the decisive moment in the lurch, like the gods of

¹ A writer in the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1880, p. 108, supposes that Gebim is in the neighbourhood of the caves of the six hundred Benjamites (*Mughâret-el-Gai*).

Carchemish and Calno. Jehovah is the Lord, the God of the spiritual and starry hosts. He smites down the branches of this forest of an army; פָּעַר is a so-called *Piel privativum*: to lop off (literally, to deal with the branches, cf. פָּעַל , chap. v. 2), and $\text{פֶּאֶרֶה} = \text{פֶּאֶרֶה}$ (in Ezekiel פֶּאֶרֶה) means, like the Latin *frons*, both branch and foliage, the leafy branches as the adornment of the tree, or the branches as adorned with leaves. His instrument is כְּסֵרֶצֶה , His terrifying crushing power (compare the verb in chap. ii. 19, 21). And even the lofty stems of the forest, thus stripped of branches and foliage, do not remain standing; hewn down, they lie there, and the tall ones must go down. It goes with the stems, *i.e.* the leaders, as with the branches and the foliage, *i.e.* with the great crowded mass. The whole thicket of the forest (as in chap. ix. 17) He hews down (נָצַר , 3 *p. Piel*, although it may be also *Niphal*), and Lebanon, *i.e.* the army of Assyria, which now stands over against Mount Zion, like Lebanon with its forest of cedars, falls down through a gloriously powerful One, אֲדִיר , *i.e.* through Jehovah (chap. xxx. 21; Ps. lxxvi. 5, xciii. 4). In the history of the fulfilment given in xxxvii. 36, the כְּסֵרֶצֶה is this אֲדִיר as the organ of the present divine government.

So it goes with the imperial kingdom of the world. When the axe is laid to it, it falls without hope. But in Israel it becomes spring. Chap. xi. 1: "*And there goes forth a sprout out of the stump of Jesse, and a shoot out of its roots brings fruit.*" If the world-power is like the cedar forest of Lebanon, on the other hand the house of David, on account of its falling away, is like the stump of a felled tree (טֵמֶה , *truncus*, from טָמַע , *truncare*), like a root stock without stem, branches, or crown. But while the Lebanon of the world-power is overthrown so as to remain lying, the house of David becomes young again; and while the former, when it has reached the height of its glory, is suddenly laid low, the latter, when it has reached the utmost danger of destruction, is suddenly exalted. What Pliny says of certain trees in L. xvi. 44: *inarescunt rursusque adulescunt, senescunt quidem, sed e radicibus repullulant*,¹ is fulfilled in the tree of the

¹ The cedar is unlike the oak in that when it is felled it does not send up any shoots. The pine resembles the cedar in this respect according to Herodot. vi. 37: "to destroy like a pine-stem."

Davidic dominion, which has its root in Jesse. Out of the stump of Jesse, i.e. out of the remnant of the chosen royal family, which had sunk down to the insignificance of the house from which it sprang ("the fallen tabernacle of David," as Amos expresses it in chap. ix. 11¹), there goes forth a

sprout, חֹטֶר (خَطَر, from הָטַר, to swing, to sway, *balancer*), which promises to fill up the place of the stem and crown; and below in the roots, covered by the earth and only rising a little above it, there shows itself a נֶצֶר, a little fresh green twig (from נָצַר, نَصَرَ, to glance, to blow). The history of the

fulfilment has here alluded even to the sound or ring of the prophecy; the at first insignificant and undistinguished נֶצֶר, was a poor despised *Nazarene* (Matt. ii. 23). But that this lowliness of the beginning will not continue is already indicated by the יִפְרוּ, from פָּרַה, to break out and up, to unfold itself, to be or become fruitful, Ex. xxiii. 30. In the humble beginning there lies a power which carries it up to the height with certain progress (Ezek. xvii. 22, 23). The sprout shooting out below the soil becomes a tree, and this tree gets a crown with fruits; and thus a state of exaltation and completion follows the state of humiliation.

Jehovah acknowledges him and consecrates and equips him for his high work with the seven spirits. Ver. 2: "*And the spirit of Jehovah descends upon him, spirit of wisdom and of understanding, spirit of counsel and of power, spirit of the knowledge and fear of Jehovah.*" רִיחַ ה' is the Divine Spirit as the bearer of the whole fulness of divine powers. Then follow in three pairs the six spirits comprehended by רִיחַ ה', the first pair of which relate to the intellectual life, the second to the practical life, and the third to the direct relationship to God. For הִכָּתֵב is the faculty for recognising the essence of things through their appearances, and בִּיטָה is the faculty for recognising the distinctions of things through their appearances; the former is σοφία, the latter διάκρισις or σύνεσις. עֲקָה is the gift which enables man to form right resolutions, and נִבְרָה

¹ The Messiah is therefore emblematically called בַּר נָפִלִי, *Sanhedrin* 98b: "when will Bar nafi come?" Cf. Dalman, *Der leidende und sterbende Messias der Synagoge* (1888), p. 13.

that of putting them energetically into action. 'דעת ה' is the knowledge that is founded in fellowship of love, and 'ראת ה' is the fear of Jehovah giving itself up to adoration. There are seven spirits which are enumerated from above downwards; for the spirit of the fear of God is the basis of all (Prov. i. 7; Job xxviii. 28; Ps. cxi. 10), and the spirit of God is absolutely the heart of all; it corresponds to the shaft of the seven-flamed candlestick, and the three pairs to the arms that stretched out from it. In these seven forms (see my *Psychology*, pp. 188, 203) the Holy Spirit descends upon the second David for abiding possession; as is expressed here by the *perf. consec.* וְנִסְחָה, which is accented on the last syllable on account of the following guttural in order to guard against its indistinct pronunciation (cf. Gen. xxvi. 10); נִסַּח, like *katabalveiv kal méveiv*, John i. 32, 33. The seven torches before God's throne in Rev. iv. 5, cf. i. 4, burn and illumine in his soul. The seven spirits are his seven eyes (Rev. v. 6).

His royal mode of ruling is then also determined according to this his divinely produced, spiritual equipment for his office. Ver. 3: "*And fear of Jehovah is fragrance to him, and he judges not according to outward seeing, and he determines justice not according to outward hearing.*" The translation should not be: His smelling is smelling of the fear of God, i.e. the penetrating of it with deep judicial insight (Hengstenberg, Umbreit, and others);¹ nor: His breathing is in the fear of Jehovah (Cheyne), for נִסְחָה does not mean "to breathe," and with נִ it does not mean "to smell something" (as with a following accusative), but "to smell with pleasure" (v. Orelli), like נִסַּח, to see with pleasure, or as in Gen. xxix. 32, to see with inward sympathy (Ex. xxx. 38; Lev. xxvi. 31; Amos v. 21). It is not meant that he has as regards himself pleasure in fear of God, but that fear of God when he perceives it in men is fragrance to him (נִסְחָה, Gen. viii. 21); for the fear of God is a sacrifice of adoration, continually ascending to God. Brilliant or repellent external qualities do not determine his favour or disfavour; he judges not by the external appear-

¹ So also in *Sanhedrin* 93b, whereas R. Alexandri combines חֲרִיזָה with דְּרִיזָה, and explains it: He (God) has loaded him with duties and sufferings as with millstones (see Dalman, *op. cit.* p. 38).

ance, but by the relationship to his God in the depths of the heart.

This is the standard according to which he will judge in saving and will judge in punishing. Vers. 4, 5: "*And judges with righteousness the insignificant, and passes sentence with equity on the humble in the land, and smites the earth with the staff of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he slays the transgressor. And righteousness is the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his hips.*" The main thing in ver. 4 lies in the objects there presented. He will do right to the לְיָדָיו, the weak and helpless, by incorruptibly just procedure against their oppressors; and he will decide with straightness for the humble or meek of the land; עָנִי, like עָנִי, from עָנָה, to bend, the latter meaning one who is bowed down by misfortune, the former one who is bowed down inwardly or emptied of all selfness; וְיָדָיו, as in Job xvi. 21. The *παραχοί* and *πρεβίς* will be the very special object of his royal care; just as the first beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount really apply to them. But the earth, i.e. the antichristian world and the wicked one (עָרָץ, not collective, but used as also in Ps. lxviii. 22, cx. 6, Hab. iii. 13, 14, of one in whom the hostility against Jehovah and His Anointed One satanically culminates),¹ will come to experience the force of his punitive righteousness. The very word of his mouth is already a staff which shatters to pieces (Ps. ii. 9; Rev. i. 16), and the very breath of his lips, no further means being required, exercises an annihilating influence (2 Thess. ii. 8)—a feature in the Bible which, as Cheyne remarks, brings the Messiah near the Deity. As the girdle around the loins, מְחִינִים (LXX. *τὴν ὀσφύν*), and forward on the hips, מְחִינִים (LXX. *τὰς πλευράς*), holds the clothes together,—the unity of the designation, מְחִינִים, showing that it is not two kinds of girdles that are meant,—so all the qualities and activities of his person have as their connecting bond וְיָדָיו, which follows the inviolable norm of the divine will, and וְיָדָיו, which keeps immovably to the relationship which is instituted by God, and in accord-

¹ In this sense the Targum translates אַרְמִילִיּוֹם, *Armilus*, i.e. *Ρωμαίος*, *Romulus* (DMZ. xxxix. 343), and according to another reading in the *Cod. Reuchlin*, אַרְמִלְנוֹן (אַרְמִלְנוֹן), which perhaps, as Bucher supposes, means the incarnated *Agramainyus* (Ahriman).

ance with the promise (chap. xxv. 1). The *מְשִׁיחַ* is specially made prominent by the article: he is the true and faithful witness (Rev. i. 5, iii. 14).

The trilogy of the prophetic figures of the Messiah—as about to be born, as born, and as ruling—is now complete. Isaiah was not the creator of Messianic prophecy, as Guthe (in his *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaja*, 1885) tries to prove, forcing the proof by negating all the Messianic prophecies before Isaiah. An ideal king was hoped for before the expectation was attached to the house of David. But Isaiah and his contemporary Micah raised the outline to a living richly-coloured picture, for which the opening period of the secular empires furnished the basis. With the virgin's son, the five-named king's child, the son of David anointed without measure with God's spirit, there begins a new time in which this king's righteousness attains to a world-conquering position, and finds a home in a humanity which, like him, has risen up out of deep humiliation.

The fruit of righteousness, however, is peace, which now reigns under the government of the Prince of Peace, not only in humanity, but, without being disturbed from any quarter, also in the animal world. Vers. 6–9: *"And the wolf dwells with the lamb, and the pard lies down with the kid, and the calf and lion and fattened ox together—a little boy drives them before him. And cow and bear go to the pasture, their young lie down together; and the lion devours chopped straw like the ox. And the suckling plays on the hole of the adder, and the weaned child stretches his hand to the pupil of the basilisk-viper. They will not become bad, and will not commit destruction in all my holy mountain: for the land has become full of knowledge of Jehovah like the waters covering the sea."* The Sibyllines, iii. 766 sqq., paraphrase this, and Virgil in his Eclogue perhaps stands unconsciously under the influence of Isaiah through the medium of that paraphrase (Cheyne). The Church Fathers, Luther, Calvin, Vitranga, Schmieder, regard these images from the animal world as symbolical. Rationalistic expositors take them literally, but as a beautiful dream and wish. In the Midrash on Ecclesiastes at chap. i. 9, a real transformation of the animal world is already rejected with *אין חרש תחת השמש*; but

we have here really a prophecy before us the full realization of which is certainly conditioned by a re-creation, and it therefore belongs to the new earth under the new heaven. Even Reuss refers here to Rom. viii. 19 sqq., remarking that "the idea, at once poetical and sublime, of nature sighing for its glorification, is at bottom only a more ideal form of this same conception." There now reigns in irrational nature, from the greatest beings in it down to the invisibly least, a malevolent strife and fierce delight in carnage. But when the son of David shall have entered upon the full possession and exercise of his royal inheritance, then will the peace of Paradise be renewed, and the truth contained in the popular legends of an *aurea aetas* will be authenticated. It is this which the prophet depicts in charming images. The wolf, formerly scared away from the flock, now keeps good neighbourhood (רָ) with the lamb; the leopard lets the frisky kid lie down beside it. The lion between calf and fatted ox neither seizes upon the weak neighbour nor lusts after the fat one; a little boy rules the whole three together with his driving staff (גִּדִּי, according to Stade, √ ג, *stimulo propellere*). The cow and bear graze with each other, while their young lie together on the meadow. The lion thirsts no more for blood, but, like the ox, is satisfied with chopped food, i.e. with cut and crushed straw. The suckling has its delight, i.e. enjoys itself (*Pilpel* in the same reflexive sense as in Ps. cxix. 70, from נָנַץ, to stroke, to caress, to smoothen, *mulcere*) on the hole of the adder; and the child hardly yet weaned boldly and safely stretches his hand to נִינְיָאֵל הַחֲמָנָה.¹ From Jer. viii. 17 it is clear that נִינְיָאֵל is the name of a species of snake; it is, according to Aquila and Jerome in the passage, the βασιλίσκος, *serpens regulus* (with which also agrees the Targum and Syr. חֲמָנָה, *charmana*), according to Schultens from נָנַץ = سَفَعَ, to singe by means of the hot breath, but

according to Gesenius and Fürst from √ נָנַץ, to pipe, to hiss, for which Isidore (*Orig.* xii. 4), *sibilus idem est qui et*

¹ This trait of the Messianic time has been borrowed by a tradition cited by Damire under the rubric حَنَس (serpent): "till it come to this that the child puts his hand into the mouth of the serpent without its harming him."

regulus; *sibilo enim occidit, antequam mordeat vel exurat*. It is hardly equivalent to צִבְעוֹנִי, as it appears according to Saadia, who translates it *er-rakāš*, the spotted (speckled). חֲרָה is a ἀπ. λεγ., and the meaning of it is secured by the Arabic هَدَى, *dirigere, tendere*; it is cognate in root with יָדָה,

projicere, from which comes יָד (hand). So much the more uncertain is the meaning of the ἀπ. λεγ. מאורה. Corresponding to the parallel חֲרָה, it appears to mean the hole (Syr. Jerome, LXX. κοίτη), whether from אור = עור, from which comes מַעְרָה, مَعْرَاة (there is no word in Arabic of this meaning

from a verb beginning with l); or from אור, the light-hole (as מאור occurs in the Mishna, *Ohaloth* xiii. 1), or the opening where the hole appears. But it is more probable that מאורה is something that exercises an attractive power on the child, such as the play of colour, or better, the apple of the eye (Targum), as the fem. of מאור, the light of the eye (*Erubin* 55b = power of seeing). The glance of snakes, and not merely that of the basilisk-lizard but also that of the basilisk-viper, was regarded as having a paralysing and fascinating power. But this terrifying hurtfulness of snakes has now ceased, chap. lxxv. 25; the basilisk has become so gentle that he lets children catch at his sparkling eyes as if they were precious stones. The prophet thus represents as in an idyl the state of peace of the glorified time which was about to come, and it is requisite to take the thought of the promise in a spiritual sense without adhering literally to the media through which it is expressed. But the representation is more than a drapery thrown around the object; it is the refraction of the beheld future in the soul of the prophet. But are the animals still to be taken as the subject in ver. 9? The subject most naturally suggested is the animals, some of which have just been named as terrible and destructive to men; and that they are actually thought of as the subject is confirmed in chap. lxxv. 25, where chap. xi. 6-9a is compendiously repeated. That יִרְשִׁי requires men as the subject is refuted by the usual חֲיָה רָעָה (compare the parallel promise in Ezek. xxxiv. 25, which rests upon Hos. ii. 20). That יִשְׁחַדּוּ can be said of animals is evident from Jer. ii. 30, and is at once understood. But if the animals are the subject, then הִרְקִשׁוּ

here is not the hill of Zion (Cheyne), upon which wild beasts never had their lair in historical times, but, as כל indicates, the holy mountain land of Jehovah; and this is just the sense of הר קדש in chap. lvii. 13; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 54; Ex. xv. 17. Further, the fact that peace prevails in the animal world, and that there is also peace between the animals and man, is founded upon the universally prevailing knowledge of God, in consequence of which has ceased that destructiveness of the animal world in relation to man by which alienation from God and apostasy had been previously so often punished (2 Kings xvii. 25; Ezek. xiv. 15, and other passages; see also remarks on chap. vii. 24). The meaning of בבלהר קדש also determines the extent of the signification of הארץ; it is the land of Israel, the more restricted domain of the government of the son of David, that is meant (Hofmann), which is henceforward, like the paradisiacal centre of the whole earth, a prelude of its future total and perfect glorification (chap. vi. 3, בלהאר). It has become full of ידעה אלה, of that experienced knowledge of Jehovah which consists in fellowship of love (ידעה like ידע, a collateral form of ידע), like to the waters covering the sea, i.e. the bottom of the sea (cf. the borrowed passage in Hab. ii. 14, where לידע is a virtual accusative: full of the knowing). כפה ל (like כנה in Ps. xci. 4) means to afford covering to something; the *Lamed* with a participle readily comes in as a designation of the object, particularly (in Arabic it holds regularly in this case) when it precedes the participle (Ewald, § 292e). The omission of the article in the case of מכבים is an immediate consequence of the inverted order of the words; and generally the attributive participle, when it is in any way more closely determined, can dispense with the article.

The prophet has now described in vers. 1-5 the just ruling of the son of David, and then in vers. 6-9 the peace which under his government extends to the animal world, and which is the consequence of the living knowledge of God having become universal, and which therefore follows from a spiritual transformation of the people subject to him. The matter here indicated is variously enigmatic, and the detail of what it contains and presupposes is unfolded in what follows. Ver. 10: "*And it will come to pass in that day, the root-*

sprout of Jesse which stands as a banner of the peoples, for it shall nations ask, and its resting-place is glory." The proud tree of the Davidic kingdom is hewn down, and only the root has still remained; the new David is *יְהוֹשִׁעַ*, and therefore in a certain sense that root itself, because it would have long since perished if it had not borne within itself from the beginning Him who now springs forth out of it. But when he who was the One hidden in the root of Jesse as its sap and its power shall have become himself the rejuvenated root of Jesse in the springtide (cf. Rev. xxii. 16), he will be exalted out of this lowly beginning and raised *לְנֵס עֲמֻם*, as a banner, attracting the peoples and uniting them around himself. Thus visible to all the world, he will draw the attention of the heathen to himself; they will turn zealously to him; and his *מִנְהָה*, i.e. the place where he has settled down to dwell and reign (for the word in this local sense, see Num. x. 33; Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14; the Vulgate, *et sepulchrum ejus*, is contrary to connection and to history), is glory, i.e. the dwelling and reigning seat of a king who shines over all, and rules all, and gathers all the nations around him. The people, however, from which and for which this One is primarily king, will, according to the revelation in chap. vi., be scattered away from its native land to a far distance.

How will he be able to reign in the midst of this people? Vers. 11, 12: "*And it will come to pass in that day: again will the All-Lord a second time stretch out His hand to ransom the remnant of His people which will be left remaining, out of Assur, and out of Egypt, and out of Pathros, and out of Ethiopia, and out of 'Elam and out of Sin'ar, and out of Hamâth, and out of the islands of the sea. And He lifts up a banner to the nations and fetches home the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah will He gather from the four borders of the earth.*" Assyria and Egypt stand first as the two great powers of the time of Isaiah, and side by side (cf. vii. 18-20). The following were dependencies of Egypt: 1. *פְּתָרִים*, in the hieroglyphics *torēs*, and with article *petorēs*, the southland, i.e. Upper Egypt, so that *מִצְרַיִם* in the narrower sense thus signifies Lower Egypt (see, on the other hand, Jer. xliv. 15); and 2. *בָּאֵשׁ*, the country lying still farther south than Upper Egypt on both sides of the Gulf of Arabia. The

following were dependencies of Assyria: 1. אֲרָם, the high land (Assyr. *elamu*), the old Éran (Old Pers. *Airyama*, *Aryama*) to the east of the Tigris; and 2. שׁוּמֵר, the old *Sumér*, from which the Assyrian kings designated themselves as kings of Sumér and Akkad (southern and northern Babylonia). These are followed by the Syrian Hamath at the northern foot of the Lebanon, and last of all by אֲרִי הַיָּם, the islands and coast lands of the Mediterranean with the whole island part of the world (Targ. אֲרִי הַיָּם, or merely אֲרִי, cf. Assyr. *nagû*, district, land). There was not yet any such diaspora of Israel at the time when the prophet prophesied, nor even after the dissolution of the northern kingdom; the specialization is prophetic. The redemption which the prophet here prophesies is, in fact, a second redemption, after which there is no third; the banishment therefore out of which Israel is redeemed is the final form of what is threatened in chap. vi. 12; cf. Deut. xxx. 1 sqq. It is the second redemption, the counterpart of the Egyptian one. He will then again stretch out (יִשְׁטֹחַ, supply: אֶל־כַּף) His hand, and as He once delivered Israel out of Egypt, so will He now ransom and reacquire it (יִקַּח, *opp.* יָצָא) out of all the countries named. The י of the names of countries is to be construed with חֲזָקָה, which the LXX. translate τοῦ ζηλωσαι (τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ), by which it is meant that He will be zealous in His care for the diaspora; but in the sense of this ζηλοῦν τινα (2 Cor. xi. 2), אֲרִי is not used *seq. acc.*, but י אֲרִי. In ver. 12a it is indicated that the conversion of the heathen becomes the means of the redemption of Israel: the heathen will at Jehovah's beck let His people free and accompany them (chap. xlix. 22, lxii. 10), and thus He will again gather (יִקַּח with reference to the one gathering point, and יָצָא referring to the dispersion of those who are to be gathered) even from the uttermost four ends of the world, הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ (= יָבֵשׁ, with the *Dag.* dropped before the following gnttural as in יָבֵשׁ, יָבֵשׁ), the outcasts of the kingdom of Israel, and the dispersed of the kingdom of Judah, men and women. This recalls the fact of the present rupture in the unity of the people; but the people brought home again will be a single people in brotherly union. Ver. 13: "And the jealousy of Ephraim is removed, and the

adversaries of Judah are extirpated; Ephraim will not act jealously against Judah, and Judah will not be hostile to Ephraim." As a suffix and genitive after עִיר are elsewhere always objective (e.g. Amos v. 12), עִירֵי יְהוּדָה does not mean those who are hostile in Judah (Ewald, Knobel, and others), but those who are hostile to Judah (Umbreit and Schegg). On the other hand, the genitive after קִנְאָה may be the *gen. obj.* as well as the *gen. subj.*; but to understand קִנְאָה אֶפְרַיִם of the disinclination of Judah against the more powerful Ephraim (Nägelsbach and Cheyne) is yet hardly possible, as קִנְאָה with the objective genitive is only found in the sense of zeal about something (chap. xxvi. 11; Ps. lxix. 10), and not in the sense of zeal against something. Accordingly we render it thus: the jealousy (passionate hostility) of Ephraim will cease, and if there should nevertheless be found those who oppress (are hostile to) Judah, they fall under the punishment of the הַכְּרִיתָה, i.e. God's immediate judgment יִכְרֹתֶהּ.

Another question turns upon the relationship of this Israel of the future with the neighbouring peoples: with the warlike Philistines, the predatory nomad tribes of the East, the unbrotherly Edomites, the boastful Moabites, and the cruel Ammonites. Will not these disturb and contract the new Israel as they did the old? Ver. 14: "*And they fly upon the shoulder of the Philistines seawards, unitedly they plunder the sons of the east, of Edom and Moab they take possession, and the sons of Ammon are subject to them.*" פְּתָח is the proper name of the coast land of Philistia sloping seawards (Josh. xv. 11, פְּתָח עֶקְרוֹן); but here alluding thereto it is represented as the shoulder of the body of the Philistine people (פְּתָחָם = פְּתָחָם, see on the cause at chap. v. 2), on which Israel sweeps down from the height of his mountain-land like an eagle. "Object of the outstretching of their hand" is the same as object of their seizure. Whenever henceforth any one of the neighbouring peoples here named attacks Israel, Israel will act in common. But how does this warlike prospect accord with the previous promise of paradisiacal peace, and the end of all war presupposed by it (cf. chap. ii. 4)? This is a contradiction, the solution of which lies in this, that they are only figures, — figures drawn from the present relations of the peoples and their warlike actings, in which the

dominion of the future united people over the neighbouring lands comes into the vision of the prophet.

He lingers still upon the miracles in which the antitypical redemption will resemble the typical one. Vers. 15, 16 : "*And Jehovah pronounces the ban upon the sea-tongue of Egypt, and swings His hand over the Euphrates in the glow of His breath, and strikes it asunder into seven brooks, and makes it that men pass through in shoes. And thus a road is made for the remnant of His people which will have remained out of Assur, as there was made for Israel on the day of its marching out of the land of Egypt.*" The two countries of the diaspora which are here first named are Assyria and Egypt. To those who are returning from both and through both, Jehovah miraculously makes a way. The sea-tongue (לִשָּׁן, as in Josh. xv. 5) of Egypt (יֵם־מִצְרַיִם with *ā* retained in the construct state, as is mostly the case),¹ stretching between Egypt and Arabia, is the Red Sea (*sinus Heroopolitanus*, the Gulf of Suez, not as Cheyne supposes, *sinus Aelaniticus*, i.e. the Gulf of Akaba). This he lays under the *bau* (הֲחָרִים), corresponding in meaning to the pouring out of the vial of wrath in Rev. xvi. 12, and a stronger expression than נָשַׁךְ, e.g. Ps. cvi. 9), the consequence of which is that it furnishes a dry passage for those who are returning. As הֲחָרִים from חָרַם = חָרַם (with the radical meaning to cut off, to separate, to consecrate), gives a meaning that is unobjectionable, it is unnecessary to read הֲחָרִיב from חָרַב = خرب, or to follow Meier and Knobel, who take הֲחָרִים in the meaning of to split (from חָרַם, Lev. xxi. 18 = خرم). And in order that

the cleaving of the Jordan may also have its antitype, Jehovah swings His hand to smite the Euphrates, while He breathes upon it at the same time with glowing breath, so that it is split into seven shallow brooks through which one

¹ The rule is already found in Kimchi, *Michlol*, 205a, and following him in Luzzatto (*Gramm.* § 870). The following are the forms both written and spoken, יֵם־הַיָּם, יֵם־הַיָּם, יֵם־הַיָּם, whereas it is יֵם־הַיָּם on account of the immediately following tone-syllable. It would certainly be correct according to rule to write instead of יֵם־הַיָּם, יֵם־הַיָּם with *Metheg*; see Norzi on Gen. iv. 25; Num. xxxiv. 3; and on the placing of *Metheg*, § 11.

can go in sandals. עָרַב stands, according to the law of euphony, for עָרַב , and the *ἀπ. λεγ.* עָרַב (with fixed *Kamez*) from $\text{עָרַב} = \text{עָרַב}$, עָרַב , to glow, means a glow, a meaning which, besides, is so well supported by the two Arabic verbs *med. Ye* عَام and عَام (*inf. 'aim, gaim, inner glowing, burning thirst,*

also violent raging), that the conjecture of עָרַב (Luzzatto, Gesenius, and Cheyne) is not required. The LXX. translate $\piνεύματι βιαίῳ$ as if it was written עָרַב ; the Syriac renders it only according to the general sense by *b'uhdûnâ*, with a display of might. Saadia, however, renders it with etymological correctness by *suhûn*, from *sahana*, to be hot, kindled. Thus in the (singeing, parching) hot glow of His breath, transforming the Euphrates into seven shallow Wadis, Jehovah makes a free way for His people who come out of Assyria. This is the idea which thus presents itself to the prophet.

Now, as the Israel that was redeemed from Egypt raised songs of praise on the other side of the Red Sea, so likewise does the Israel of the second redemption when brought not less miraculously over the Red Sea and Euphrates. Chap. xii. 1, 2: "*And thou wilt say in that day: I thank Thee, Jehovah, that Thou wast angry against me, | Thine anger has turned itself away, and Thou hast comforted me. | Behold, the God of my salvation, | I trust, and am not afraid; | for Jah Jehovah is my pride and song, | and He became salvation to me.*" The address is directed to the people of the future as contained in the people of the present. They give thanks for the wrath experienced, inasmuch as it was followed by all the richer consolation. The formation of the sentence after $\text{וְ$ is paratactic; the principal tone falls upon 1b (see on Job iv. 2), where $\text{וְ$ is equivalent to $\text{וְ$, or, more correctly, where this modal form, followed by $\text{וְ$, has included in it a past meaning (cf. Deut. xxxii. 18; Ps. xviii. 12). Driver, § 175, maintains that it is to be translated as an optative: May Thy anger turn away, and mayest Thou comfort us; but it is not till 2b that the object for which thanks are given comes to be fully expressed. As וְ in Hos. vi. 1 means "he struck," ruled by $\text{וְ$, so here both imperfects are ruled by $\text{וְ$, as Cheyne translates: "Thy wrath turned back, and Thou comfortedst me." We hear the sound of the ex-

pressions in Ps. xc. 13, xxvii. 1, breaking through here, but 2b is an echo of Ex. xv. 2 (from which also comes Ps. cxviii. 14). עָז (a collateral form of עָזָה) means here the lofty self-consciousness that is combined with the possession of power: pride and its expression, glorification; זְמֶרֶת is the extended ground form of זְמֶרֶת = זְמֶרֶה, and is therefore only in sense equivalent to זְמֶרֶת, the suffix of the first word also holding for the second (cf. חֲפֵץ in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5 = חֲפֵצִי). Peculiar to this echo of Ex. xv. 2 is the doubling of the יָהּ into יְהוָה, which corresponds to the surpassing of the type by the antitype.

Attaching itself to the introduction in ver. 1, a prophetic promise again appears. Ver. 3: "*And ye will draw water with rapture out of the wells of salvation.*" As Israel drank miraculous water in the wilderness, so will the God of salvation, who has become your salvation, also open to you springs (כְּעֵינִי, with auxiliary Pathach instead of the otherwise usual כְּעֵינִי, as we have frequently עָלֵינוּ for עָלֵינוּ) of salvation, many and manifold, in order to draw therefrom with and according to the heart's delight. יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה is repeated three times as the most striking and comprehensive designation of what arises out of the gracious work of the future for Israel, and through Israel for all the world. For, having attained to the possession of salvation, Israel seeks to put the other nations too into this same blessed possession, and in this sense the promise contained in ver. 3 changes into the psalm tones of the next three verses. Vers. 4-6: "*And ye will say in that day, Praise Jehovah, proclaim His name, | make known among the nations His deeds, | boast that His name is exalted, | hark to Jehovah, for He has displayed majesty, | let this be known in all lands. | Shout and jubilate, inhabitress of Zion, | for great within thee is the Holy One of Israel.*" The first hymn of six lines is followed here by a second of seven lines, a prophetic word of promise introduced between them separating the one from the other. This second hymn of praise also begins with the well-known tones of a psalm; the passage on which הוֹדִיעוּ הוֹדִיעוּ for הוֹדִיעוּ is founded is Ps. ix. 12, which has הוֹדִיעוּ הוֹדִיעוּ. The form in which it is put by Isaiah is repeated in Ps. cv. 1, and in the mosaic of 1 Chron. xvi. 8. The phrase קָרָא בְּשֵׁם ה' means to make the name of Jehovah the medium of

calling (Ges. 138. 1, R. 3*), i.e. to call to Him, or, as here, to call out, exclaim. נִשְׁבַּח is high-towering sublimity; here used of God, as in chap. xxvi. 10, with נִשְׁבַּח: to prove such in fact, as with נִשְׁבַּח in Ps. xciii. 1, to show oneself publicly in such sublimity. For the *Chethib* נִשְׁבַּח in ver. 5, the *Keri* substitutes the more appropriate Hophal form נִשְׁבַּח; נִשְׁבַּח means the known = familiar one. According to the previous appeals, the sentence is to be taken as expressing a wish that the glorious self-attestation of the God of the history of salvation may be introduced into the consciousness of the whole of the population of the earth, i.e. of mankind. When God redeems His people, He has in view the salvation of all the peoples. It is the Holy One of Israel, the knowledge of whom is spread by the word of proclamation, who becomes salvation to them all. How, then, may the Church of Zion rejoice at having such a God dwelling in its midst! Thus closes this second psalm-hymn of the redeemed people, and with it the *Book of Immanuel*. The name of God, קדוש ישראל, with which it closes, is, as it were, the anagram of the author.

PART III.—COLLECTION OF ORACLES CONCERNING THE HEATHEN, CHAPS. XIII.-XXIII.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING THE CHALDEANS, THE HEIRS OF THE ASSYRIANS, CHAP. XIII. 1—XIV. 27.

Just as in Jeremiah, chaps. xli.-li., and in Ezekiel, chaps. xxv.-xxxii., so likewise in Isaiah the oracles concerning the heathen stand together. In this respect the three great books of prophecy have the same kind of arrangement. In Jeremiah these oracles disjoined from their *introitus* in chap. xxv. form the concluding part of the collection. In Ezekiel they fill up that interval of time when Jerusalem at home was lying at the last extremity, and the prophet had become speechless on the Kebar of Chaldea. Here in Isaiah these prophecies indemnify us for the interruption which his public labours appear to have undergone in the latter years of Ahaz.

Moreover, this was their most snitable position, following chaps. vii.—xii.; for the great consoling thought of the prophecy of Immanuel, that all the kingdoms shall become the kingdom of God and of His Christ, is here unfolded. And as the prophecy of the Immanuel is given on the threshold of the period of the great empires in order to rule this whole period with its consolation, the oracles concerning the heathen peoples and kingdoms properly belong to it and go with it.

The fact that with chap. xiii. there begins a new part of the whole book, is indicated by the superscription or heading given in chap. xiii. 1: "*Oracle concerning Babel which Isaiah, son of Amos, has beheld.*" מִשְׁאָה from נִשָּׂא, *efferre*, then *effari*, Ex. xx. 27, means, as is evident from 2 Kings ix. 25, *effatum*, the utterance, particularly the sentence of God; and the term (without introducing the idea of *onus*, according to which it is translated by the Targum, Syr. Jer. and Luther, although, according to Jer. xxiii. 33, they were only scoffers who connected this idea with the word) commonly, although not always, indicates the judicial sentence of God. We see from this superscription that the מִשְׁאָה בָּבֶל originally formed a whole by itself, and that it was handed down to the redactor of the Book of Isaiah as Isaianic, or, at least, that he had grounds for holding it to be Isaianic. And, in fact, the mode of exposition and the whole external character impressed upon it accords in many respects with those prophecies which are undoubtedly Isaianic; and Zephaniah and Jeremiah appear to stand in a relation of dependence to this מִשְׁאָה בָּבֶל, a relation which cannot be inverted without conflicting with the admittedly mosaic work in Zephaniah and the imitative character of Jeremiah (see on this, Caspari in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1843, 2). Ezekiel, too, in chap. xxxi., where he holds up before the land of Pharaoh the fate of the Asiatic empire as a mirror, appears to fuse together recollections of this מִשְׁאָה בָּבֶל and of other prophecies which are recognised as the genuine productions of Isaiah (cf. *e.g.* chap. xxxi. 16 with Isa. xiv. 8; and chap. xxxi. 10–14 with Isa. x. 33–34). The lamentation and the funeral song over the king of Egypt in Ezek. xxxii. is regarded by Ewald and Cheyne as the original, which has been imitated by the author of the מִשְׁאָה בָּבֶל. But there are reasons for holding to the originality

of the **מלשׁ בבל**: Ezekiel may be said to pick particular passages out of it (compare chap. xxxii. 7, 8 with Isa. xiii. 10; and chap. xxxii. 28 with Isa. xiv. 19), and these he expands in his own way of working details into more comprehensive pictures. However, we do not overlook the weight of the one ground opposed to this view, namely, that this prophecy concerning Babylon (Babel) has no historical contemporaneous attachment in Isaiah's own time. It is true that Isaiah had become certain in the time of Hezekiah (as chap. xxxix. shows; cf. Micah iv. 10) that it was not Assyria that would be the executor of the final judgment on Judah, but Babylon, which was already at that time the second capital city of the Assyrian kingdom and the seat of dependent kings who were striving for independence, and that it was thus a Chaldean kingdom. But that Jehovah, as in the case of Assyria, would avenge His people on Babylon through a Median (Medo-Persian) empire, which was to arise after the Chaldean empire, and that He would thus redeem the exiles, is a consolatory hope for which a prophet of the beginning of the Babylonian exile is better fitted to be the organ than Isaiah, for whom, as for Micah, Babylon, as the mistress of the world, formed the farthest bound of his horizon, and who did not yet proclaim the fall of Nineveh, as Nahum and Zephaniah afterwards did for the first time.

The prophet hears a summons to war. From whom it proceeds, and to whom or against whom,—still remains secret; but this makes the anxiety the more intense. Ver. 2: "*On unwooded mountain lift ye up a banner, call to them with loud-sounding voice, shake the hand, that they may enter into gates of princes.*" The pronoun **הֵם** precedes, and the naming of those to whom it refers follows, as, for instance, in Deut. xxxiii. 2, 3. The summons is pressing, and hence a threefold signal: the staff of the banner planted in order to be widely visible on a "bared" mountain (**הַצִּהָר**), from which comes **צִהָר**, only found in Isaiah and Jeremiah); the voice raised high; and the waving of the hand, which implies a violent beckoning—all three signs being favourite ideas with Isaiah. The destination of this *arrière-ban* is the marching into a city of princes (**בְּיָדֵי**), freemen, nobles, princes, Ps. cvii. 40; cf. cxiii. 8), that is to say, they were to march in as conquerors; for

it is not the princes who call them thither, but He who summons them is Jehovah. Ver. 3: "*I have summoned my consecrated ones, also called my heroes to my wrath, my proudly exulting ones.*" עֲלֵי is to be explained in accordance with chap. x. 5. To execute his wrath, he has commanded his מַלְאָכָיו, i.e. (according to Jer. xxii. 7; cf. the dependent passage, li. 27, 28) those who were already solemnly consecrated to march to battle, and called his heroes whom he had taken into his service, and who, even while exulting in the intoxicating pride of victory, are his instruments (apparently borrowed in Zeph. i. 7; cf. iii. 11). עֲלֵי is a word peculiar to Isaiah (xxii. 2, xxiv. 8); and the combination עֲלֵי נְאֻמָּה is so unusual that it is hardly to be expected in two writers who stand out of relation to each other.

The command of Jehovah is speedily executed. The great army is already moving down from the mountain. Vers. 4, 5: "*Hark, tumult upon the mountains after the manner of a great people; hark, uproaring of kingdoms of nations met together! Jehovah of hosts musters an army. Those have come out of a far land from the end of the heaven: Jehovah and His instruments of wrath, to destroy the whole earth.*" הֵן opens an interjectional proposition, and thereby becomes itself almost an interjection (compare lii. 8, lxvi. 6, and on Gen. iv. 10). On the mountains there is a rumbling uproar (chap. xvii. 12, 13); for they are the peoples of *Eran*, and at their head the Medes, who inhabit the very mountainous part of Eran to the north-east of Babylonia, who descend over the lofty *Shahu* (Zagros) and the mountain chains lying towards the Tigris and stretching down to the Babylonian lowlands; and not merely the peoples of Eran, but generally the peoples of the mountainous north of Asia (Jer. li. 27). It is an army under the guidance of Jehovah, the God of the hosts of spirits and stars, whose wrath it is about to execute on the whole earth, i.e. on the kingdom of the world; for the fall of Babylon is a judgment, and it is accompanied with judgments upon all the peoples under the Babylonian government.

Then must all sink into anxious and painful terror. Vers. 6-8: "*Howl, for the day of Jehovah is near, like a destroying force, from the Almighty it comes. Therefore all arms hang slack down, and every human heart melts away. And they*

become disturbed, they fall into cramps and pangs, like a travailing woman they writhe; one stares at the other, their faces are faces of flame." The outcry, הִילִילִי (not defectively, הִלִּילִי), LXX. ὁλολύζετε (cf. Jas. v. 1), is founded on the expression "the day of Jehovah is near," which, from the time of Obadiah and Joel, was the watchword of prophecy. The פֶּ in פֶּשַׁר is the so-called פֶּ *veritatis*, i.e. of the comparison of the concrete with its idea (chap. xxix. 2; Song of Sol. viii. 10), or of the individual with the universal or common which is manifested in it (see Ezek. xxvi. 10; Zech. xiv. 3; 2 Sam. ix. 8; Neh. vii. 2); it is a destroying by him who possesses unlimited power to

destroy (פֶּשַׁר from פָּשַׁר, *to ram*, to attack in a violently destructive way, from which we have פָּשַׁר, according to the form פָּשַׁר from פָּשַׁר). In this play of sound the prophet repeats words of Joel (i. 15). He himself uses פָּשַׁר nowhere else as a name of God. On that day men let their hands hang down from despondency and helplessness, and the heart, the seat of life, dissolves (chap. xix. 1) in the heat of anguish. Universal consternation ensues, as is here expressed by the וְנִבְהִלִי standing in half pause (*shalsheth*, with the mark of separation after it). The following paragogic imperfects increase the energy of the description by their anapaestic rhythm. Men (this is the subject) are seized by cramps and pangs (as in Job xviii. 20, xxi. 6), the force of events compelling them to enter into these states (cf. chap. xxxv. 10). The cramps are called צִירִים from צִיר = צָר, like *tormina*, from *torquere*, and the pangs and throes תִּבְבִּלִים from the תִּבֵּל, which is related in meaning to צָר (cf. חָבֵל, to be pregnant, literally, *semen in se constrictum habere*). The pains are indicated in their order of succession, which is here expressed by הִילִילִי (from הִלִּיל = חָלַל, to turn oneself, to writhe). Further, their faces are faces of flame. What is here meant is the fever glow of anguish, which drives the blood into their face, so that it becomes deep red and glowing hot (compare the expression for deadly paleness in Joel ii. 6).

Jehovah's day of wrath is coming,—a starless night, a night-like, sunless day. Vers. 9, 10: "Behold, the day of

Jehovah comes, a cruel one, and indignation and glowing wrath, to turn the earth into a wilderness; and its sin it abolishes from it. For the stars of the heaven and its Orions will not let their light gleam; the sun darkens itself at its rising, and the moon does not let its light shine." The day of Jehovah comes, cruel and severe (אִכְזָר, an *adj. relat.*, fr. the elative form אִכְזָרָה), as the overflow of inner excitement and as sheer glowing wrath. אִכְזָר is carried on in the finite verb. It is, indeed, not the judgment of the world which the prophet is describing, but a historical catastrophe of the nations drawing the whole earth afar into sympathetic suffering; אִכְזָר is here not merely the land of Babylon (Knobel), but the earth. That the day of Jehovah is a day of wrath is established in ver. 10. Even nature clothes itself in the colour of wrath, the opposite of which is light. The heavenly lights above the earth are extinguished; the moon does not shine; the sun in the act of rising changes its mind. That בְּסִיל, in the sense of "the fool = foolhardy one," indicates Orion, which is according to the old translations (LXX. ὁ Ὠρίων, Targum נְסִילָהּ from נְסִיל, in the same astrological sense), is more probable¹ than that it indicates in the sense of "the tardy one," *suhél*, i.e. Canopus (see on Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31), although the Arabic *suhél* occurs as the generic name for stars of prominent splendour (see on Job xxxviii. 7). The comprehensive signification of the term is similar to the use of הַבְּעָלִים in Hos. ii. 15, 19, as applying to Baal, Astarte, and the bull images taken together; or as when in Arabic (according to a figure of speech which is called تغليب, i.e. the letting the *pars potior* predominate) "the two late evenings" are used for evening and late evening; "the two Omars" for Omar and Abubekr (*DMZ.* vii. 180–81), and *Sibaweih*s for Sibaweih and the grammarians like him, exactly as in Latin we have Scipiones = men of the greatness of Scipio. Even the Orions, i.e. the stars, which at other times beam most brightly (cf. σείρια παμφανέοντα in

¹ So when the astronomical R. Samuel of Nehardea, *Berachot* 58b, says: "Were it not for the heat of the בְּסִיל, the world could not exist on account of the cold of the עֶקְרָב (Scorpion);" and, conversely, he means by בְּסִיל Orion. The sense of the saying is that the constellations Orion and Scorpio, of which the one appears in the hot season and the other in the cold, maintain an equilibrium in the relations of the temperature.

a fragment of Ibykos), withhold their light; for when God is angry, the principle of anger stirs also in the natural world, and indeed primarily in the stars which were created לְמַנְחֵם (compare Gen. i. 14 with Jer. x. 2). Instead of מִנְחָה, Ezekiel, in chap. xxxii. 7 says מִנְחָה.

The prophet now hears again the voice of Jehovah, which reveals to him what is His purpose—a visitation punishing the wicked, humbling the proud, and depopulating the lands. Vers. 11, 12: "*And I visit on the world the evil, and upon evil-doers their guilt, and sink into silence the pomp of the inflated, and the show of the tyrants I throw to the ground. I make men more costly than fine gold, and people than Ophir-jewels.*" The verb מִנְחָה is, as in Jer. xxxii. 2, construed with the accusative of what is punished, and with עַל of him who is punished. Instead of מִנְחָה we have here מִנְחָה, which is always used in the manner of a proper noun (never with the article, nor in plural) of the earth without limitation. Instead of מְנַחֵם we have here מְנַחֵם, like מְנַחֵם in Job xxi. 28; the former means only princes, having only sometimes the collateral sense of despots; the latter signifies primarily ferocious men or tyrants, and it occurs frequently in Isaiah. The typical impress of Isaiah is here unmistakable. "What is high is thrown down" is one of the chief themes of Isaiah's proclamation. It is one of the fundamental thoughts of Isaiah, that the judgment only leaves a remnant (שְׁאֵר); and this thought also runs through the oracles concerning the heathen (chap. xvi. 14, xxi. 17, xxiv. 6), and is variously represented (chap. x. 16–19, xvii. 4–6, xxiv. 13, xxx. 17). Here the thought is expressed by indicating that men will be as scarce as the finest kinds of gold. מְנַחֵם from מְנַחֵם = כֶּמֶס, to conceal,

is literally hiding, and then, what is kept hidden on account of its preciousness. Isaiah is fond of painting in tones, and the מְנַחֵם, which resembles מְנַחֵם in sound, is—according to what is still always the most probable view—the gold region of India, which lay nearest the Phoenicians, the coastland of *Abhira*, east of the mouths of the Indus (see Comm. on Gen. x. 29; Job xxii. 24; and as to the Egyptianized Σουφίρ of LXX., see Comm. on Job xxviii. 16).

The wrath of God thus rules on earth among men, thus

casting down and rooting out; and the natural world above and below cannot remain unaffected by it. Ver. 13: "*Therefore I set the heavens a-quaking, and the earth trembles away from its place, because of the fury of Jehovah of hosts, and because of the day of His glowing anger.*" In 13a there is an echo of Job ix. 6 (cf. xx. 27). The two א (cf. ix. 18) are used causatively. They correspond to the אַל as its explication. Because God's wrathful judgment is inflicted upon men, every creature which is not the object of that judgment of wrath must yet become a means of carrying it out. It is the thought of ver. 9a which is here repeated in a sort of refrain (similarly as in chap. v. 25). Now follow the several fatalities. The first is flight. Ver. 14: "*And it happens as with a gazelle which is scared, and as with a flock without a gatherer, they turn every one to his people, and they flee every one to his land.*" The subj. of אֵלֶּיךָ is כּ *instar*: there happens the like of, or the same as with a scared gazelle. Babylon, the "shopkeepers' city of the merchants' land" (Ezek. xvii. 4), was the world market of inner Asia, and therefore a gathering place of the most diverse nationalities (Jer. l. 16; cf. li. 9, 44), the rendezvous of a *πάμμικτος ὄχλος*, as Aeschylus says in his *Persae*, v. 52. This great and motley mass of strangers scatter hurriedly away on the fall of the imperial city (chap. xlvii. 15; Jer. l. 16, li. 9). The second fatality is violent death. Ver. 15: "*Every one who is found is thrust through, and every one who is overtaken falls by the sword.*" אֲנֻכְזָרִים are those who are found in the city by the intruding conquerors; and אֲנֻכְזָרִים are those who are caught by them in flight (כָּפַח, chap. vii. 20, to snatch away). All are slaughtered. The third and fourth fatalities are plundering and ravishing. Ver. 16: "*And their sucklings are dashed in pieces before their eyes, their houses plundered, and their wives ravished.*" Instead of תִּשְׁבְּלוֹתָם, the *Kert* has here and in Zech. xiv. 2 euphemistically תִּשְׁכַּבְּנָה, *concubitum patientur*, a passive which, like the Pual of the *Kert* of Jer. iii. 2, nowhere appears in the Old Testament text itself (see Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 407, 408). The queen's name, שִׁנְלִי, and the odalisque's name, שִׁנְלִי, in Dan. v. 2, 3, show that שִׁנְלִי was not regarded as ignoble in the ancient period of the language.

With ver. 17 there begins a new turn of the prophecy in

which the obscurity thus far lying upon it is completely broken through. We now learn the name of the conquerors. Ver. 17: "*Behold, I rouse upon them the Medes, who regard not silver, and have no pleasure in gold.*" The Medes are called מֵדָה, the old Bactrian *Mada*, the Assyrian *Mada-a-a* (without marking of the first syllable as long). The Persians, who are first named by Ezekiel and Daniel, are not mentioned here; the prophet who ascribes the fall of Babylon (538 B.C.) to the Medes, prophesies, as the statement shows, before Cyrus made himself the master of the Median empire (549 B.C.) by conquering Astyages. The Medes lived till about the end of the reign of Hezekiah, in country districts containing regions (villages) organized in a constitutional way. After they had broken away, in 714 B.C., from the Assyrians, they put themselves, in 709-8 B.C., under a common king, named Deyoces, or more correctly, under a common monarch. But the proper founder of a Median kingdom was Cyaxares, 633-593 B.C., who was followed by Astyages (593-549 B.C.). The "kings of Media" appear, in Jer. xxv. 25, among those who must drink the cup of reveling, which Jehovah presents through Nebuchadnezzar to the peoples. Their expedition against Babylon was thus an act of revenge for the disgrace of servitude brought upon them. The fact that they did not esteem silver and gold (כֶּסֶף, *aestimare*, and indeed *magni*, as in chap. xxxiii. 8, and frequently elsewhere) is not meant to mark them as a rude uncivilised people, but the prophet means it in the same way as Cyrus in Xenophon, *Cyrop.* v. 120, when he says to the Medes: οὐ χρημάτων δεόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐξήλθετε. Revenge incites them on even to ignore all morality and humanity. Ver. 18: "*And bows smite down young men; and on the fruit of the body they have no compassion, on children their eye has no pity.*" The bows do not stand exactly for the bowmen (see chap. xxi. 17); but the bows of the latter smite down the youths by means of the shot arrow. The fruit of the body they do not spare, since they kill the sucklings, and even rip up the bodies of women with child (2 Kings viii. 12, xv. 16, and elsewhere). They feel no emotion of pity or consideration even towards children; no such emotion is keeping them back or expressing itself in their look (Prov.

xxi. 10); חַשׁ, related to حָשׂ, from which comes حָשׂ, *absit* = חָלִי, here, as in Ezek. v. 11, used of the eye as the mirror of the soul (cf. 1 Sam. xxiv. 11, where עַיִן is to be supplied).¹ With such inhuman excesses on the part of the enemy, the capital of the empire becomes a scene of terrible conflagration. Ver. 19: "*And Babel, the ornament of kingdoms, the glory of the pageantry of the Chaldeans, becomes like Elohim's judicial overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.*" The ornament of מְלִכּוֹת is so called because it is the centre of many subjugated kingdoms which now take their revenge upon her, ver. 4; and she is called the glory or pride (cf. xxviii. 1) because the ancient seat of a mighty and far-ruling people. Its present catastrophe is compared to that of Sodom and Gomorrah; the two נָא are in the accusative; מְהִפְכָּה, καταστροφή, is used like נָעַל in chap. xi. 9 with a verbal force (τὸ καταστρέψαι), and the LXX. render it well *ὃν τρόπον κατέστρεψεν ὁ θεός* (cf. on the arrangement of the words, Ges. § 133, 3).

Babylon, like the cities of the Pentapolis, is now an everlasting wilderness. Vers. 20-22: "*She remains unoccupied for ever, and uninhabited to generation of generations; and an Arab does not pitch tent there, and shepherds do not make lie down there. And beasts of the desert lie down there, and hyenas fill their houses, and ostriches dwell there, and field-devils hop about there. And jackals howl in her castles, and wild dogs in palaces of pleasure: and her time is near to come, and her days will not be prolonged.*" A city sits and dwells when it is settled and inhabitable, and has therefore a settled population (cf. e.g. Zech. ix. 5). Babylon thus becomes a ruin. The conclusion is similar to the conclusion of the prophecy against Edom in chap. xxxiv. 16, 17; there the certainty of what is prophesied is asserted to the most individual details; here the nearness of the fulfilment is asserted. The fulfilment, however, did not take place so soon as may appear from

¹ This is not connected with خَشْيَةُ الْعَيْنِ عَلَى (Hariri, p. 140, *Comment.*), in which الْعَيْنِ is not *gen. subjecti*, but *n. act.*, and which means: Anxiety lest his sons should be smitten by the evil eye; literally: Anxiety of ogling for his sons (see the remark above on ii. 6).—FL.

the words of the prophecy. According to Herodotus, Cyrus, the leader of the Medo-Persian army, left the city still standing with its double ring of walls. Darius Hystaspis, who was forced to conquer Babylon a second time in 518 B.C., had the walls taken away all but 50 ells. Xerxes gave the last blow to the glory of the temple of Belus. Conquered by Seleucus Nikator (312 B.C.), Babylon fell in proportion as Seleucia arose, and Seleucia even inherited the name of the city it surpassed.¹ *Babylon*, says Pliny, *ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciae*. In the time of Strabo (born 60 B.C.), Babylon was a complete desert; and he applies to it (xvi. 15) the words of the poet: *ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στιν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις*. Consequently prophecy shows itself here too as subject to the law of perspective foreshortening. But the curse, to the effect that Babylon should never come again to be settled and inhabited (a poetical expression, as in Jer. xvii. 25, xxxiii. 16), proved itself effective when Alexander wished to make Babylon the metropolis of his empire; he was carried off when engaged at it by an early death. Ten thousand workmen were at that time employed for two months in clearing away the rubbish from the foundation of the temple of Belus (the Nimrod Tower). The fact that there is now found, not far from the Birs Nimrud, a considerable and pleasant town named Hilla, is not contrary to 20a; for the prophecy means Babylon, the city of imperial power. In ver. 20b it is said that no Arab (עֲרָב, from the old Semitic עֲרָבָה, *عربة*, a steppe, used here for the first time, and then in

Jer. iii. 2 = *بغوى*, Bedouin, from *بدو*, a desert) pitches his tent there (נִחָן, different from נָחַן in chap. xiii. 10 and Job xxxi. 26, is syncopated from *נִחָן*, *tentorium figet*, like the Assyrian *לֶחֶם=לָחַם*, to settle down, to camp), is the natural consequence of the great field of ruins which is supplied only with scanty vegetation. General Chesney found at the foot of the Birs Nimrud a tribe of Arabs encamping there; and this is indeed against the letter of the prophecy, but not against its sense;—the field of ruins is not a pasture-land where

¹ Stephanus Byz.: *Βαβυλὼν Περσικὴ πόλις μητρόπολις Σελιούσια καλομένη.*

nomads could remain. In depicting this desert field the prophet names all sorts of beasts of the desert and of waste places that make their haunts there. The series opens with **צִי** (from **צ**, dryness = **צָר**, or from **צִי**, *adj. relat.* of the noun **צָר**), *i.e.* inhabitants of the desert, here not men, but, as in most instances, beasts, yet without its being possible to determine those which are specially so designated. It was a plausible conjecture of Aurivillius, that **אֶחָדִים** meant long-eared owls (*Uhu's*); but the Assyrian *āḫū* (syn. *barbaru*) is in favour of a four-footed beast.¹ On **בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה**, see Comm. on Job xxxix.

13-18; Wetzstein combines **יַעֲנָה** with **وَعْدَة**, a desert; Ewald, on the other hand, compares the Syriac **ܝܥܢܐ**, greedy, devouring. The feminine plural includes the ostriches of both sexes, just as the **אֵיִם** (sing. **אֵ** = **אִי** from **אָהַ**, **עָרִי**, to howl), *i.e.* jackals, are called in Arabic, without distinction of sex, **بَنَات** **وَأَوَى**, and in the vulgar dialect **وَأَوَى** **وَأَوَى** (see Köhler on Mal. i. 3) has also been regarded since Pocock and Schnurrer as a name of the jackal; for which the Arabic name for the wolf, *tinān* (which is only incidentally so used), gives less authority than the Syriac translation by **ܝܪܝܐ** (*e.g.* in Jer. ii. 24, where the Targum has **ܝܪܝܐ**);² it may designate a variety of the species *canis aureus*, from the characteristic mark of its being stretched out long (whether from length of the trunk, or of the snout, or of the tail).³ The animals named, the quadrupeds (**רִמָּיִם**) as well as the birds (**שָׁכֵן**), are actually still found there on the ground and soil of ancient Babylon. When Ker Porter was approaching the Nimrod Tower, lions were sunning themselves quietly upon its walls, and they came down leisurely when alarmed by the cries of the Arabs. And, as Rich heard in Bagdad, the site of the ruins is still regarded as a rendezvous for ghosts; **שְׁעִיר**, in distinction from **שְׁעִירִי**, signifies the full-grown shaggy he-goat, but here **שְׁעִירִים** (as in

¹ See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language* (1883), p. 34.

² Just as strange is the way in which **ר** and **ד** interchange in the Talmudic **צִבְחָר**, and the Palestinian-Aramaean **צִבְחָר** (a bit, a little). The transition of the *δ spirans* into *r* is also found in the sphere of the Arian languages, *DMZ.* xxxvi. 135, 136.

³ W. Robertson Smith mentions in the accounts of his journey to Hijaz that the fox is there called *abu-hosein*, and the jackal **ثعلب**.

chap. xxxiv. 14) are demons in the shape of goats to which the heathen offered sacrifices (Lev. xvii. 7; cf. 2 Chron. xi. 15). Virgil, like Isaiah, calls them *saltantes Satyros*. In the present day the nightly howling and yelling of jackals (עֲנִי after נֶאֱרָר, as in 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7) still produces its weird disconcerting effect upon the traveller there. These are the future inhabitants of the royal אֲרָמֹת, which the prophet (cf. Targ. Ezek. xix. 7) with a sarcastic touch calls אֲלִמָּנֹת, on account of their witheredness and desolation (although אֲלִמָּנָה is shown to be only different in sound from אֲרָמָנָה by the Assyrian *almattu* = *almantu*).¹ These are to be the inhabitants of the עֲנֵי הַיְכָל, the luxurious villas and chateaux or pleasure mansions, with their hanging gardens. The fulfilment is put in prospect in ver. 22b as in the near future. עַתָּה (hardly contracted out of עֲנֵה from עָנָה = אָנָה, to meet, a meaning for עָנָה which has no certain support, but out of עֲנֵה from עָנָה, to determine)² signifies the final term of fulfilment. The Apocalypse in chap. xviii. 2 takes up this prophecy of Isaiah and applies it to a then existing Babylon, which has to look at itself in the mirror of the Babylon of old.

It is love to His own people which drives the God of Israel to suspend such a judgment of eternal destruction over Babylon. Chap. xiv. 1, 2: "*For Jehovah will have mercy on Jacob, and will once more choose Israel, and will settle them on their native soil; and the foreigner will associate himself with them, and will attach themselves to the house of Jacob. And peoples take them and accompany them to their place, and the house of Israel makes them its own on the soil of Jehovah as servants and maid-servants, and they hold captive those who led them away captive, and become lords of their oppressors.*" We have here in nuce the comforting substance of chaps. xl.—lxvi. Babylon falls in order that Israel may rise. God's compassion brings this about. He chooses Israel עֵד, *iterum* (as in Zech. i. 17, ii. 16), and therefore concludes with it a new covenant. Then follows restoration to the possession of their country (אֲרָמָתָם), of the land of Jehovah (אֲרָמָתָהּ, as

¹ See Friedr. Delitzsch on Baer's *Ezekiel*, p. xi.

² Similar to this pair of derivatives, מוֹעֵד and מוֹעֵדָה, are מוֹעֵד and מוֹעֵדָה, מוֹעֵד and מוֹעֵדָה; cf. v. Orelli, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, pp. 47–49.

in Hos. ix. 3). The proselytes from the heathen who had attached themselves to Israel (נִלְיָה, as in Zech. ii. 15, parallel to נִסְמָה), march with them as Ruth went with Naomi. Heathen accompany the exiles to their locality and place. And the relation between them is now reversed. Those who accompany Israel are now taken possession of by them for themselves (הִתְחַלְּלָה, used reflexively, like הִתְפַּתֵּחַ in chap. lii. 2 λύεσθαι) for servants and maid-servants, and they (the Israelites) become leaders into captivity of those who led them captive (לָקַח, with the participle, as in chap. xi. 9), and they will rule over those who were their oppressors (יָדָה בְּ, as in Ps. xlix. 15). The promise literally refers to this world, in accordance with the national form of the Old Testament community, and will not be realized in this its literal sense. Israel, indeed, will be restored as a people; but the essence of the Church which is raised above all national distinctions does not return to the national limit which it has broken through. The fact that the prophecy moves within this limit here is explained at once from the fact that it is primarily deliverance from the Babylonian exile that is promised.

The song of the redeemed is a song on the fall of the king of Babylon.¹ Vers. 3, 4a: "*And it comes to pass on the day when Jehovah brings thee rest from thy torment, and from thy anguish, and from the heavy servitude wherewith thou wast made to serve, then thou raisest such a triumph-song over the king of Babel, and sayest.*" Instead of the Hiphil הִנִּיחַ (to let down, to set down, as in Gen. ii. 15) of ver. 1, we have here, as in the original passage in Deut. xxv. 19, the more usual form הִנִּיחַ, in the sense of to give rest, to procure rest. עָצַב is trouble which torments (as עָטַל is trouble which presses heavy), and רָגַז, agonizing restlessness (Job iii. 26; cf. Ezek. xii. 18). The assimilated מִן before רָגַז is not מִן, as in מִעֲצָב, but מִן, with a virtual duplication (*Michlol*, 54a), as elsewhere before ה, ה, and also before ר in 1 Sam. xxiii. 28; 2 Sam. xviii. 16. In the relative clause אֲשֶׁר עָבַדְתָּ, אֲשֶׁר is not the Hebrew *causus adverb.*, corresponding to the Latin ablative,

¹ In Bungener's *Un sermon sous Louis XIV.*, Bossuet is represented as saying: "What beauty! Were the author a poet, I would say: that is his masterpiece!"

quâ servitude serro te usi sunt; it is conceived as *acc. obj.*, according to Ex. i. 14 and Lev. xxv. 39, *qu'on l'a fait servir*, as in Num. xxxii. 5, *qu'on donne la terre* (Luzzatto). Delivered from such a yoke of servitude, Israel will raise a מִשָּׁל. מִשָּׁל, according to its primary general meaning, is exposition or representation, *i.e.* oratorical exposition (from

מִשָּׁל = מִלֵּל, to exhibit, put oneself forward), thoughtful and pregnant speech, figurative speech, and generally poetry, but more particularly gnomic poetry, with a liking for what is emblematic and piquant; and from this the idea of the satirical is easily combined with the term.

The song is addressed to the Israel of the future in the Israel of the present, as in chap. xii. 1. The former will then sing and say, vers. 4b-6: "*How it is over now with the tyrant, over with the place of torture! Jehovah has broken to pieces the rod of the wicked, the ruler-staff which smote peoples fiercely with blows without ceasing, wrathfully subjugated nations with pursuing that never pauses.*" The ἄπ. λεγ. מִרְהִיבָה is derived, by Parchon, Kimchi, Ben-Melech, Vtringa, Auvillius, and Rosenmüller, from the Aramaean רִיב, *aurum*; but this was never thought of by any of the ancients. The latter all translate the word as if it were מִרְהִיבָה (arrogant, violent treatment, from רִיב, chap. iii. 5), as it has been mostly corrected since J. D. Michaelis. But we come to this result without changing a letter, if we take רִיב = רָאָב, meaning to flow away, to pine away. The מ is the local מ, as in מִרְמָנָה, chap. xxv. 10, and therefore the place where they reduce to pining away, *i.e.* Babylon, as a house of servitude where Israel has been made weary to death. The ruler-staff in ver. 5 is the Chaldean imperial power concentrated personally in the king of Babylon (cf. שֶׁבֶט in Nnm. xxiv. 17); the ruler is termed מִשָּׁל, as standing upright and bearing the sway (*kāim bi-l-mulki*), just as the parable is called מִשָּׁל, as a (comparative) exhibition or exposition. Here the associated idea of the tyrant is connected with מִשָּׁל. That tyrant-sceptre smote peoples with incessant smiting and hunting of them; with מִכָּה is connected, as the accusative of manner, the derivative מִכַּת, and with רָדָה is connected in cognate sense מִרְדָּה, that which (רָדָה) is hunted, then this that

(־ט) there is hunting, and as the meaning of the passive participle passes into that of the verbal abstract: the being hunted, a Hophal noun, as in chap. viii. 23, xxix. 3. Döderlein's conjecture of מְרִידָה is ingenious but unnecessary.

Unceasing continuance is expressed first by בְּלֵיתִי, which is used as a preposition, and is followed by מְרִידָה, which is a participial noun like מְרִידָה, and then it is expressed by בְּלֵי, which is construed as in Gen. xxxi. 20, Job xli. 18, with a finite verb; for בְּלֵי מְרִידָה is an attributive clause: with a "being hunted" which did not hold itself in, made no halt, and therefore did not spare. But it is not Israel only and other subjugated peoples that now breathe again. Vers. 7, 8: *"The whole earth is quiet, is at rest; they break forth into jubilation. Even the cypresses rejoice because of thee, the cedars of Lebanon: 'since thou hast fallen asleep, there will not come up one who lays the axe to us.'"* The preterites indicate inchoatively the circumstances into which the whole earth has now entered. The want of a subject with מְרִידָה gives the greatest generality to the bursting out of jubilation; מְרִידָה רָנָה, *erumpere gaudio*, is an expression exclusively Isaianic (*e.g.* in chaps. xlv. 23, xlix. 13). מְרִידָה also in historical prose signifies "since" in a relative conjunctive sense (*e.g.* Ex. v. 23); and it is peculiar to our prophet to draw the trees of the forest into the general joy as living and speaking beings (*cf.* lv. 12). Jerome understands the trees here figuratively as *principes gentium*. But the disposition to allegorize not only destroys the reality of the contents, but also the colouring of the poetry. Cypresses and cedars rejoice, because the Chaldean has behaved so badly when among them in employing the almost imperishable wood of both for building ornamental structures, for carrying on sieges, and for constructing fleets. They even made ships of them, as Alexander, for example, built for himself a fleet of cypress wood, and the Syrian ships had masts of cedar. Of the thousand-year-old cedars of Lebanon, which at a moderate height are distinguished by the circumference of their trunk (being about 14.56 metres at breast high), there are only some seven still remaining, while the number of all the trunks goes considerably beyond 350. The old botanist Rauwolff, in the year 1573 (according to the account of his travels published in 1583), counted only 24.

While it has now become quiet on earth, on the other hand the nether world is found in the most violent agitation. Ver. 9: "*The kingdom of the dead below falls into uproar on account of thee at thy coming; it stirs up for thee the shades, all the he-goats of the earth; it raises up from their throne-seats all the kings of the nations.*" The mythological idea of Hades proceeds on the twofold truth, that what and how man has been in this world is not obliterated in the other world, but becomes essentially manifest, and that there is an immaterial self-formation of the soul in which all that the individual man has become through his own self-determination under God-given relations is reflected as in a mirror, and that in an abiding figure. This image of the soul, to which the dead body is related as the shattered form of a mould, is the shadowy corporeity of the inhabitants of Hades, in which they appear essentially, although in the condition of spirits, as what they were in this life. The prophet depicts this poetically; it is truly a *קִשָּׁל* which he here inweaves in his prophecy. The greatest astonishment and excitement lay hold of the whole of Hades now when the king of Babel approaches, the invincible ruler of the world, who was not expected, or, at least, not so soon. From *עוֹרֵר* onwards, *שֹׂמֵל*, although feminine, might be the subject, since the verb turns from the feminine form into the original masculine form; but it is better to take the subject as neuter, a *nescio quid*, a nameless power; for were *שֹׂמֵל* to be taken as the personified Sheol with allusion to the heathen god of the nether world (such as Nergal, the *kar apsi*, king of the water deep, Job xxvi. 5), then *רָנָה* would have to be altered into *רָנָו* (DMZ. xxvi. 793). A sudden shock runs through the inhabitants of the still land, especially those who were formerly the leading goats or bell-wethers of the herds of peoples, so that they bound up from astonishment.

And what do they call out to the lofty new-comer as he approaches? Ver. 10: "*They all begin and say to thee: Thou also hast been made weak the same as we; thou art become like us!?*" This verse only contains the address of the shades. The Pual *הִלָּה*, only used here, meaning to be made sickly or powerless, signifies the being transposed into the state of the *רַפָּאִים* (a word occurring in Phenician inscriptions, from *רָפָא* =

רָפָּה, to be slack, weary); for the life of the shades is only a shadow of life (cf. εἶδωλα, ἄκις, and κάμοντες in Homer). We cannot expect more than this expression of highest amazement in Hades. Why should they taunt their new associate? From ver. 11, accordingly, the singers of the Mashal again take up the song. Ver. 11: "*Thy splendour is hurled down to the realm of the dead, the sounding of thy harps; maggots are spread under thee, and they who cover thee are worms.*" We learn from the Book of Daniel the nature of the Babylonian music, which was rich in instruments, partly of a foreign kind. Maggots and worms—a bitter sarcasm—now take the place of the artistic and costly Babylonian carpets as the pillows and coverings of the noble corpses. מַגְגָּלִים might be a 3rd pers. imperfect Hophal (Ges. § 71), but here between perfects it is 3rd pret. Pual, like מָלַךְ in chap. ix. 5 (Aben Ezra). רָפָּה, which is preceded by the verb in a masculine, and, to some extent, indifferent form, is the collective name of small worms which corruption brings with it (from רָפָּה, יָמָה,

to be rotten, putrid), LXX. σήψις. With מָלַךְ, the catchword of the Mashal, it goes on in ver. 12: "*How art thou fallen from the heavens, thou shining star, son of the dawn, smitten down to the earth, who threw nations down from above!*" הַלֵּל (which elsewhere as the imp. Hiphil of the verb הָלַל means *ejula*) here means the glittering star (from the quadrilateral הַלֵּל, *hailula*, an intensive form of הָלַל, to shine), i.e. the morning star, which Babylonians and Assyrians personified in the feminine as Istar,¹ but of which they said: "Istar is feminine at sunset and masculine at sunrise."² To the idea of the morning star as a male messenger of the sunrise, corresponds the surname מְבַרְכֵּן; just as according to the Greek myth he is son of Eos, because he rises before the sun and swims in

¹ Istar is originally goddess of the morning star (like العزى of the ancient Arabians, *DMZ.* xli. 710); and not till later, after the suppression of Sin, did she become the Moon-goddess, and the planet Venus was thenceforth represented by Bīlū (Baaltis), the ancient goddess of the evening star (see Schrader in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1874, 337, 340; *DMZ.* xxvii. 403; *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, i. 127). On the mythus of אִסְתָּר being transferred to the Pleiades, see *DMZ.* xxxi. 225-229.

² See Friedrich Delitzsch on Smith's *Chald. Genesis*, p. 271.

the morning red, or rather in the morning grey (for this is the literal meaning of the *שֶׁחֶר*, *שֶׁחֶר*, in distinction from *נֶאֱבֵר*, the red dawn), as if he were born out of it. Lucifer, the name of the devil, is derived from this passage, the reference of which to Satan is designated by Luther as *insignis error totius papatus*; but it is found already in Jerome and other Fathers. The designation is exceedingly appropriate for the king of Babylon, because of the Babylonian culture going back to the grey primeval time, and on account of its astrological character. The additional name assigned to him, *חֹלֵשׁ עַל-יָמִים*, arises from the idea of the *inflatus siderum*; *חֹלֵשׁ* means laying low, as in Ex. xvii. 13, and with *עַל*, bringing overthrow (*חֲלָשָׁה*) upon; . . . whereas the Talmud (*Shabbath* 149b) takes it in the sense of *סִטְלֵי נֹרָל* (*projiciens sortem*), and explains the *חֹלֵשׁ* (= *פִּזְיָא*, lot) of the Mishna by it.

A look is now thrown back at the self-deification of the king of Babylon, in which he is the antitype of the devil and the prototype of Antichrist (Dan. xi. 36; 2 Thess. ii. 4), a self-deification which has found its reward. Vers. 13-15: "*And thou, thou hast spoken in thy heart: 'The heavens will I ascend, high above the stars of God exalt my throne, and sit down on the mountain of the assembly of gods in the corner of the north. I will mount up to cloud-heights, make myself equal to the Most High,'—nevertheless thou art hurled down into the realm of the dead, into the corner of the pit.*" With *וְאָמַרְתָּ* there begins, as in ver. 19, an antithetical circumstantial clause: whilst thou, whereas thou. The *הָרַ הַצִּיּוֹן* cannot be Zion, as Schegg and others suppose, misled by Ps. xlviii. 3; Zion was certainly neither a north point of the earth, nor did it lie in the north of Jerusalem. The prophet makes the king of Babylon speak according to the ideas of his people, who had not, like Israel, the seat of the Deity in their midst, but transferred it to a mountain-range in the farthest north, the Arâlû, as the Hindus transfer it to the fabulous northern mountain Kailâsa lying beyond the Himalaya, and the Eranians to the Alburg which bounds the earth to the north. There in the north, on the Arâlû, the mountain of the lands (*šad mâtâtê*), i.e. at whose feet lie the lands or countries of the earth, according to the Babylonio-Assyrian notion, the gods had their home, their habitation,

the seat of their domiuiou.¹ יִרְכָּתַיִם (from יִרְכָּה with suffix יִרְכָּתוֹ) are the two sides of a thing into which it sunders, the two legs of an angle, and then the apex where the legs separate. So here יִרְכָּתַי צֶפֶן is the farthest point of the north from whence the northern mountain chain stretches fork-like into the land; and יִרְכָּתַי כּוֹר is the inmost part of the pit into which it slopes with its two walls, and from which it gapes or widens. All the foolhardy purposes of the Chaldean are embraced ultimately in אֶדְרָפָה לְעֵלְיָן, just as the Assyrians (which, however, is not yet established by the inscriptions) according to Ktesias, and the Persians according to the *Persae* of Aeschylus, called their king God, and the Sassanidae actually call themselves *bag* ΘΕΟC on coins and inscriptions. אֶדְרָפָה is Hithpael = אֶתְרָפָה, with the usual assimilation of the preformative ה. With אֵף, in ver. 14, a contrast is drawn between the pride of the Chaldean flying to the far lofty mountain range towards the north, and to the heavens above, and his inflicted punishment dragging him deep down to the pit. אֵף, originally affirmative and then restrictive (as קִל is originally restrictive and then affirmative), passes here to an adversative meaning, as in Ps. xlix. 16 and Job xiii. 15 (a transition which אֵפֶן shows still more frequently): nevertheless thou wilt be hurled down; nothing but that will occur, and not what thou proposest. This prophetic הִנֵּנִי is not appropriate either in the mouth of the inhabitants of Hades or in the mouth of the Mashal-singer. The address of Israel has here imperceptibly passed into the words of the prophet, who has before him, but still in the future, what the Mashal sings of as already past.

The subject is also carried on in the tone of prophecy. Vers. 16, 17: "*Those who see thee look thoughtfully, look meditatively at thee: 'Is this the man who set the earth quaking, kingdoms shaking? He who made the world a wilderness, and threw down its cities, and did not let away his captives to their home?'*" The scene is no longer in Hades (Knobel, Umbreit). Those who thus speak have the Chaldean before them, not as a weary shade, but as an unburied corpse that has passed into corruption. הִשְׁנִינִי means the

¹ See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 118. Alfred Jeremias, *Babyl. assyrische Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 59 sqq.

thoughtful fixing of one's attention upon something. As **תבל** is feminine, the suffixes in ver. 17 refer, according to a *constructio ad sensum*, to the *οἰκουμένη* as transformed into **סִדְרָה**, to open, namely, lock and fetters, here joined with **בִּיתָהּ**, is equivalent to releasing and letting away (syn. **שָׁלַח**, Jer. i. 33). Among the captives the Jewish exiles are particularly referred to; and it was their release that had never entered the mind of the king of Babylon.

The prophet, into whose own words the words of the spectators have passed, then tells of the state in which the tyrant now lies, a state which calls forth such earnest reflections. Vers. 18, 19: "*All the kings over nations, all of them are laid away in honour, every one in his house; but thou art cast away far from thy sepulchre like a shoot hurled forth, clothed over with slain ones, those thrust through by the sword, those that go down to stones of the pit—like a carcase trodden under foot.*" Every other king lies after his death **בְּבֵיתוֹ**, in the confines of his residence, but the Chaldean lies far from the hereditary vault which seemed destined for him. The **סֵן** in **סֵן־בְּרֵךְ** means away therefrom, as in Zeph. iii. 18.; cf. Prov. xx. 3; Num. xv. 24. He lies there like a **נֶצֶר נִתְּעָב**, i.e. like a side shoot cut off from the tree and thrown away with disgust, because ugly, useless, and only prejudicial to the development of the tree; **נִתְּעָב**, pregnant: *cum abominatione obiectus*. The Targum takes **נֶצֶר** figuratively, and translates **בְּיָהוּם סֵמִיר** as a buried abortion (Job iii. 16). The scene which here rises before the mind of the prophet is the field of battle. In order to clear it, a hole has been made, and stones are thrown upon it without the trouble being taken of shovelling it up (**אֶבְרֵי-בֹר**); but the king of Babylon remains lying like a branch which, when a tree is pruned, is let lie aside unheeded, and is trodden into the mire. The following **לָבַשׁ** is also a participle; he comes to lie in a common grave deep below other bodies gathered from the battle-field. There he lies then like a carcase (**פֶּגֶז**), trodden down and deserving nothing better than to be trodden down (**סִבְכִּים**, part. Hophal from **סָבַח**, *conculcare*). He is not buried with other kings and like other kings. Ver. 20: "*Thou art not united with them in burial, for thou hast ruined thy land, murdered thy people; seed of evil-doers is not named for ever.*"

With them, *i.e.* the מלכי נים of ver. 18a. He does not come to lie where kings are entombed with royal honours, not in "his grave," ver. 19a, the royal place of burial. Vengeance is thus taken because he has tyrannically spoiled and exhausted his country, and because he has made his people the mechanical instrument of his lust of conquest, and sacrificed them. And it is not merely with himself that all is over for ever; it is also so with his dynasty. The prophet, the messenger of the punitive righteousness, and the mouth of the omnipotence which shapes history, commands it. Ver. 21: "*Prepare for his sons a slaughter-house because of the iniquity of their fathers. They shall not rise up and conquer lands, and fill the face of the world with cities.*" The exhortation is addressed to the Medes, if the prophet is to be considered as having particular persons in his mind. After they stormed Babylon by night, the new Babylonian kingdom and royal house of Nabopolassar disappeared from history; the last shoot of the royal house of Nabopolassar was slain when a child by conspirators; and the second Nebuchadnezzar "deceived the people by declaring: I am Nabukudraccara the son of Nabunita"—as Darius says in the great inscription of Behistan. בל (poetical for אל, like בל in xiv. 6, for לא) is the expression of a negative wish (as בל is of a negative intention). A Babylonian kingdom shall never arise again. Hitzig (*Psalms*, ii. 89) corrects ערים into עיים, "heaps of ruins," which is approved by Cheyne, who renders it "heaps;" Ewald makes it ערצים (tyrants); Meier, ערים, which is made to mean conflicts; and Maurer, like Knobel (in editions 2, 3, whereas in ed. 1 he preferred to read רעים), gives ערים, which is to be taken, not in the sense of cities, but of enemies (see on Ps. cxxxix. 20). Nothing of all this, however, is necessary. Nimrod built cities in order to strengthen his monarchy. The king of Assyria built cities for the Medes in order to keep them better in check. It is this building of cities as a means of subserving tyrannical government that is meant.

Thus far the prophet speaks as from God. The prophecy concludes with a word of God Himself given forth through the prophet. Vers. 22, 23: "*And I will arise against them, saith Jehovah of hosts, and root out in Babel name, and remnant, and sprout, and shoot, saith Jehovah. And I make it the*

possession of hedgehogs and water-marshes, and sweep it away with the besom of destruction, saith Jehovah of hosts." שֶׁם וְשֶׁמֶר and לֵץ וְנֶכֶד are two alliterating proverbial pairs of words in the alliterative style, and they express the whole without exception. Jehovah rises against the descendants of the king of Babylon, and entirely exterminates Babylon root and branch. The destructive powers, which Babylon hitherto could control by artificial protection, are let loose. The Euphrates, now undyked, lays the territory of Babylon under water. Hedgehogs then take the place of men, and morasses

the place of palaces. אֲגָם (أَجَمَة), means here stagnating marshy waters, see chap. ix. 13. קֶפֶר appears indeed in chap. xxxiv. 11 and Zeph. ii. 14 associated with birds, but it signifies in all the Semitic dialects the hedgehog (LXX. ἔρμουν ὥστε κατοικεῖν ἐχίνους), which can roll itself together (√ קפ, قف, comprehendere, comprimere), and which, although it can neither fly nor climb very well, being a plantigrade, yet it can easily get on the capital of an overturned pillar (see Zeph. ii. 14). The concluding threat makes a *tabula rasa* of Babylon. From the Pilpel כִּטְפָה (or, according to Kimchi, *Michlol*, 150a b, כִּטְפָה, according to which the codices and old editions read וְכִטְפָהּ), כִּטְפָה means something with which one drives forth or sweeps away—a besom (a word which was preserved in the popular speech of Palestine, according to *Rosh ha-shanah* 26b). Jehovah treats Babylon as sweepings (כִּיט, Babylonio-Assyrian *ṭṭu*), and sweeps it away, הִשְׁמִד (a substantively used infinitive absolute) serving him as besom.

There now follows a short passage about Assyria, which apparently stands unconnected here. Vers. 24–27: “Sworn has Jehovah of hosts, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it be; and as I have resolved, it takes place: to break Assur to pieces in my land, and upon my mountains I will tread him down: then departs from them his yoke, and his burden will depart from their neck. This is the purpose which is purposed concerning the whole earth; and this the hand which is stretched out over all the nations. For Jehovah of hosts has resolved, and who could bring to naught? And His hand that is stretched out, who can turn it back?” It is a quite different judicial

catastrophe that is presented here from that which is prophesied in chaps. xiii. 2-xiv. 3. The world-power which it falls upon is likewise also called, not "Babel" or "Kasdim," but "Assur," which cannot be taken as a name of Babylon (Abravanel, Lowth, and others). Babylon falls by the Medes. Assyria, on the other hand, perishes in the mountain land of Jehovah, which it seeks to subdue; so it was fulfilled. Only when this had taken place did a time come for a prophecy against Babylon, the heiress of the broken Assyrian empire. The two prophecies against Babylon and Assyria therefore form, as they here stand, a hysteron-proteron. The thought which occasioned this conjunction of them, and which it is intended to set forth, is expressed by Jeremiah thus: "Behold, I punish the king of Babel and his land as I have punished the king of Assur" (Jer. l. 17, 18). The one event is the precursor and guarantee of the other. This prophecy against Assyria is, as it were, the pedestal upon which the מלשן בבל is placed. For this it was doubly appropriate, on account of its epilogical tone from ver. 26 onwards.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING PHILISTIA, CHAP. XIV. 28-32.

The punishments enumerated in 2 Chron. xxviii. 5-21 as falling upon king Ahaz, also included the one represented here of the Philistines invading the low country (הַשְׁפֵּל) and the south land (יִבְיָה), taking several cities, of which the chronicler mentions six by name, and settling therein. This aggressive rising of the Philistines against the government of Judah was probably a consequence of the oppression of Judah by Syria and Ephraim, or of its continued weakness from its sufferings in the Syro-Ephraimitish war. However it be, the fact suffices of itself to enable us to understand the following minatory prophecy.

This prophecy belongs to those which are dated. Ver. 28: "*In the death-year of king Ahaz, the following oracle went forth.*" The death-year of Ahaz is (as in chap. vi. 1) the year in which the death of Ahaz occurred. The Philistines, without being again humiliated, were still holding possession, a fact which was shameful to Judah. But this year was also a turning-point. For Hezekiah, the successor of Ahaz,

not only wrested from them the conquered cities, but also smote them completely within their own territory (2 Kings xviii. 8).

It was therefore a very decisive year in which Isaiah began thus to prophesy. Ver. 29: "*Rejoice not so completely, Philistia, that the staff which smote thee is broken to pieces: for out of the serpent's root goes forth a basilisk, and its fruit is a flying dragon.*" The death-year of Ahaz was exactly the death-year of Tiglath-pileser (726 B.C.), or it was close to it. Hence Bartli, with Nöldeke assenting, understands by the broken staff the castigating rod of Tiglath-pileser; whereas Bredekamp, on the other hand, takes it to refer to Shalmanassar. On that view, the basilisk and the flying dragon would have to be understood to be kings of Assyria, as Cheyne and Driver take them to be. Philistia had really to suffer from Sargon and Sennacherib, according to the evidence of the inscriptions. But the superscription of the prophecy does not run (שְׁמֵהּ מֶמֶלֶךְ הַפִּלִּיִּסְטִיָּה) בְּשָׁנָה מֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ תִּגְלַת־פִּלְעֶסֶר (שְׁמֵהּ מֶמֶלֶךְ הַפִּלִּיִּסְטִיָּה), but בְּשָׁנָה מֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲחָז. Shall we then hold it to be an erroneous marginal addendum written by some one or other (as Cheyne and G. A. Smith¹ hold), and thus support one hypothesis by another hypothesis? No. The point at issue stands in the same position as that in chap. xv. 9. What Philistia suffered through Sargon and Sennacherib stands only in a preparatory relation to the lasting subjection under Judah which the prophet hopes for. שָׁבִיט כִּפְדִּי, *scipio feriens te* (not *ferientis te*, which is less suitable), is the Davidic sceptre which held the Philistines in subjection under David and Solomon, and in later times since Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 6). This sceptre is broken to pieces; for the Davidic kingdom is broken by the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and it has not yet recovered itself, and it has fallen to pieces in so far as it had extended its power over the neighbouring peoples. It is about this that Philistia is wholly filled with joy; but this joy is at an end now. The power from which Philistia had withdrawn itself was a common serpent, נָחָשׁ, which, besides, is now cut to pieces, or has died down to the root. But out of this root, i.e. out of the house of David, which had been reduced to the lowli-

In the first volume of his work, *The Book of Isaiah* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1888), which has just reached me (Jan. 1889).

ness of its original stem, there grows forth **רֶמֶס** (see chap. xi. 8), a basilisk *regulus* (Jerome and other old translators); and this, which is already dangerous and deadly in itself, will when matured bring as fruit a winged dragon—a beast of the popular mythology, although Herodotus (ii. 75) speaks of winged serpents in Egypt and Arabia. The basilisk is Hezekiah, and the flying dragon is the Messiah (such is the explanation of the Targum); or what is the same thing, the former is the Davidic kingdom of the immediate future, and the latter the Davidic kingdom of the ultimate future. The figure may appear inappropriate, because the serpent is a symbol of evil; but it is not a symbol merely of creaturely evil, but also of the divine curse; the curse, however, is the energy of penal justice, and as the executor of this justice as a judgment of God on Philistia, the Davidic king is here called a serpent in a climax rising through three stages. Perhaps the choice of the figure was suggested by Gen. xlix. 17; for the saying concerning Dan was fulfilled in Samson the Danite, the sworn enemy of the Philistines.

The coming Davidic king is for Israel peace, but death for Philistia. Ver. 30: "*And the poorest of the poor will feed, and needy ones lie down in peace; and I kill thy root by hunger, and thy remainder he lays low.*" **בְּכֹרֵי יְלִים** is an intensified form of **בְּנֵי יְלִים**, the latter meaning those who belong to the race of the poor, the former (cf. Job xviii. 13, *mors dirissima*) those who occupy the first rank in this race; it is a designation for Israel as deeply, very deeply reduced and at present threatened on all sides, but as afterwards enjoying his country in quiet and peace (Zeph. iii. 12, 13). In this sense **יָרַע** is used absolutely, and the conjecture of Lowth, **בְּכֹרֵי**, or of Koppe and Hupfeld, **בְּכֹרֵי**, is not required. Israel again comes up, but Philistia goes down to its root and remainder, and even this falls on the one hand under the penal infliction of God (famine), and on the other hand under the punishment inflicted by the house of David. For the change of persons in 30b is not a synallage; **יָרַע** has for its subject the basilisk, the father of the flying dragon, and not the hunger (as Nägelsbach holds); for the hunger is only one of the means of punishment which take effect upon Philistia.

The Massa consists of two strophes. The first threatens

judgment from Judah, and the second, beginning here, threatens judgment from Assyria. Ver. 31: "*Howl, gate! Cry, city! Thou art getting to melt away, Philistia, entirely; for from the north comes smoke, and there is no isolated one among its bands.*" שָׁעַר elsewhere is always masculine, but here (cf. Song of Sol. vii. 5) it is used in the feminine as a local name. The world-renowned strong gates of the Philistine cities (especially of Ashdod and Gaza), and the cities themselves, shall lift up a cry of woe (cf. Lam. ii. 18 if the text there is uncorrupted), and Philistia, which was hitherto all joy, must wholly perish in the fire of anguish (chap. xiii. 7); נִפְחָה is the inf. abs. Niphal (cf. lix. 13; König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 473) with subject following, as in Ezek. i. 14 with it preceding. It falls into the state of complete dissolution, for from the north there comes a singeing and burning fire which already announces itself from afar by the smoke; it is an all-devastating army out of whose bands (מוֹעֵד, after the form מוֹעֵד, is the mass assembled at the מוֹעֵד, i.e. the determined place, Josh. viii. 14; 1 Sam. xx. 35, for a determinate object) no one separates himself from weariness or self-will (cf. chap. v. 27); and therefore it is an army without a gap, animated by one striving, namely, the desire of conquest. And this it cannot possibly have only with a view to the Philistine strip of coast, the conquest of which is rather merely a means for securing possession of the countries on the right and left. The question then rises, what will happen to the land of Judah from the fire which is rolling along from the north? For the fact that the prophet of Judah threatens Philistia with that fire, presupposes that Judah is not also consumed by this fire.

It is this which is expressed in ver. 32: "*And what answer do the messengers of the peoples bring?—That Jehovah has founded Zion, and that the afflicted of His people are hidden therein.*" The מַלְאָכָיו are the ambassadors of the several neighbouring nations who were sent to Jerusalem after the Assyrian army was destroyed before Jerusalem, to ascertain for themselves how it had fared with that city. The question may be explained: And what answer is given (יָעִנּוּ with the most general subject) to the messengers of the nations? or, and what do they proceed to say, i.e. what

information do the messengers of the nations bring (singular of the predicate with the plural of the subject, as in chap. xxx. 20; Ezek. xiv. 1; Esth. ix. 23, and elsewhere)? but however it is explained, there is always a certain hardness in the expression. The answer, however, is to this effect: Zion, protected by its God, has remained unshaken; and the people of this God, the poor and despised community of Jehovah (cf. Zech. xi. 7), exists and knows that it is concealed in Zion. The prophecy is enigmatical and oracular. Prophecy speaks to the other peoples otherwise than to Israel. To the former its language is dictatorially brief, self-consciously elevated, loftily poetical, and peculiarly coloured, according to the special character of the people to which the oracle refers. The following prophecy against Moab makes it clear to us that in the view of the prophet the judgment which Assyria executes on Philistia prepares for the subjugation of Philistia again under the sceptre of David. By the wreck of the imperial power of Assyria at Jerusalem, the house of David again recovers its old supremacy round about. And so it actually happened. But the fulfilment was not lasting and not exhaustive. Jeremiah therefore (Jer. xlvii.) takes up the prophecy of his predecessor anew in the time of the Chaldean judgment of the nations. But he only takes up its second strophe; the Messianic element of the first is continued by Zechariah (Zech. ix.). ✓

THE ORACLE CONCERNING MOAB, CHAPS. XV., XVI.

Looked at in its relation to the neighbouring peoples, the kingdom of Israel began victoriously and gloriously. Saul made them richly compensate for their previous offences against Israel (1 Sam. xiv. 47), and the Moabites among them. David subdued the Moabites completely (2 Sam. viii. 2). After the division of the kingdom, the northern kingdom entered into possession of Moab. The Moabites delivered tribute of their flocks to Samaria. But when Ahab died, Mesha, the king of Moab, withdrew from this obligation to pay tribute (2 Kings i. 1, iii. 4 sqq.). The memorial stone found among the rubbish on the field of Dibon is dedicated to the commemoration of his struggles for the independence of

Moab. It has an inscription of thirty - four lines in the language and character of the ancient Hebrew, and it contains at least seven of the Moabite names of places which appear in this מזמ.¹ Ahaziah of Israel did nothing to subdue Mesha again. In the meantime the Moabites, allied with other nations, made an attack upon Judah also; but the allies destroyed each other; and Jehoshaphat celebrated in the valley of Beracha the victory which he gained without a battle, and which is sung in several Psalms. When Jehoram of Israel proceeded to subdue Moab again, Jehoshaphat made common cause with him. The Moabites were defeated, but the fortress, the Moabitish Kir, which lay on a lofty and steep chalk cliff, remained unsubdued. The interminable struggles with the Syrians rendered it impossible for the northern kingdom further to retain Moab, or generally the country east of the Jordan. In the time of Jehu the country east of the Jordan in all its breadth and length, as far down as the Arnon, was taken possession of by the Syrians (2 Kings x. 32, 33). The peoples that were now no longer subject to the kingdom of Israel rose again, oppressed the Israelitish population, and revenged on the weakened kingdom the loss of their independence. Jeroboam II., as Jonah the prophet had prophesied (2 Kings xiv. 25), was the first to re-conquer the territory of Israel from near Hamath to the Dead Sea. That he also again subdued Moab is indeed not expressly said, but as Moabitish bands in the time of his predecessor Joash disturbed even the country on this side the Jordan (2 Kings xiii. 20), it may be supposed that he also sought to keep Moab within bounds. If the Moabites had then, as was very probable, extended their territory beyond the Arnon to the north, war with Moab would have been absolutely inevitable. Further, in the time of Jeroboam II. on the one hand, and of Uzziah-Jotham on the other, we read nothing of risings of the Moabites; and statements like those in 1 Chron. v. 17 and 2 Chron. xxvi. 10 show that they kept themselves quiet. But the appeal to Assyria by Ahaz conjured up again the

¹ The Moabite stone has been reproduced with the most painstaking exactness, and translated in the best possible manner, in Smend-Socin's *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Heft i. 1888.

hostility of Moab and of the neighbouring peoples. Tiglath-pileser repeated in 754 B.C. what had been done by the Syrians; he took possession of the northern part of the country on this side the Jordan, and almost the whole of it on the other side, and depopulated it. The Moabites thereby found room for settling themselves again in their primeval dwelling-places to the north of the Arnon. This is how circumstances apparently stood at the time when Isaiah prophesied.¹ The misfortune comes from the north, and therefore strikes chiefly and primarily the region that lay to the north of the Arnon, which appears to be in the possession of the Moabites after having been previously peopled by the tribes of Reuben and Gad (1 Chron. v. 26).

There is no prophecy in the Book of Isaiah in which the heart of the prophet is so painfully moved by what his spirit beholds and his mouth must prophesy. All that he prophesies is felt as deeply by him as if he belonged to the poor people whose messenger of misfortune he is compelled to be. He begins at once with a feeling of dismay. Ver. 1: "*Oracle concerning Moab: for in a night is 'Ar-Moab devastated, destroyed; for in a night is Kir-Moab devastated, destroyed.*" The כִּי is both times expressive of a reason. The prophet justifies the superscription of his prophecy by the horrible vision which it is given him to see, transporting us at once into the heart of it as in chap. xvii. 1, xxiii. 1. אֶרְמוֹאב (in which עַר is Moabitish for כִּיר in Num. xxii. 36; cf. Jer. xlix. 3, where, instead of עַר which is expected, עִי is written) is the name of the capital of Moab, lying in the river valley of the Arnon (Deut. ii. 36; Josh. xiii. 9, 16). It is Grecised into Ἀρεόπολις, city of Ἀρης = כְּמֹשׁ from כְּמֹשׁ = כְּמֹשׁ, in the present day a large field of ruins with a village of the name of Rabba. כִּיר מוֹאָב (in which כִּיר is Moabitish for כְּמֹשׁ), the same as כִּיר חֲרָשׁ in chap. xvi. 11, Jer. xlviii. 31, 36, is the chief fortress of Moab, situated to the south-east of Ar, now called *Kerek*, still a city with a fortress on rocks, which is visible in clear weather with a telescope from Jerusalem, and which forms so completely one mass with the rock that Ibrahim Pasha in the year 1834

¹ See Wolf Wilh. Graf Baudissin, "Zur Erklärung des B. Jesaja Kap. 15 u. 16," in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1888, 509-521.

was compelled to give up his intention of demolishing it. The identity of Kir with Kerek (Targum קִרְקָא קִרְקָא) is indubitable, whereas the identity of 'Ar with Rabba has been disputed by Dietrich (in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 320 sqq.). For (1) the Old Testament and its versions do not mention any Moabitish Rabba; it is Eusebius who first mentions it; and it appears in consequence of the destruction of 'Ar by the earthquake, mentioned by Jerome in commenting on this passage, to have become the capital of the country, and to have obtained the name 'Αρεόπολις along with that of Rabbath Moab; (2) Ar lay on the Arnon boundary, whereas the ruins of Rabba are $6\frac{1}{4}$ hours' walk to the south of the Arnon, and do not lie on the northern boundary of Moab, but in its midst. The statement in Num. xxi. 15 makes it probable that Ar lay near the confluence of the *Legum* and *Mugib*, perhaps (at least the fortification that lay "on the heights of the Arnon," as mentioned in Num. xxi. 28) on the ruined site ام الرصاص (mother of lead), to the south-east of the confluence on the eastern mountain wall of the Arnon as it here winds southwards. The two names of the cities are used as masculine, like דִּמְשֶׁק in chap. xvii. 1 and צָר in chap. xxiii. 1, though it cannot be said here, as in Micah v. 1, that the city stands for the inhabitants. In a night it is all over with the two pillars of the might of Moab. בָּלַל might be taken as subordinating to itself what follows; in which case יָצַח would not be an infinitive (Baudissin), since such an inf. constr. Pual (except in Ps. cxxxii. 1) is without authority, but it would be 3 pret.: "in the night when,"—but where would the apodosis begin? Not with יָרָה (Ewald), for יָצַח and יָרָה almost coincide in meaning (cf. Jer. xlvii. 4, 5); nor with קָלָה (Hitzig), for the solemn anadiplosis is not favourable to the dependence of the two clauses on בָּלַל. We therefore take לָל absolutely, as in chap. xxi. 11, and the arrangement of the words is like that in Hos. x. 15 (Olsh. § 142b). In the space of a night, and therefore most suddenly (chap. xvii. 14), Moab is lost. As if fixed to the terrible spectacle, the prophet says twice over what is sufficiently said once (cf. on the asyndeton, chap. xxxiii. 9; and on the anadiplosis, ver. 8, chap. viii. 9, xxi. 11, xvii. 12, 13). His first feeling is that of horror.

But as horror, when it begins to reflect, is dissolved in tears, the thunder-claps in ver. 1 are now followed by universal weeping and lamenting. Vers. 2-4: "*They go up to the temple house, and Dibon unto the heights to weep; upon Nebo and upon Medeba, Moab wails; on all heads baldness, every beard mutilated. On Moab's markets they gird on sackcloth; on the country's roofs and in its streets everything wails, melting down into weeping. Heshbon cries and Elale, to Jahas they hear their howling,—wherefore even Moab's armed men break out in lamentations; his soul quakes in him.*" Seeking for help (לְבַקֵּשׁ, *ad fletum*), the people (the subject to עָלָה) ascend the mountain with the temple of Kemosh, the central sanctuary of the country. This temple is called הַבַּיִת, not (which is unexampled) some particular Moabite place, such as *Beth Diblathayim* in Jer. xlviii. 22 (as Knobel and Baudissin suppose), but rather the *Beth-Bamoth* mentioned in the inscription. *Dibon*, which lies, like all the places named in vers. 2-4, above the Arnon (Wadi Muḡib), is now a heap of ruins situated a short hour's walk to the north of the middle Arnon in the magnificent plain of *el-Kurah*. It had heights for worship in the neighbourhood (cf. Josh. xiii. 17; Num. xxii. 41), and is therefore turned towards them. The style of ver. 2a is similar to that in chap. xliii. 14b. Moab laments on *Nebo* and *Medeba*. מְדֵבָה (for which מְדֵבָה stands in chap. lii. 5), with a double preformative, is used intentionally for מְדֵבָה (cf. similar forms in Job xxiv. 21 and Ps. cxxxviii. 6; Ges. § 70R). מְדֵבָה is to be taken in a local sense, for Nebo was undoubtedly a place on a height of the mountain of that name, south-east from Heshbon (the ruined site of *Nabo*, *Nabau*, of the *Onom.*, now נָבוּ); and Medeba (in Steph. Byz., according to Uranios, πόλις τῶν Ναβαταίων, now a ruined site with the same name) lay on a round hill about two hours to the south-east of Heshbon. According to Jerome, there was an image of Kemosh in Nebo; and among the ruins of Medeba, Seetzen recognised the foundation walls of a peculiar temple. There now follows the description of the expressions of pain. We read here רָאָה with reference to what has become the standing collective phrase כָּל־רָאָה (Amos viii. 10 and frequently elsewhere), instead of the otherwise usual רָאָה. Instead of מְדֵבָה, *abscissae*, Jeremiah, in chap. xlviii. 37, has מְדֵבָה, *decurtatae*;

and the reading attested by the Masōra on the passage is ירדָה. Everything בָּלָה written as in chap. xvi. 7, whereas we have בָּלָה in chap. ix. 8, 16) runs down in weeping; elsewhere it is said of the eyes that they run down (יָרַד) in tears, waters, water-brooks, but here it is said still more boldly of the whole man that he flows down to the ground, running, as it were, into a stream of tears. *Heshbon* and *Elāle* are still visible in their ruins, situated on hills only half an hour's walk apart, and are known by the name of *Hushān* and *el-Al* (العَال). Both places lay on heights commanding a wide view. There the cry of woe produced an echo that could be heard far and wide, even to *Jahas* (*Jahsa*), the city where the king of Heshbon made a stand against Israel in the time of Moses (Deut. ii. 32). The general mourning is so great that even the equipped men of Moab (מְלִיכִים, *expeditus*, ready for striking, frequently used in the account of the seizure of the land east of the Jordan, Num. xxxii. 21, etc.; Deut. iii. 18), i.e. warriors (Jer. xlviii. 41), seized by the pain of despair, cried out (the same element in the figure as in chap. xxxiii. 7); עָלָם, thereat, that is to say, on account of this universal lamentation. The lamentation is therefore a universal one without exception, and נִפְתָּח applies to Moab as a whole people. The soul of Moab quakes in all the members of the national body; יָרַע,

(forming a play of sound with יָרַע) from יָרַע = יָרַע, to quake, to waver, to flutter, from which comes יָרַעָה, a fluttering tent

curtain, and יָרַע, reeds waving back and forward (see Fleischer in Levy's *Neu Hebr. WB.* ii. 446 sq.). Nägelsbach and others erroneously take יָרַע as a secondary verb to יָרַע, imperf. יָרַע, to be pained. הָ, as in Ps. cxx. 6, cxxiii. 4, is an ethical dative throwing the action or the pathos inwards (as יָרַע elsewhere). In this pain quivering through Moab the heart of the prophet shares; for, as Rashi observes, the prophets of Israel are distinguished from heathen prophets like Balaam in this, that the calamity which they announce to the Gentile peoples goes to their own hearts (compare chap. xxi. 34 with chap. xxii. 4).

The difficult words in which the prophet expresses this his sympathy in ver. 5a we translate thus: "*My heart towards*

Moab it cries out, its fugitives even to Zo'ar, the three-year-old heifer." The ז' in לְמוֹאָב, both here and in chap. xvi. 11, as in chap. xiv. 8, 9, means turned to Moab. מוֹאָב, which was masculine in ver. 4, is feminine here. From this it may be inferred that בְּרִיחָהּ עַד-צֹאֵר is an expression concerning Moab as a land. Now, wherever בְּרִיחָיִים elsewhere occurs, it means the "bolts," according to which Jerome translates *vecies ejus usque ad Segor*; but everywhere else we read only of the bolts or bars of a city, as in Lam. ii. 9 and Jer. li. 30; cf. Jonah ii. 7. Hence I now prefer to follow the prevailing interpretation, according to which Zoar is named as the south point as far as which rolls the stream of the fugitives flying from the enemy pressing on from the north. Zoar lay (as the Excursus on Zoar by Wetzstein in the 4th ed. of my *Comm. on Genesis* shows) south-east from the Dead Sea in 'Gôr es-Safia; the Safia is a wall of sandstone almost smooth, and about 1000 feet high, which is formed by the Moabite mountain range dipping down there perpendicularly to the 'Gôr. עֵנְלָהּ שְׁלִישִׁיהָ is taken to be the name of a place by Graf (on Jer. xlviii. 34), Dietrich in *Merx' Archiv*, i. 342-346, and others, and signifying "Eglath the third." But (1) in favour of an appellative meaning is the fact that it stands in Jer. xlviii. 34 in like manner ἀουδέρως, after *Horonayim*; (2) here, in that case, what would be expected is שְׁלִישִׁיהָ (הָעֵנְלָהּ); (3) there are indeed found names of places like أم تصير الثانية.

"Um Kuseir the second," but a place with the surname of "the third" has not yet been shown to occur. We therefore hold by the view that עֵנְלָהּ שְׁלִישִׁיהָ is in apposition either to צֹאֵר or to מוֹאָב. In any case it is a distinguishing designation: a head of cattle of three years old, or literally, in its third year (cf. מִשְׁלֵשָׁה in Gen. xv. 9), i.e. a three-year-old beast (Ges. § 112, Rem. 1), which is still in full fresh strength, and not yet used up by prolonged bearing of the yoke. The reference of the term to the Moabitish people (LXX. Targum, Jer. Luther) is supported by reference to Jer. xlvi. 20, where Egypt in the same sense is called עֵנְלָהּ יְפֹת-צִיָּה; and Babylon is similarly designated in Jer. l. 11; cf. Hos. iv. 16, x. 11. But the reference to Zoar is more in accordance with the immediate suggestion of the syntax and the accentuation;

and it is supported by Jer. xlviii. 34, where, along with Zoar, Horonayim receives this surname. So then: Zoar the beautiful, strong, and hitherto unsubdued city, is now the goal of a wild flight before the enemy that is coming from the north. A blow so terrible as this has never struck Moab before.

In brief co-ordinated clauses the prophet brings before us the several scenes of mourning and desolation. Vers. 5b, 6: "*For the mountain slope of Luhith with weeping they ascend; for on the road to Horonayim they lift up a cry of despair, for the waters of Nimrim are deserts henceforth; for withered is the grass, the vegetation wastes away, gone is the green.*" The way to Luchith (according to the *Onom.*, lying between Ar-Moab and Zoar, and therefore in the centre of Moabitis proper) led up a height, and the road to Horonayim (according to Jer. xlviii. 5) led down a declivity. Weeping, they run to the mountain city to hide themselves there (בָּז, as in Ps. xxiv. 3, for which, in Jer. xlviii. 5, there is miswritten בָּבִי); raising a hue and cry, they stand before Horonayim, which lay below, and was more exposed to the enemy. יַעֲרִי (perhaps in order to be more an echo of the sound) has arisen from יַעֲרִי, like בָּבִי from בָּבִיב, by a compensatory extension, just as בָּבִי from בָּבִיב by compensative duplication. The LXX. renders the phrase well thus: *κραυγὴν συντριμμῶν ἐξαναγερούσιν*, a peculiar expression which is foreign to us; it indicates a strained and always renewed outcry in view of a danger threatening utter destruction (שָׁבִי, as in chap. i. 28, xxx. 26), and its aim is to procure relief and help. The description is now transferred from the extreme south to the farthest north of the Moabite country, to as far as the Moabites had extended their territory; for Nimrim, as in fact identical with Beth-Nimra in Josh. xiii. 27 (Talmud, נַמְרִין, and Peah iv. 5, נַמֵּר), lay, according to Wetzstein (*Comm. on Genesis*, pp. 572-574), three and a half hours' walk to the east of Jordan, still within the Pereaean range on the Wadi Soeb, and more particularly on the south-east bank of the stream from whose abundance in water it is called נַמֵּר. The waters there have been choked up by the enemy, and will now assuredly lie waste for ever (an expression similar to that in chap. xvii. 2). The enemy have been marching through the land, firing and burning, so that all its vegetation has in a manner disappeared. On these

miniature-like short sentences, compare chap. xxix. 20, xxxiii. 8, 9, xxxii. 10; and on *לֹא הָיָה*, it is not existing, or also it has become nothing, *לֹא* (like Assyrian *ul*), see Ezek. xxi. 32, 18; Job vi. 21; cf. Dan. iv. 32.

The Moabites then thus cross the border and flee to Idumea. The prophet gives the reason for this by continuing to link on further statements with *וְ*. Vers. 7-9: "*Therefore what was saved, what was gained, and their store, they carry it over the willow-brook. For the cry of woe has gone the round in the territory of Moab; to Eglayim sounds Moab's wailing, and to Beer-Elim his wailing. For the waters of Dimon are full of blood; for I hang over Dimon new calamity, over the escaped of Moab a lion, and over the remnant of the land.*" *יִתְּרָה* is the superfluity which goes beyond the immediate need, and *מִקְדָּה* (literally a laying up, *depositio*) what is carefully stored; *עֵצָה* (in the same sense as Gen. xii. 5) is, as the borrowed passage in Jer. xlviii. 36 shows, an attributive clause (although the accentuation of our whole ver. 7 starts from another conception; see Rashi): what one has made, acquired, or gained. All these things they carry over *נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים*, which does not mean the desert brook (Hitzig, Maurer, Ewald, Knobel), as the plural of *עֲרָבָה*, desert, is *עֲרָבוֹת*; but it is either the Arab-brook (LXX. Saadia), or the willow-brook, *torrens salicum* (Vulg.). The last meaning is more suitable in itself; and among the streams flowing to the south of the Arnon from the mountains of the Moabitish highlands to the Dead Sea there is actually one which is called *Wádi Safsáf*, i.e. willow-brook (as also we have the *עֲפָפָה*, "willow"); it is the northern arm of the *Seil el-Kerek*. This may be considered to be what is meant here; but Wetzstein, on the contrary (on *Genesis*, pp. 567, 568), identifies the Arab-stream better with the *Zered* (*זֶרַד*) = *Wádi el-Ahsá* (*W. el-Ḥasá*), the boundary river on the south, which separates Moab and Edom, and which in its eastern course bore this name. On emerging from the ravine of the high plateau, in the *Gór*—in which the *עֵרַב* (*populus Euphratica*, see on chap. xlv. 4), which requires a very hot climate, is exclusively at home—it there has got the name *נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים*. Wading through this Arab-stream, they carry their possessions across, hurrying to the land of Edom; for their own land, in its whole extent,

has fallen a prey to the enemy, and within it the cry of lamentation goes from Eglayim on the south-west of Ar, and therefore not far from the south end of the Dead Sea (Ezek. xlvii. 10) as far as to (וְשֶׁ to be supplied) Beer-Elim (Num. xxi. 16–18), in the north-east of the land towards the wilderness, and therefore—if a diagonal is drawn through it—from one end of the land to the other. Even the waters of *Dibon* (which here, in order to make it assonant with דִּבּוֹן, is called דִּבְיוֹן), by which may be understood, as Hendewerk does, the Arnon lying less than an hour's walk therefrom (just as by מִי סִנְיָה, in Judg. v. 19, is meant the Kishon), are full of blood (כְּלֵאֵי דָם); the enemy has therefore carried devastation and death to the heart of the country. But what drives them over the Arab-stream is not merely this; it is as if they foreboded that what has hitherto happened is not yet the utmost and last. Jehovah suspends יָשׁוּב (as in Hos. vi. 11) over Dibon, whose waters are already reddened with blood, נִדְמָה, a something more coming, i.e. a still further judgment in punishment, namely, a lion. Moab's measure of misfortune is not yet full. After the northern enemy a lion will come upon those who have escaped by flight, and those who have been spared at home (compare on the expression, chaps. x. 20, xxxvii. 32). Reuss, who refers the prophecy to the second subjection of the land east of the Jordan under Jeroboam II., finds it consequently "difficult to say what the prophet means by the lion." This lion, however, is no other than the basilisk in the prophecy against Philistia, only with the difference that the basilisk is a definite Davidic king, whereas the lion is Judah generally, which had, according to Gen. xlix. 9, the lion as its emblem.

Just because Judah, with its sovereignty, is this lion, the summons now goes forth to the Moabites who fled to Edom, and particularly, as it appears, as far as מִדְבָּר, i.e. Petra (*Wādi Māsā*), near Mount Hor, in Arabia Petrea, so called from it; and they are summoned to turn, seeking protection, to Jerusalem. Chap. xvi. 1: "*Send a land-lord's tribute of lambs out of the cliffs desertwards to the mountain of the daughter of Zion.*" This verse is like a long trumpet blast. The prophecy against Moab takes here the same turn as in chaps. xiv. 32, xviii. 7, xix. 16 sqq., xxiii. 18. The judgment produces

slavish fear, which then becomes refined into loving attachment. Submission under the house of David is Moab's only deliverance. This is what the prophet, weeping with those who weep, calls out to them to their hiding-corner, where they have concealed themselves in such long-breathed, hurried, and urgent words. Usually by סֶלַע is understood the *Sela'* of Edom (see on סֶלַע = Petra, Strabo, xvi. 4. 21); a citadel,

סֶלַע, was still standing in the Middle Ages in the *W. Müsd* of the Edomite mountains (الشراة; see Nöldeke in *DMZ.* xxv. 259, 260, and compare Blau, *DMZ.* xxvii. 324). However, Wetzstein (in the third German edition of this commentary, p. 698) is right in saying that all the attempts to explain how the Moabites come to be sending lambs out of the Petra of Edom are unsatisfactory,—the סֶלַע necessarily being taken as indicating voluntary obligation for the future,—and he understands by סֶלַע the ravines of the מִעֵן (*Ma'in*) which run into the Dead Sea, and especially that of the Arnon, in

which (now called الوكر, the rock recess) extensive recesses are formed by perpendicular walls, mostly several hundred fathoms in height. It is true that סֶלַע does not mean ravine or cleft, but rather, in distinction from צור (mass of rock), the rock as cleft; and there is reason for following Barth¹ in explaining it, according to Jer. xlviii. 28, as: from the rock (the rocky region) where you have concealed yourselves. The tribute of lambs due to the prince of the country is briefly called כֶּבֶד מֶלֶךְ; this tribute, which Mesha, the king of the pastoral country which was so rich in flocks (Num. xxxii. 4), formerly sent to Samaria (2 Kings iii. 4), they ought now to send to Jerusalem, to the "mountain of the daughter of Zion" (as in chap. x. 32, cf. chap. xviii. 7), to which the way which passes through the desert lying at the north end of the Dead Sea leads.

The counsel does not fail to make an impression; they embrace it eagerly. Ver. 2: "*And there, too, are found, like birds fluttering about, a scared nest, the daughters of Moab at the fords of the Arnon.*" בָּנוֹת מוֹאָב are like בָּנוֹת יְהוּדָה, e.g. in Ps. xlviii. 12, the inhabitants of the cities and villages of the land of Moab. They are, because fleeing from their country,

¹ *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaja* (1885), pp. 20-23.

already themselves like wandering birds (Prov. xxvii. 8); but here, as תְּהִי־יָהּ . . . תְּהִי־יָהּ indicates, this comparison is used to depict the condition into which the advice of the prophet throws them. Both the figure (cf. chap. x. 14) and the expression (cf. chap. xvii. 2) are Isaianic. It is a state of anxious and timid irresoluteness, resembling the fluttering to and fro of birds that have been driven out of their nest, and that wheel anxiously around without venturing to return to the old dwelling-place. Thus do the daughters of Moab, coming out of their distant and near hiding-places, now show themselves at the fords of the Arnon. מַעְבְּרוֹתָאֲרֹנֹן we should take as in apposition to בְּנֹת מוֹאָב if מַעְבְּרוֹת signified coastlands (like עֲבָרִי in chap. vii. 20), and not invariably fords; it is locative in meaning, and it is accentuated accordingly.

There — away at the point where their land formerly reached before it passed into the possession of Israel, on its utmost boundary, in the direction towards Judah, which was seated above it—they show themselves; and they take heart and send suppliant petitions over to Zion. The description is ideal. Vers. 3, 4a: "*Bring counsel, give decision, make thy shadow like night in the midst of noon; conceal outcasts, discover not wanderers! Let my outcasts tarry in thee! Moab — be a shelter to it from the devastator.*" In their perplexity, supplicating Zion for counsel, and submitting the decision of their fate to the men of Judah (so according to the *Keri*¹), they stand most fervently bespeaking Zion's shelter and protection — they who were formerly the proud Moabites, but are now completely humbled before Zion. Their anxiety after the dire distress of war, which has hardly yet been completely realized, is so great, that in the sunshine of noon they wish to be encompassed by Zion's protecting shadow as by black night, in order that the enemy may not be able to see them. To the anxious urgency of their supplicating request, correspond the short propositions in which they are expressed (cf. xxxiii. 8). פְּלִיאָה (cf. פְּלִיאָה, chap. xxviii. 7) is the decision of a judge (פְּלִיאָה), the figure of the shadow is the same as in chaps. xxx. 2, 3, xxxii. 2, and elsewhere; נִדָּד is the same as

¹ So Kimchi, Ven. 1521, and Codd: קְבִיאוֹ עֵצָה עִינֹן פְּלִיאָה.

in chap. xxi. 14; נִדְרִי , the same as in chap. xi. 12; סִתֵּר is the same as in chap. xxxii. 2 and elsewhere; שִׁנְיָר is the same as in chap. xxxiii. 1; קִפְּנִי is the same as in chap. xxi. 15,—it is all word for word Isaianic. It is not necessary in ver. 4 to read נִדְרִי for נִדְרִי מִמֶּנִּי , and still less is *ay* a collective ending, as in chap. xx. 4. Nor does the expression: "My outcasts . . . of Moab," belong to the *syntaxis ornata* (cf. chap. xvii. 6); rather is such a mode of expression here, where the speaker is speaking of himself, utterly impossible. We keep to the existing interpunction, according to which נִדְרִי (*zakeph*) closes the first clause of ver. 4a, and מִמֶּנִּי (*tebir*, which subordinates itself to the following *tiphcha*, and with this to the *athnach*), not used as a vocative (Nägelsbach), but as a nominative, opens a nominal clause, so that the proposition is translated as above: "Moab—be a shelter to it" (without taking $\text{לִּי} = \text{לִּי}$).

The question now arises, by what means has Zion come to awaken such trustful respect and commanding reverence in Moab? The answer to this is given in vers. 4b, 5: "*For the extortioner has an end; desolation has disappeared; treaders under foot are away from the land. And a throne is established through grace; and there sits thereon in truth in the tent of David one who judges, and who is zealous for right, and who is skilled in righteousness.*" The imperial power which pressed out the marrow and blood (רָצַח in the form of רָצָה , a pressor, like רָצַח in Prov. xxx. 33, pressure), which devastated and trod down everything (chap. xxix. 20, x. 6, xxxiii. 1; cf. 8), is swept away from the land on this side of the Jordan, and Jerusalem has not fallen under it, but has come forth more glorious than ever out of her oppressions. The collective subject is here preceded by וְהָיָה , as in Ps. xi. 7, Prov. xxviii. 1, cf. Job viii. 19, where the plural of the predicate follows. And the throne of the kingdom of Judah has not fallen, but by divine grace is anew established (וְהָיָה , as in Zech. v. 11); there sits upon it no longer a king who disgraces it and endangers his kingdom; but the tent roof of the fallen, yet now again erected, tabernacle of David (Amos ix. 11) is arched over a king who makes truth the criterion of his action, while realizing right and justice by his government. מִמֶּנִּי designates one who masters a thing externally and spiritually with ease.

It is therefore the Messianic time which has dawned (according to which the Targum renders the passage; and Cheyne, Driver, and G. A. Smith agree with us in thus explaining it, while Baudissin historicizes it); for **הַמֶּלֶךְ הַיָּחִיד** and **הַמֶּלֶךְ הַיָּחִיד** are the divine-human insignia of this time, and as it were its kindred genii. And who could fail here to recall chap. ix. 6 (cf. chap. xxxiii. 5, 6)? If, but only if, Moab submits to the king on the re-established throne of David, will it escape the judgment.

But if Moab does this, and if the law of the history of Israel, which is **שִׁמְרֵי יְהוָה**, is then in this way reflected in Moab's history, ver. 6 cannot possibly be an answer going from Zion to Moab (Reuss, Baudissin, and others); but the prophecy begins here a new stage, starting from Moab's sin, and always more elegiacally describing Moab's penal fate. Ver. 6: "*We have heard of Moab's pride, the exceedingly overweening, his haughtiness, and his pride, and his indignation: the untruth of his sayings.*" With the future self-humiliation of Moab, which will be the fruit of its penal sufferings, is contrasted its previous self-exaltation, whose fruit these penal sufferings will be. **שִׁמְרֵי**, says the prophet, including himself along with his people (Cheyne). Boastful inflatedness was hitherto the distinguishing characteristic of Moab in relation to that people (see chap. xxv. 11). The accumulated words of the same verbal stem (cf. chap. iii. 1) are intended to express how very haughty (**מִן** from **מָה**, chap. ii. 12, the nominal form of the faults) their haughtiness, and how entirely possessed Moab was by it. Jeremiah in chap. xlviii. 29 retains this paronomasia as strengthening the meaning and exhausting the idea (cf. Prov. viii. 13; Job xl. 10; and above, on chap. iii. 1). Moab bragged, and was at the same time full of rage against Israel, to which, so far as it remained conscious of the truth of Jehovah, Moab's pratings (**בִּי**, from **בָּרָא** = **בָּרָא**, to think out something strange or new and to begin it; cf. *mentiri* = *mente fingere*) must appear as **לֹא־כֵן**, as not right, and contrary to the relation of things. The adjective or adverbial **לֹא־כֵן** of 2 Kings vii. 9 stands here substantively, like **כֵּן** in Prov. xi. 19. Such expressions of sentiment have been heard by God's people, and, as Jeremiah adds in chap. xlviii. 29, 30, also by Israel's God.

Therefore is the delightful wine-land mournfully laid waste. Vers. 6-8: "*Therefore will Moab wail for Moab, everything will wail: for the grape-cakes of Kir Hareseth will ye whine, utterly crushed. For the fruit-fields of Heshbon have faded away, the vine of Sebma—lords of peoples its noble grapes smote down, they reached unto Ja'zer, twined through the desert; its branches spread themselves out wide, they crossed over the sea.*" The לִמְסַח in לִמְסַח is the same as in chap. xv. 5, and in the here following לִמְסַח. *Kir-Hareseth* (in ver. 11 and in Jeremiah *Kir-Héres*; cf. 2 Kings iii. 25, where the vocalization appears to be erroneous, הָרֶשֶׁת or הָרֶשֶׁת perhaps referring to glazed tiles or stones dressed for joining) is the chief fortress of Moab, which, according to chap. xv. 1, is destroyed, and therefore אִשְׁשִׁי appears to signify foundations, i.e. أسيس,

أساس,¹ as laid bare or in ruins, like אִשְׁשִׁית in Jer. l. 15, and אִשְׁשִׁי in Ezra iv. 12 and elsewhere (synonymous with מוֹסָרִי in chap. lviii. 12), with which Kimchi compares it. But the word, wherever it elsewhere occurs, means a kind of cake; and seeing that the devastation of the vineyards of Moab is what is further bewailed, it means here, as in Hos. iii. 1, grape-cakes, which consisted of grapes pressed together into the form of a cake (*DMZ.* iii. 366). Such cakes may have been a specially abundant article of the trade of Kir. Jeremiah has altered אִשְׁשִׁי into אִשְׁשִׁי in chap. xlviii. 31. הָנָה is to be understood according to chap. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11 (of the cooing of the dove); אֵל is to be taken according to Deut. xvi. 15. On the construction of the plural form שְׂדֵמוֹת, compare Hab. iii. 17. שְׂרָרִים, assuming that it is connected with שָׂרָה, שָׂרָה (chap. v. 2), means the beautiful red grapes of the noble vine which is named from them; for it is a colour word (*Zech.* i. 8). The clause with בְּעֵלֵי נָאִים has been translated by us with the same amphibole as it presents in the Hebrew; it may mean: lords of peoples or nations, *domini gentium*, smote down its vine-shoots, namely, those of the vine of שְׂבִמָּה (with *gaya*, in order that the two labials

¹ The word in the Beduin is أساس, in diminutive أسيس, *Sufs*, the name of the well-known port, which designates it as having risen on the foundations of old harbour structures (*DMZ.* xxii. 175).

may be separated), הָלֵם as in chap. xli. 7; or its vine-shoots smote down, i.e. intoxicated, the lords of nations,—*dominos gentium*; הָלֵם being used as in the undisputed Isaianic prophecy in chap. xxviii. 1. As the prophet launches out here on the excellence of the wine of Moab, it is rather the latter that is meant. The wine of Sibma was so good that it came to the table of monarchs, and so strong that it smote down such drinkers as were accustomed to good kinds of wine, i.e. it irresistibly intoxicated them. This Sibma wine, as the prophet says, was cultivated far and wide in Moab: northwards unto Jazer (now a ruined site, صير), between Ramoth

=Salt, and Heshbon,¹ eastwards into the desert, and southwards over הַיָּם, i.e. (as in Ps. lxviii. 23 and 2 Chron. xx. 2) over the Dead Sea, which, being hyperbolic, is equivalent to till close to it. Jeremiah determines הַיָּם more precisely in chap. xlviii. 32 as הַיָּם הַזֶּה, by which the hyperbole disappears. But what sort of sea is the sea of Jazer? Probably a celebrated large pool like the pools of Heshbon, a pool in which the water of the *Wādi (Nahr) Šīr*, which rose close by, was gathered. Seetzen found some pools still existing there. That הַיָּם is also used of large artificial basins of water, is shown by the הַיָּם of Solomon's temple. In the present day in Damascus the marble basins of flowing water in the halls of the houses are still called *baḥarāt*; and in like manner the public reservoirs in all the streets of the city, which are fed by an ancient network of aqueducts from the Barada river, are also thus designated.² The expression הַיָּם הַזֶּה is also a bold one; it probably points to the fact that there were trailing vines which did not require staking, but crept on the ground, and thus strayed into the desert, i.e. which extended into the pathless wilderness (הַיָּם, *mīlēl*, to favour the consonance with נִינְעָה, cf. the *mīlēl* forms פָּלִי in Ps. xxxvii. 27; קָוִי, Job xxiv. 1;

¹ The Targums render הַיָּם הַזֶּה by מַכְאֵר (מַכְאֵר), i.e. Machaerus, which is approved by Aug. Parent in his monograph, *Machaerous*, Paris 1868 (the fruit of a journey to the east of the Dead Sea); but this is an erroneous view. The ancient Machaeros, but not likewise the primeval Ja'zer, lay where Seetzen in Jan. 1807 found the ruined site مَكْأُور, *Makaur* (in the Attarus range of mountains on the south side of the *Zerka-Matn*).

² Wetzstein, "Der Markt in Damascus," in *DMZ.* 1857, pp. 476, 477.

עָרִי, Ps. cxxxvii. 7; and the putting forward of the tone for the same purpose in בָּקָרִי, chap. xxviii. 7).

The natural beauties and the fertility of the land which has fallen to a people are gifts out of the riches of divine goodness, remnants of the paradisiacal commencement of the history of man and types of its paradisiacal end, and for this reason they are not things without interest to the spirit of prophecy. Nor, for the same reason, is it unworthy of the prophet, who prophesies the renovation and perfecting of nature to paradisiacal beauty, to mourn elegiacally over such devastations as those of the wine-land of Moab now present before his mind (cf. xxxii. 12, 13). Ver. 9: ✓

"Therefore I weep with Jazer's weeping for Sibma's vines; I flood thee with my tears, Heshbon and Elale, that upon thy fruit harvest and upon thy vintage hēdad has fallen."

This is a tetrastich, in measure and movement resembling a Sapphic strophe. The prophet mingles his tears with Jazer's tears; as Jazer weeps for the devastated vines of Sibma, so does he also weep. אֲרִיָּהּ is transposed out of אֲרִיָּהּ = אֲרִיָּהּ. Heshbon and Elale (see on this name DMZ. xxv. 560), these cities lying adjacent to each other with luxuriant fields עֲרִמּוֹת (ver. 8), and which are now destroyed to the ground, are watered by the prophet with tears, because that הַיָּדָר has fallen upon the fruit harvest and wine harvest of both the sister cities. קָצִיר is elsewhere used for the wheat harvest, but it is here preferred to the more exact בָּצִיר for the sake of the alliteration with קָצִיר (cf. e.g. מִכְתָּר for כֹּתֵר in chap. iv. 6). It is apparent from the figure indicated in הַיָּדָר that it is not the wheat harvest that is meant, but the vintage, which nearly coincided with the fruit harvest, which is

called קָצִיר, as in chap. xxviii. 4. הַיָּדָר (from הָדָר, to crack,

to burst forth, after the form בִּילָהּ and also הִיכָל, הִיכָל; cf. הִילָל,

chap. xiv. 12) is not a battle-cry, like the Indo-Germanic ἄλλαλ, but the self-regulating call at which the wine-pressers in the trough raise their legs and let them fall in order to squeeze the grapes (ver. 10; Jer. xxv. 30). Such a hēdad has fallen upon the rich plains of Heshbon-Elale, inasmuch as they have been pressed or trodden down by enemies,—

הִידָד לֹא הִידָד, a *hédad* and yet no *hédad*, as Jeremiah in chap. xlviii. 33 reproduces it in a beautiful oxymoron, i.e. there is no merry shout (Luther's *Song*) of proper grape-treaders.

The prophet, i.e. Isaiah, to whose favourite words and favourite figures מִרְמָל belongs as the name of a place and the name of a thing, now proceeds further in his description, and is plunged still deeper into mourning. Vers. 10, 11: "*And joy and jubilation is taken away from the garden land, and in the vineyards there is no rejoicing, no glad shouting; the grape-treader does not tread out wine in the troughs; to the hédad I put an end—therefore my bowels sound for Moab like a harp, and my interior for Kir-Heres.*" Jehovah says הִשְׁמַחְתִּי, and accordingly the words: therefore my bowels sound like a harp (or as Jeremiah expresses it in chap. xlviii. 36, like flutes), might also appear to be the expression of the feeling of Jehovah. Nor do the Scriptures actually shrink from attributing כִּסְאֵי, *viscera*, to God, as e.g. in chap. lxiii. 15 and Jer. xxxi. 20. But as the prophet is the sympathizing subject throughout the whole prophecy, it is appropriate even on the ground of its unity to take the words here also as expressing his feelings. As the hand or plectrum moves the strings of the harp so that they vibrate with sound, so does the terrible thing which he presents Jehovah as saying concerning Moab move the strings of his inward parts, so that they sound in tones of deep pain. By the entrails are specially meant heart, liver, and kidneys—the noblest organs of the psyche—which, according to the Biblical idea, are the seat of the tenderest emotions, as it were the sounding-board of those "hidden sounds" to be found in every man. God converses with the prophet ἐν πνεύματι; but what occurs there takes form in the domain of the soul, in individual impressions in which the bodily organs of the psychical life sympathetically participate. Thus does the prophet in the spirit perceive God's purpose concerning Moab, in which he neither can nor would alter anything; but his soul is thrown by it into the restlessness of pain.

The ultimate reason of this restlessness is that Moab does not know the living God. Ver. 12: "*And it will come to pass; when Moab appears, wearies himself on the mountain height and enters into his sanctuary to pray—he will obtain nothing.*"

נִרְאָה, a picturesque assonance such as Isaiah delights in. נִרְאָה (from it in chap. i. 12, לִירְאוֹת, Talmud לִירְאוֹת) is transferred from the Israelitish worship (the appearing before God in His temple, Talmud רִאיוֹן, רִאיוֹן, after the form רִעִיוֹן) to the heathen worship, syntactically: *si apparuerit*, with ו before the apodosis. It will go with the Moabites as with the priests of Baal in the time of Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 26 sqq.). Ewald supplies another apodosis: then will Moab give up his Kemosh and be converted to Jehovah. This thought would not be impossible before Jeremiah (Baudissin), but it remains unexpressed, and to interweave it (Cheyne) is unnecessary and unjustified.

The Massa is now at an end, and there follows an epilogue, which in conformity with the horizon of the history as moved forward assigns the term of the fulfilment of what is not now prophesied for the first time. Vers. 13, 14: "*This is the utterance which Jehovah uttered concerning Moab long ago. And now Jehovah speaks thus: In three years, as the years of a hired labourer, then is the glory of Moab dishonoured, together with all the multitude of the great, and a remnant miserably small, not great at all!*" The determination of the time is the same as in chap. xx. 3. Of the working time the hiring master remits nothing, and the hired labourer adds nothing to it. The statement of time is therefore to be taken exactly as three years and not longer, rather somewhat short of it than over it. Then will the old word of God concerning Moab be fulfilled. Only a remnant, a petty one, will remain (syntactically, as we have punctuated it, an exclamative clause); for all the history of the peoples is the shadow of the history of Israel.

The Massa, in chaps. xv. 1-xvi. 12, is therefore a word that had gone forth from God before, מִצֵּד. This statement is capable of being taken in three different senses. (1) Isaiah may mean that older prophecies already announced the same thing in reference to Moab. But which? The answer to this may be derived from Jeremiah's prophecy concerning Moab in chap. xlviii. Jeremiah there reproduces the מִצֵּד מִצֵּד of the Book of Isaiah, but interweaves with it reminiscences (a) from the Mashal concerning Moab in Num. xxi. 27-30; (b) from Balaam's prophecy concerning Moab in

Num. xxiv. 17 ; (c) from Amos's prophecy concerning Moab in Amos ii. 1-3 (see Caspari in *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1843). Isaiah might mean these older words of prophecy, as Hävernick, Drechsler, and others hold. This, however, is very improbable, as there is no echo of these older pieces found in the Massa, which would be expected if Isaiah had them in mind. (2) Isaiah may mean that chap. xv. 1 sqq. is the prophecy of an older prophet which he only brings to remembrance in order to combine with it the term of its fulfilment as revealed to him. This is the view which prevails at present. Hitzig, in a special treatise on the subject (1831) and in his commentary, has endeavoured to make it probable on the ground of 2 Kings xiv. 25 that Jonah was the author of the oracle which is here taken up again by Isaiah. Knobel, Maurer, G. Baur, and Thenius agree with Hitzig ; de Wette, Ewald, Umbreit, Reuss, and Kuenen regard it at least as borrowed from an older prophet by Isaiah from the terms of his postscript ; and Cheyne assigns the author to the beginning of the reign of Uzziah. It is hardly possible to think of Jonah as the author. Jonah belongs to the prophets of the type of Elijah and Elisha, in whom the eloquence of prophetic address still falls entirely behind the energy of the prophetic act. His prophecy of the bringing back of the kingdom of Israel to its ancient extent, fulfilled by the victories of Jeroboam II., is not to be thought of as so picturesque and so highly poetic as the *ששׁ מואב* is, which would only be a part of that prophecy. And, moreover, that Jonah went into the sulks about the sparing of Nineveh, also accords badly with the elegiac softness of this prophecy and its flood of tears. Nor is it anywhere indicated that the conquerors to whom Moab succumbs are of the kingdom of Israel ; and the hypothesis completely breaks down upon the call addressed to Moab to send tribute to Jerusalem. My young friend Oscar Vallette, who died in Paris on the 17th April 1883, after a richly blessed activity in the ministry, in a *Thèse* of the year 1864, ably brought together the reasons against this view. But the fact that the oracle must be derived from some other older prophet is an inference from grounds which are worthy of consideration, but are not sufficient to establish it. It is acknowledged that not only

the epilogue but also chap. xvi. 5b, 6 included in the Massa, are thoroughly Isaianic. If the view of Cheyne is not adopted, who regards chap. xvi. 5b, 6 as an expansion of the older original Massa by Isaiah, then there undoubtedly predominates in the rest of it expressions which are not discoverable elsewhere in Isaiah; yet they are not on that account un-Isaianic. The expressions which are not found elsewhere in Isaiah are *יָרַע, יִתְרָה, יָרַע, יִלְלָה, הִידֵר, בָּעַל נָיִם, מָן, מַהֲרִי, יִתְרָה, יָרַע, יִלְלָה, הִידֵר, בָּעַל נָיִם, מָן, מַהֲרִי* (provision, possession). There is something peculiar in the circular movement of the discourse in the relation of reason and consequence carried out, as it is, to such length, and in the monotonous combination of clauses by *כִּי* and *עַל־כֵּן* (*לָכֵן*), of which the former is repeated twice in chap. xv. 1, thrice in chap. xv. 8, 9, and even four times in succession in chap. xv. 5, 6. But, in fact, there is no Isaianic prophecy which does not contain expressions exclusively used in it by the prophet; and as regards the conjunctions *כִּי* and *עַל־כֵּן* (*לָכֵן*), Isaiah accumulates them also elsewhere, but here it is done even till it becomes monotonous as a natural consequence of the elegiac mood which prevails throughout. And is not chap. xv. 6b in form just like chap. xvi. 4b? And if it is true that in Isaiah there is not found elsewhere a prophecy which is elegiac through and through, yet is not chap. xxii. 4 an approach to the *kina*? The third possible view will therefore be the real one. (3) Isaiah intends to say that the fate of Moab just proclaimed was already long since revealed to himself, but now in addition to this it was revealed that it will be realized in exactly three years. *מִנָּח* does not necessarily point to a time before Isaiah (compare chap. xlv. 8, xlviii. 3, 5, 7, with 2 Sam. xv. 34). If we assume that what Isaiah prophesies down to chap. xvi. 12 was already revealed to him in the death-year of Ahaz (at all events after Tiglath-pileser's invasion of the country east of the Jordan, in consequence of which, according to the evidence of inscriptions, the king of Moab became a tributary vassal), and that the epilogue is to be reckoned from the third or the tenth year of Hezekiah, in either case the interval is long enough for the *מִנָּח*. We indeed do not know anything certain about the time at which the three years up to the fulfilment commences. The question whether Shalmanassar, or Sargon,

or Sennacherib is to be thought of as the king who treated the Moabites so hardly, cannot be answered. In Herodotus (ii. 141), Sennacherib is called βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων. Moab might be included in the Arabians (Ἀραβίων). In any case there remained of Isaiah's prophecy, when it had been fulfilled in the Assyrian time, a further part or surplus whose fulfilment, according to Jer. xlviii., was reserved for the Chaldeans.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING DAMASCUS AND ISRAEL,
CHAP. XVII.

From Philistia, the neighbouring people on the west, and Moab, the neighbouring people on the east, the prophecy now proceeds northwards to the people of the Damascene-Syria. The curse pronounced upon it falls also upon the kingdom of Israel, because it has allied itself with the heathen Damascus against their brethren in the south and the Davidic kingdom, and by this unnatural alliance with a 71 has itself become a 71. From the reign of Hezekiah, to which the מלך אשור belongs, according to its epilogue at least, we are here carried back to the reign of Ahaz, and indeed back far beyond the death-year of Ahaz (chap. xiv. 28) to the boundary line of the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, soon after the conclusion of the league which aimed at Judah's destruction, by which revenge was taken for the similar league of Asa with Benhadad against Israel (1 Kings xv. 9). When Isaiah incorporated this oracle in his collection, its threats against the kingdoms of Damascus and Israel had long been fulfilled. Assyria had punished both of them, and Assyria had also been punished, as the fourth strophe of the oracle sets forth. The oracle therefore stands here on account of its universal contents, which are instructive for all time.

The first strophe. Vers. 1-3: "*Behold, Damascus must away out of the number of cities, and becomes a heap of fallen ruins. Forsaken are the cities of Aroer; to flocks they are given up, which lie down there without any one scaring them away. And abolished is fortress from Ephraim, and kingdom from Damascus: and to those left of Aram it happens as to the glory*

of the sons of Israel, saith Jehovah of Hosts." ¹ הָיָה, with the following participle, points, as it does everywhere else, to what is just about to happen. Damascus is removed מְעִיר (= מְהִירוֹת עִיר, cf. 1 Kings xv. 13), out of the sphere of existence as a city. It becomes, in fact, מְעִי מְפֹלָה, a heap of fallen ruins. The word-form מְעִי (= מַעוּה, *ma'awt*), of which no instance elsewhere occurs, is deleted by de Lagarde as "ditto-graphy;" but the striving after word-painting in tones produces strange forms, and so here מְעִי appears as if it would be an echo to מְעִיר, of which it is an apocope: Damascus becomes the fragment of a city. The same thing happens to Israel, which has made itself an appanage of Damascus. The cities of Aroer (*gen. appos.* Ges. § 114. 3) represent the land to the east of the Jordan in which the judgment on Israel, executed by Tiglath-pileser, began. There were, in fact, two Aroers: an old Amorite Aroer, which fell to the tribe of Reuben, situated on the Arnon (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, and elsewhere); and an old Ammonite Aroer, which fell to the tribe of Gad—Aroer before Rabba (Rabbath Ammon, Josh. xiii. 25). The site of the ruins of the former is عرار, 'Aráir, on the high

northern bank of the *Múgib*; the situation of the latter has not yet been ascertained with certainty (see Keil on Josh. xiii. 25). The "cities of Aroer" are these two Aroers along with the cities on the east of Jordan like them, just as the "Orions" in chap. xiii. 10 are Orion and stars like it. We again find here in עִירֵי עָרֵי a significant play of sound: the name of Aroer is ominous. It will happen to the cities of its circuit as its name indicates; עָרֵי signifies to lay bare, to tear down (Jer. li. 58), and עָרֵי (עִירֵי) signifies being in a stark-naked state, in desolation and solitude (عرعر, *juniperus*,

and as its *plur. fractus*, עֲרַעֲרִי, the name of the place may be explained as "juniper bushes," as is done by de Lagarde). Job xi. 19 (cf. Zeph. iii. 13) is the original passage on which chap. xvii. 2b β is founded. After ver. 1 has threatened

¹ Before ver. 3 there is found in the Codd. the remark: חֲצִי הַנְּבִיאִים חֲצִי הַנְּבִיאִים, also *Bibl. rabbin.*: חֲצִי הַנְּבִיאִים. The Masora reckons from Joshua to Isa. xvii. 3 the number of verses to be 4647, the half of the 9294 verses of all the *Neb'im*.

Damascus in particular, and ver. 2 has threatened Israel in particular, ver. 3 takes them both together. Ephraim loses the strong cities which served it as protecting walls, and Damascus loses the rank of a kingdom. Those of Aram who remain and who do not fall in the war, become like the proud citizens of the kingdom of Israel—they are dragged away captive. All this was fulfilled by Tiglath-pileser. The accentuation draws **אֶרָם אֶרָם** to the first half of the verse; but the meaning remains the same, as the subject to **יִי** is in any case the Aramaeans.

Second strophe. Vers. 4–8: “*And it comes to pass in that day, then the glory of Jacob wastes away, and the fat of his flesh becomes lean; and it will be as when a reaper grasps the stalks of corn, and his arm moves off the ears; and it will be as with one who gathers ears in the valley of Rephaim. Yet a gleanings remains thereof, as at the olive beating: two, three berries above at the top; four, five in its, the fruit tree's, branches, saith Jehovah, the God of Israel. In that day man will glance up to his Creator, and his eyes will look to the Holy One of Israel. And he will not glance round to the altars, the product of his hands, and what his fingers have made he will not regard, neither the Astartes nor the Sun-gods.*” This strophe does not speak of Damascus, but only of Israel, and, moreover, of all Israel, the range of vision widening out from Israel in the narrower sense to this total view. It will diminish to a small remnant, but this will return. **אֶרָם אֶרָם** is thus the law of the history of Israel, which is here applied first on its threatening side, and then on its promising side. The reputation and prosperity to which the two kingdoms were raised by Jeroboam II. and Uzziah will pass away. Israel is ripe for judgment, like a field of corn in the ear for the harvest; and it will therefore be as when a reaper grasps the upright stalks and cuts off the ears. **אֶרָם אֶרָם** is not used elliptically for **אֶרָם אֶרָם** (Gesenius), nor is it a determination of time (Luzzatto, Nägelsbach), nor the accusative of the object (Knobel), but an intensive active noun in the sense of a

reaper, formed like **אֶרָם אֶרָם**, **אֶרָם אֶרָם** (otherwise **אֶרָם אֶרָם**, Arab. **نصال** from **نصل** = **قصر**). The figure here indicated is expanded in John iv. and Rev. xiv. There will hardly any one escape

the judgment, just as in the wide plain of Rephaim, covered with precious wheat fields, sloping down from Jerusalem towards the south-west to Bethlehem, the reapers scarcely leave an ear lying here or there. Nevertheless a gleanings is left over of Israel (וְגֵזֶל, *i.e.* גֵּזֶל, ver. 4, chap. x. 22); just as when the branches of the olive tree, which have been already plucked by the hand, are again further shaken with a stick (פִּלְקָה, like a shaking off = just as with . . . Ges. § 118. 3 Rem.), there still remain a few berries hanging on the highest branch (two, three, cf. 2 Kings ix. 32), or hidden under the foliage of the branches. "Its, the fruit-tree's, branches" (סְעִיפֶיהָ, not סְעִיפֵיהָ) is an elegant expression, as *e.g.* Prov. xii. 4, xiv. 13; the drawing over of the ה to the second word is natural in both passages, but the same mode of expression is also found where this removal is impracticable, as in 2 Sam. xxii. 33; Ps. lxxi. 7 (see comm. on the passage); cf. chap. xvi. 4a. This small remnant will turn with undiverted look to the living God, as is becoming in man as such (הַחַיִּים), and not consider the idols worth a look, least of all a devout look: neither the חַמְנִים nor the אֲשֵׁרִים, the two ו being correlative. הַמְּנִים are here images of the sun-god, בעל חֶמֶן, well known from the Phoenician monuments (see 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4),¹ as in Himyaritic שֶׁמְחָה, his sun is used for his sun-sanctuary; and so אֲשֵׁרִים (for which we find more rarely אֲשֵׁרוֹת) may be images of the אֲשֵׁרָה, and this may be a name of Astarte; a view supported by 2 Kings xxiii. 4, "Baal, Ashera, and the whole host of heaven," and 1 Kings xv. 13, מִכֹּל צֶלֶת, אֲשֵׁרָה. אֲשֵׁרָה has now actually been shown to be a name of Astarte in the form *Ašratu*.² The name signifies the blessed, the saving (salvation-bringing), holy one. Of the same root are the Assyrian plurals *ašré* (from *ašru*) and *ašrāti* (from *aširtu*), which mean places of grace (temples).³ The proper name of the goddess is *Ištar*, or corresponding to the Hebrew עֲשֵׂתָרָה,

¹ Sanchuniathon professes to have drawn his information from ἀπόκρυφα Ἀμμωνίου γράμματα. Ἀμμώνιον are pillars or temples of the בעל חֶמֶן. The *Gr. Venetus* translates חַמְנִים, Lev. xxvi. 30, with reference to ἀμμόεις ἡλόιος, ingeniously by the similar sounding ἀμμόεις.

² By the Phoenicio-Assyrian *Abd-Ashera*-table of Tell-el-Amarna, see Schrader in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. iii. 363, 364.

³ See on this, Friedrich Delitzsch, in his *Excursus on the name of Tiglath-pileser*, in Baer's edition of the *Liber Chronicorum*, 1888.

Ištartu.¹ אִשְׁתָּרְתּוּ (אִשְׁתָּרְתּוּ) is the name applied to her consecrated places, particularly pleasure groves (*bosquets*) or trees (Deut. xvi. 21; cf. the verbs נָחַשׁ, כָּרַת, נָחַשׁ, used of removing them); but here probably her statues or images (2 Kings xxi. 7; compare the כְּסִלְכֵּת in 1 Kings xv. 13, which is meant to apply to an obscene representation). For these images of the sun-god and of the goddess of the moon or morning star the remnant of Israel purified by the furnace of judgment has no longer an eye. Their look is exclusively directed to the one true God of mankind. The promise, which begins to dawn at the close of the second strophe, is now again swallowed up in the third strophe, only to break forth again in the fourth with double and triple intensity.

Third strophe. Vers. 9–11: "*In that day will his fortified cities be like the ruins of the forest and of the mountain-top, which they evacuated before the sons of Israel: and there arises a waste. For thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and of the rock of thy fortress thou hast not thought, therefore didst thou plant pleasant plantations, and didst set them with strange vine slips. In the day that thou plantedst, thou didst draw a hedge, and with the morning dawn thou broughtest thy seed to the blossom,—a harvest heap in the day of deep wounds and deadly pain.*" What was said in ver. 3, that the fortress of Ephraim is abolished, is repeated in ver. 9 in a more descriptive way. To the strongly fortified cities of Ephraim it happens as to the old Canaanite forts which were still visible in their antiquated remains in the depths of woods or on the heights of mountains. The word עֲוִיבָה, which was not understood by the old interpreters, means, as in chap. vi. 12, desolate places that have become ruined. Instead of הָרִשׁ הָאֵמִיר, the LXX. read הָרִשׁ הָאֵמִיר (which is approved by de Lagarde), but in the translation they transpose the two names thus, οἱ Ἀμωρρῆαιοι καὶ οἱ Ἐβῆαιοι. הָאֵמִיר undoubtedly means elsewhere the top of a tree, which is not suitable here; but as in this sense it goes back to אָמַר, *extollere efferre* (see on Ps. xciv. 4), the Hiphil of which in the Mishna (*Sota*

¹ Schlottmann, in *DMZ.* xxiv. 658 sqq., derives the name, starting from the Deuteronomic עֲשֵׂתְרוֹת הַצֵּאָן, Deut. vii. 13 *et al.*, from עָשָׂר, to connect, to beget. Fried. Delitzsch also regards *Ištartu* as a trilliterate with inserted ת (*Assyr. Gramm.* § 65, No. 40).

ix. 14) means "to top" (הִיוֹקֵר יֵאָמֵר, the dearness will reach its highest degree), it may also mean the top of a mountain, as the contrast to the base of a mountain (Job xxviii. 9), and therefore the summit of the mountain.¹ The name of the people, הָאֲמֹרִי (signifying those who dwell high up in the mountains), proves the possibility that the prophet had this name in his mind, and was determined by it in his choice of the word. It is not necessary to read עֲזָבִי for עֲזָבִי; the subject of עֲזָבִי is evident of itself. It is only ruins in woods and mountains that are mentioned, because other places lying on the lines of intercourse merely changed inhabitants when the Israelites took possession of their country. The reason that the same fate is to overtake Ephraim's strong forts as fell on those of the Amorites then lying in ruins, was because, as is said in ver. 10, Ephraim had turned away from his true rock-fast fortress, his stronghold of Jehovah. It is a consequence of this estrangement from God that Ephraim planted נִסְעֵי נֶעְמָנִים (נִסְעֵי, with *Dag. compensativum*, and not the ambiguous נִסְעֵי), plantations of lovely kind of things = lovely plantations

(as in Sur. 56. 90, *ġennātu na'imīn*, see on Ps. lxxviii. 49), i.e. they made for themselves all kinds of sensuous cults in conformity with their heathen inclination. Perhaps נֶעְמָנִים points to a particular cult, such as that of Adonia.² And further, it is a consequence of this estrangement from God that Ephraim planted these garden grounds (to which the suffix *ennu* belongs) with strange vines; or since נִסְעֵי signifies the setter of the vine, he has set it with them, that is to say, by concluding an alliance with a נִר, the king of Damascus. On the very day of the planting Ephraim carefully fenced it in (this is what the *Pilpel* שָׁנִי from שָׁנָה = סָנָה signifies, not: to bring up, as שָׁנָה = שָׁנָה, סָנָה, cannot be established); that is to say, he insured the continuance of those sensuous cults in the manner of a State-religion with the prudence of a Jeroboam (see Amos vii. 13), and what had been sown was already brought into blossom in the morning.

¹ Cognate is *ḥēqer*, which means a heap of stone, a way-mark (sign-post), and also a hill.

² De Lagarde, with whom Cheyne agrees, combines נֶעְמָנִים as an Adonia-name (cf. Ewald, § 287a) with the name of the Anemone.

The foreign slip has shot up like a hothouse plant, i.e. the alliance has rapidly become a happy agreement, and has also already shot forth a blossom which is the common plan directed against Judah. But this planting, which has been so flattering and so full of promise for Ephraim, and which flourished rapidly and seemingly so happily, is a harvest heap for the day of judgment. The modern expositors almost all take יָר (for which LXX. have ἔρ, and Syr. יָר = yoke), according to the Targum and Jer., as the 3rd person, according to the form יָרָה: the harvest flees; but the 3rd pers. of יָר must be יָרָה, like the part. in Gen. iv. 12; whereas the meaning *cumulus*, which it has elsewhere as a substantive, is quite appropriate, and the statement of the prophet is like that of the apostle in Rom. ii. 5. The day of the judgment is called day of נִחֲלָה (נִחְלָה), in no case = נַחַל, river, stream (Luzzatto: *in giorno di fiumana*), as in Ps. cxxiv. 4, the accent being on the last syllable is opposed to this; nor is it on the day of the possession (Rosenmüller, Meier, Drechsler, and others, following LXX. and Jer.), which, as expressing nothing of itself, would require more precise definition; but it is the feminine of נִחֲלָה, and written shortly for מִכָּה נִחֲלָה in Jer. xiv. 17, x. 19, Nah. iii. 19, inasmuch as it inflicts grievous and deadly wounds. On this day Ephraim's plantation becomes manifest as a harvest heap. What he has heaped up is in that day brought home (cf. קְצִיר, a harvest of punishment, Hos. vi. 11; Jer. li. 33), and the hope set upon this plantation is changed into בָּאֵב אֲנִישׁ, a despairing, incurable heart-sorrow (Jer. xxx. 15). The organic connection of what now follows in vers. 12-14 with the oracle concerning Damascus-Israel has been either entirely misunderstood on the one hand or not properly appreciated on the other. The relation is this: As the prophet sets before himself how Ephraim's sin is punished by Assyria, and how the latter sweeps over the Holy Land, the promise which appears in the second strophe now breaks fully through: the world-power is Jehovah's instrument of punishment, but not for ever.

Fourth strophe. Vers. 12-14: "*Woe to the roaring of many peoples; like roaring of seas they roar, and to the rumbling of nations like the rumbling of mighty waters they*

rumble. Nations like the rumbling of many waters they rumble and He threatens it—then it flies far away, and is chased like chaff of mountains before the wind, and like straw haulms before the whirlwind. At eventide—behold, there is consternation; even before morning dawn it is annihilated—this is the portion of our plunderers and the lot of our robbers.” It is the annihilation of Assyria which the prophet prophesies here, as in chaps. xiv. 24-27, xxix. 5-8, and elsewhere; but not of Assyria as Assyria, but of Assyria as the empire, which embraces a multitude of peoples (chaps. xxii. 6, viii. 9, 10, xiv. 26, xxix. 7, 8) under one will for a common combating of the Church of God. The relation of this fourth strophe to the third is entirely like the relation of chap. viii. 9, 10 to chap. viii. 6-8. The exclamation of woe, *ווי*, is, as in chap. x. 1, an expression of the pain of wrath, which is then followed by the proclamation of the judgment of wrath. The description of the billow of peoples is as picturesque as the well-known description: *ille inter sese*, etc., of the Cyclopes in Virgil. “It spreads and stretches out; it is as if it would not cease to swell, and to roar, and to surge, and to sound” (Drechsler). In *בָּז*, in ver. 13*a*, the many surging peoples are kneaded together as into one mass. The onomatopoeic word *נָעַר* (in Ethiopic, to cry, to lament) signifies a commanding influence bringing about silence and yielding. It costs God only one threatening word, and then this mass flees far away (*מִמָּדְרָקָא*, like *מִמָּדְרָקָא* in chap. xxii. 3; see on chap. v. 26); it is scattered and whirled asunder like chaff from high-lying threshing-floors, and as *גִּלְגֵּל* before the storm. The Chaldee *גִּלְגֵּל* (*גִּלְ*) and Arabic *gill*, *gull*, *gall*, demonstrate the meaning of *גִּלְגֵּל* to be: stubble, dry blades of straw, *גָּל*, to be round, and to roll, to move easily and quickly. The judgment begins to execute overthrow *בְּלִיָּה* (from *בָּלָה*, *בָּלָה*, to get out of control, to be out of oneself) in the evening. It rages in the night, and before the break of the morning the host of peoples belonging to the imperial power is annihilated (compare chap. xxix. 9, 10, and the fulfilment in chap. xxxvii. 36). The fact that this particular oracle concerning Damascus is so comprehensive on this fourth stage, and is so promising for Israel, is explained on the ground that Syria was the

precursor of Assyria in the attack on Israel, and that the alliance of Israel with Syria had become the cause of the complications with Assyria. If the matter of the מלחמה had been restricted to what the name Mahershalal expresses, then the element of promise which is characteristic of the prophecies against the peoples of the world (the Gentile nations) would be entirely lacking in it. But the shout of triumph, 'יהי ה'לל ו'נ', supplied a terminal point which the מלחמה cannot pass beyond unless it is to sacrifice its unity. We are therefore justified in taking chap. xviii. as a prophecy by itself, although at the same time this last strophe of the oracle concerning Damascus forms the ring linking into which the following prophecy concerning Ethiopia is immediately attached.

ETHIOPIA'S SUBMISSION UNDER JEHOVAH, CHAP. XVIII.

The view which holds that chap. xviii. 4-6 contains a description of the judgment inflicted on Ethiopia by Jehovah is untenable. The prophet prophesies the annihilation of the army of Sennacherib in his usual way, and as it was fulfilled in chap. xxxvii. 36. Equally untenable, however, is the old Jewish and Christian view, which has been taken up again by Hofmann, that the people so strangely described at the beginning and close of the prophecy is the people of Israel. The borrowed passage in Zeph. iii. 10 should not mislead us, for it fuses together references to Isa. xviii. and lxvi. The people here peculiarly described are the Ethiopians, and the prophet prophesies the effect on Ethiopia of the judgment concerning Assyria which Jehovah executes, as Drechsler has convincingly proved (*Studien u. Krit.* 1847, and *Komm.*), and as is now universally recognised. But it is not probable either that the prophecy falls later than the Assyrian expedition against Egypt (Schegg), or that the Ethiopian ambassadors whom it mentions are dispatched to Judah to offer it friendship and help (Ewald, Knobel, Meier, and Thenius). No; the expedition against Egypt, including Ethiopia, is only in prospect, and that against Judah is a means to this end. And the ambassadors do not go to Judah, but, as Drechsler apprehends the situation, with the most active despatch they

carry commands to all the regions under Ethiopian rule. The Ethiopian kingdom is, in view of the impending Assyrian invasion, in the greatest excitement, and the envoys are sent forth to call out the available military force. From the fact that in the trilogy contained in chaps. xviii.-xx., Ethiopia and Egypt are specially treated, and are carefully kept apart in chap. xx., it appears that we must conclude that at the time when the prophecies in chaps. xviii., xix. went forth, and in the time of Sargon, Egypt and Ethiopia were not yet one kingdom. Moreover, Sennacherib, in the prism-inscription (translated in Friedr. Delitzsch's *Assyr. Lesestücken*, xii.-xvi.), still distinguishes kings of Egypt (*šarrāni*¹ *mātu Musuri*) and a king of Ethiopia (*šar mātu Meluhhi*), whom he boasts of having defeated near Eltekê (𐤏𐤍𐤊𐤍, Josh. xix. 44). Egypt and Ethiopia did not actually become a single kingdom till the time of Psammetichus the son of Necho, whose son, Necho II., on his march against Nabopolassar encountered Josiah. In the Delta, the two chief dynasties, the Saitic and the Tanitic, still contended with each other; but in Thebes the Ethiopian supremacy always gained more in power, and the kings of the Delta were not able to make a stand against it. *Shebek* (Σαβήκων) the 𐤎𐤓𐤏 (𐤎𐤓𐤏), on whom Hosea, the last king of the northern kingdom, depended (2 Kings xvii. 4), was the beginner of the new (25th) dynasty, consisting of Ethiopian kings, which, from 725 B.C., reduced the lesser kings to vassals. It was he whom Sargon overthrew at Raphia in 720 B.C. His successor was *Shabatok*, whom *Taharka*, who encountered Sennacherib's expedition against Judah, removed out of the way in 672 B.C.; and Taharka himself was subdued by Esarhaddon in 672 B.C., and this was the end of the Ethiopian dynasty. At this time, then, when the prophecies in chaps. xviii., xix., xx. were given forth, Egypt was not yet a single kingdom. The local princes of Lower Egypt were not yet removed; the Ethiopian dynasty had the supremacy, but only in so far as it asserted itself by force and craft. The separating of Egypt and Ethiopia in Isaiah is founded on the same political ground

¹ Of the texts of the two copies of the prism-inscription one has *šarrāni*, and the other *šar*. On the place of the battle of Eltekê, in the order of the details of the Jewish campaign, see Friedrich Delitzsch's art. "Sanherib" in the *Herzog-Hauck RE*. xiii.

as that of the kings of Egypt and of the king of Meluhhi in the prism-inscription of Sennacherib. Moreover, it cannot be exactly determined how near or far from the time when the Assyrian army entered on the expedition through Judah to Egypt the prophecy in chap. xviii. was composed. What it sets forth in prospect, namely, that the judgment of Jehovah upon the empire will have as its consequence the submission of Ethiopia to Jehovah, did occur at least in a preliminary way after the catastrophe of Assyria (2 Chron. xxxii. 23).

The prophecy begins with **וְהָיָה**, which never means *heus*, but always *vae*. Here, however, it differs from chap. xvii. 12 in being rather an expression of compassion (cf. Isa. lv. 1; Zech. ii. 10) than of anger; for the fact that the more mighty Assyria is coming against the mighty Ethiopia, is a humiliation prepared for the latter by Jehovah. Vers. 1, 2a: "*Woe, land of the whirring of wings, which is beyond the rivers of Kûs, which sends messengers to sea, and in papyrus boats over the face of the waters.*" The land of Kushi begins, according to Ex. xxix. 10, cf. xxx. 6, where Upper Egypt ends. The **סֹנְהַ** (*Aswân*) mentioned by Ezekiel is the boundary point where the Nile enters **מִצְרַיִם** proper, and which is still in the present day a depot of the products that come by the Nile from the south. The **נְהַר־בִּיט**, which are to be sought to the south of that point, are chiefly those that flow round the Kushite **כְּנָה** (Gen. x. 7). This latter name is applied to the insular or interfluvial land of Meroë which is enclosed by the White and Blue Nile (the *Astapos* of Ptolemy, now *Bahr el-Abyad*, and the *Astaboras* of Ptolemy, now *Bahr el-Azrak*), the present *Sennâr*, which, as such, is called **السِّنْدُ** (like Mesopotamia). Besides, the multitude of tributaries which in its long course bring always new masses of water to the Nile, might be well known generally to the prophet. The land "beyond the rivers of Kush" is the land bounded by the upper streams of the Nile, i.e. the land lying farther to the south under the Ethiopian rule, including Ethiopia proper; it is the land of its African auxiliaries, whose names (including probably the later Nubians and Abyssinians) are mentioned in 2 Chron. xii. 3; Nah. iii. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5; Jer. xlvi. 9. To this Ethiopia, designated according to its farthest limits (cf. Zeph. iii. 10), the prophet gives the peculiar name **אֶרֶץ**

אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם. This has been explained as the land of the wings of an army with clanging arms (Gesenius and others); but אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם has not, even in chap. viii. 8, immediately the same sense as אֶרֶץ נִפְיִם in Ezekiel. Or, again, it is explained as "land of the noise of waves" (Umbreit); but אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם cannot be said of waters out of such connection as in chap. viii. 8. Besides, אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם is not an appropriate onomatopoeic word for the noise of weapons and waves. Or, again, it has been explained as "land of the double shadow" (Grotius, Vitranga, Knobel, and others). But however appropriate this epithet (*ἀμφίσκιος*) is for the southmost part of Ethiopia as a tropical country, yet it is hazardous to take אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם in a meaning which is not sustained by the usage of the language; and the same objection holds to Luzzatto's interpretation, "land of the far and wide shadowing defence." Schelling has also correctly remarked against this view, that the shadow in countries between the tropics is not a double shadow at the same time (thrown now to the north and now to the south), and therefore that it cannot be figuratively called double-winged. אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם is the whirring of the wings of the insects with which Egypt and Ethiopia swarm on account of their climate and abundance of water; אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם, constr. אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם, *tinnitus stridor*,¹ its primary meaning from which the three other meanings of the word: cymbal, harpoon (i.e. a whirring dart), and grasshopper,² are derived. The Egyptian power was called, in chap. vii. 18, the fly from the end of the rivers of Egypt. Here Egypt-Ethiopia is called the land of the whirring of wings, inasmuch as the prophet, in association with the swarms of insects, has in his mind the motley swarms of people of this great kingdom, which were fabulously strange for an Asiatic. Within this great kingdom

¹ The meaning *stridere* becomes more particularly to sink down with a whirling motion, and in the Talmud, to have settled down, to be cleared (אֶרֶץ כְּנָפַיִם, *limpidus*).

² *Tsalzalya* in the language of the Gallas, *Tsetse* in the language of the Bechuanas, is the name of the most dreaded insect (*diptera*) of the tropical interior of Africa, a species of *glossina*; see Hartmann, *Skizze der Nilländer*, i. 205; *Ausland*, 1865, p. 960, and Merinsky, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas*, 1875, pp. 23-25 (where it is stated that the poison of the tsetse has a fatal effect only on the domestic animals, the ass being an exception). Bruce first brought this insect to England, and the first account of the "Tsalzalya-fly" is found in vol. v. of Bruce's *Select Specimens* (1790).

messengers are now passing to and fro upon its great waters בְּכֵלֵי נֹפֶת, in boats of papyrus (see about נֹפֶת, explained by Saadia by בְּרִדֵּי, in my comm. on Job, chap. viii. 11); in Greek *βάριδες* (Ionic in Herodotus, ii. 96, *βάριες*) *πανύπιναι* (*βαρίς*, after the Egyptian *bari*, *bali*, barge), cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 4. 136: *conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro*. In such canoes, *ex papyro et scirpo et harundine* (Plinius, vii. 206, xiii. 72, ed. Jan.), they skimmed along the Nile, and ventured even as far as *Taprobane* (Ceylon). They were made for folding together (*plicatiles*), so that they could be carried past the cataracts (rapids), Arab *šellâlât* (see Parthey on *Plutarch de Iside*, p. 198 f.).

It is to the messengers in such paper boats that the appeal of the prophet is directed. He bids them go and summon the mighty Ethiopian people to the combat: to a combat, however, which Jehovah will in their place take upon Himself. Vers. 2b, 3: "*Go, fleet messengers, to the nation long-stretched and beautifully polished, to the terrible people far away on the other side, to the nation of command on command and treading down, whose land rivers cut through. All ye possessors of the world and inhabitants of the earth, when a banner rises on mountains, look thither, and when they blow the trumpet, then hear!*" They are to go to the powerful people which will not be the prey of Assyria, but the prey of Jehovah; for He Himself will save the world from the conquering might of Assyria, against which the Ethiopian kingdom summons all the means of self-help. That to which the looks of Ethiopia and all the peoples of the earth are directed is made known to us by what follows: it is the destruction of Assyria by Jehovah. And they who look are particularly to attend and mark when they perceive the two signals of the banner and the trumpet blast: these are decisive moments. The people which is called to arms is described as being so glorious a people, not because it will actually join in the combat, but because it will be Jehovah's own people. It is אֶתְיוֹצֵר, long-extended, tall (LXX. *ἔθνος μετέωρον*), by which the Sabeans are likewise designated in chap. xlv. 14 (cf.

אֶתְיוֹצֵר, in the sense *elanced*, from עֲשָׂה, to extend long);

and then מְפֹרֶשֶׁת = מְפֹרֶשֶׁת,¹ polished, *politus*, especially by depilation (cf. ¹⁻³أَمْزَجَ, *imberbis*, of a youth), and therefore not marred by a disfiguring growth of hair. To these first two predicates corresponds the description of the Ethiopians in Herodotus, iii. 20, as μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων; and as to the glittering of their skin see also Herodotus, iii. 23.² They are further called the terrible people, by reference to the wide extent of their kingdom to the remotest south. מִן־הֵנָּה, from here (compare the vulgar Arabic *min henne*, hitherwards), where the prophet meets with the messengers further and always further out; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 21, 22 (but not 1 Sam. xviii. 9, where the expression has a temporal meaning, which is less suitable here, where everything is so picturesque; and, besides, it is to be rejected, because מִן־הֵנָּה cannot be equivalent to מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, cf. Nah. ii. 9). In Homer they are also τηλόθ' ἐόντες, those dwelling far off. Nägelsbach connects the mention of place with מִן־הֵנָּה: feared far from its boundary; but then מִן־הֵנָּה would be superfluous. What מִן (with a connecting accent and before Makkeph מִן), a measure or criterion, means, when used by the prophet in the reduplicated form in which it is presented here, is shown by chap. xxviii. 10, 13; or if these parallels are rejected by Ps. xix. 5, it is a commanding people that conquers region on region, or (according to Ewald, Knobel, and Cheyne) a people "of strength strength," i.e. terribly strong; and this view would recommend itself were מִן = מִן־הֵנָּה, strength, established as a meaning in the Hebrew (the radical idea being stiff, compact). מִן־הֵנָּה is a second genitive to מִן: a people of treading down, namely, of others, i.e. which subdues and tramples down wherever it appears, as had been conspicuously shown since Pianchi, about 766 B.C.³ The Tirhāka (Τεάρκων) is called by Megasthenes in Strabo, xv. 1. 6, a great conqueror who pressed

¹ So, too, מִן־הֵנָּה in Jer. xxix. 17 is equivalent to מִן־הֵנָּה, abhorred, abominable.

² See on this also the description of the *Barābira* (plur. of *Berbert*), probably epigons of the ancient Ethiopians, in the *Zeitschrift für allg. Erdkunde*, xvii. 7.

³ See Stade's monograph, *De Isaiæ vaticiniis aethiopicis*, 1873.

forward to the pillars of Hercules. These are purely predicates of distinction: an imposingly beautiful people, a ruling and conquering people. The last predicate אֶרֶץ פְּרִיָּה extols their fruitful land. We do not take אֶרֶץ in the sense of *diripere* = אֶרֶץ, as מִמֶּנּוּ, to melt = מִמֶּנּוּ, but in the sense of *findere* = אֶרֶץ, as אֶרֶץ, to sip = אֶרֶץ; for it is no praise to say that a land is carried off or washed away by rivers. Böttcher aptly compares the phrase used by Herodotus, ii. 108, *κατετμήθη ἡ Αἰθιοπία*. There is a divine irony lying in the circumstance that a people so great and glorious, and (looking at its natural gifts) not without reason so full of self-feeling, falls into such violent excitement in presence of the threatening danger and makes such violent efforts to meet it, while Jehovah, the God of Israel, will Himself annihilate the power that threatens the danger in a night, and consequently that all the anxiety and labour of Ethiopia is utterly useless.

The prophet knows this for certain. Vers. 4–6: "*For thus hath Jehovah spoken to me: I will be still, and will look on upon my throne during clear heat in sunshine, during dew-clouds in the harvest glow. For before the harvest, when the blossom fades off and the bud becomes a ripening grape, then will He cut off the vine shoots with vine-pruners, and He removes, breaks off the tendrils. Left are they altogether to the birds of prey of the mountains, and to the cattle of the land, and the birds of prey summer thereon, and all the cattle of the land will winter thereon.*" The prophecy expounds itself here; for the unfigurative ver. 6 undoubtedly enables us to understand what it is that Jehovah without interposing will let develope prosperously under favourable circumstances till He suddenly and violently puts an end to it just as it is approaching perfect maturity. It is the power of Assyria. Jehovah calmly looks on from the heavenly seat of His glorious presence without disturbing the progression of what is intended. This rest of His is not neglectfulness; it is, as is indicated by the cohortatives (the second of which is provided with *ו* under the half-guttural *p*; cf. Num. xxiii. 25), well considered resolution. The two Caphs (*כ*) in ver. 4 are not comparative, but are indicative of time. The noun *כֶּחָל*, thickness, darkness, cloud, is in the construct *כֶּחָל*, or even *כֶּחָל*, as *כֶּחָל* is sometimes *כֶּחָל*, sometimes *כֶּחָל*, being the latter according to the mode of

derivatives from עץ. Jehovah keeps Himself at rest while there is bright heat with sunshine (עץ, of a continuing state, as in Jer. viii. 18, 1 Sam. xiv. 32, and elsewhere), and whilst there is dew-cloud, בָּהֶם קָצִיר (LXX. Syr. erroneously בָּהֶם), i.e. in the midst of that warmth which is favourable for the harvest, so that the plant thus heated through by day and refreshed at night by the falling dew shoots up rapidly and luxuriantly, and ripens. The plant thought of is the vine, as is shown by ver. 5. It is erroneous to take קָצִיר in the sense of קָצִיר (see xvi. 9): it is the grain harvest at whose approach the vine blossom fades and the berry sets, with which the summer heat, during which the grapes ripen (Hofmann), coincides. פֶּ is also here indicative of time. When the blossom has become complete, so that it now fades off, and the set fruit-bud (פֶּ, according to the Masora here, in distinction from Gen. xl. 10 with הַ rafatum) becomes a ripening grapelet (בֶּטֶר, the still unripe grape, δμφαξ, so called from its hardness and sourness, as بَسْر is the unripe date), he cuts away the vine branches, וְלִלְלִים (from לָלַל, to swing to and fro; cf. Arabic *dāliya*, grape, from *dala*, to hang long and loose), on which the grapes that will soon be quite ripened hang; and the tendrils (נִטְשֹׁת, as in Jer. v. 10, from נָטַשׁ, to stretch far down, Niphal, to twine for a long way, chap. xvi. 8; cf. Jer. xlviii. 32) he removes, nips off (חָתַךְ, a pausal form for חָתַךְ, as כָּבַד is for כָּבַד in chap. vii. 6, Olsh. § 91*d*, from חָתַךְ, Hiphil in Talmud, רוּחַ, to break off, to break in two, to weaken; cf. חָתַשׁ), an intentional asyndeton with a picturesque sound. The discourse of Jehovah concerning Himself has here passed imperceptibly into a discourse of the prophet about Jehovah. The ripening grapes are, as is elucidated in ver. 6, the Assyrians now not far from the summit of their power, and the fruit-branches that are lopped off and broken to pieces are their corpses, which are now summer and winter through the garbage of swarms of summer birds and of the beasts of prey that remain through the winter. קָץ is a denominative from קָץ, glowing heat = summer, and חָתַרף, denominative, from חָרַף, plucking off = harvest.) This is the divine act of judgment to which the approaching planting of the banner and the approaching blare of trumpets is about to call the atten-

tion of the people of Ethiopia. What effect this act of Jehovah if it now takes place will exercise upon the people of Ethiopia is now described. Ver. 7: "*At that time will there be offered as a homage to the Lord of hosts a people long-stretched and beautifully polished, and from a terrible people far away on the other side, a nation of command upon command and treading down, whose land rivers cut through, to the place of the name of Jehovah of hosts, the mountain of Zion.*" To the difficult אֲנִי the אֲנִי at the beginning does not require to be accommodated (for which Knobel indeed reads אֲנִי); that which is offered is the Ethiopian people itself, just as it is Israel in chap. lxvi. 20; Zeph. iii. 10. Along with אֲנִי and אֲנִי , nominatives of the subject, אֲנִי can only have a local signification: the people brings itself as a present, and presents are brought from it (Nägelsbach); but for what purpose is this weakening alteration made? It is probable that אֲנִי is an inadvertent "ditto-graphy," and should be deleted. Cheyne translates twice: *from the people*; but the former אֲנִי is guaranteed by parallels, as in Zeph. iii. 10. Ethiopia is offered or presents itself as an offering to Jehovah, being impelled irresistibly to this by the force of the impression made by the great deed of Jehovah, or as the Titan among the Psalms says (Ps. lxxviii. 32): "There come thither the splendid ones out of Egypt, and Cush hastily stretches his hands to Elohim." In order that the greatness of this spiritual conquest may be fully appreciated, the description of this strangely glorious people is here repeated.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING EGYPT, CHAP. XIX.

The three prophecies in chaps. xviii., xix., xx. form a trilogy. The first (chap. xviii., which, like the *introitus*, chap. i., is without any special superscription) treats of Ethiopia in language of the sublimest pathos. The second (chap. xix.) treats of Egypt in language of calmer description, which is expanded to some length; and the third (chap. xx.) treats of Egypt and Ethiopia in a setting of plain historical prose. The kingdom to which all the three prophecies refer is the same, namely, the Egypto-Ethiopian kingdom; but it is so dealt with that chap. xviii. refers to the ruling people, chap. xix. to the ruled people, and chap. xx. embraces them

both together. The reason why the prophecy occupies itself so particularly with Egypt is that no people of the earth was so closely interwoven with the history of the kingdom of God from the patriarchal time as Egypt. And because, as the Thora impresses it, Israel must never forget that it long resided in Egypt, and there grew great, and enjoyed much good; so prophecy, when it comes to speak to Egypt, is not less zealous in promising than in threatening. Accordingly the Isaianic *נִבְיָא* falls into two distinct halves: one threatening, vers. 1-15, and one promising, vers. 18-25; and between judgment and salvation there stands the terror in vers. 16, 17, as the bridge from the former to the latter. And just as is the greatness of the coil of punishments which the prophet unfolds, so in just as many stages is the promise which is carried on in ever new grooves, and which here rises so far that at last, breaking through the temporary historical veil and the Old Testament limitation, it speaks the spiritual language of the world-embracing love of the New Testament.

With a short introduction—in the use of which Isaiah was a master—which concentrates the whole of what is contained in the first half in a few weighty words, and three times naming Egypt, the land unequalled in the world, the oracle thus begins. Ver. 1: "*Behold, Jehovah rides along upon a light cloud, and comes to Egypt; then the idols of Egypt shake before Him, and the heart of Egypt melts within it.*" Jehovah rides upon clouds when He is about to reveal Himself in judicial majesty (Ps. xviii. 11), and here He rides upon a light cloud, because it is to happen rapidly. *אֶל* signifies light and quick; what is light moves itself quickly; and even the light, because thin cloud, is relatively *עָב*, literally, dense, opaque, dark. The idols of Egypt shake (*רָעָה*, as in chap. vi. 4, vii. 2), for Jehovah comes over them to judgment (cf. Ex. xii. 12; Jer. xli. 25; Ezek. xxx. 13). They must shake, for they are about to be thrown down; their shaking from fear is a shaking to their fall (*רָעָה*, as in chap. xxiv. 20, xxix. 9). The *ו* of *וְהָיָה* (*praet. consec.* with tone on the last) connects cause and effect, as in chap. vi. 7.

In what judgments the judgment is about to be executed is now declared by the majestic Judge Himself. Vers. 2-4: "*And I goad Egypt against Egypt, and they go to war every*

one with his brother, and every one with his neighbour; city against city, kingdom against kingdom. And the spirit of Egypt is emptied out within it, and I swallow up its readiness in counsel, and they go inquiring to the idols, and to the mutterers, and to the oracle-spirits, and to the soothsayers. And I shut up Egypt in the hand of a hard government, and a violent king will rule over them, saith the Lord, Jehovah of hosts." Civil war will rage in Egypt (on סִבְכָּה see at chap. ix. 10). The people usually so prudent will not be able to deliberate; their spirit is quite poured out (נִבְּקָה, with the dropped reduplication for נִבְּקָה, as נִסְכָּה = נִסְכָּה, Ezek. xli. 7, cf. comm. on Gen. xi. 7), so that nothing of insight or resolution remains to them. Then in their blindness they turn for help in counsel and action to where none is to be found—to their nothings of gods, and to the manifold demoniacal arts of which Egypt could boast that it was the primeval abode. On the names of the practisers of the black art see chap. viii. 19. מְפִיִּם, mutterers, from

מָפַץ = בָּא, to squeak (used of a camel's saddle, especially when it is new), to rumble (of the empty stomach), and such like (see Lane's *Lexicon*). But all this avails them nothing. Jehovah gives them up (סִבְרָה, syn. דִּסְכָּר, συγκαλείω, and סָבַר) to be under a hard-hearted, severe king. The prophecy does not refer to a foreign conqueror, so as to lead us to think of Sargon (Knobel, Kuenen, Schrader, Cheyne, Driver) or Cambyzes (Luzzatto), but to a native despot. In comparing the prophecy with the fulfilment, we must above all keep firmly to the view that ver. 2 prophesies the national revolution which broke out in Sais, in the midst of which the Ethiopian dynasty, which ruled from 725, was overthrown, and the federal Dodekarchy, which sprang out of the national rising. Hitzig denies this, but only because he holds it to be impossible that the prophetic glance of Isaiah could extend to events after his death. Stade¹ refers the prophecy to the subjection of Middle and Lower Egypt, and especially of the Saitic prince and conqueror, Tafnecht, by the Ethiopian

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 31-33; cf. "Die Siegesinschrift Königs Pianchi von Aethiopien, übers. von H. Brugsch," in the *Nachrichten der Kgl. Göttinger Gesellschaft d. W.* 1876, Nr. 19. Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, Teil 2 (1884), pp. 565-576.

Pianchi-Meremen, which he dates between 729 and 722. But with this interpretation of the Isaianic prophecy would there not rather be expected, according to the stele of Mount Barkat, instead of כְּצָרִים בְּצָרִים, rather כְּנֻשִׁים בְּנֻשִׁים? The כְּנֻשִׁים בְּנֻשִׁים (LXX. *νομῶδες ἐπὶ νομῶν*) does not apply nearly so well to the time of Tafnecht and Pianchi as to those twelve small kingdoms into which Egypt was divided after the removal of the Ethiopian dynasty, till Psammetichus, the Dodekarch of Sais, again united these twelve States into one monarchy, a result which Pianchi was not able to bring about. Shabaka (the Sabakon of Manetho), the Biblical שָׁבָכָא, undertook not only a victorious campaign to Egypt, like Pianchi, and not only made it tributary, but remained there, and was the first Egyptian Pharaoh of Ethiopian race (founder of the XXV. dynasty).¹ Psammetichus I. (604-610) was the first to restore the unity of the kingdom. He (and generally the royal house of the Psammetichidæ) is the hard ruler, the ruthless despot. After long struggles, and by the aid of mercenaries of Ionia and Caria, he attained sole undisputed dominion over Egypt. From him onwards the characteristic Egyptian system appears already much broken by the admixture of Hellenism, which led in consequence to the emigration of a large portion of the military caste to Meroë (Herod. ii. 30; Diod. i. 67). How oppressive this new dynasty was came to be felt by the Egyptian people, when Necho (616-597), the son and successor of Psammetichus, took up anew the project of Ramses Miamun to construct a connecting canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and tore away 120,000 natives from their homes and wore them out in toilsome drudgery (Herod. ii. 158). A revolt of the native troops which, being sent against the rebelling Cyrene, were driven back into the desert, brought about, after losing a battle, the fall of Hophra' (*Ἀπφρῆς* of Herodotus and Diodorus), the grandson of Necho, in 570, and put an end to the hated government of the house of Psammetichus (Herod. ii. 161 sqq., iv. 159).

The prophet now prophesies another calamity which is coming upon Egypt: the Nile dries up, and with it vanishes the fruitfulness of the land. Vers. 5-10: "*And the waters*

¹ See Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 581.

will dry up from the sea, and the river becomes parched and dried. And the arms of the river spread a stench; the canals of Masor become shallow and parched; reed and rush shrivel up. The meadows by the Nile, at the mouth of the Nile, and every seed-field of the Nile dries up, scatters in dust and disappears. And the fishers groan, and all who throw hoop-nets into the Nile mourn, and they who spread out the net on the face of the water languish away. And confounded are the workers of fine-combed flax and the weavers of cotton fabrics. And the pillars of the land become crushed to pieces, all who work for hire grieved in soul." The Nile in ver. 5 (as well as in chap. xviii. 1; cf. Nah. iii. 8) is called נַחַל, just as Homer calls it ὠκεανός, which, as Diodorus (i. 19) observes, is the native name of the river, the Egyptian *oham*; the corresponding Arabic

name is بَحْر; as here it is called *yām* in the Beḡawīya idiom of Besharīn. The Nile is really more like an inland sea than a river from that point where the main stream in consequence of the swelling of the two great Abyssinian tributaries of the Blue Nile and the Atbara overflows the delta of Lower Egypt, assuming this appearance in consequence of its breadth and of its stagnating in the dry season. It is not till the beginning of the tropical rains that the swelling river begins to flow more rapidly, and the נַחַל becomes נָהָר. But when, as is threatened here, the Nile sea and the Nile river of Upper Egypt fall together and dry up (נִשְׁחַת, Niphal, either from שָׁחַת, √ שח, to set, to place = נִשְׁחַת, to set oneself, to become shallow; or rather from נָשַׁח, since chap. xli. 17 and Jer. li. 30 warrant us assuming such a secondary verb), then the arms of the mouth of the Nile (נְהַרֹת), which flow through the delta and the many canals (אֵימֹת) which convey to the Nile valley the blessing of the overflow, become stinking pools (הֶאֱנִיחִי, a half nominal, a half verbal Hiphil, unexampled elsewhere; to spread a stench, formed from the elative אֲנִיחַ or אֲנִיחָה, which is not found, perhaps in order to distinguish it from הִנִּיחָה, which means to abhor, to make an abhorrence). Probably it is not without intention that Isaiah says נִשְׁחַת, seeing that he distinguishes נִשְׁחַת and פִּתְחֵם in chap. xi. 11 as Lower and Upper Egypt, Egyptian *sa-hét*, lower land, and *sa-rés*, upper land (together forming

(כְּצָרִים). And we are warranted in taking יָאֵרִים (standing beside נְהָרוֹת) as a name for the canals of the Nile. The canals and irrigation system of Egypt are older than the invasion of the Hyksos. On the other hand, יָאוֹר in ver. 7 (thrice written *plene*, as also in ver. 8) is the Egyptian name of the Nile generally (*aur*, river, or *aur-āa*, great river), which is thrice repeated with emphasis like the name כְּצָרִים in ver. 1. On סָפֵף, a reed, Egyptian *sebe*, see comm. on Ps. cvi. 9. Parallel with כְּצָרֵעַ, but different from it, stands צָרוֹת from עָרָה, *nudum esse*, which, like several derivatives of the synonymous verb عَرَى, signifies open places, and here grass flats situated beside the water, and therefore meadows. Even the meadows close to the mouth of the river (see on Prov. viii. 29), i.e. where it flows to the neighbouring sea, and all the fields become so dry that they go off in dust like ashes. The three chief sources of the nourishment of Egypt thus fail also, viz. the fishing, the manufacture of linen which supplied the dresses of the priests and bandages for the mummies, and the manufacture of cotton which provided all who were not priests with material for clothing. In ver. 8 no objection need be taken to the view which assumes an inversion for יָאוֹר מִשְׁלִיכִי חֶכְהָ בִּיאֹר; this obstruction is less striking where the governing word has *Chirek compaginis* in chap. xxii. 16; Gen. xlix. 11. שְׂרִיקוֹת might be adj. to the feminine פְּשִׁיחִים from פְּשִׁיחָה, but it is according to the accents the accus. of manner: by means of repeated careful combing (cf. קִרְסָא, wool-combers, *Kelim* xii. 2). The mode of working the flax is shown us on the monuments; and in the Berlin Museum there are some of these Egyptian combs with which they carded the flax. The fabrics of the Egyptian looms were celebrated in antiquity; חֲוִיר, literally, white stuff (a singular only with the old termination *ay*), from חֲוִיר or חֲוִיר, *candidum esse* (cf. חֲוִיר, *candere*), is the collective name for cotton stuffs or the different kinds of byssus which were woven there (cf. *βυσσων ὀθωνων* of the Rosetta inscription).¹ All the castes from the highest to the lowest fall into the pain of despair.

¹ Luzzatto and Pinaker (*Einleitung in das babyl. Punktationssystem*, p. 133) correct as follows: "And the flax-workers are put to shame (*athnach*), the carders (but would not that be שְׂרִיקוֹת?) and weavers become pale."

The שֹׁתֵּן (a designation perhaps suggested by the thought of שֶׁתִּי, the warp of the web, Syr. אֲשֶׁתִּי, to weave), i.e. pillars of the land (with a feminine suffix relating to מְצֻרִים, see on chap. iii. 8, and construed as masculine, as in Ps. xi. 3), are the highest castes who directly support the edifice of the State; and עֲשֵׂי שֶׁכֶר cannot mean the citizens engaged in trade or the middle class of the people, but those who, being hired to those who provide labour, live not on their own property but on wages (שֶׁכֶר, as in Prov. xi. 18, according to Rashi on this passage; cf. comm. on Prov. xxvi. 10 = סָכָר: the dammers of water for the purpose of fishing, like מְפָרֵץ, *Kelim* xxiii. 5).¹

The prophet now pauses to describe the punishment inflicted on the pillars of the land. Vers. 11-13: "*Utter fools do the princes of Zoan become, the wise counsellors of Pharaoh; readiness in counsel is stupefied. How can ye say to Pharaoh: I am a son of wise men, a son of kings of the early time!—Where are they, then, thy wise men? Let them then announce to thee and know what Jehovah of hosts has resolved concerning Egypt! The princes of Zoan are stultified, the princes of Memphis deceived; they have led Egypt astray, who are the corner-stone of its castles.*" The two constructs עֲשֵׂי חֲכָמִי do not stand in subordination but in co-ordination (see comm. on Ps. lxxviii. 9; Job xx. 17, and compare 2 Kings xvii. 13, *Keri*), the wise men, counsellors of Pharaoh, so that the second name is the explanatory permutative of the first. לֵצֵן is = *Tanis*, lying between the Sebennytic and the Pelusian arm of the Nile, anciently (*Num.* xiii. 22) a capital of the Hyksos, and restored after their destruction by Ramses II. It was the parent seat of two dynasties, *per aphaer.* = מִנְיָה, *contr.* מִנְיָה in Hos. ix. 6, is Memphis,² which was raised by Psammetichus to be the metropolis of the whole kingdom. On its ruined site now stands the village of

So Rashi, understanding עֲשֵׂי שֶׁכֶר to be used of dyke labourers, understands עֲשֵׂי חֲכָמִי to be fish-ponds, which is untenable. On the other hand, the view of Ehrentreu is probable, that the choice of the word עֲשֵׂי חֲכָמִי was occasioned by מְצֻרִים (water tanks formed by means of confining dykes); see above at chap. i. 31.

² With this Greek form of the name the Assyrian name agrees: *Mé-im-pi, Mi-im-pi* (*Paradies*, p. 314). The original Egyptian form is *Men-nefer* (Plutarch, *de Is.* 20: Ἐμφος ἀγνῶστον).

Mitrehéne (according to Seetzen), and to the north-west of it is the Serapeum. Princes of Zoan and Memphis were therefore princes belonging to the most distinguished cities of the country, and, as may be assumed, of primeval pedigree; they were probably priest-princes; for the wisdom of the Egyptian priests was of world-wide renown (Herodotus, ii. 77, 260), and out of the priest caste sprang the oldest kings of Egypt. Even in the time of Hezekiah, when the military caste had long become the ruling one, the priests again succeeded in raising one of their own number, Sethos, to the throne of Sais. These magnates of Egypt with their wisdom will be made fools by the history of Egypt in the immediate future, and—this is the meaning of the sarcastic *אֵין חָכְמָה*—they will not trust themselves further to boast of their priestly hereditary wisdom or their royal hereditary nobility when counselling Pharaoh. *מִמֶּנֶּם* does not mean here “east” as in 1 Kings v. 10, but primeval time. They are the cornerstone of the *שְׁבָטִים*, i.e. of the castes of Egypt (not of the districts or divisions, *νομοί*, *פְּלִיכָה*, as it is rendered in the Targum). But instead of supporting and protecting their people, as it now appears, they have plunged it into error. *וְהָיָה* has here—as is observed by the Masora on ver. 14—no *waw cop.*

This state of disorder is now more minutely described in vers. 14, 15: “*Jehovah has poured into Egypt's heart a spirit of giddiness so that they have led Egypt astray in all its doing as a drunken man wanders about in his vomit. And there is not done of Egypt a work which worked, of head and tail, palm branch and rush.*” The spirit which God pours into them is a spirit of judgment, and has for its judicial penal result *עֲוֵתָם*, which is formed from *עָוָה* (✓ עו, to curve), and is abridged from *עֲוֹתָם*, or points back to a singular *עֲוָה*. The suffix of *בְּקִרְבָּהּ* refers to Egypt. The divine punitive spirit makes use of the fancied wisdom of the priestly caste, and by it throws the people, as it were, into the giddiness of intoxication. The prophet uses the Hiphil *הִתְעָה* of the carefully meditated doings of the leaders of the people, and the Niphal *הִתְעָה* of the state of the drunken man when he is no longer free nor master of himself. The people is made so perverse by false counsels and hopes that it lies there like a drunk man in his

own vomit, and, not being able to extricate itself, it gropes and rolls about therein. A work which worked or was effective, i.e. which brought it out of the disorder (חֲצָרָה, as frequently of persons, e.g. in Dan. viii. 24), is brought to a successful result by no one; neither by the heads of the people, nor by the common people and its flatterers; neither by the upper classes nor by the masses.

The result of all these plagues which come upon Egypt is fear of Jehovah and of Jehovah's people. Vers. 16, 17: "*In that day the Egyptians become like women, and they tremble, and they shudder before the swing of the hand of Jehovah of hosts, which He sets into swing against them. And the land of Judah becomes a dread to Egypt: as often as they mention this against Egypt, it shudders,—on account of the decree of Jehovah of hosts which He suspends over it.*" The swinging, הֲנִיחָהּ, of the hand (chap. xxx. 32) points back to the foregoing judgments as they smite Egypt with blow after blow. These humiliations make the Egyptians as soft and timid as women. The accent on חֲצָרָה is separative (*Mehuppach Legarmeh*). Further, the sacred ground and soil of Judah (אֶרֶץ, as in chap. xiv. 1, 2, xxxii. 13), which Egypt has so often made the scene of war, throws them, whenever it is but mentioned (אֶרֶץ, cf. 1 Sam. ii. 13; Gen. iv. 15: literally whoever, but = as often as any one), into frenzy, into an excitement of terror (אֶרֶץ, with א instead of ה, like אֶרֶץ in Num. xi. 20, אֶרֶץ in Ezek. xxxvii. 31; cf. אֶרֶץ, Ezek. xxxvi. 5, and similar in form with *morrah* in Prov. xiv. 10). The originator of the plagues is known to them. Their faith in the idols is shaken, and the wish naturally rises in them to avert new plagues by propitiation of Jehovah.

At first there is only slavish fear, but it is the beginning of a turn for the better. Ver. 18: "*In that day there will be five cities in the land Egypt speaking the language of Canaan and swearing by Jehovah of hosts, 'Ir ha-Heres will one be called.'*" Five cities are few for Egypt,¹ which is sowed over with cities (townships); but this is only a fractional beginning of the future complete conversion of Egypt. It is an

¹ Herodotus (ii. 177) gives the number of them as 20,000 in the time of Amasis; Diodorus (i. 31) gives their number as 18,000 in ancient times, and under Ptolemy Lagi, 30,000.

external sign of this conversion that the converted begin to speak the language of Canaan, *i.e.* the holy language of the worship of Jehovah (cf. Zeph. iii. 9), and that they devote themselves with a sworn vow to the God of Israel in words of this language. נִשְׁבַּע (different from נִשְׁבַּע, chap. lxx. 16, as chap. xlv. 23 shows) means to swear to any one, to promise him fealty, to give oneself up to him. One of these five will be called עִיר הַהָרִים. As this must be a proper name, לֹא־חָתָה thus means not *unicuique*, as in Judg. viii. 18, Ezek. i. 6, but *uni*. It is the habit of Isaiah to express the nature of a thing in the form of a future name of it (chap. iv. 3, xxxii. 5, lxi. 6, lxii. 4). This name must therefore here have a distinguishing meaning in accordance with the promise. But what does עִיר הַהָרִים mean? The LXX. has changed it into πόλις ἀσεδέκ, עִיר הַהֹדֶק, in honour of the Jewish temple, which was founded by Onias IV., the son of the high priest Onias III., when he emigrated to Egypt, and found a friendly reception from Ptolemy VI. Philometor and his wife Cleopatra (about 160 B.C.). The הָרִים, handed down in the Masoretic text, can mean nothing else than destruction, and it naturally occurs to read for it עִיר הַהָרִים (which is also given in some codices,¹ but is contrary to the Masora). It is unnecessary to interpret this according to the Arabic as meaning city of protection (Rosenmüller, Ewald, Knobel, Meier) = المَكْرُوسَة, *divinitus protecta*. עִיר הַהָרִים means city of the sun (הָרִים, as in Job ix. 7; Judg. xiv. 18), as the Talmud in the leading passage concerning the בית חוני (the Onias temple) in *Menachoth* 110a considers that the traditional reading is to be understood in accordance with Job ix. 7 (לִישָׁנָה) דְּשִׁמְשָׁא הִיא, "it is a designation of the sun".² "Sun-city" was actually the name of one of the most famous old Egyptian cities, namely, Ἡλιούπολις, situated to the north-east of Memphis, the city of the sun-god Ra, which elsewhere in the

¹ On the other hand, no Greek Cod. reads πόλις ἀσεδέκ, into which the Compl. has emended it after the Vulgate, see the *Vocabularium Hebr.* 37a belonging to the Compl. A Hebrew MS. in St. Petersburg has the reading עִיר הַהָרִים transcribed in inverted order from the Greek, see *DMZ.* xx. 459.

² In this sense of "sun-city will one be called," these words are the device on the coat of arms of the Andalusian city Ecija; see von Vincenti, *In Glut und Eis*, Bd. ii. 165.

Old Testament is called אֵן ,¹ a name which Ezekiel (chap. xxx. 17) modifies into אֵנִי , in order to brand the idolatry of the city. If the well-attested reading הֶהָרִים is retained, it can only be taken as meaning "tearing down of the previous heathen sanctuaries" (הָרִים , as in Judg. vi. 25; 1 Kings xviii. 30, xix. 10, 14), and the meaning of the prophecy will be that the city, which was hitherto עִיר הֶהָרִים , the chief city of the sun-worship, will become the city of the destruction of idolatry (Caspari, Drechsler, Herzfeld), as Jeremiah prophesies, chap. xliii. 13: "Jehovah will break in pieces the obelisks of the sun-temple in the land of Egypt." עִיר הָהָרִים , with this interpretation, has essentially the same relation to עִיר הָהָרִים as בֵּית אֵל to בֵּית אֵן , and, so far as this is interpreted according to Hos. x. 8, cf. xii. 12, means: the sun-city becomes a city of ruins. The prophet is here thinking of the temples and altars, and also in particular of the מִצְבֹּת , obelisks (see Jer. xliii. 13), which stood there on the spot where *Ra* was worshipped.

Vers. 19, 20: "*In that day there stands an altar consecrated to Jehovah in the midst of the land of Egypt, and an obelisk near the boundary of the land consecrated to Jehovah. And a sign and a witness for Jehovah of hosts is this in the land Egypt: when they cry to Jehovah because of oppressors, He will send them a helper and combatant, and save them.*" This is the passage of Isaiah (not ver. 18) to which Onias IV. appealed when he sought permission from Ptolemy Philometor to build the temple of Jehovah in Egypt. He built it in the nome of Heliopolis, 180 stadia to the north-east of Memphis (Jos. Bell. vii. 10. 3), and particularly on the ground and soil of the ὄχρῶμα in Leontopolis which was consecrated to Bubastis (*Ant.* xiii. 3. 1, 2).² This temple, built like a

¹ Ἡλιούπολις corresponds to the sacred name *Pe-ra*, house of the sun-god, which is borne by the city otherwise called אֵן , old Egyptian Anu ; nevertheless Cyril also explains this name thus: " $\text{Ὁ δὲ ἱεὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος}$, that is *Ain, Oin, Oni*, the eye as emblem of the sun. Perhaps with reference to this Heliopolis is called in Arabic *Ain-el-kema*, see Arnold, *Chrestom. arab.* p. 56 f. Edrisi (iii. 3) calls this *Ain-el-kema*, "the pleasure seat of the Pharaoh, whom may God curse," just as *ibn el-Faraun* is an insulting designation of the Coptic fellah.

² Perhaps the present Tel el-Jehûdi points to the site of the old Jewish temple (Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 497).

fortress, was externally unlike that of Jerusalem; it stood for more than two hundred years (160 B.C.—72 A.D., when it was closed by command of Vespasian). It was magnificently equipped and much frequented, yet its recognition was a subject of dispute in Palestine and even in Egypt itself. It really lay **בְּתוֹךְ אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם**; but it is not feasible to see in that temple the fulfilment of the Isaianic prophecy; for this reason of itself, that it was built by Jews and for Jews. And where then would the obelisk have been which, as Isaiah prophesies, was to stand on the boundary of Egypt, *i.e.* on the side of the desert and of Canaan? The altar was not to be in fact a place of sacrifice, but, like the altars in Josh. xxii. 26, 27 and Ex. xvii. 15, was to be **זֶמֶן**, a monument that there were worshippers of Jehovah in Egypt, and the obelisk was to be a **זֶמֶן** that Jehovah had proved Himself for the salvation of Egypt to be the God of the gods of Egypt. And if those who erected this place of worship and this monument now cry to Jehovah, He will show Himself ready to help them, and they will no more cry in vain as they formerly did to their idols (ver. 3). What is here spoken of is therefore the beginning of the conversion of the natives of Egypt. The fact that since the Greek period Judaism became a power in Egypt is certainly not out of relation to this. The Therapeutae, scattered through all the *νομοί* of Egypt as described by Philo (*Opp.* ii. p. 474, ed. Mangey), were of a mixed Egypto-Jewish nature. It was a victory of the Jehovah religion that Egypt was already covered in the pre-Christian period with Jewish synagogues and coenobia. Further, Alexandria did become the place where the law of Jehovah was rendered into Greek and became accessible to the heathen world, and where the religion of Jehovah created for itself the forms of speech and thought in which as Christianity it was to become the religion of the world. So, when Christianity had entered into the world, there were already towards the end of the first century more than one **מִצְרַיִם** to be found by any one coming from Palestine to Egypt, and more than one **מִצְרַיִם** to be found by any one when he had arrived in the middle of Egypt. Alexandria and the monachism and anchoritism of the Sinaitic peninsula and of

Egypt became of the greatest importance in the history of the spread of Christianity.¹

When Egypt became the prey of Islam in the year 640, there had been, at least in magnificent prelude, a fulfilment of what the prophet prophesies in vers. 21, 22: "*And Jehovah gives Himself to be known to the Egyptians, and the Egyptians know Jehovah in that day; and they serve with slain-offerings and meat-offerings, and vow vows to Jehovah, and pay them. And Jehovah smites Egypt, smiting and healing; and when they return to Jehovah He lets Himself be entreated, and heals them.*" From that beginning of the five cities, and the solitary altar, and the one solitary obelisk, it has come to this, that Jehovah extends knowledge of Himself to the whole of Egypt (יָדַע, reflexive, *se cognoscendum dare*, or neuter, *innotescere*), and throughout all Egypt there arises the knowledge of the God made known in the history of salvation, and this knowledge shows itself in practice. This practice is described by the prophet, as was naturally to be expected, according to the views of the Old Testament, as consisting in the presentation of bloody and bloodless, legal and freewill offerings. יָבִיאוּ, viz. אָחִיזוּ, and therefore עָבַר with the double accusative, as in Ex. x. 26; cf. Gen. xxx. 29: or perhaps directly in the sense of to sacrifice (Hitzig), as in the Phoenician, cf. עָבַר (e.g. in Ps. lxi. 15), and the classical ἐπεύω, πέσσω, *facere, operari*; and even when thus taken it is no evidence against the authorship of Isaiah (cf. chap. xxviii. 21, xxxii. 17). Egypt, though converted, is still always a sinful people, but Jehovah smites them, בָּרַח וְרָפָא (cf. 1 Kings xx. 37), so that in the smiting the intention of healing prevails, and healing follows it, since the chastisement of God has the effect of leading them to repentance. Egypt therefore stands now under the same order of salvation as Israel (e.g. Lev. xxvi. 44; Deut. xxxii. 36).

Assyria is not less humiliated, as we know from chap. xviii. Accordingly the two great powers, which hitherto only met as enemies, now meet in the worship of Jehovah, which unites them. Ver. 23: "*In that day a road will lead from Egypt to Assur, and Assur comes unto Egypt, and Egypt to Assur; and*

¹ See my Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Arabia Petrea in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1840, 4, and 1841, 1.

Egypt with Assur serves (the Lord)." אֶת is not a sign of the accusative, for there can be no more mention of a subjection of Egypt under Assyria; but it is a preposition of fellowship, and עִבְרִי is not intended to mean that the two great powers which are now contending for the government of the world will then have become subservient (Hofmann); but it is to be understood, as in ver. 21, where the accusative of manner puts the object out of doubt. In this passage as well as in that one it has the sense of worship. The friendly intercourse between Egypt and Assyria is brought about by both peoples being converted to the God of revelation. The road of communication between them passes through Canaan.

Thus is prepared the highest that the prophet prophesies in vers. 24, 25: "*In that day will Israel be a third to Egypt and Assur, a blessing in the midst of the earth, inasmuch as Jehovah of hosts blesses it, saying: Blessed thou, my people, Egypt, and thou work of my hands, Assur, and thou, mine inheritance, Israel.*" Israel joins the covenant or federation of Egypt and Assyria, so that it becomes a tripartite confederation, in which Israel is תְּלִישִׁיָּה, *tertia pars* (like עֲשִׂירִיָּה in chap. vi. 13, *decima pars*). Israel, the seed of the patriarch, is now at the goal of its calling: a blessing בְּקֶרֶב הָאֲמֹת, in the whole circuit of the earth, the peoples of which are here represented by Egypt and Assyria. Hitherto Israel lay to its own misfortune between Assyria and Egypt. The history of the kingdom of Ephraim, as well as that of Judah, proves this. When Israel leaned on Egypt, it deceived itself and was deceived; and when it leaned on Assyria, it became Assyria's slave, and had Egypt as its enemy. Thus Israel found itself confined in painful straits between the two great powers of the world. How this will now be altered! Egypt and Assyria become one in Jehovah, and Israel is the third party in the alliance or covenant. Israel then is no longer alone God's people, God's creation, God's inheritance, but Egypt and Assyria are each a third sharer with Israel. In order to express this, Israel's three names of honour are mixed together, and each of three peoples receives one of the precious names, of which נִחְלָתִי is assigned to Israel as pointing back to the beginning of its history. This essential equalization of the heathen peoples with Israel is no degrada-

tion to the latter; for although henceforth there exists no essential distinction of the peoples in their relation to God, it is nevertheless always Israel's God who attains recognition, and Israel is the people which, according to the promise, has become the medium of blessing to the earth. Hence it is unnecessary to take the suffix of בְּרָכוֹ distributively; it applies to Israel, which is blessed by Jehovah since in blessing Egypt and Assyria He takes them along with it. There is thus fulfilled what was promised from of old, that in the seed of Abraham all the kindreds of the earth should bless themselves (Jer. iv. 2), and therefore be blessed; that seed has now really become a בְּרָכָה to all the world.

Thus has the second half of the prophecy ascended step by step from salvation to salvation, just as the first descended step by step from judgment to judgment. The culminating point in ver. 25 corresponds to the lowest point in ver. 15. Every step of the ascending half is marked with a בְּיָמֵי הַהוּא. Six times within vers. 16–25 do we read this finger-post pointing to the future. Generally speaking, this בְּיָמֵי הַהוּא is almost as characteristic of Isaiah as הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים is of Jeremiah (cf. e.g. Isa. vii. 18–25). And it is just the promising Messianic parts of the prophecy which love this fugue-like arrangement (chap. xi. 10, 11, xii. 1; cf. Zech. xii., xiii., xiv.). Nevertheless the genuineness of vers. 16–25 has lately been called in question, especially by Hitzig. But Caspari in a special dissertation (*Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1841, 3) has convincingly refuted the reasons put forward for questioning the genuineness of this passage. Cheyne and Driver both leave this whole prophecy to Isaiah as really belonging to him. The two halves of the prophecy are like the two wings of a bird. Moreover, it is only in virtue of its second half that the prophecy becomes the significant middle of the Ethiopic-Egyptian trilogy, for chap. xviii. prophesies the saving effect of the catastrophe of Assyria upon Ethiopia. And that Egypt and Assyria will also be spiritually overcome is prophesied in chap. xix. with its eschatological close, in which Egypt and Assyria are the representatives of the two halves of the heathen world.

THE SYMBOL OF THE FALL OF EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA, AND ITS
INTERPRETATION, CHAP. XX.

This third part of the trilogy, beginning in historical prose, introduces itself thus. Vers. 1, 2a: "*In the year when Tartan came to Ashdod, Sargon, the king of Assur, having sent him, and he made war against Ashdod, and took it: at that time spake Jehovah through Isaiah, son of Amos, as follows,*" i.e. He gave forth the following revelation through the medium of Isaiah (יִשְׁעִי, as in chap. xxxvii. 24; Jer. xxxvii. 2, and frequently), a revelation which was attached to a symbolical acting of it. יִשְׁעִי refers to what is to be announced by the prophet through the medium of what was enjoined upon him, and therefore to ver. 3, and only indirectly to ver. 2b. וְיִשְׁעִי does not begin the apodosis to בְּשָׁנָה; it would then necessarily have been בְּשָׁנָה; but the infinitive construction is thus carried on (cf. Ps. xxxiv. 1, lii. 2, liv. 2, lix. 1), so that בַּעַת הַיּוֹם therefore takes up again and universalizes the בְּשָׁנָה. Tartan appears in 2 Kings xviii. 17 as the chief general of Sennacherib; the name (in Assyrian *tur-ta-nu*) is not a proper name, but the official title of the commander-in-chief of the army. An Assyrian king, סַרְגִּין,—or, according to the Masoretic correct writing, סַרְגִּין,—is not named elsewhere in the Old Testament; but we know now that Sargon was the successor of Shalmanassar.¹ The Book of Kings, indeed, names Shalmanassar as the conqueror of Samaria; but the form of expression used in 2 Kings xviii. 10 (וְיִשְׁעִי), which generally makes the Assyrians the conquerors, leaves open the possibility that what Shalmanassar begun was brought to an end under the command of another. The Eponym-lists which we now possess put it out of doubt that Shalmanassar IV. reigned as the successor of Tiglath-pileser II. from 727 to 723–2 B.C., and that Sargon, the successor of Shalmanassar IV., reigned from 722 to 705 B.C. It was

¹ On the transition here taking place from the Assyrian D into the Hebrew ש , and the Assyrian ש into the Hebrew D , see *Complutensische Varianten zum alttest. Texte* (1878), p. 34, cf. 22 (on Hos. x. 14). The name in the inscriptions is 'Sar-u-kin, sometimes also Sa-ru-kin (with D). The interpretation wavers between "the king he commanded" (*uktu*), i.e. God, or "king by right" (*kénu*). The prefixing of the object in 'Sarukin is not surprising in Assyrian syntax (Friedr. Delitzsch, p. 142), but the subject is missed; and therefore the latter interpretation is to be preferred.

Longperrier who first established the identity of the monarch of the palaces of *Khorsábad*, which form the north-east corner of ancient Nineveh with the Biblical Sargon. These ruins seem to have been called, down to a late time, *صرعون*, and the old Assyrian name of the city was *Dúr-Sarrukén* (Sargon's Castle). We still possess a considerable number of inscriptions on bricks, harems, votive tablets, and in other forms, which bear the name of this king, and contain all kinds of testimonies by him to himself.¹ Sargon became the founder of a new dynasty,² and appears, after the death of Shalmanassar, to have incorporated the military exploits of the dead monarch in his own list of fame, as if he already had been at that time king. After the fall of Samaria in 722, according to his own annals in the inscriptions, ten years were spent in all sorts of wars with Merodach Baladan of Babylon, Jahubi'di of Hamath, etc., before he again, in the eleventh year of his reign (711), took up the plan of subduing Egypt. The attack upon Ashdod was only a means to this end. As the Philistines were led by their situation, and probably also by their kinship, to take the side of Egypt, the conquest of Ashdod (a fortress so strong that, according to Herodotus, ii. 157, Psammetichus besieged it for twenty-nine years) was an indispensable preliminary of the expedition against Egypt. Alexander the Great, when he marched against Egypt, had to do the same with Gaza. How long Tartan needed is apparently to be inferred from ver. 1. The conquest of Ashdod, according to the terms of ver. 1, took place in the year of the attack. The humiliation of Egypt must have followed not long thereafter, which, at least, is so far in accord with ascertained fact, that, as the annals of Sargon relate, soon after the fall of Ashdod, and in the same year, the king of Ethiopia tendered his submission. But in vers. 3, 4 this submission is dated three years later, reckoning from the time when Isaiah had to go stripped and barefooted. Hence the direction given by Jehovah to Isaiah must have gone forth three years earlier, and the vague *בעת ההיא* points back to that time. Or otherwise, it

¹ Enumerated by Schrader in his *KAT*, pp. 394-396. [*Die Keilschriften und das alte Testament*, 2nd ed. Giessen 1883.]

² First recognized by Oppert, *Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides et les Fastes de Ninive*, Versailles 1862.

belongs to *וַיֵּאמֶר*, if the punctuation is put thus: In that time after Jehovah had spoken . . . He said. The latter view is the more probable, since *וַיֵּצֵא ה' בְּיָד* does not introduce a prophecy, but a direction, and therefore what begins with *בַּעַת הַהִיא* points to ver. 3.

The direction received ran thus. Ver. 2b: "*Go and loosen the frock from thy loins, and draw thy shoes from thy feet! And he did so, went stripped and barefooted.*" We see from this that Isaiah was dressed in the same way as Elijah in 2 Kings i. 8 (cf. Zech. xiii. 4; Heb. xi. 37), who wore a fur coat; and like John the Baptist, who had on a garment of camel's hair, with a leather girdle around it (Matt. iii. 4); for *שָׂרָב* is a coarse linen or hairy overcoat of a dark colour (Rev. vi. 12; cf. Isa. l. 3), such as mourners wore either on the bare body (*עַל-חֲבִשָּׁה*, 1 Kings xxi. 27; 2 Kings vi. 30; Job xvi. 15) or over the tunic, in both cases fastened by means of a girdle; and hence not *לְבָשׁ*, but *חֲבִישָׁה*, is the usual word employed to indicate the putting of it on. That the former was the case here is not to be inferred from *עָרֹם* (see, on the contrary, 2 Sam. vi. 20, cf. 14; John xxi. 7). Owing to the great importance which is attributed to clothing from the standpoint of Oriental culture and manners, any one who appears without the upper garment is already regarded as naked and bare. Isaiah has to lay off the garment of the preacher of repentance and of the mourner, so that only his tunic, *חֲבִישָׁה*, remains; and in this dress, and moreover barefooted, he has to appear in public. It is the costume of a man who had been robbed and disgraced, of a beggar, it may be, or a prisoner of war. *וַיֵּצֵא* is followed by the inf. abs., which develops the meaning as in chap. v. 5, lviii. 6, 7.

The meaning and duration of this unclothing of himself is not learned by Isaiah until after he has acted according to the divine direction. Vers. 3, 4: "*Then said Jehovah, Even as my servant Isaiah has gone naked and barefooted, three years long a sign and type concerning Egypt and concerning Elhiopia: so will the king of Assur lead away the prisoners of Egypt and the exiles of Elhiopia, children and old men, naked and barefooted, and with bared seat—a shame of Egypt.*" This address of Jehovah, the word of Jehovah *וַיֵּצֵא* בִּיד יְהוָה, prepared for by ver. 2, took place after the lapse of three years (Cheyne), when

the fate of Ashdod was decided. The unseemly strange dress of the prophet, if he appeared through the whole three years in the exercise of his office, was a token and type (סֹמֶה, as in Ezek. xxiv. 24) of the fall of the Egypto-Ethiopian kingdom, which occurred after the lapse of these three years. Egypt and Ethiopia were then one kingdom, so that the shame of Egypt is at the same time the shame of Ethiopia. עֲרִיָה is shameful bareness, and עֲרִיָה מְעִרָה is in apposition to all that precedes it in ver. 4. How prisoners are deprived of clothing and shoes is shown, for example, in 2 Chron. xxviii. 15. שֵׁת is the seat or buttocks (see Bernstein in *DMZ.* ix. 872), as in 2 Sam. x. 4, being derived from שָׁתָה, to set a nominal form, like בָּן, עֶן, רָע, שָׁם, with the third radical letter dropped. חֲשִׁי has the same *ay* as the words in chap. xix. 9, Judg. v. 15, Jer. xxii. 14, but they are hardly to be taken as construct forms (although חֲשִׁי of the construct undoubtedly has arisen from חֲשִׁי); they are rather singular forms with a collective signification. The emendations חֲשִׁי (Olshausen, Nägelsbach) or חֲשִׁי, with the *i* of connection (Meier), are unnecessary.

If, then, Egypt and Ethiopia are so shamefully humbled, what sort of impression will that make upon those who proudly and securely trust to the great power which is supposed to be unapproachable and invincible? Vers. 5, 6: "*And they are terrified, and see themselves deceived by Ethiopia, to which they looked, and by Egypt, of which they vaunted. And the inhabitant of this coastland says on that day, Behold, thus it happens to those to whom we looked, whither we fled for help to save us from the king of Assur, and how should we, we escape?*" With תִּפְאָרֶת, show, splendour, מְבֹרָךְ is parallel, which is a synonym of מְבֹרָךְ, according to which the Targum renders it. On בֹּדֵשׁ מִן compare chap. i. 29, Jer. ii. 36. The question with מִן is quite the same as in 2 Kings x. 4. אִי, which means both island and coastland, is in Zeph. ii. 5 a name of Philistia, and in chap. xxiii. 2, 6 a name of Phoenicia; and hence Knobel and others understand it here as meaning the former with inclusion of the latter. But as the Assyrians, when they marched against Egypt, had already measured themselves with the Phoenicians and Philistines, Isaiah has doubtless the Jews chiefly in his mind (Ewald, Drechsler,

Meier, Luzzatto), as Jerome already remarks: *Juda speravit in Aegyptiis et Aegyptus destruetur*. The expressions are also entirely the same as those in which we shall afterwards hear Isaiah scathing the Egyptianizing policy of Judah. However, *לֹאֵב הָאֵרֶץ* signifies the inhabitants of the Palestinian coastland in general, among whom Judah is included, because it denies so untheocratically the character of the Jehovah-people. The profane designation divests the people and land of their holiness.

The conquest of Samaria falls in the first year of Sargon (722 B.C.). In the second year, according to his *Annals*, he put the Egyptian ruler (*Šiltannu*) *Sabi* (Sevech) to flight at Raphia, and took his ally *Handn*, the king of Gaza, prisoner. In his eleventh year he deposed the rebellious king Azuri of Ashdod; and when the people of Ashdod expelled Ahimit, the brother of Azuri, whom he had put in his place, and raised a certain *Jaman* to the throne, he marches against Ashdod and conquers it in the self-same year. *Jaman* fled to Egypt, to the confines of Ethiopia, but was delivered up to Sargon by the ruler of that region. The voluntary anticipative submission of the Ethiopian ruler was a commencement of what Isaiah prophesies, but the subjection of the Nile-land did not come till the time of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal, his son, the conqueror of Thebes (Nah. iii. 8-10). The hope of Judah in Egypt turned out for Judah's destruction, as Isaiah prophesies. But the catastrophe before Jerusalem was not yet the end of Assyria. Nor did the campaigns of Sargon and Sennacherib yet bring about the end of Egypt, nor were the triumphs of Jehovah and of the prophecy concerning Assyria yet the means for the conversion of Egypt. In all this the fulfilment shows in the prophecy an element of human hope drawing the distant into immediate nearness, and this element it eliminates. For the fulfilment is divine, but the prophecy is divine and human.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING THE DESERT OF THE SEA (BABYLON),
CHAP. XXI. 1-10.

Ewald's explanation of this and similar headings is that they are additions made by the ancient readers. Even

Vitringa ascribed them at first to the collectors, though later he saw that this was inadmissible. As matter of fact, it is not possible to understand how the title **מְדַבֵּרִים** could be derived from the prophecy itself, for **מִן** (everywhere the west) cannot mean the south (= **מִן־הַיָּם**), and there is no mention of a sea in the prophecy. The heading is symbolical. The four Massas, xxi. 1-10, 11-12, 13-17, xxii., in virtue of their symbolical titles (cf. xxx. 6), as also their visionary form and the numerous points at which their contents come into contact, unite closely to form a tetralogy. The representation of the prophet as a watchman is common to the first and second Massas, while in the fourth Jerusalem is called the valley of vision, because in it is the watch-tower whence the prophet views the future destinies of Babylon, Edom, and Arabia. As in the first two Elam and Madai march against Babylon, so in the fourth (xxii. 6) do Kir and Elam against Jerusalem; even the mode of expression is strikingly similar in both (cf. xxii. 6 sq. with xxi. 7). As regards the symbolical headings, it is to be noted that Isaiah is fond of symbolical names, xxix. 1, xxx. 7, and **מְדַבֵּרִים** for Babylon and its surroundings is one such. Chap. xxi. 1-10, especially in the framework of a tetralogy, impresses one strongly with the idea that it is Isaianic. This impression is so strong that Cheyne, Driver, G. A. Smith, following Kleinert's example (1877), hold that this second **מָשָׁה בָּבֶל**, as distinguished from the first, xiii.-xiv. 23, is the work of the original Isaiah. This they do by referring it, not to the conquest of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus in 538, but to the conquest of Babylon, the seat of Merodach Baladan's government, by the Assyrians under Sargon in 710 (not the first conquest in 721, but that in 710, the twelfth year of Sargon's reign, who from that time calls himself king of Babylon). Though once beaten by Sargon, Merodach Baladan had again established himself in Babylon, and, having sought helpers since his defeat, he tried not only to be the independent ruler of North and South Babylon, but also to contest with the Assyrians the position of ruler of the world. If the messengers of Merodach Baladan to Hezekiah (Isa. xxxix.) are some of the commissioners whom for the space of twelve years Merodach Baladan was constantly dispatching, the pain expressed in this prophecy

becomes all the more intelligible. The prophet is announcing the fall of that Babylon with the hope of having which for a bulwark against Assyria his people are deceiving themselves—the city of the secret confederate falls a prey to Assyria, and now Judah has to expect its vengeance. Nevertheless, I am of opinion that this historical setting of the oracle does not suffice for the purpose of retaining the Isaianic authorship. The Babylon whose fall he prophesies is the very same torment of the peoples as is mentioned in chap. xiv., the threshing-floor is the exile, and it may be asked how can Elamite and Median contingents be expected in the army of Assyria that marched against Merodach Baladan, seeing that Elam was the hereditary enemy of Assyria, and both by nature and in fact, the nearest ally of Merodach Baladan? ¹ Moreover, while in this way, on the one hand, an original composition of Isaiah is reclaimed by these three English critics from being assigned as hitherto to a later date, on the other hand the prophecy, xxxix. 6 sq., which foresees in Babylon the future mistress of the world, becomes to them unintelligible, and on this account open to suspicion.² Rather than pay so dearly for maintaining Isaiah's authorship in the case of xxi. 1-10, we hold that this piece is Deutero-Isaianic, but emphasize at the same time that the criticism of the Book of Isaiah, far from having attained finality, is still in constant flux.

We return to the heading. The continent on which Babylon stands is a *בְּרִדָּה*, a great plain running south-westwards into *Arabia deserta*, and it is so broken up by the Euphrates as well as by marshes and lakes that it floats as it were in the sea. The low land on the Lower Euphrates was in a manner wrested from the sea, for before Semiramis constructed the dams the Euphrates used to overflow the whole like a sea (*πελαγίζειν*, Herod. i. 184). Abydenus even says that at first the whole of it was water, and was also called *θάλασσα* (Euseb. *Praep.* ix. 41); and the monuments call South Babylonia simply *mât tâmtim*, the sea land, and its king *šar (mât) tâmtim*, the king of the sea. The prophet's reason

¹ Schrader, *KAT*², pp. 346, 351, 353.

² [Professor Driver has pointed out that this is an oversight so far as he is concerned; see his *Isaiah* in the "Men of the Bible" series, pp. 96, 127. —Tr.]

for using this roundabout name may be inferred from xiv. 23; the origin and natural features of Babylon are made into ominous prognostics of its ultimate fate. Jeremiah (li. 13, l. 38) gives the correct interpretation.

The power which first brings destruction on the city of the world, is a hostile army representing various peoples. Vers. 1, 2: "*Like storms, which sweep along in the south, it comes from the desert, from a terrible land. A hard vision is made known to me: The robber robs and the waster wasteth. Go up, Elam! Surround, Madai! I put an end to all their sighing.*" כַּסְפֹּת בָּנִיב (cf. xxviii. 21; Amos iii. 9) are storms which rise in the south, and therefore, in the case of Babylon, proceed out of the south or south-east, and which, like all winds coming from open steppes, are exceedingly violent (Job i. 19, xxxvii. 9, see this; Hos. xiii. 15). Accordingly it lies to hand to connect כַּסְפֹּת with לְהִלֹּךְ (Knobel, Umbreit), but the objection to this is the arrangement of the words. לְהִלֹּךְ, "in the act of pressing forwards," instead of הִלִּיךְ (see Gesen. § 132, Rem. 1, and in fuller detail note on Hab. i. 17)—the *conj. periphrastica*, in order to express the violent rush associated with the onward movement—has great weight at the conclusion of the comparison. Of course the Medo-Persian army, if it advanced by the same road as did Cyrus, could not be said to come כַּסְפֹּת. For, according to Herod. i. 189, he came over the Gyndes, and therefore descended into the Babylonian lowlands by the road described by Isidor of Charax in his *Itinerarium*,¹ i.e. over the Zagros pass through the Zagros gate to the upper course of the Gyndes, and along this stream which he crossed before its junction with the Tigris, through Chalonitis and Apolloniatis. If the Medo-Persian army, however, at least the Median part of it proper, descended into the lowlands of Chuzistan by following the course of the Choaspes (*Kerkha*)—the route passed over by Major Rawlinson with a Guran regiment²—and so advanced from the south-east against Babylon, it could be regarded in several respects as coming כַּסְפֹּת, chiefly because the lowlands of Chuzistan form a broad open plain, a כַּסְפֹּת.

¹ See C. Masson's "Illustration of the Route from Seleucia to Apobatana, as given by Isid. of Charax," in *Asiatic Jour.* xii. 97 sqq.

² See Rawlinson's route in Ritter's *Erdkunde*, ix. 3 (West Asia), p. 397 sqq.

The comparison with the storms of the south seems really to presuppose that the hostile army advanced from Chuzistan, or (since it is not to be supposed that geographical distinctions are strictly observed) from the direction of the desert of *ed-Dahna*, the portion of *Arabia deserta* which bounds the lowlands of Chaldaea on the south-west. The Medo-Persian land itself is called אֶרֶץ נִדְרָאָה, because it lies outside the circle of civilised nations by which the land of Israel is surrounded. After the opening statement of his theme in ver. 1, conform to Isaianic custom, the prophet makes as it were a fresh start with ver. 2. חֲזוֹת has the same meaning here as in xxix. 11 (not, however, as in xxviii. 18); חֲזוֹת קָשָׁה is the object of the passive that follows (Gesen. § 143. 1b). The prophet calls the glance into the future vouchsafed him by divine inspiration קָשָׁה, hard or heavy (in the sense of *difficilis* however, not of *gravis*, קָבֵר), on account of the repellent, hardly endurable, and so to speak hardly digestible impression which it makes on him. The contents are wide-spreading spoliation and devastation (the expression like xxxiii. 1, cf. xvi. 4, xxiv. 16: בָּגַד, *tegere*, then *tecte agere*, of faithless, deceitful, then thievish action), and summons of the peoples on the east and north of Babylonia to the conquest of Babylon (צִירָי, *Mitra*, see on li. 9); for Jehovah brings to an end (הִשְׁבֵּתָהּ, as in xvi. 10) all their sighing (אֲנָחָהּ with accented *ult.*, and therefore *n raphatum pro mappicato*, as frequently in the Book of Isaiah, see on xlv. 6; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 20; Job xxxi. 22; Hos. ii. 8), i.e. all the lamentation which the oppressor has wrung out on every hand (an abridgment of xiv. 3-6).

Here, as in the case of the prophecy concerning Moab, the humanity of the prophet is affected by the contents of the vision vouchsafed him; it acts on him like a horrible dream. Vers. 3, 4: "Therefore are my loins full of cramp; pangs have taken hold of me, like the pangs of a woman in travail: I writhe so that I hear not, I am overcome with fear so that I see not. Wildly beats my heart, horror has disturbed me, the darkness of night that I love he hath turned for me into quaking." The prophet does not carry out into detail the description of what he sees, but we may infer how horrible it

is from the exceeding violence of the effect it produced. הִתְקַדַּח is spasmodic writhing, as in Nah. ii. 11; יָצַיִר is properly used of birth-pangs; נָעַו, to bow oneself, to bend, also used of convulsive manifestation of pain; נָעַו (otherwise than in Ps. xcv. 10; cf., however, Ps. xxxviii. 11) is used of irregular feverish beating of the pulse. כִּשְׁכֹּשֶׁת and כִּרְאוֹת are equivalent to negative consequential sentences as everywhere else; once only, Eccles. i. 8, does כִּשְׁכֹּשֶׁת occur in another than a negative sense. The darkness of evening and night, which the prophet so loves (רָצוֹן, desire from inclination, 1 Kings ix. 1, 19) and, as a rule, wishes for, in order that he may give himself over to contemplation or to rest from outward and inward work, is changed for him by the frightful vision into quaking. According to Herod. i. 191, and Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 23, it was during a nocturnal feast that Babylon was stormed. As in Dan. v. 30, cf. Jer. li. 39, 57, so in ver. 5 something of the kind is pointed to. *They spread the table, watch the watch, eat, drink—Arise, ye princes! anoint the shield!* This is not a scene from the hostile camp, where they are bracing themselves for the attack on Babylon, for *instruere mensam* is intended to convey the impression of a secure careless life of pleasure, and the summons "anoint the shield" (cf. Jer. li. 11) presupposes that they are not expecting to have to fight. What the prophet sees therefore is a feast in Babylon. Only one of the vividly pictorial infinitives (Ges. § 131. 4b), viz. הִתְקַדַּח, seems not to square with this. Hitzig's explanation, "they spread carpets out" (as in Talmud מִדְּבַר, מִדְּבַר, mat, *storea*), has no support in the language of the Bible, and on this account we prefer, along with the Targum, Pesh. Jerome (LXX. does not translate the words at all), to understand the *ἀπ. λεγ.* הִתְקַדַּח of sentinel-duty, — sentinel-duty (from הִתְקַדַּח, *speculari*) is attended to. Content with this one precaution, they all the more wildly gave themselves up to their debauch (cf. xxii. 13). The prophet mentions this matter, because it is by the sentinels that the cry, "Up, ye princes," etc., is addressed to the revellers. It was customary to oil the leather of the shields in order that it might present a shining surface and not suffer from damp, in particular, however, that blows might glance off (cf. *laeves clypeos* in Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 626). The foolish self-confidence of the

chief men of Babylon shows that they needed this summons; they think themselves so safe behind the walls and waters of the city that they have not even got their weapons ready for use.

The prophecy is now continued with 'פ; this is what is doing in Babylon, for the destruction of Babylon is decreed. This thought appears in the form of an instruction to the prophet in a vision that he should station a מִשְׁמָר on the watch-tower to look out and see what more happens. Ver. 6: "*For thus said the Lord to me: Go, place a watchman; what he sees, let him declare.*" The introduction runs as in xviii. 4, 12, as in xx. 2. Elsewhere it is the prophet himself who stands on the watch-tower (ver. 11; Hab. ii. 1 sq.); in this vision he is distinguished from the person whom he stations on the watch-tower (*specula*). The first thing that presents itself to the view of the occupant of the watch-tower is a long long procession—the army of the foe in orderly, silent, caravan-like, self-confident march. Ver. 7: "*And he saw a cavalcade, pairs of horsemen, a train of asses, a train of camels; and he listened sharply, as sharply as he could listen.*" רָכַב, here as in ver. 9 the leading idea, and placed accordingly, means, in

general, a cavalcade, just as in Arabic رَكَب means a caravan mounted on camels. In front, then, there was a cavalcade of horsemen (פָּרָשִׁים from פָּרַשׁ = نَارِس, rider on horseback)

arranged two and two—for Persians and Medes fought either on foot or on horseback (in the latter way from the time of Cyrus at least, *Cyrop.* iv. 3). Next came trains of asses and camels, a large number of which accompanied the Persian armies for various purposes. They not only carried baggage and provisions, but were also taken into battle in order to throw the enemy into confusion. Thus Cyrus carried the battle against the Lydians by means of the great number of his camels (Herod. i. 80), and Darius Hystaspis a battle against the Scythians by means of the great number of his asses (iv. 129). Some of the subjugated peoples rode on asses and camels; the Arabs in the army of Xerxes on camels, the Caramanians on asses. What the watchman sees is therefore the Persian army. But he only sees, and though

he listens, and that "listening, greatness of listening" (שָׁמַע, as in 1 Kings xviii. 29; whereas in 2 Kings iv. 31, שָׁמַע should be written with Abulwalid on MS. authority), i.e. he strains, straining to the very utmost stretch (רַב, substantive, as in lxiii. 7; Ps. cxlv. 7; and שָׁמַע, in accordance with its radical idea "to stiffen," *sc.* the ear), still he hears nothing, because the long train moves on in deathly silence; at last the long train too disappears, he sees nothing and hears nothing, and impatience takes possession of him. Ver. 8: "*Then he cried with the voice of a lion, 'Upon the watch-tower, O All-Lord, I stand continually by day, and at my post I keep my stand all the nights.'*" His patience fails, and he roars as if he were a lion (cf. Rev. x. 3); with a like angrily sullen voice, with a like long deep full-drawn breath, he complains to God that he has now stood so long at his post without seeing anything except that inexplicable vanished train. But just as he was about to have his say out, the complaint died away in his mouth. Ver. 9: "*And behold there came a cavalcade of men, pairs of horsemen, and began and spoke: Fallen, fallen is Babylon, and all the images of its gods he has dashed to the ground.*" It is now clear to him where the long train went to when it vanished. It has entered Babylon, has made itself master of the city, and established itself there. Now after a long time a smaller cavalcade appears to announce the news of victory, and the watchman hears them triumphantly call, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon." The subject of שָׁמַע (thus, out of pause for שָׁמַע, Ex. ix. 25) is Jehovah; even the heathen conquerors are compelled to acknowledge that the fall of Babylon and its מַסִּילִים (cf. Jer. li. 47, 52) is the work of the God of Israel.

The gloomy vision of the prophet is intended to comfort Israel. Ver. 10: "*O thou my threshing and child of my threshing-floor! what I have heard from Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, that I have announced to you.*" Threshing, שָׂרַף, is a figure that expresses crushing subjugation, xli. 15, Micah iv. 12 sq., and judicial punishment, Jer. li. 33 (a parallel, which we must not allow to mislead us, seeing that Jeremiah in this case as frequently has given another turn to the Isaianic figure), or as in the passage before us disciplinary scourges, in which wrath and good intention mingle. Israel,

under the tyrannical supremacy of the world-empire, is called *מִדְשָׁתִּי* (this, not *מִדְשָׁתִּי*, is the reading), i.e. the grain which he threshes, but under limitations (xxviii. 28). It is also called *בֶּן־זֶרַח*, inasmuch as it is considered fit for the threshing-floor (cf. *בֶּן הַכּוֹחַ*, one who deserves scourging, Deut. xxv. 2), and is transported thither in order after enduring punishment to come out threshed and winnowed. Babylon is the instrument employed by the divine wrath to thresh with. But love takes part also in the work of threshing, and restrains the action of wrath. A picture likely to give comfort to the grain lying for threshing on the floor, i.e. to the people of Israel which, mowed down as it were and removed from its native soil, had been banished to Babylon, and there subjected to a tyrannical rule,—that is what the prophet in his vision has perceived (*שִׁמְעָה*, as in xxviii. 22).

THE ORACLE CONCERNING THE SILENCE OF DEATH (EDOM),
CHAP. XXI. 11, 12.

This oracle consists of a question addressed to the prophet from Seir, and of the prophet's answer. Seir is the hill country in the south of Palestine which was taken possession of by Edom after the expulsion of the Horites. Thus *דִּמָּה* of the heading cannot be any of the places of this name elsewhere with which we are acquainted. It is not the Judean *דִּמָּה*, Josh. xv. 52; nor the *Dâma* in the Damascene *Gûta*; nor one of the *Dûmas* (*Dauma*) in the district of the Euphrates and Tigris. It is not even the *Dûma* of the Eastern Hauran, but, supposing that the word is the name of a place, the *Dûma* (Gen. xxv. 14) in the lowest district of the Syrian *Nufûd* country, the so-called *جوف* (*Gôf*). It was situated on the great Nabataean line of traffic between the northern ports of the Red Sea and 'Irâk, and was called more exactly *Dûmat el-jendel*, or "the rocky Dûma," because lying in a basin surrounded on every side by rugged sandstone hills.¹ This Arabian *Dûma* lies eastwards from the mountains of Seir (now 'Serâh), and was a settlement (*ḥadîtra*) for a time at least loosely united with

¹ Duma itself is also called *الجوف*; *nufûd* are tracts of loose sandy ground. See *DMZ.* x. 828 sq., 742.

Edom. That the name of this ¹דִּימָה should appear in the heading of the oracle, is due to the circumstance that this very name lent itself to symbolical treatment. דִּימָה from דָּיַם, to smooth, to still, is entire deep silence, and therefore the land of the dead (Ps. xciv. 17, cxv. 17). The name אָדָם, by the removal of the sound at the beginning to the end of the word, is made the emblem of the fate of Edom. It becomes a land of deathly silence, of deathly sleep, of deathly gloom.² To this the inquiry from Seir corresponds. Ver. 11: "*A cry comes to me from Séir: Watchman, how far is it in the night? Watchman, how far in the night?*" Those making this inquiry are not Israelites (Hitzig), the cry proceeds from Seir; an oracle occupying a place between oracles concerning Babylon and Arabia, in virtue of its very position refers to the inhabitants of Seir. Luther translates לָרָא rightly "they cry" (*man ruft*), for it is a participial present with a perfectly general subject (as in xxx. 24, xxxiii. 4). It is only for the purpose of bringing out to some extent the change from מָלִיךְ to מָלִיךְ that, as regards the rest, we have departed from Luther's excellent translation. The more winged form of the second question expresses heightened anxious urgency; they would like to hear that already the night is well through, and will soon be over. כֵּן is used partitively (Saad.)—What part of the night is it now? Just as a sick person wishes for the end of a sleepless night, and is constantly inquiring as to the hour; so the inquiry comes to the prophet from Edom whether the night of trouble will not soon be past. It must not, however, be supposed that messengers from Edom really, as matter of fact, came to Isaiah. The event possessed only a spiritual reality. What now is the prophet's answer? He lets the inquirers see, δὲ ἑσπέρου ἐν ἀνύμνῳ, in ver. 12: "*Watchman says, Morning cometh and also night. If you will inquire, inquire! Return, come.*" The answer intentionally takes a kind of foreign

¹ The Codex of Rabbi Meir had for דִּימָה the reading רִמָּה (רִמָּה), Jerus. Talm., *Taanith* i. 1 (by the people Edom was regarded as equivalent to Rome), cf. Jerome on our passage, *Quidam Hebraeorum pro Duma Romam legunt*.

² By Arabian poets a wilderness is mentioned, called اَصَمَّتْ, "be silent!"

form, though Nägelsbach goes too far when he says, "the prophet mocks them with Edomitic sounds." אָתָּא (with א at the end, like אַ = *atawa*, according to another reading אָתָּא, as in Deut. xxxiii. 2, Arab. انا = *ataya*) is the Aramaic word for אָתָּא, while אָתָּא (אָתָּא) is the Aramaic word for אָתָּא, and from אָתָּא, the fundamental form of the latter, are formed here the imperfect *tib'āyān* (as in xxxiii. 7) and the imperative *b'āyū*. The analogous imperative from אָתָּא (אָתָּא) is אָתָּא; here, however, it is pointed in Syrian fashion, as in lvi. 9, 12, אָתָּא. What is the meaning of the verse? Ewald (*Gram.* § 354a) gives אָתָּא here the meaning of "and yet" (*ἔτι δέ*). Morning comes, and yet it remains night, inasmuch as the dawning morning will be at once swallowed up again by night. There is a difference between the cases of Edom and Israel, for the night of Israel's history has for irrevocably fixed close a promised dawn. The prophet therefore sends the inquirers home. If they wish to make further inquiries, they may do so, they may return and come. There is a significant hint in אָתָּא. The prophet has a comforting answer for them only if they return, come, i.e. only if they come converted. So long as there is no change on them, their future is enveloped in endless night for the prophet as much as for themselves.

THE ORACLE IN THE EVENING, CHAP. XXI. 13-17.

The heading, when pointed אָתָּא אָתָּא, means (according to Zech. ix. 1, cf. Isa. ix. 7) oracle against Arabia. But why have we not אָתָּא אָתָּא, seeing that in the three other headings the simple genitive follows אָתָּא? Is this the only heading of the four that is not symbolical? The object of the א, by which it is distinguished, is almost certainly to make it symbolical. The prophet undoubtedly pronounced it אָתָּא (Cheyne), and the LXX. Targum, Syr. Jerome, and Arab. thus read the second אָתָּא, though there was no necessity for their doing so. Even without this change on אָתָּא the oracle begins with an evening scene, and on this ground the Massa received its symbolical title. Just as אָתָּא becomes אָתָּא, because a night without a morning falls on the mountain land of Seir, so אָתָּא will it soon be אָתָּא, seeing that the sun of Arabia is sinking,

the darkness of evening is settling over it, and the land of the Orient is becoming a land of the Occident. Vers. 13-15: "*In the wilderness in Arabia ye must pass the night, caravans of the Dedanites. To the thirsty bring water! The inhabitants of the land of Tema come with his bread before the fugitive. For before swords they are fleeing, before a drawn sword, and before a bent bow, and before oppressive war.*" There is the less call for making any alteration on בִּיעָר בְּעָרַב, that the second ב (wilderness in Arabia = of Arabia) corresponds to Isaianic usage (xxviii. 21, ix. 2, cf. 2 Sam. i. 21; Amos iii. 9). עֲרַב, עֲרַב, Ezek. xxvii. 21 (in pause, עֲרַב, Jer.

xxv. 24), is the collective for עֲרָבִים (xiii. 20), عَرَبِيّون.

inhabitants of the 'Araba deserticola,¹ and עֵר is here the solitary barren wilderness as distinguished from the land covered with cities and villages. Wetzstein² remarks, that to say they will have to flee from the steppe into the wood would be a promise rather than a threat—a shady tree is the most delightful dream of the Beduin; in the wood he finds not only shade, but a constant supply of green pasture, and fuel for his hospitable hearth,—and so he explains it: "Ye will take refuge in the *w'ar* of Arabia," i.e. the open steppe will no longer afford you protection, and so you will be forced

to hide yourselves in the *w'ar*. وَعَر is the name applied to the trachytic district of the Syro-Hauranitic volcanoes which is covered with a layer of stones. Undoubtedly in עֵר, as used here, the idea of a wilderness is more prominent than that of wood. The meaning then is: the trading caravans (אֲרָמָה, wandering troops, like נִדְּלֹת, bannered troops, Cant. vi. 4) of the Dedanites journeying from east to west, probably to Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 20), whom the war in its progress from north to south has driven from the ordinary route followed by such traders, must encamp in the wilderness. The prophet,

¹ It was only at a later time that عَرَبِيَّة, 'Arabia', was used as the name of the deserts of the Arabian peninsula regarded as a whole. See Wetzstein, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. vii. pp. 463-465.

² *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 1859, p. 123.

whose sympathy in this instance mingles itself also with the revelation, asks water for the panting fugitives. הָתַי (according to the Eastern reading, הַתַּי), as in Jer. xii. 9, is the imperat. = הָתַי = הַתַּי (Ges. § 76. 2c); cf. 2 Kings ii. 3, and

הָתַי, give. קָרַב, which is more suited to the parallelism, is read by Targum, Ewald, Diestel; but קָרַב increases the vividness of the picture. "His bread," לֶחֶמוֹ, refers to לֶחֶם; it is the bread which was needful for him, the fugitive, in order to save him. The request is addressed to the Temanites. It is

open to discussion whether תִּמְאָה (תִּמְאָה) means the trans-Hauranitic *Tēmā*, three-quarters of an hour from which there is a *Dūma*,¹ or the *Tēmā*, situated on the pilgrim-road from Damascus to Mecca between *Tebūk* and *Wādi-el-korā*, almost equally distant (four days) from both these places and from *Chaiḇar*,² and lying forty hours in a southerly direction from the Duma of the Syrian desert. The latter is the more probable. Just as uncertain is it whether by the caravans of the Dedanites are meant those of the so-called Cushites (Gen. x. 7), who, according to Wetzstein, lived in North-Eastern Africa, and provided for the transport of caravans between Egypt and Ethiopia on the one hand, and Syria and the Tigris - Euphrates districts on the other; or those of the Keturean Dedanites, whose name, according to Wetzstein, is

preserved in that of the ruined city الأديان (*Yakūt*, ii. p. 636), which he places at the eastern base of the mountains of Hismā. While it seems as if Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20, xxxviii. 13 must be understood of the Cushite Dedanites, there can be no doubt that Ezek. xxv. 13, Jer. xxv. 23, xlix. 8 have in view the Keturean Dedanites, to the borders of whose district the land of Edom stretched. Our prophet also seems to refer to these. While on their way to the Euphrates regions, especially Babylon, they were driven by the bursting of the war-cloud southwards into the parched sandy desert as far as Tēmā, to which the prophet appeals on behalf of these thirsty and hungry ones for kindly and hospitable treatment. Drechsler

¹ See Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, p. 202.

² See Sprenger, *Post und Reiserouten des Orients*, part i. (1864) p. 118 sq.

well remarks, How mortifying to be forced to show hospitality, that on which the Arab most prides himself, in so restricted a manner, and with such indecent secrecy! But no other course is open; for, as the four times repeated וְיָצֵא shows, without pause the arms of the foe press forward (וְיָצֵא, used of the sword, and in *Sanhedrin* 95*b* of the sickle, like וְיָצֵא, in the sense, drawn for the purpose of cutting at, Ezek. xxi. 33), and, without pause, the war, like an overwhelming Colossus, rolls on its onward way.

Thus is realized and pictured by the prophet the impending fate of Arabia, which is revealed to him in vers. 16, 17: "*For thus hath the All-Lord spoken unto me: Within a year as the years of a hireling, it is over with all the glory of Kedar. And the remnant of the number of bows of the heroes of the Kedarenes will be small, for Jehovah the God of Israel has spoken.*" Here the noun קִדְרָא (Assyr. *Kidru*) is a general name for the Arabian tribes. In its narrower sense, Kedar, like the neighbouring Nebaioth, is a tribe of Ishmaelite nomads, whose camping-ground extended to the Elanite Gulf. In a year's time, calculated as exactly as is the custom between employers and employed, Kedar's freedom, military strength, numbers, and wealth (these together being its קִדְרָא) shall have vanished. Only a small remnant is left of the brave archer sons of Kedar. They are numbered here, not by heads, but by bows, so specifying the fighting men—a mode of numbering common, for example, among the Indians of America. The noun וְיָצֵא is followed here by five genitives (just as וְיָצֵא is by four, x. 12; see Ges. § 114. 1), and the predicate וְיָצֵא is in the plural because of the fulness of content of the subject. The time specified for the fulfilment of the prophecy apparently ties us down to the Assyrian period—though Wetzstein connects the oracles concerning Edom and Arabia with that concerning Babylon, the fall of which threatens Edom and the tribes of the desert with bloody subjection to the new Medo-Persian world monarchy. We have no exact information as to the fulfilment. In Herodotus (ii. 141, cf. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1. 4) Sennacherib is called βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, and both Sargon and Sennacherib, in the annals of their reigns, boast of the subjugation of Arab tribes. Jeremiah, however, prophesies in the Chaldean period similar things

against Edom and against Kedar (chap. xlix., where xlix. 30 sq. is in reciprocal relation to the oracle in Isaiah). After a short glimmer of morning, night has fallen for the second time on Edom, evening for the second time on Arabia.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING THE VALLEY OF VISION (JERUSALEM),
CHAP. XXII. 1-14.

The *נִבְיָא* concerning Babylon, and the no less visionary prophecies concerning Edom and Arabia, are followed by a Massa, the object of which is the *נִבְיָא* itself. Of course these four prophecies did not originally form a group of four as they now stand side by side. Only at a later date were they collected into such a group, and to this, notwithstanding that the cycle of prophecy in chaps. xii.-xxiii. referred to the nations of the world, was attached this prophecy against Jerusalem, resembling them as it did in having a symbolical heading, and in being of the nature of a vision. The internal arrangement of this group was not determined by the chronological sequence of composition, but by the idea of a storm advancing from the distance, and at last breaking over Jerusalem. The time of Sargon (Cheyne, Nowack) does not correspond to this, for although it is the case that Sargon calls himself once in the Nimrod inscription (Lay. xxxiii. 8) *mušakniš māt Ya-u-du* (he who has subjugated the land of Juda), still the annals of his reign are silent on the matter.¹ This being so, the occasion of the Isaianic oracle must be sought in the time of Sennacherib, at some point or other in the campaign which he entered on against Phenicia, Philistia, and Juda, 701. The mention of Jerusalem under the name *ירושלם* may cause wonder, for *αὐτὴ ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο, μέσῃ φάραγγι διηρημένων, εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι* (Joseph. *Wars*, v. 4. 1). But it is quite in place, in so far as round Jerusalem there are mountains (Ps. cxxv. 2), and the very city, which in relation to the country occupied an elevated position, in relation to the mountains of the immediate neighbourhood appeared to stand on a low level (*πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα ταύτης γηλόφα χθαμαλίζεται*, as Phocas says). Because of this twofold aspect

¹ See Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (1889), p. xvi. sq.

Jerusalem is called (Jer. xxi. 13) the "inhabitant of the valley," and immediately on the back of this the "rock of the plain" and (Jer. xvii. 3) the "mountain in the fields," whereas (Zeph. i. 11) not all Jerusalem, but a part of it (probably the ravine of the Tyropæum), is called שֶׁמֶשֶׁת, the mortar, or as we say, basin. If we add to this that Isaiah's house was situated in the lower city, and that therefore the point of view from which the epithet was applied was there, the expression is perfectly appropriate. Furthermore, the epithet is intended to be more than geographical. A valley, קֵיִל, is a lonely, quiet depression, shut in and cut off by mountains. Similarly is Jerusalem the sheltered peaceful place closed against the world, which Jehovah has chosen in order to show there to His prophets the secrets of His government of the world. On this holy city of the prophets, Jehovah's judgment is coming, and the announcement of the judgment upon it has place among the oracles concerning the nations of the world! From this we see that at the time when the prophecy was uttered, the attitude of Jerusalem was so worldly and heathenish as to call for this threat, so dark and unrelieved by any gleam of promise. Neither the prophecies dating from Ahaz's reign, however, and referring to the Assyrian age of judgment, nor those uttered in the midst of the Assyrian troubles, are at the same time so entirely without promise and so peremptory as this one. This Massa falls then in the interval, probably in the time when the people under the influence of freedom had grown light-headed, and, trusting to an alliance with Egypt, were cherishing the hope of being able to bid defiance to Assyria. The threat harmonizes with xxviii. 1-22. The prophet gives expression to the confidence of the time, and also its worthlessness, in vers. 1-3: "*What aileth thee then, that thou art wholly ascended to the house-tops? O full of uproar, thou noisy city, joyously shouting fortress, thy slain are not slain with the sword nor killed in battle. All thy chief men, making their escape together, are made prisoners without bow; all those of thee who are seized are made prisoners together, while they are fleeing far away.*" From the flat house-tops they are looking out, the whole of them at once (כָּל־עַמּוּךָ for כָּל־עַמּוּךָ, xiv. 29, 31; Ges. § 91. 1, Remark 2), eager for the fight and sure of victory, at the approaching army of the enemy.

They are so confident, cheerful, and defiant because they have no suspicion of what is threatening them. *הַשְׂאוֹת מִלָּאָה* is an inversion for *מִלָּאָה הַשְׂאוֹת*, like *מִנְּהָ אֶפְלָה מְנִיָּה* in viii. 22. *עֲלִיָּה* is used of self-confident rejoicing, as in Zeph. ii. 15. How terribly they deceive themselves! Not even the honour of falling on the field of battle would be theirs. Their chief men (*קִצִּץ*, judge, and then generally person of distinction), one and all, would depart from the city and be made prisoners outside *מִקֶּשֶׁת*, without the bow needing to be bent against them (*כֶּחָר*, as in Job xxi. 9; 2 Sam. i. 22; Ewald, § 217b). All, without exception, who are met with (*נִמְצְאוּ*), as in xiii. 15) in Jerusalem by the invading foe, would, while trying to escape (*perf. de conatu*, corresponding to the classical *presens de conatu*) to a distance (see note on v. 26), be made unresisting prisoners. The conative clause cannot be translated who had fled from a distance, *i.e.* to Jerusalem, in order to find refuge there, for this thought is not evident enough to remain unexpressed. The city would be besieged (indirectly stated), and in consequence of the long siege hunger and pestilence would destroy the inhabitants, and every one who tried to reach the open would become the prize of the enemy, and, because exhausted by hunger, without venturing on resistance. The prophet on realizing the fate of the infatuated Jerusalem and Judah is seized with inconsolable anguish. Vers. 4, 5: "*Therefore I say, Look away from me that I may weep bitterly; press not on me with comfort for the destruction of the daughter of my people! For a day of uproar, and of treading down and of confusion, cometh from the All-Lord Jehovah of hosts, in the valley of vision, dashing walls into ruins, and a cry of woe is echoed from against the mountains.*" Isaiah here adopts the Kina style, the same that we meet with later in the Lamentations of Jeremiah. This prophet uses *שָׁכַר* for *שָׁר* (Lam. iii. 48), and *בִּתְעִיבִי* is there interchanged with *בִּתְצִיחִי* and *בִּתְהִיבִי*. *כִּי־יִרְדֵּי בְּבָכִי* is more than *בָּכָה מֵר* (xxxiii. 7); it means to give up oneself with full consent of the mind to bitter weeping, to take one's fill of weeping. The day of the divine judgment is called (ver. 5) a day in which bodies of men surge, raging through each other (*מְהוֹמָה*), in which Jerusalem and its inhabitants are trodden down (*מְבוֹקָה*) by enemies and thrown into wild con-

fusion (מְבִירָה). This is one of two plays upon sounds in the passage. The other strikes on our ears like the crash of the walls overthrown by the siege-engines. מְבִירָה קִיר is to be explained as meaning he tears down walls according to Num. xxiv. 17, and like the phrases occurring in the Palestinian Talmud and Midrash, מְקַרְקֵים קִירוֹת בְּתוֹחֵם, they tore down the walls of their houses, and קִרְקַר בּוֹ, to demolish a thing (see Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterbuch*, iv. 391). When that happens which is stated in ver. 5, then שׁוֹעַ אֶל-הָהָר, there sounds at the mountain a cry of woe (שׁוֹעַ like שָׁעָה, שָׁעָה; cf. عَوْث, help,

cry for help), i.e. it strikes on the mountains surrounding Jerusalem, and returns as an echo. Against the translation, *Kir undermineth and Shoa is at the mount* (Cheyne, following Fried. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 235 sq.), is the arrangement of the words in מְבִירָה קִיר, and the lack of clearness in שׁוֹעַ אֶל-הָהָר.

The description does not move forward step by step as would an historical narrative. Ver. 5 at once depicts the day of Jehovah in the light of its final cause and effect, and only in vers. 6 and 7 is described the advance of the besiegers, leading at last to the destruction of the walls. "*And Elam has taken the quiver together with chariots with men, horsemen, and Kir has uncovered the shield. And then it comes to pass that thy choice valleys are filled with chariots, and the horsemen firmly establish themselves in the direction of the gate.*" Of the nations in the Assyrian army there is mentioned 'Ēlam, the Semitic nation of Susiana (Chuzistân), whose original habitation is the series of valleys between the mountain chain of Zagros and the chain of outlying mountains that bound the plains of Assyria on the East. They were greatly feared as archers (Ezek. xxxii. 24; Jer. xlix. 35). Though this people appears here as a contingent of the Assyrian army, there is no instance of this in the inscriptions (*Paradies*, p. 237); but it is to be remembered that the testimonies of the inscriptions and of the Bible are mutually illustrative. קִיר also is fully proved by the Bible to have been a land under Assyrian rule (2 Kings xvi. 9; Amos i. 5, ix. 7), and yet down to the present it has not been possible to illustrate this from the inscriptions; for the tract of land through which the river Cyrus flows can surely not be meant, since

the river Kur, which joins the Araxes and debouches into the Caspian, is written with *k*, not *k*. The readiness for battle, characteristic of the people of Kur, is expressed by עָרָה כָּנָן, — what Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* ii. 21) calls *scutis tegimenta detrahere*, for the Talmudic meaning *applicare* (Buxtorf, *Lex. col.* 1664) is not to be thought of. These nations, whose custom it was to fight on foot, are accompanied (כָּ, as in 1 Kings x. 2) by רָכָב אָדָם, chariots filled with men, *i.e.* war-chariots (as distinguished from עֲגִלוֹת), and, as is added ἀσπιδέτας, by פָּרָשִׁים, horsemen (*i.e.* riders trained to arms). The historical tense is introduced by יִהְיֶה (ver. 7), but in a future sense. It is only for the sake of the arrangement of the words here preferred that the sentence does not proceed וְיִקְרָא (i.e. *vav* consec.). עֲצָמָי are the valleys by which Jerusalem is encircled on the east, west, and south: the valley of Kidron on the east, the valley of Gihon on the west, the valley of Rephaim, stretching along on the right of the road to Bethlehem (xviii. 5), on the south-west, the valley of Hinnom meeting the Tyropæum in a south-eastern corner, perhaps also the valley of Jehoshaphat, running on the upper side of the valley of Kidron in the north-east of the city. These valleys, especially the southern and finest ones, are now cut up by the wheels and hoofs of the enemies' chariots and horses, and already have the enemies' horsemen taken up position, *i.e.* firmly established themselves (שָׁם with שָׁם, to strengthen it, as in Ps. iii. 7; שָׁם, 1 Kings xx. 12; cf. 1 Sam. xv. 2) in the direction of the gate, in order that on the signal being given they may gallop at the gates and press in at them.

When Judah now, after having so long given itself up to the intoxication of hope, becomes aware that it is in extreme danger, it adopts wise measures, but without God. Vers. 8-11: "*Then does he draw away the covering of Judah, and thou lookest on that day to the store of arms of the forest-house, and the breaches of the city of David ye see, that there are many of them, and ye collect the waters of the lower pool. And the houses of Jerusalem ye count, and pull down the houses in order to fortify the wall. And a basin ye make between the two walls for the waters of the old pool; and ye do not look to Him who done it, and Him who formed it from afar ye do not regard.*"

אֶפֶס is the curtain or covering which made Judah blind to the threatening danger. Their eyes now turn first of all to the forest-house on Zion (it may have stood in the middle of the outer court of the royal palace) which had been built by Solomon for the storage and display of valuable weapons and implements (אֶפֶס, or, according to the Masora on Job xx. 24 and old editions, אֶפֶס), and bore this name because it rested on four rows of cedar pillars that ran all round. They notice also in the city of David, the southern and highest part of the city of Jerusalem, how ruinous is the wall, and begin to think of repairing it. With this end in view they examine the houses of the city, in order to obtain building material for the strengthening of the walls and the repair of their breaches by pulling down buildings likely to be useful in this way and capable of being dispensed with (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 4). The compensative duplication in אֶפֶס from אֶפֶס is dispensed with in spite of the inconvenient combination of sounds, אֶפֶס, in order that the two *t* may not coalesce into one (cf., on the other hand, אֶפֶס, Deut. vii. 5, and also אֶפֶס, Ezek. xxii. 22, where the duplication remains on account of the aspirated *א*). The "old pool" has hitherto been held to be the same as the upper Gihon (2 Chron. xxxii. 30) = the upper pool (vii. 3) = *Birket-el-Mamilla*, in the west of the city, the tank of the אֶפֶס, or conduit (mentioned vii. 3), through whose artificial channel the water of the tank was carried into the interior of the city to the so-called pool of Hezekiah or the Patriarchs. This conclusion, however, is based on the identification of the upper pool (Isa. vii. 3) with the Gihon. This identification is at present rightly universally given up; for, according to 1 Kings i. 33, cf. 45 ("from the royal castle on Zion down to Gihon"), 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, etc., the Gihon coincides rather with the present Spring of the Virgin on the eastern slope of the temple-hill. Thus, if we found on 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 (explanatory of 2 Kings xx. 20), a passage also claiming attention in connection with 9b and 11a of Isaiah's prophecy, Hezekiah's peculiar work consisted in stopping (סָם) the discharge (אֶפֶס) of the waters of the upper Gihon, i.e. in diverting the Gihon spring, so that it no longer appeared above ground, but sent its waters towards the west side of the southernmost part of the temple-hill, which lay

inside the city wall, through a covered subterranean rocky channel, *i.e.* through the Siloah channel, which at present opens into the Siloah basin, lying thirty metres below the level of the Spring of the Virgin. This excludes the possibility of the intention expressed in ver. 11 having anything to do with the pool of the Patriarchs (*Birket-el-Batrak*), the Amygdalon of Josephus, for during the rainy season it is served by a small conduit descending from the upper pool along the surface of the ground under the wall at or near to the Jaffa Gate. On the contrary, the "basin for the waters of the old pool" must be sought in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Siloah channel, where also, in reality, lies the place 'between the two walls,' *i.e.* between the independent ramparts of the city of David and the old city, which extended along both sides of the Tyropaeum.¹ The "old pool," which supplied the water for the new basin in the valley of the Tyropaeum, was therefore one of the several old water-basins of the Tyropaeum Valley,² and Hezekiah's new channel conducted the waters of this "old pool" into the new basin "between the two walls." But what is meant here by the "lower pool"? Formerly it was thought to be the *Birket-es-Sultân*, situated below the upper pool. Since, however, the Gihon lies on the east side of the city, and the bringing into use (*Anspannung*, literally "yoking," Heb. קָנַח) of the lower pool is certainly connected with the waterworks at the end of the Siloah channel, the lower pool also must be sought in the lower part of the Tyropaeum valley. It therefore gets this name in order to distinguish it from another upper pool than that mentioned in vii. 3. It is perhaps the same as Tobler's "lower pool of Siloah," which lay close to the city wall, and is now called *Birket-el-Hamrá*. In no other passage than this one do we meet with the "lower pool" under this name. The collection also of the waters of this lower pool is one of

¹ Cf. the digest of the most recent views as to the locality "between the two walls," in Bertheau-Ryssel's *Commentary on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*, pp. 195, 206, 215.

² There is a basin at the mouth of an old (now blocked-up) channel, which led down from the Spring of the Virgin, *i.e.* the Gihon, on the eastern border of Ophel, and is older than the channel constructed by Hezekiah. Perhaps this channel is the pre-Hezekian Siloah (ix. 6), and this basin the "old pool;" cf. Ryssel, *loc. cit.* p. 213 sqq.

the prudent measures which will be resorted to in Jerusalem in view of the impending siege. This will happen, however, too late, and in self-reliant alienation from God, with no regard to Him who, in accordance with a plan adopted long ago before its realization, both executes and gives form to the fate which by these measures they are seeking to ward off. As in chap. liv. 5, עֲשֵׂה might be plural, but the parallel עָשָׂה favours the singular; cf. as to the form (from עָשָׂה = עָשָׂה) xlii. 5, and the note on v. 12, i. 30. Here, as in xxxvii. 26 (cf. Ecces. iii. 11), we have the same doctrine of ideas as is an underlying prevailing note of the second part of Isaiah. Whatever is realized in time exists long before as a spiritual image, i.e. as an idea in God. God discloses it to His prophets, and prophecy in foretelling the future thereby proves that the fulfilment has been the work as also the long predetermined counsel of God. Thus in the passage before us the punishment that befalls Jerusalem is said to have been fashioned beforehand in God. Jerusalem might avert its realization by repentance, for it is not a *decretum absolutum*. As soon as Jerusalem repented, the realization would proceed no farther.

The realization, therefore, so far as it has gone, is a call by Jehovah to repentance. Vers. 12-14: "*The All-Lord Jehovah of hosts calls in that day to weeping, and to mourning, and to the pulling out of hair, and to girding with sackcloth, and behold: joy and gladness, slaughtering of oxen and killing of sheep, eating of flesh and drinking of wine, eating and drinking, for 'to-morrow we die.'* And Jehovah of hosts hath revealed Himself in mine ears; Surely this iniquity shall not be expiated to you until ye die, saith the All-Lord Jehovah of hosts." The first antecedent condition of repentance is the feeling of pain caused by the punishments of God. In the case of Jerusalem, however, they produce the opposite effect. The more threatening the future, the more callously and madly do the people give themselves up to coarse sensual enjoyment of the present. As harmonizing with שָׂחֹת, שָׂחֹת, the feminine form of the infin. abs., takes the place of שָׂחֹת (for שָׂחֹת, as in vi. 9, xxx. 19, lix. 4). A similar case occurs in Hos. x. 4.¹

¹ Similarly there stands in the Pesach-Haggada (in the prayer לְשִׁיבָה הַיָּמִים) between לְבָרֶךְ and לְקַלֵּם the incorrect infin. לְעִלָּה (to raise).

Elsewhere also, for the sake of sound-play, the author ventures what is unusual (see iv. 6, viii. 6, xvi. 9, xxxii. 7, xxxiii. 6; cf. Ezek. xlii. 11, and the *Keri*, 2 Sam. iii. 25). Flesh and wine stand side by side, as in Prov. xxiii. 20. The absolute infinitives sketch the conduct of the revellers; their own statement of the reason for this conduct follows בִּי. What is expressed there is not a joyful welcome of death, but a love of life that scoffs at death. Then the unalterable will of the all-commanding God is announced to the prophet in a way that he can clearly understand. Such disdainful defiance of God's chastisements will not be otherwise expiated than by the death of those bidding defiance. To be covered and so to be expiated is the meaning of כָּפַר (from כָּפַר, כָּפַר, *tegere*). This is effected for sin, either by God's justice, as here, or by God's mercy (vi. 7), or by God's justice and mercy combined (xxvii. 9). In all three cases it is divine holiness that demands the expiation. This holiness requires a cover or covering between itself and the sin, in virtue of which the sin becomes as though it were not. In this particular case the act of blotting out consists in punishing. That punishment may also be called expiation is shown by Num. xxxv. 33; uncovered blood (xxvi. 21) is just unexpiated blood. So here, the sin of Jerusalem will not be expiated until the sinners meet death. The verb מָחַת stands without qualification, and is therefore all the more dreadful (cf. ἀποθνήσκει, John viii. 21). The Targum renders: till ye die the second (eternal) death (מָוֶת חַיִּיתָא).


So far as this prophecy holds forth the threat of Jerusalem's destruction by Assyria, it was not fulfilled. Still the prophet did not withdraw it. For, in the first place, it is a monument of divine mercy which, on the manifestation of repentance, departs from or lessens the threatened judgment. The revolt against Assyria was accomplished, but, on the part of Hezekiah and many who had taken to heart the announcement of the prophet, as an affair which had been surrendered into the hands of the God of Israel, and with regard to which nothing was hoped for from their own strength or from the help of the Egyptians. In the second place, it stands here as the announcement of a judgment which, though deferred, was not revoked. God's declared counsel remains, and the

time will come by and by when it will be realized. It remains hovering over Jerusalem like an eagle, and in the end, sure enough, Jerusalem becomes its carrion.

AGAINST SHEBNA, THE STEWARD, CHAP. XXII. 15-25.

(*Appendix to the Tetralogy*, xxi.-xxii. 14.)

Shebna (שֶׁבְנָה; 2 Kings xviii. 18, 26, שֶׁבְנָה¹) bears the official designation אֲשֶׁר עַל-הַבַּיִת.² This is the name of a high office of state in both kingdoms (1 Kings iv. 6, xviii. 3), in fact of the very highest, and it was so superior in rank to all others (xxxvi. 3, xxxvii. 2) that even the heir to the throne sometimes held it (2 Chron. xxvi. 21). The office is that of minister of the household, and resembled the Merovingian office of *major domus* (*maire du palais*). The אֲשֶׁר עַל-הַבַּיִת had under his care the whole domestic affairs of the king, and was, on this account, also called הַכֹּהֵן (from כָּהֵן, Assyr. שִׁכְן, whence *šaknu*, governor³), the administrator, as being the official next to him in rank. In this high office Shebna showed that he united in extraordinary degree that baughty self-security and forgetfulness of God in pursuit of enjoyment for which the people of Jerusalem had just been threatened with death (cf. chap. vii. in relation to chap. vi; in the one a judgment of hardening is proclaimed, in the other Ahaz appears as a conspicuous example of it). He may also have been a leader of the party of notables whose sympathies lay on the side of Egypt, and so in connection with a policy foreign to the spirit of a theocracy the opponent of Isaiah in advising the king. Therefore the general content of xxii.

¹ The brother of the celebrated Hillel was so named (*Sota* 21a); in the full form of the name שֶׁבְנִיָּה (also Phoenician), which is interchangeable with שֶׁבְנִיָּה (*vicinus Dei*), שֶׁבֶן is equivalent to שֶׁבֶן (constr. of שֶׁבֶן), cf. Aram. שֶׁבֶב, שֶׁבֶב, *vicinus*. Nestle supposes that שֶׁבְנָה from שֶׁבֶן = , *donare, largiri*, is a synonym of נְהִיָּה, נְהִיָּה, and such like names.

² Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22, וְאֲשֶׁר הָיָה, the popular rendering of the Aramaic שֶׁבְנָה, βασιλικοί.

³ Cf. Fried. Delitzsch, § 46, p. 108.

1-14 takes the specific form of a prophecy against this Shebna. The time when this happened is the same as in xxii. 1-14. Defiance is being bidden to what is threatening, and the great dignitary not only drives about in magnificent equipages, but is engaged superintending the erection of a family tomb. Vers. 15-19: "*Thus spake the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts, Go, get thee unto this administrator, to Shebna the steward. What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here, that thou hevest thee out here a grave, hewing out his sepulchre on high, digging out in the rock a dwelling for himself? Behold, Jehovah hurleth thee hurling with a man's throw, and graspeth thee grasping. Clewing, he clews thee a clew, a ball into a land far and wide; there shalt thou die, and thither the chariots of thy glory, thou shame of the house of thy lord! And I thrust thee from thy post, and from thy station he pulleth thee down.*" אַלְּ after מְרַבֵּן (repair to, as in Gen. xlv. 17; Ezek. iii. 4) is changed into אֶל (used commonly of attack by the stronger, 1 Sam. xii. 12). The expression הַפֶּסֶן הַזֶּה points contemptuously to the subordinate though high position of the court servant. We already feel from this introduction of the divine address that ambition is a leading feature of Shebna's character. What Isaiah is to say to Shebna follows rather abruptly, but the LXX. insertion καὶ εἰπὸν αὐτῷ at once suggests itself. The question, What hast thou to do here, and whom hast thou to bring here? is put in view of the fate awaiting Shebna. This building of a sepulchre is useless: neither will Shebna ever lie there, nor will he be able to bury those connected with him there. The triple הֵן is forcible in the extreme: here where he is acting as if he were at home it is not fated that he shall remain. The participles הֹצֵא and הִקֵּחַ (with *hireq compaginis*, see note on Ps. cxiii.) are still part of the address; the third person which comes in here is syntactically correct, although the second person is used also (xxiii. 2 sq.; Hab. ii. 15). There were rock-tombs, i.e. tombs in the form of rock-hewn chambers, for the reception of several bodies on the south of the valley of Hinnom, and on the western slope of the Mount of Olives, and in the north-west of the city beyond the upper pool. The מְרַבֵּן, however, when we keep before us the triple הֵן and the contemptuous הַפֶּסֶן הַזֶּה, points to the city of David (1 Kings ii. 10), or

מַעֲלֵה קְבָרֵי בְּיֶדְדִּיר (2 Chron. xxxii. 33), *i.e.* the east slope of Zion, in the rock of which from the top downwards the tombs of the kings were hewn. So high a position does Shebna occupy, and so great does he think himself, that he hopes after his death to be laid to rest among kings, and by no means far down.

How he deceives himself! Jehovah throws him far away (מַלְּאֵה נֶבֶר, *to be long*, Pilp. *to throw or stretch far*'), Either this expression is equivalent to מַלְּאֵה מַלְּאֵה נֶבֶר, with a man's throw (Rosenmüller), or נֶבֶר is in apposition to דָּהָה (Ges. Knobel): throw, a man, *i.e.* throw of a man, like מִים בְּרַכְיִים, water, measure of the knees, *i.e.* reaching to the knees (cf. note, xxx. 20). The vocative rendering, "O man" (Syriac, Böttcher, Cheyne), is contrary to custom and style. Jerome gives the strange rendering, "as they carry off a cock" (מַרְנֵל = נֶבֶר), which he had from the lips of his Hebraeus. The verb עָמָה means in Jer. xliii. 12 to be covered (عَطَا), not to roll up; in 1 Sam. xv. 19, xxv. 14, xiv. 32, to fly or rush upon anything (with אָל, אֶל); here, like عَطَا, to grasp, to lay hold of (Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Knobel, and others). And as עָנָה means to roll into a ball or clew, עָנָה, the clew or roll, so בְּדִיר means that which Shebna becomes by being rolled up. For כּ is not to be taken as the particle of comparison, בְּדִיר, as we see from the Talmud (cf. note on Job xv. 24), being used in the sense of *globus, sphaera*, while דִּיר

(cf. دَهْر) means only *gyrus, periodus*. Shebna becomes a clew, a ball, which is thrown into a land stretching far out on both sides, where with nothing to stop it it flies farther ever farther. Thither he goes to die,—the man who had degraded his own office and the Davidic court as well by an undue exercise and misuse of his power,—and with him his splendid equipages. In order to prepare for the transition to the installation of another into Shebna's office, the punishment of deprivation of his office is put at the end of the first half of the prophecy, though it cannot be otherwise conceived of than as preceding the punish-

¹ In later usage this verbal root means generally "to move on," whence מְוָל, movement, walk; מְוָלָתָי, movables, personal property.

ment of banishment. In 19b not the king (Luzzatto), but, as in 19a, Jehovah (cf. x. 12) is the subject. First of all, he gives him the push that makes him stagger in his place, then he pulls him completely down from this lofty station of his.

The object of this, that he may make way for a worthier man, is stated in vers. 20-24: "*And it will come to pass in that day that I call to my servant Eliakim, son of Hilkiyah, and clothe him with thy robe, and with thy sash I bind him round, and thy authority I give into his hand, and he will become a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah. And I place the key of David upon his shoulder, and when he opens no man shuts, and when he shuts no man opens. And I strike him as a peg into a sure place, and he becomes a seat of honour to his father's house. And the whole body of (the members of) his father's house hangs on him, the descendants and the offshoots, all the small vessels, from the vessels of the basins to all the vessels of the pitchers.*" Eliakim is called עֲבֹדָה ה', as being the servant of God in his heart and conduct, to which official service is now first added. Usually this title of honour includes both kinds of service (xx. 3). Investiture is the means by which the transfer of office is carried through (cf. 1 Kings xix. 19). מִן, with the double accusative of the official girdle and the person, means here to tie firmly, to tie round (cf. חָזַק חֶזֶק מִן), to put the girdle round him, so that the whole dress sits firmly without any looseness. From מִן מִשְׁלֵלָּהּ we see how almost kingly dignity attaches to the office forfeited by Shebna. The word אֵל like-wise shows the same, for elsewhere it designates the king as the father of the land (ix. 5). Key means here the power of the keys, and therefore it is not placed in the hand, but on the shoulder (ix. 5) of Eliakim. It is used by the king (Rev. iii. 7), by the steward only in his stead. The power of the keys consists not merely in supervision of the royal chambers, but also in the decision as to who was and who was not to be received into the king's service. Similarly in the New Testament the keys of the kingdom of heaven are handed over to Peter. There, the mention of binding and loosing introduces a metaphor related to the other in sense; here, in מִן מִשְׁלֵלָּהּ and מִן אֵל, the metaphor of the key is retained. The comparison of the settlement of Eliakim in his office with

the driving in of a tent-peg was all the more readily available that *יְהוֹר* is in general the designation of a nation's rulers (Zech. x. 4), who stand in the same relation to the community as a tent-peg to the tent which it holds firmly and keeps up. As the tent-peg is driven into the ground in such a way that a person can, if necessary, sit on it, so by development of the metaphor the peg is changed into a seat of honour. As a splendid chair adorns a room, so Eliakim graces his hitherto undistinguished family. The closely connected thought, that the members of his family in order to attain to honours would sit on this chair, is expressed by a different figure. Eliakim is once more presented to us as a *יְהוֹר*, now, however, as a high one, somewhat like a pole on which coats are hung up, or as a peg driven into the wall at a distance from the ground. On this pole or peg they hang (*הָלַךְ*), i.e. one hangs, or there hangs *כָּבוֹד*, *כָּל*, i.e. the whole heavy lot (as in viii. 7) of the family of Eliakim. The prophet proceeds to split up this family into its male and female components, as the juxtaposition of masc. and fem. nouns shows. The idea in *אֲנָחִים* and *אֲנָחִים* (from *אָנַח*, by straining and pressure to bring forth and form, cf. *אָנַח*, dung, with *אָנַח*, filth) is that of a wide-spreading and undistinguished connection. The numerous metaphorical collection of refuse is made up of nothing but vessels of a small kind (*כֵּלֵי הַקֶּזֶז*), like *כֵּלֵי קֶבֶר*, xxxvi. 2, *צִיצִית נֶבֶל*, xxviii. 4, combinations in which the genitive expresses the genus). None of them are larger than *אֲנָנוֹת* (Arab. *isfāna*, *injāna*, wash-hand basin), basins like those used by the priests for the blood of the sacrifices (Ex. xxiv. 6), or in a house for mixing wine (Cant. vii. 3); most of them are only *בָּבִלִים*, leathern pitchers, earthenware bottles (xxx. 14). The whole of this large but as yet plebeian set attaches itself to Eliakim, and through him rises into distinction. At this point the prophecy that hitherto has spoken of Eliakim most respectfully suddenly assumes a tone in which there is an element of satire. We are impressed with the idea that the prophet is now dealing with nepotism, and ask ourselves, "What propriety is there in letting Shebna hear that?" Eliakim is the peg, that beginning so brilliantly comes to an ignominious end. Ver. 25: "*In that day, saith Jehovah of hosts, will the peg that is struck into a sure place give way, and*

it is knocked down and falls, and the burden that it carried perishes: for Jehovah hath spoken." In this verse the prophet does not revert to Shebna (Gesen. Ewald, Driver), he could not more clearly express the identity of the object of his threat with Eliakim (Cheyne, G. A. Smith). Eliakim also comes to ruin in the exercise of the plenary power attaching to his office by giving way to nepotism. His family makes a wrong use of him, and with an unwarrantable amount of good nature he makes a wrong use of his official position for their benefit. He therefore comes down headlong, and with him all the heavy burden which the peg sustains, *i.e.* all his relations, who, by being far too eager to make the most of their good fortune, have brought him to ruin.

Hitzig says that vers. 24 sq. are a later addition. It may be so, but it is also possible that the prophet wrote down xxii. 15-25 at one sitting, after the fate of both dignitaries, revealed to him at two different times, had found its fulfilment. We know nothing but that in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign the *אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבֵּית* was no longer Shebna, but Eliakim (xxxvi. 3, 22, xxxvii. 2). Shebna, however, also fills another high office, that of *סֹפֵר*. Was he really made prisoner by the Assyrians and carried away? This is conceivable even without an Assyrian captivity of the nation. Or did he prevent the threatened judgment by penitence and self-abasement? To these and other questions we have no answer.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING TYRE, CHAP. XXIII.

As the series of prophecies against the nations began with Babylon, so it ends with the other leading type of the pride and power of heathenism. So says Stier. Babylon is the city of the empire of the world, Tyre the city of the trade of the world; the former is the centre of the greatest land power, the latter of the greatest maritime power; the former subjugates the nations with an iron hand, and secures its rule by means of deportation; the latter carries off as peaceably as possible the treasures of the nations, and secures its interest by colonies and factories. The Phœnician cities formed at first from six to eight independent States, the government of which was

in the hands of kings. Of these Sidon was older than Tyre. The ethnological table (Gen. x.) mentions Sidon only. Tyre's celebrity dates first from the time of David. In the Assyrian era, however, Tyre had already attained to a kind of supremacy over the rest of the Phœnician cities. It lay on the coast, rather more than twenty miles from Sidon; but being hard pressed by enemies, it had transferred the real seat of its trade and wealth to a rocky island,¹ three miles farther north, and only 1200 paces from the mainland. The strait that separated this insular Tyre (Τύρος) from ancient Tyre (Παλαι-τύρος) was, upon the whole, shallow, and the ship channel in the neighbourhood of the island was only about eighteen feet deep, so that a siege of insular Tyre by Alexander was carried out by the erection of a mole. Luther refers the prophecy to this attack by Alexander. But earlier than this event was the struggle of Tyre with Assyria and Babylon, and first of all the question arises, Which of these two struggles has the prophecy in view? In consequence of new disclosures, for which we are indebted to Assyriology, the question has entered a new phase. Down to the present, however, it still permits of only a hypothetical and unsatisfactory solution. The point that continues to call for the exercise of ingenuity lies in ver. 13. Let us therefore content ourselves until such time as we come to try our skill on this verse with the knowledge that it is the dominant world-power to which Tyre succumbs.

The beginning of the prophecy places before us homeward-bound Phœnician trading vessels, which are appalled by the evil tidings of their country's fate. Ver. 1: "*Mourn, ye ships of Tarshish, for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entrance any more! From the land of the Kitticans it is made known to them.*" Even while at sea they hear it as a rumour from ships that meet them. For they have long and far to sail; they come from the Phœnician colony on the Spanish Baetis, the Guadalquivir, as it has been called since the days of Moorish rule. תַּרְשִׁישׁ (cf. ii. 16) are ships that sail to Tartessus (LXX. inaccurately *πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος*). These are to howl הִלְלִי, instead of the fem. as in xxxii. 11), for the hand of the devastator has been at work (sc. on Tyre, easily

¹ See Socin in Baedeker's *Palestina und Syrien*, 2nd ed. p. 324.

understood), and now home and city, to entering which the returning travellers were looking forward with joy, are swept away. Cyprus is the last station on this return journey. **דַּפָּד** are the *Κετιεῖς*, the inhabitants of the Cyprian port *Κίτιον* and its district. Cyprus, the principal Phoenician emporium, is the last place of call. As soon as they put in here, what they had heard as a rumour on the high sea is disclosed to the crews (**הָלָא**), i.e. it becomes clear, undoubted certainty, for they are now told of it by eye-witnesses who have escaped hither.

What follows is addressed to the Phoenicians at home, who have the devastation before them. Vers. 2, 3: "*Be horror-struck, ye inhabitants of the coast! Sidonian merchants, sailing over the sea, replenished thee once on a time. And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile, was brought into her (lit. her ingathering), and she became gain for the nations.*" The feminine suffixes of **מָלֵא** (to fill with merchandise and riches) and **מִבְּוֹתָא** (ingathering, i.e. into barns and storehouses) refer to the name of the country, — **צֹר**, applied to the Phoenician coast, including insular Tyre. Sidonian merchants are, as in Homer, Phoenician merchants in general, for the ancient and great Sidon (**צִידֹן רַבָּה**, Josh. xi. 8, xix. 28) is the mother city of Phoenicia, which stamped its name on the whole people so deeply, that on coins Tyre is called **צֹר דָּרְבָּר**. The meaning of ver. 3a is not that the revenue of Tyre, which was produced on the great barren sea, was like a Nile-sowing, an Egyptian harvest (Hitzig, Knobel). This would be a fine comparison; but as matter of fact the Phoenicians were in the habit of buying the corn stores of Egypt, the granary of the ancient world, and of gathering up in the warehouses of their cities what was brought in **בְּמִים רַבִּים** (on the great Mediterranean). The name **שֹׁחַר** (in Dionys. Perieg. and Pliny, *Σῆρις*, the native name of the Upper Nile) means the black river (*Μέλας*, Eust. on Dion. Per. 222), the dark-grey, almost black mud of which gives such fertility to the land. **מִצִּיר יָאֵר** is added more by way of amplification than explanation. The Nile valley was the field where this invaluable grain crop was sown and reaped, the Phoenician coast its granary. Phoenicia being thus the basis for further trade in grain and other articles of commerce, became a gain (const. of **פֶּהַר**, meaning the same as in ver. 18, xlv. 14; Prov. iii. 14, xxxi. 18), i.e. a

means of gain, a source of profit and subsistence for many entire peoples. Others translate the word "emporium," but פְּתָר has not this meaning. Moreover, foreigners did not come to Phoenicia, but the Phoenicians went to them (Luzzatto).

From addressing the whole coast land, the prophet now turns to address the ancestral city. Ver. 4: "*Tremble, O Sidon, for the sea speaketh, even the stronghold of the sea; I have not travailed nor brought forth, and have not reared young men brought up virgins.*" The sea, not this itself (נָגֶלְסַבַּח), but more specifically the stronghold of the sea (נָגֶלְסַבַּח, with unchangeable pretonic vowel, like נָגֶלְסַבַּח, נָגֶלְסַבַּח), i.e. the rocky island on which New Tyre, with its lofty strong dwelling-houses, stores, and temples stood, lifts up its voice in lamentation. Sidon, the ancestress of Canaan, must hear what cannot but cover her with shame,—the lament of her own daughter Tyre, that robbed as she is of her children, she is like a barren woman. Because her young men and virgins have been done to death by war, she is in the very same case as if she had never brought forth or reared them (cf. i. 2). The fate of Phoenicia causes dismay even in Egypt. Ver. 5: "*When the report comes to Egypt, they writhe at the report of Tyre.*" The expression לְמַצְרַיִם in 5a requires us to supply in thought a verb, יָבֵא (cf. xxvi. 9); the וְ in 5b means "at the same time as," "simultaneously with," as in xviii. 4, xxx. 19 (Gesen. *Thesaurus*, p. 650). In 5a the report is not defined, in 5b it is specially referred to the fall of Tyre. The genitive after שָׁמַעַתְּ and שָׁמַעְתָּ (e.g. 2 Sam. iv. 4) is almost always (except in liii. 1) the genitive of the object. Then anxiety and horror lay hold of the Egyptians, because along with Tyre, to which they sold their grain, their own prosperity is ruined, and a similar fate awaits themselves, now that such a bulwark is fallen. וְיִלְיִי is the imperfect Kal of וָלִי in ver. 4.

The inhabitants of Tyre, however, who wish to avoid death or deportation, must make their escape to the colonies, the more distant the better; not to Cyprus, nor to Carthage (as when Alexander attacked insular Tyre), but to Tartessus, the farthest west and most difficult to reach. Vers. 6-9: "*Pass ye over to Tarshish; mourn, ye inhabitants of the coast! Fareth it thus with you, O joyous one, whose origin is of ancient days, whom her feet carried afar off to settle? Who hath determined*

such a thing concerning Tyre, the giver of crowns, whose merchants are princes, whose traders are the honourable of the earth? Jehovah of hosts hath determined it, to desecrate the magnificence of every ornament, to disgrace all the honourable of the earth." The call הָלֵלִי implies that they had a right to give themselves up to their grief. Elsewhere complaint is unmanly, but here (cf. xv. 4) it is justifiable. In 7a it is doubtful whether עֲלִיָּה is a nominative of predication, as it is explained by most ("Is this, this deserted heap of ruins, your formerly so joyous one?"), or a vocative. We prefer the latter, because in this case the omission of the article is not strange (xxii. 2; Ewald, 327a); whereas in the other case, although the omission is possible (see xxxii. 13), it is harsh (cf. xiv. 16). To עֲלִיָּה attaches itself the descriptive attributive sentence—the beginning of whose existence (קִרְמָה, Ezek. xvi. 55) dates from the days of olden time—and also a second—whose feet carried her far away (רַגְלֶיהָ, masc., as e.g. in Jer. xiii. 16) to dwell in foreign parts. Deportation by force into the land of the enemy is not intended. Luzzatto rightly remarks against such a view, that יִבְלֶיהָ רַגְלֶיהָ is the very strongest expression for voluntary migration, with which also לָנֶגְדִּי agrees, and also that this interpretation makes us feel the want of an antithetical וְעֵתָהּ. What the words refer to are the trading journeys (whether by sea or land) to a distance (see as to מִרְחֹק, note on xvii. 13) and the colonies, i.e. settlements abroad (for which נָגַר is the most suitable word). This fundamental characteristic of the Tyro-Phoenician people is expressed by יִבְלֶיהָ, *quam portabant*. Sidon is no doubt older than Tyre, but Tyre is also ancient. It is called by Strabo the oldest Phoenician city after Sidon (μετὰ Σιδώνα); by Curtius, *vetustate originis insignis*; while Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3. 1; cf. Herod. ii. 44) estimates the interval between the foundation of Tyre and the building of Solomon's temple at 240 years. Tyre is called הַמַּעֲמִידָה, not as wearing a crown (Jerome: *quondam coronata*), but as conferring crowns (Targum). As matter of fact, both meanings are suitable; but the latter answers better to the Hiphil (since הַמְּפָרִים, הַקִּרְיָן, which expresses production from within, cannot be brought into comparison). In the colonies, such as Kition, Tartessus, and at first Carthage, the government was in the hands of kings, appointed by, but independent of, the mother city. Her mer-

chants were princes (cf. x. 8), the most honoured ones of the earth. **נִכְבָּדִים** acquires a superlative force from standing in the genitive. Because the Phoenicians had the commerce of the world in their hands, a merchant was called simply **בִּנְעָנִי**, the merchandise **בִּנְעָנִי**. The plural formation **בִּנְעָנִי** corresponds to the sense in which it is intended the word should be taken (that of a common noun), her merchants. The question, ver. 8, serves only to give prominence to what the answer, ver. 9, states. **וְאַתָּה בְּלִי-צָבִי**, like **עֲלִיךָ**, has an Isaianic ring. The verb **חָלַל**, to desecrate, causes us, on the mention of "magnificence of every ornament," to think specially of the holy places of continental and insular Tyre, among which the temple of Melkart, in insular Tyre, was celebrated on account of its great antiquity (cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 16: *παλαιότατον ὡν μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνῃ διασώζεται*). These glories, which were supposed to be inviolable, Jehovah profanes. **יִהְיֶה לְךָ**, *ad ignominiam deducere* (Jerome), as in viii. 23.

The consequence of the fall of Tyre is that the colonies, of which Tartessus is mentioned by way of example, achieve their independence. Ver. 10: "*Overflow thy land like the Nile, O daughter of Tarshish! No girdle confines thee any more.*" The girdle, **חֲגוּרָה**, is the supremacy of Tyre, which has hitherto restrained all independent action on the part of the colony. Now they no longer need to wait in the harbour for the ships of the mother city, no longer need as her bond-servants to dig in the mines for silver and other metals; they have full and free possession of the colony's territory, and can freely spread themselves over it, like the Nile, when, leaving its bed, it overflows the land.

The prophet next relates, as if to the Phoenicio-Spanish colony, the daughter, i.e. the population of Tartessus, what has befallen the mother-country. Vers. 11, 12: "*His hand hath He stretched over the sea, thrown kingdoms into trembling; Jehovah hath given command concerning Canaan, to destroy her fortresses. And He said, Thou shalt not rejoice any longer, thou dishonoured one, virgin daughter of Sidon! Set out for Kiltim, pass over; there also thou wilt not find rest.*" Jehovah has stretched His hand over the sea (Ex. xiv. 21), in and on which Tyre and its colonies lie; He has thrown into a state of anxious excitement the countries of anterior

Asia and the Egypto-Ethiopian quarter, and with regard to Canaan (אֲ, like עַל, Esth. iv. 5) has commissioned instruments of destruction. The Phoenicians themselves called their country פִּנְיִשׁ, but in the Old Testament the name occurs in this most restricted application only here. לְהַשְׁמִיד for לְשָׂמִיד is the same syncope as in iii. 8 (cf. i. 12); Num. v. 22; Amos viii. 4; Jer. xxxvii. 12, xxxix. 7. The form מְעַנֶּיָּה (Babyl. מְעַנֶּיָּה) is stranger, but it is not amorphous (Knobel, Meier, Olshausen, Nägelsbach); there are other examples of this way of resolving duplication and transposition of letters (it stands for מְעַנֶּיָּה), viz. מְעַנֶּיָּה, Lam. iii. 22, cf. on Ps. lxiv. 7, and, at least according to Jewish grammarians (see, however, Ewald, § 250b), מְעַנֶּיָּה, Num. xxiii. 13.¹ “Virgin of the daughter of Sidon,” equivalent to virgin daughter of Sidon (two epexegetical genitives, Ewald, § 289e), is synonymous with פִּנְיִשׁ. The name of the ancestral city (cf. xxxvii. 22) has here become the name of the whole people that has sprung from it. Hitherto this people was untouched, like a virgin; now it resembles one who has been ravished and overpowered. If, now, they flee over to Cyprus (כִּפְרוֹס; according to the Oriental reading, כִּפְרוֹס, *Kethib*; כִּפְרוֹס, *Kert*), there will be no rest for them even there; because the colony, emancipated from the Phoenician yoke, will be glad to rid itself also of the unwelcome guests from the despotic mother-country.

The prophet proceeds, vers. 13, 14, to relate the fate of Phoenicia: “Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people that has not been (Assyria—it hath prepared the same for desert beasts)—they set up their siege-towers, destroy the palaces of Canaan, make it a heap of ruins. Mourn, ye ships of Tarshish, for your fortress is laid waste.” So taken, the text which has been handed down says that the Chaldeans have destroyed Canaan, in fact Tyre. הַיָּמִי is to be referred to the plural idea, and כִּפְרוֹס (Kethib, כִּפְרוֹס) to the singular idea in הַיָּמִי; the feminine suffixes, on the other hand, to Tyre,—

¹ Perhaps, however, the ך is part of the suffix, and the form an intentional imitation of Phoenician, like עֲרִינָם, their helper, אֲבִנָם, their father, and like the dialectic שְׁמִי = שְׁמִי (my name), Chullin 51a, Erubin 64b. Reifmann in *Maggid*, p. 350, compares עֲרִינָה, Lev. xv. 13 = עֲרִי, Kelim, xvii. 15. The conjecture of Abrahamsohn, כְּתוֹן כְּתוֹן, couples two indissipate words.

they (the Chaldeans) have laid bare the palaces (אַרְכָּנוֹת from אַרְכָּנָה) of Tyre, i.e. have pulled or burned them down (עִיר, here not from עִיר, but from עִירָה = עִיר, Ps. cxxxvii. 7, like עִירָה, Jer. li. 58) to the foundations, it (the Chaldean people) has made her (Tyre) a rubbish-heap. If this were all, the text would be clear and free from difficulty. But in the group of words אֲשׁוּר יִסְדָּה לְצִיִּים is Assyria subject or object? If the former, the prophet, in order to describe the instruments of divine wrath, points to the land of the Chaldeans, calls them a people לֵא הָיָה, which up to this point has not been, and explains this by the statement that Assyria at the first laid for them, the wild hordes (Ps. lxxii. 9), the foundations of the land which they (the Chaldeans) at present inhabit, or better (seeing that צִיִּים can hardly be supposed to mean mountain hordes), that Assyria appointed it (this people, עַם, fem. as at Jer. viii. 5; Ex. v. 16) inhabitants of the steppe (so Knobel). This can convey only the idea that Assyria settled the Chaldeans, whose place of abode was among the mountains of the north, in the land now bearing the name of Chaldea, and so made the Chaldeans a people, i.e. a settled civilised people, and a people by conquest playing a part in the history of the world (at first, according to Knobel, as a part of the Assyrian army). But that the Assyrians brought down the Chaldeans from the mountains to the lowlands (Calvin), and that about the time of Shalmaneser (Gesenius, Hitzig, Knobel, Segond, and others), is an unhistorical, untenable hypothesis, nothing but an inference from this passage. On this account I have tried in my *Commentary on Habakkuk*, p. xxii., to give another meaning to אֲשׁוּר יִסְדָּה לְצִיִּים: Assyria, i.e. Nineve—it has assigned the same to the desert beasts. For the transference of the name of the country to the chief city there are many examples, as *Sham* = Damascus, *Misr* = Cairo (*Zeitschrift deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxix. 341): צִיִּים is commonly used of beasts of the desert, e.g. xiii. 21, and יִסְדָּה לְצִיִּים may be explained in accordance with Ps. civ. 8 (cf. Mal. i. 3, לְחֹמֹת, to make over to the jackals); while the form of the parenthetical sentence would be like that of the concluding sentence of Amos i. 11. This passage, however, would be the only one where Isaiah prophesies, and that only in passing, how the transition from an Assyrian to a Chaldean world-empire will

come about; the drawing of this connecting-line is the business of Nahum and Zephaniah. For this reason Cheyne, Driver, and others, as already Riehm, refer 13a to the subjugation of the land of the Chaldeans by Assyria. This leaves us a choice. We may think either of the conquest of Babylon (Babel) by Sargon in 709, or by Sennacherib in 703, and again in 696/5. The translation would run, See the land of the Chaldeans, this people is no more; Assyria has assigned it to the desert beasts. We would then need to refer סָרְיָה to Babylon (Babel), which is not mentioned; since, however, of course, conquest of Babylon (Babel) and devastation of Babylonia do not coincide, and since "the Assyrians" is the subject of הַקִּיּוֹ, we must suppose that הֵן points to their irresistibility as proved in the case of Babylon (Babel). This is so forced, so unprepared for, so destructive of the unity of the prophecy, that my own translation, given above, according to which the land of the Chaldeans is the population of Chaldea and Assyria is the city of Nineveh, which had been reduced to ruins by them, appears in comparison much more natural, although it does not admit of our maintaining Isaiah's authorship. Ewald's and Schrader's conjecture, that the text originally ran הֵן אֶרֶץ בְּנֵעִימִים is still the best way of escape. The first sentence read thus runs: See the land of the Canaanites, this people has perished (literally, has come to nothing), Assyria has prepared it (their land) for the desert beasts. לֹא הָיָה, it is true, usually means, not to be in existence (Obad. ver. 16), not to have been, but since לֹא is used with a slightly substantive force (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 25), it has also the sense to come, or to have come to nothing, Job vi. 21, Ezek. xxi. 32, and perhaps also Isa. xv. 6. By this alteration of הַכְּשִׁימִים into הַבְּנֵעִימִים all objections to Isaiah's authorship are removed. But the traditional text as it runs makes it necessary for us to suppose that a later prophet was the author. As the destroyers of the palaces of Tyre he names the Chaldeans—this people which hitherto, notwithstanding its great antiquity (Jer. v. 15), has not distinguished itself as a conqueror of the world (cf. Hab. i. 6), but was subject to the Assyrians, which now, however, after it has destroyed Assyria, i.e. Nineveh, has risen to power. The summons to lamentation addressed to the ships of Tarshish (ver. 14) brings the prophecy back to its starting-

point (ver. 1). The fortress is here, as ver. 4 shows, insular Tyre.

Since in this way the prophecy is a completely closed circle, vers. 15-18 may appear to be a later addition. Here the prophet announces that Tyre will once more rise to prominence. Vers. 15, 16: "*And it will come to pass in that day that Tyre will be forgotten seventy years like the days of one king — after the expiry of the seventy years it will fare with Tyre according to the song of the harlot: 'Take the lute, roam through the city, O forgotten harlot. Play bravely, sing zealously, that thou mayest be remembered.'*" The days of one king are a period that is characterized throughout by sameness and absence of change; for, especially in the East, all circumstances are then determined by one sovereign will, and so stereotyped. The seventy years are compared to the days of one king in this sense. In itself seventy is a suitable number to designate such a uniform period, for it is 10 multiplied by 7, and so a completed series of heptads of years שבעים. If a Deutero-Isaiah is taken to be the author, we will have to understand by the seventy years the seventy years of Chaldean rule, Jer. xxv. 11 sq., cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. During these Tyre has against its will to give up the traffic which hitherto had been carried on over the whole world. נִשְׁכַּחַתָּהּ is not the perfect consec. (for נִשְׁכַּחַתָּהּ) with the original fem. termination ה, which occurs only in the case of verbs לָחַץ and לָחַץ, vii. 14, Ps. cxviii. 23, but the participle following the same syntax as in Ps. lxxv. 4, Prov. xxix. 9, Lat. *oblivioni traditâ Tyro . . . eveniet Tyro*. After the seventy years the harlot once more finds acceptance. It fares with her as with an alma or bayadère, who moves through the streets singing and playing, and so draws attention again to her charms. The prophecy at this point passes into the strain of a street song. As in the popular song it fares with such a common musician and dancer, so fares it with Tyre. Then, when it begins again to play the harlot with all the world, it will get rich again from the profit of such traffic with the world. Ver. 17: "*And it will come to pass at the end of seventy years, Jehovah will visit Tyre, and she comes again to the wages of prostitution, and plays the harlot with all kingdoms of the earth on the broad face of the earth.*" In so far

as commercial activity, thinking only of earthly advantage, does not recognise a God-appointed limit, and carries on a promiscuous traffic with all the world, it is called זנות, as being a prostitution of the soul; and, moreover, at markets and fairs, especially Phœnician ones, prostitution of the body was an old custom. For this reason the trades-profits now once more enjoyed by Tyre are called אֶתֶּן (Deut. xxiii. 19). The fem. suffix to this word, according to the Masora, has no *Mappik*, whereas the same authority writes in ver. 18 וְאֶתֶּנָּה. Here זֶשֶׁבֶה is Milra; in vi. 13, on the other hand, Milēl; this is an inconsistency in punctuation (cf. on xi. 2).

This resuscitation of the trade of Tyre is called a visitation of Jehovah; for however worldly the activity of Tyre is, the end which Jehovah makes it serve is a holy one, though it is true this does not hallow it. Ver. 18: "*And her gain and her wages of prostitution become holy unto Jehovah; it is not stored up and not gathered, but theirs who dwell before Jehovah will be her gain from trade, to eat their fill, and for splendid clothing.*" In this passage סָחָר (it was not necessary to assume another form, סָחָר, for ver. 3), being used side by side with אֶתֶּן, is the business itself which yields the profit. This, as well as the profit made, becomes holy unto Jehovah. The latter is not, as previously, treasured up (אִצָּר) and stored (יִחָסֵן from חָסַן = خزن, whence magazine = store-place), but they give tribute and presents from it to Israel, and contribute to maintain in abundance, and to clothe with splendid garments (כִּבְשָׁתָה, what covers = covering, and עֲתִיק, like Arab. عتيق, old, time-honoured, noble, from عتيق, *proveh*, of time, place, and rank), the people that dwell before Jehovah, i.e. whose proper dwelling-place is in the temple before the divine presence (Ps. xxvii. 4, lxxxiv. 5). A strange prospect! *Haec secundum historiam necdum facta comperimus*, says Jerome.

We return now to the question whether the prophet points to the Assyrians or the Chaldeans being the destroyers of Tyre. Shalmaneser IV., concerning whom there are no cuneiform records, had to do with Tyre; we are informed of this by the excerpt from the chronicle of Menander, preserved in Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 14. 2. Elulæus, king of Tyre, had

once more brought the Cyprians (*Κύπριοι*) into subjection. In order to recover Cyprus, the king of Assyria made war on Phoenicia, but a general peace soon put an end to this campaign. Thereupon Sidon, Arke, Old Tyre, and many other cities deserted Tyre (insular Tyre) by placing themselves under the supremacy of Assyria. As the Tyrians did not do this, Shalmaneser renewed the war, and the Phoenicians subject to him supplied him with sixty ships and eight hundred rowers for this purpose. The Tyrians fell upon these with twelve ships, scattered the hostile vessels, and took about five hundred prisoners. By this the reputation of Tyre was much increased. The king of Assyria had to content himself with leaving guards on the river (*Leontes*) and the conduits in order to cut off the supply of fresh water from the Tyrians. This lasted five years, during which time the Tyrians obtained water by digging wells. We have information in at least one cuneiform inscription as to the relation in which Sargon, Shalmaneser's successor, stood: he punished the Ionians, and procured rest (*ušapsihu*) for the city of Tyre (*ir Surri*) from these dreaded pirates.¹ From this we may infer that the relation was a friendly one, indeed, one of vassalage. Under Sennacherib, Tyre tried to become more independent. It is not named among the cities of Phoenicia which Sennacherib boasts he conquered in his third campaign.² Nebuchadnezzar's expedition against Tyre also was not crowned with success. Josephus knows (*Ant.* x. 11. 1) from the Indian and Phoenician histories of Philostratus only that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre thirteen years while Ithobaal was king. He also reports (*c. Ap.* i. 21) from a Phoenician source that Nebuchadnezzar (from the seventh year of his reign onwards) for thirteen years besieged Tyre under Ithobaal, and the history of the Tyrian reigns which follows this leads us to suppose that previous to the Persian period the Tyrians were dependants of Chaldea, for twice they got their king from Babylon. Phoenicia (whether including insular Tyre or not, we do not know) became a satrapy of the Chaldean empire (*Joseph. Ant.* x. 11. 1; *c. Ap.* i. 19, from Berosus), and was so still towards the end of the Chaldean rule. Berosus says expressly, that Nebuchad-

¹ Schrader, *KAT*², p. 169.

² *Assyrische Lesestücke*³, p. xii. sq.

nezzar again suppressed the revolt which had broken out in Phœnicia and returned to Babylon, whither he had been recalled by the death of his father, with Phœnician captives. What we fail to find, however, is information as to an actual conquest of Tyre by the Chaldeans. Neither Josephus nor Jerome was able to produce such a thing. The following word of Jehovah was addressed to Ezekiel (xxix. 17 sq.) in the twenty-seventh year of the deportation under Jehoiachin (the sixteenth after the destruction of Jerusalem): "Son of man! Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, has made his army perform a long and grievous service against Tyre: every head has lost its hair, every shoulder is skinned without himself and his army obtaining any recompense from Tyre for the grievous service which they have endured on account of it." Then it is added that Jehovah will give up Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar, and that this will be his army's recompense. Hengstenberg (*de rebus Tyrriorum*, 1832), Hävernicks, Drechsler, and others are of opinion that this passage presupposes the conquest of Tyre, and only declares the disproportion between the profit which Nebuchadnezzar derived from it and the exertions which it cost him. So Jerome before them (on Ezek. *loc. cit.*): At the time when the army of Nebuchadnezzar with immense exertion had secured access for themselves to insular Tyre by throwing up a mole, and were able to make use of their siege-engines, the Tyrians had already shipped off all their riches to the islands, *ita ut capta urbe nihil dignum labore suo inveniret Nabuchodonosor, et quia Dei in hac parte obedierat voluntati, post aliquot captivitatis annos Tyriae datur ei Aegyptus*. It is, however, surely far likelier that he did not succeed in conquering Tyre (Gesen. Hitzig, Grote, and others), not even in compelling it to capitulate (Winer, Movers, Kuenen); for this last would surely have brought him gain, and would itself have been of this nature. All our authorities speak only of a subjugation of Phœnicia, but not of Tyre; all that can be adduced in support of the vassal-relation of the latter to the great king of the Babylonian empire is that one statement of the Phœnician authorities, that the Tyrians obtained from Babylon (*ἀποστειλάντες μετεπέμψαντο ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος*) two of their rulers, Merbal and Eirom; but it has no evidential value.

But even assuming that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Tyre, it is still the case that he did not destroy it, as we are led to expect from the words of the two prophecies. The true solution lies in the character of all prophetic vision into the distant future. In the view of the prophet, all the destruction by which at last the downfall of Tyre was completed moves forward in company with the impending humiliation and subjugation of the Phoenician mother-country by Assyria and Babylon. Even Alexander did not destroy Tyre, at least insular Tyre, when, after seven months' exertions, he conquered it. Under Syrian, and later, under Roman supremacy, Tyre still was an important and flourishing commercial city. At the time of the Crusades it was so still, and even the Crusaders who conquered it in 1124 did not destroy it. Only one hundred and fifty years later did the work of destruction begin with the removal of the fortifications by the Saracens. At present all the glory of Tyre is either sunk in the sea or buried under drifted sand—an inexhaustible mine of building material for Beyrout and other coast towns. On this large ruin-covered spot, once occupied by the island city, at the north-west corner of the island, there stands the present Tyre (*Sûr*), a miserable decaying little place. The island is an island no longer. Alexander's mole, through the washing up of sand, has become a pretty broad neck of land, and connects the island with the shore. This picture of destruction meets the prophet's outlook into the distance; but the interval of two thousand years being so much compressed that the whole appears continuous, the place it occupies is close on the back of the attack by the Chaldeans on Tyre. The law by which prophecy is governed all through is the well-known one of perspective. Prophecy itself cannot have been ignorant of this law, for it needed it in order to vindicate itself in its own eyes. Still greater need had posterity, in order not to be led astray by prophecy, to know about this law, which, everywhere governing it, combines human limitation and divine vision in such a way that, while the former retains its place and power, the latter perceives things, not under the form of time, but in a sort of eternity.

But one other enigma presents itself. The prophet announces that after seventy years Tyre will once more rise

to a high position, and that its world-wide trade will be transferred to the service of the community of Jehovah. As matter of fact, the Tyre that did rise to note again in post-Chaldean times, especially after the capture by Alexander the Great in 333 B.C., had no political importance, but was only a great emporium. *Tyrus olim clura*—says Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17—*nunc omnis ejus nobilitas conchylio atque purpura constat*. Moreover, in post-Chaldean times events also occurred that were preludes to the fulfilment of this prophecy. In accordance with the command of Cyrus, Sidonians and Tyrians assisted in the building of the temple in Jerusalem (Ezra iii. 7, cf. i. 4), and at the very beginning of the apostles' labours there existed in Tyre a Christian community, which was visited by Paul (Acts xxi. 3 sq.), and thenceforth continued to grow steadily. Is it not, however, Christian Tyre which is lying in ruins? One of the most noteworthy ruins is the magnificent cathedral of Tyre, for the consecration of which Eusebius of Caesarea composed an address. Down to the present, then, there have indeed been preludes in which there are features belonging to the fulfilment of the prophecy; but the real fulfilment has apparently become impossible. Whether the prophecy will in the end be fulfilled only ideally, *i.e.* in so far as along with the kingdoms of the world its commerce also becomes God's and His Son's, or *πνευματικῶς* in the sense in which this word is used in the Apocalypse, *i.e.* by the reproduction in another city of the essential nature of old Tyre, just as Rome was a reproduction of Babylon in this respect, or *in propria persona*, *i.e.* by the disappearance of the present miserable *Sur* before a Tyre that rises again from its ruins,—this no expositor, who is not himself a prophet, is able to say.

PART IV.—FINALE OF THE GREAT CATASTROPHE,
CHAPS. XXIV.—XXVII.

The cycle of prophecy that begins here finds a counterpart in the Old Testament only perhaps in Zech. ix.—xiv. Both these sections are eschatological and apocalyptic in content.

Even so, they start from apparently sharply-defined historical circumstances, which, however, like will-o'-the-wisps, elude any attempt at following out and grasping them. The particular reason for this is that the root of the idea in the circumstances being laid hold of, they are lifted forward out of the sphere of mere history and made symbols of things in the far-distant final future. It is not matter for wonder, therefore, that in the case of these chapters (xxiv.—xxvii.) Isaiah's authorship has been denied since the time of Eichhorn and Koppe, notwithstanding the fact that, so far as the mere words are concerned, they contain nothing later than the Assyrian period. This was done by Rosenmüller in the first edition of his *Scholia*, but in the second and third editions he again deviated from this view, mainly because the prophecy nowhere passes beyond the political horizon of Isaiah's own time. We cannot allow any weight to the reason mentioned for the genuineness; it is the light thrown by it which we compared to a will-o'-the-wisp. As a consequence, too, of following this light, however, critics in the course of their search after another historical basis for this cycle of prophecy to take the place of that offered in Isaiah's own times, are involved in contradictions. According to some, the author wrote in Babylon; according to others, in Judah: according to some, towards the end of the exile; according to others, as early as the fall of the kingdom of Judah. Hitzig holds that the city of the world (*Weltstadt*) whose destruction is prophesied is Nineveh; most others, that it is Babylon. Only Egypt and Assyria are mentioned by the prophet as powers that enslave Israel, and so Knobel is led to think that he is speaking figuratively for fear of the enemies still dwelling in Judah. All attempts to settle the historical circumstances break down, because everything that seems to belong to this or that historical period is only eschatological symbol. There is no way of determining whether what reads as history belongs to the present or the past of the prophet; his stand is taken in advance of the farthest point as yet reached by history in its course. These chapters (xxiv.—xxvii.), joined on as they are to chaps. xiii.—xxiii. without any heading, demand that they should be viewed as connected with the oracles concerning the nations in a relation of continuous progress, and this relation is

supported by retrospective allusions, and the fact that Jeremiah (cf. xxiv. 17 sq. with Jer. xlviii. 43 sq.) seems to have read these chapters and xiii.—xxiii. together.¹ The particular judgments prophesied in the oracles against the nations run out into this final judgment as into a sea, and all the salvation that encircles with a halo of radiance the oracles against the nations concentrates here its light and warmth. Chapters xxiv.—xxvii. are the *finale* to chaps. xiii.—xxiii., and that in the strictest sense of the word. This concluding cycle performs the same function as the *finale* in musical compositions,—it gathers into one grand impressive whole the previously scattered themes. It is also, however, in reality full of music and song. The description of the catastrophe in chap. xxiv. is followed by an echo in the simple form of a hymn. As the book of Immanuel (chaps. vii.—xii.) concludes with a psalm of the redeemed, so here there rise the strains of a fourfold song of praise. It celebrates the overthrow of the city of the world (xxv. 1, 2), the appearing and beatific presence of Jehovah (xxv. 9), the restoration and resurrection of Israel (xxvi. 1–19), the vineyard of the community bringing forth fruit under Jehovah's protection (xxvii. 2–5). This song, too, assumes every form from the most sublime hymn to the most ordinary kind of popular ditty. It is a great and varied concert to which we are listening, opened and closed only as it were with the epic beginning chap. xxiv., and the epic conclusion chap. xxvii. 6 sqq., and interspersed with sort of recitative pieces in which the thread of prophecy is carried forward. Nowhere, too, do we find so much music in the very sound of the words. This entire *finale* is a great Hallelujah to chaps. xiii.—xxiii., hymnlike in content, musical in form. The form does not make us hesitate to attribute it to Isaiah; even Driver notes verses and groups of verses quite Isaianic in style, and admits the type to be fundamentally Isaianic and non-Jeremianic. But this cannot be denied:—the contents, in order to find a place in the development of the Old Testament knowledge of salvation, must be referred to post-Isaianic times. The author is not Isaiah himself, but a disciple of Isaiah's who in this case surpasses his master. Isaiah is great in himself, greater still in his disciples, as

¹ See the closing remarks, Drechsler's *Isaiah*, iii. 405 sq., cf. 399 sq.

rivers are greater than the source whence they issue. It must, however, always appear strange, that tradition has been so careless as to let the name of a prophet who, like the author of Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., played so important a part in the history of thought on the subject of salvation, sink into oblivion.

THE JUDGMENT UPON THE EARTH, CHAP. XXIV.

Like xix. 1, the first verse of chap. xxiv. places us at once in the very midst of the catastrophe, and the contents of the subsequent description of the judgment are gathered together in a few comprehensive sentences (as in xv. 1, xvii. 1, xxiii. 1, cf. xxxiii. 1). Vers. 1-3: "*Behold, Jehovah poureth out the earth and layeth it waste, and marreth its form and scattereth its inhabitants. And it fareth as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the creditor, so with the debtor. Emptying the earth is emptied out, and plundering is plundered, for Jehovah hath spoken this word.*" As it does everywhere in Isaiah (iii. 1, xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxx. 27, and frequently), הַיָּמִיָּה points to something future. It is also only in Isaiah that we find prophecies beginning like this with nothing but הַיָּמִיָּה; for though the most nearly parallel beginnings, Jer. xlvi. 2, xlix. 35, cf. li. 1, Ezek. xxix. 3, do commence with הַיָּמִיָּה, an introductory formula precedes. The emphatic הַיָּמִיָּה הַזֶּה, which everywhere in Isaiah forms the conclusion of a statement about the future, occurs by no means exclusively (Obad. 18; Joel iv. 8; Micah iv. 4; 1 Kings xiv. 11), though, no doubt, principally in the Book of Isaiah (i. 20, xxi. 17, xxii. 25, xxv. 8, xl. 5, lviii. 14; cf. in addition, specially xix. 4 and xvi. 13, xxxvii. 22). The detailed enumeration of ver. 2 has Isaianic parallels in ii. 12-16, iii. 2 sq., 18-23, cf. ix. 13 (cf. also xix. 2-4, where there is a judgment unfolded which concludes similarly). The prophet begins at this early stage to play with sounds. There is a similarity in the ring of בָּבֶל (root בָּב, reproducing the sound of a liquid gradually emptying itself out) and בָּלָל (cf. Arab. *ballūka*, an empty bare desert), as in Nah. ii. 11,

cf. 3; Jer. li. 2. The Niphal imperfects are intentionally written חִבּוּן and חִבּוּנָה (instead of חִבְּנָה , חִבְּנָה), as if from hollow roots, in order that they may rhyme with the absolute infinitives (cf. xxii. 13). Instead, too, of the regular כִּנְבְּרָתָהּ , we have כִּנְבְּרָתָהּ with more closely attracted כִּ for the sake of getting the same opening sound as in the case of the other ten words. מַלְיָה is a lender, and לוֹיָהּ one who deals in loans (borrower). In the clause in which the comparison is drawn, נִשָּׂא (so here according to the Massora, whereas in 1 Sam. xxii. 2, נִשָּׂא) is written instead of נִשָּׂה . Similarly נִשָּׂא elsewhere also occurs alongside of נִשָּׂה , and indeed from comparison of נָסָה , to prorogue, to delay, to credit, is the original

form. נִשָּׂא is the creditor, and $\text{אֲשֶׁר נִשָּׂא בּוֹ}$ is not the person who has borrowed from him, but, as נִשָּׂה everywhere means to credit (*Hiph.* give credit), the one whom he lends to (with ב of *obj.* like נָשָׂא בּוֹ , ix. 3), not the person through whom he is נִשָּׂא (Hitzig on Jer. xv. 10). Hence—likeness of creditor, likeness of debtor—i.e. it fares with the one exactly as with the other. The judgment is one that embraces all without distinction of rank and condition. It is universal, too, not merely within the borders of the entire land of Israel, but as regards the inhabitants of the earth, for הָאָרֶץ means the earth here, and implies even the New Testament ethical idea of κόσμος as in xi. 4.

That it is so, vers. 4-9 show, where the condition of the curse-smitten earth is more particularly described, and its cause stated: "*Stricken down, lying withered is the earth; languishing and withered is the world; they have languished away, the foremost of the people of the earth. And the earth is become regardlessly wicked under its inhabitants, for they transgressed revelations, violated the statute, broke the everlasting covenant. Therefore Curse hath devoured the earth, and they who dwell in it make expiation; therefore are burnt up the inhabitants of the earth, and there remain few mortals. The juice of the grape mourns, withered is the vine, all the merry-hearted groan. Hushed is the joyous playing of timbrel, ceased has the uproar of the exultant, hushed is the joyous playing of the lute. They do not drink wine with song, bitter tastes strong drink to them who drink it.*" תָּמִיד (always without the

article, after the fashion of proper nouns) and **הָאָרֶץ**, which are in general in this cycle of prophecy interchangeable, are used here (ver. 4), as in xxvi. 9, as parallel expressions. In poetry **תֵּיבֵל** signifies the earth, and that without limitation (also xiii. 11, xviii. 3), so that **הָאָרֶץ** also is used here in the most comprehensive sense (not as in the passage xxxiii. 9, which contains the same play on sounds). The earth, including **גִּבּוֹרִים**, the high ones (*abstr. pro concr.* like **גִּבּוֹר**, v. 13, xxii. 24) of the earth's people (**עַם**, as in xlii. 5, xl. 7, of humanity), is plunged into mourning, and is become like a withered heat-

wasted plant. **אֶמְלֵלָהּ** (from **אָמַל**, **אָמַל**, to be or become long, to hang down far, loosely, withered) stands in semi-pause, thus bringing into prominence the following subject. It is the penalty of the sin of the earth's inhabitants which the earth has to share, for the iniquity of those who live on it has been imparted to it. **הִתְנַחַף** (from **הִתְנַחַף**) means to be degenerate, set on evil (ix. 16), regardlessly wicked, used thus intransitively of a land to have the guilt of iniquity, especially blood-guiltiness, attaching to it (Ps. cvi. 38; Num. xxxv. 33; cf. *transit.* Jer. iii. 9). The regardlessly wicked conduct of men, by which the earth has been made **הִתְנַחַף**, is expressed in three short hurried indignantly excited sentences (cf. xv. 6, xvi. 4, xxix. 20, xxxiii. 8; also xxiv. 5, i. 4, vi. 8, and not in Isaiah; Joel i. 10; and, perhaps, Josh. vii. 11). In view of the universal reference in **הָאָרֶץ**, we cannot understand by law merely the positive law of Israel. There is, however, also a positive law older than Israel. It was with the human race in the person of Noah, and so before it had split into peoples, that God made an everlasting covenant consisting of promises and obligations. But the inhabitants of the earth have transgressed (**עָבְרוּ**) this revealed rule of life; they have forsaken (left behind them, **הִקְלִיפוּ**; cf. *ahlaf*, to become faithless, *hulf*, the non-fulfilling what was promised) this law; they have broken this covenant (**הִפְרִי**, root **פָּר**, separate, *dirimere*). Israel is included among the transgressors, and by this the choice of expression is determined. With **עַל־כֵּן** the prophecy, exactly as in v. 25, cf. 24, makes the transition from the sin to the punishment. **אָלָהּ** is the curse of God with which the transgressors of His law are threatened (Dan.

ix. 11; cf. the borrowed passage Jer. xxiii. 10, from which, in some codices and editions, אֶבְלָה in place of אֶכְלָה has passed into our passage). The curse of God devours, for it is fire, and a fire devouring from within outwards (see i. 31, v. 24, ix. 18, x. 16 sq., xxix. 6, xxx. 27 sqq., xxxiii. 11-14). מִלֵּל (Milel) from מָלַךְ, they are burned out, *exusti*. With regard to מִלֵּל, it is hardly necessary to remark that it is not to be referred to מִלֵּל = מִלֵּל, שָׂמַם, but of the two meanings *culpam contrahere* and *culpam sustinere* has the latter. We should note in the vanishing away of men till there is only a small remnant an Isaianic feature; נִשְׁאָר (שָׁאֵר) is the formal word for this remnant. מִן (used of number here and in xvi. 14, of time, x. 25, xxix. 17) is exclusively Isaianic, and אֶנְשֵׁי is used as in xxxiii. 8; cf. xiii. 12. Ver. 7 reminds us of Joel chap. i. (cf. on the short sentences xxix. 20, xvi. 8-10) vers. 8 and 9, of v. 12, 14, and other Isaianic passages. עֵלֶיךָ is found only in Isaiah (Zeph. ii. 15 derives it from Isa. xxii. 2, xxxii. 13; Zeph. iii. 11, like Isa. xiii. 3), and for בְּשִׁיר (with joyous song), cf. xxx. 32 (with beating of timbrels and playing of lutes) together with xxviii. 7. The description is elegiac, and dwells so long on wine (cf. chap. xvi.), because as a vegetable product and as a drink it is of all the gifts of God in nature the one that most gladdens the human heart (Ps. civ. 15; Judg. ix. 13). All the means of enjoyment are destroyed, and even though much of what gladdens still exists, it is bitter to men's taste.

The world and its pleasure are judged, judged also the city of the world, where the world's power and pleasure were concentrated. Vers. 10-13: "*Broken to pieces is the city of Tōhu, shut up every house, not to be set foot in. A cry of lamentation because of the wine is in the fields, all gladness has set, the joy of the earth is banished. Of the city there is left desolation, and the gate was battered into ruins. For so will it be within the earth, in the midst of the peoples, as at the beating of the olive, as at the gleaning, when the vintage is over.*" In view of the fact that קִרְיָה is joined on to אֶרֶץ (a kind of proper name), it is not possible to take קִרְיָה אֶרֶץ collectively (like Rosenmüller, Drechsler), and the context, in which, as we saw, הָאָרֶץ has the sense of *κόσμος*, prevents our understanding it (like Schegg, Stier, and others) of Jerusalem (according to

xxxii. 13 sq.). It is the city that is the centre of the world and its alienation from God, whose end will be הוּא as its essence was הוּא ; destruction of the harmony of the divine order was its essence, destruction of its existence and precipitation back into the chaos of the primeval beginning will be its end. Rome is similarly called *turbida Roma* in Persius, i. 5. Here, too, everything is Isaianic: הוּא is used as in xxix. 21; and with regard to מְבוֹא (*ita ut ingredi nequeas, scil.* on account of the ruins that block up the entrance), cf. xxiii. 1, vii. 8, xvii. 1; also v. 9, vi. 11, xxxii. 13. Crying on account of the wine in the fields outside, ver. 11 (cf. Job v. 10), is lamentation over the destruction of the vineyards. Wine, which is one of the favourite Isaianic symbols, stands here, too, for all the natural sources of joy conjointly. The expression $\text{עֵרְבָה בְּלִישְׁמֹחָהּ}$ presupposes an affinity between joy and light, for עֵרַב , غرب , means to go away, and, especially, to set of the sun (Assyr. *erēb šamsi*, sunset). Of the city (בְּעִיר , partitive, as in case of בָּא , x. 22) nothing more is left (נִשְׁאַר) than שָׁמֶר , which it has become (cf. v. 9, xxxii. 14). The strong gates, which once swarmed with men, are battered (יָבַח , as in Micah i. 7, for יָבַח , Gesen. § 67, Rem. 8) into ruins (שְׂמִינָה , ἀπ. λει. , noun predicative of consequence, as in xxxvii. 26, into desolated heaps; cf. vi. 11 and elsewhere). Then there is left in the wide circuit of the earth (vi. 12, vii. 22; but הָאָרֶץ , the earth, as in x. 23, xix. 24), and in the midst of what has hitherto been a crowd of peoples (cf. Micah v. 6 sq.), only a small remnant of men. The metaphors of this passage, which is a miniature of xvii. 4–6, express the fundamental thought which runs through the Book of Isaiah from beginning to end. The state of matters produced by the catastrophe is like the olive-beating, which recovers the fruit left hanging when the trees were stripped, and like the grape-gleaning after the grape harvest has been fully gathered in (בָּלִיָּה , here as in x. 25, xvi. 4, xxi. 16, and frequently = to be past, whereas it means to be hopelessly gone, xxxii. 10, like xv. 6); there will be as few men left in the great wide world as olives and grapes after the principal harvest in each case. Those who are saved belong especially, but not exclusively (Joel iii. 5), to Israel. The place where they assemble is the land of promise.

There a community now exists which, purified by the judgment, now rouses itself to discharge its calling as the apostle of the world. Vers. 14, 15: "*Those will lift up their voice, shout exultingly; because of Jehovah's majesty they shout from the sea: 'Therefore in the lands of the sun praise ye Jehovah, in the isles of the sea the name of Jehovah the God of Israel.'*" The reason and matter of rejoicing is 'נִאֲחָזֵה, i.e. that Jehovah has shown Himself so majestic in judgment and mercy (xii. 5 sq.), and is now so manifest in His exaltedness (ii. 11, 17). Therefore the sound of rejoicing comes from the Mediterranean (מִיָּם), by which the land where Jehovah's community dwelt is washed. The community when turned in that direction had before it the islands and coastlands (אֲרֵי הַיָּם, as only once more, xi. 11; cf. Ezek. xxvi. 18) of the European west, and behind it the lands of the Asiatic east, called אֲרֵי הַלֵּיל, the lands of the light, i.e. of the sunrise. This is the meaning that we, along with F. Schelling, Drechsler, Grünbaum (*Ztschft. deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxi. 597), put on the word אֲרֵי הַלֵּיל (a ἡλ. λει., like מִצְרַיִם, xi. 8).¹ The reading בְּאֵיִם (Lowth, J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, Cheyne, Driver, on authority of LXX.) destroys the antithesis of east and west, which we are led to look for. The summons goes forth in both directions, and calls, because of the manifestation of the glory of Jehovah, Israel's God (xviii. 7) to the praise of His name. His נֶאֱמָר (cf. xxx. 27) is just His essence or nature as made known and rendered capable of being named in His acts of judgment and mercy.

The summons, too, does not go forth in vain. Ver. 16a: "*From the border of the earth we hear songs, 'Praise to the righteous one!'*" It is not unnatural to think that in לְיָדֵי הַיָּם Jehovah is meant; but, as Hitzig rightly remarks, הַיָּם is never used thus absolutely of Jehovah (cf. Ps. cxii. 4, where,

¹ Döderlein compares the Arabic ¹سپتر, *septentrio*, but this is the Greek

σέπτερος. It is more natural to think of regions in the west, for ²אֲרֵי הַלֵּיל means the time between mid-day and sunset, like the Talmudic אֲרֵי הַלֵּיל (אֲרֵי הַלֵּיל), the evening, in Pehlvi ³اوردان, *urwerdan*, western; cf. ⁴אֲרֵי הַלֵּיל, western region, *Bathra* 25a, *Kiddushin* 12b, which, however, according to Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Studien*, p. 141, might be a contraction of the Assyrian *aharru*.

however, it is connected with other attributes, and Ex. ix. 27 where it occurs in an antithesis), and, in addition to this, יָדִי is what Jehovah bestows (iv. 2, xxviii. 5), while what is given to him is not יָדִי but כְּבוֹדִי. We must therefore explain the passage in accordance with iii. 10; cf. Hab. ii. 4. It is the community of the righteous whose faith has outlasted the fire of the judgment of wrath that is intended. Its summons to praise Jehovah is answered from the border of the earth with songs, in which it is thanked and congratulated. The earth is thought of under the figure of a garment spread out; קִנְיָה is the edge or end of it—the most distant eastern and western extremities (cf. xi. 12). The grateful songs, whose echo sounds in the ears of the community of the future, rise from that quarter.

The prophet feels himself *ἐν πνεύματι* to be a member of this community. Still all at once he becomes conscious of sufferings that must first of all be got over, and which he cannot see without himself experiencing also. Vers. 16b–20: *"Then I said, Ruin to me! Ruin to me! Woe to me! Robbers rob, and, like robbers robbing, they rob. Terror and pit and snare are upon thee, O inhabitant of the earth! And it comes to pass, whoso fleeth from the tidings of the terror falls into the pit, and whoso escapeth out of the pit is taken in the snare; for the trap-doors of the height above are opened, and the earth's foundations quake. Breaking breaks up the earth; bursting bursts up earth; tottering totters earth to its fall: reeling reels earth like a drunken man, and swings like a hammock; and the weight of its crimes presses heavily on it, and it falls and rises not again."* וְאֶמַר (cf. vi. 5) is connected with an apocalypse in the same way as, e.g., in Rev. vii. 14. He said it at that time when in a state of ecstasy; now when he is writing down what he saw, this saying is a thing of the past. Behind the final salvation there is a final judgment of wrath, and looking back to that he broke out into the cry of pain; חָרַלְי, consuming, wasting away (see x. 16, xvii. 4) to me, i.e. I must pass away. The word חָרַי is formed like חָרַי, חָרַלְי, חָרַי, and is really a neuter adjective, meaning *emaciatum* = *macies*: it is from חָרַה, to make disappear, wipe away, Arab. رَزَى, رَزَى, more general in signification = to damage, whence *raziya*, plur. *razâyâ*, Palmyr. רַזַּן,

calamities (*Ztschft. deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xviii. 81); cf., however, also רָדִי, to be enfeebled, exhausted. He sees a dreadful fierce people at work among men and treasures thinning them out (cf. for the play upon sound in בָּנָה, *tecte agere*, i.e. from behind, treacherously, trickily, xxi. 2, xxxiii. 1). The exclamation, "terror and pit," etc. (applied by Jer. xlvi. 43 sq. to the fate coming on Moab from the Chaldeans), is not an invocation, but only the deeply-felt statement of the inevitable. The words pit and snare compare men to game and the enemies to hunters (cf. Jer. xvi. 16; Lam. iv. 19). פִּתּוּחַ is derived from a strong verb, פָּתַח (cf. the popular Arabian proverb, "whoever digs a pit for others, نَحْت بئر, falls into it himself"); יָלַח, as in viii. 15, xxviii. 13. The עָל in עָלֶיךָ is used exactly as in Judg. xvi. 9; cf. Isa. xvi. 9. Whoever, on hearing the terrible news, flees before it (פָּנָה, as in xxxiii. 3), by no means escapes the destruction, but falls into its clutches, if not in the one way, then in the other (the very same thought which is expressed twice by Amos in v. 19, and again at greater length and in more terribly sublime words in ix. 1-4). The instruments of punishment referred to in בְּנִינִים are kept in the background. What stands in the foreground and dominates the whole is the thought that the judgment is a direct act of God Himself. For this reason it is described as if it were another flood (for the אֲרָבוֹת, sluices, καταρράκται, of the rakta' point back to Gen. vii. 11, viii. 2; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 23), and represented as an earthquake. אֲרָצִי אֲסִי are the foundations on which the visible body of the earth rests. The three reflexive forms in ver. 19 together with their gerundives, the latter of which help the mind to take in, by keeping steadily before it, each stage of the catastrophe, fix in a word-picture the way in which the earth in its quaking first breaks, then bursts and falls. רָעָה seems to be a slip of the pen for רָע, unless, as in Hab. iii. 9, it is a *nomen actionis* instead of the *inf. abs.*; the accentuation, however (different from Prov. xxv. 19, where *Decht* does not indicate the place of the tone), treats the *ah* as a toneless addition, and the form therefore (like כָּב, Num. xxiii. 25) as *inf. absol.* The reflexive form הִתְרַעַע is here, of course, not *Hithpal.* from רָע, *vociferari*, but *Hithpo.* from רָעָה (רָעָה),

frangere. The earth first of all gets fractured, then yawning chasms open, once more it sways to and fro, and falls. It is no longer possible for it to keep upright, its enormities bear it heavily down (כָּבֵד for כָּבֵד, the weight being represented as active), so that now for the last time it reels like a drunk man (xxviii. 7, xxix. 9), or like a hammock (i. 8), then falls never to rise again. The articles with כ express the genus. נָד, whence הִתְנַדֵּד, is connected with נָט (Ps. xcix. 1), just as לָט, to turn oneself hither and thither in walking, *se balancer*, with מָט, whence הִתְמַטֵּט.

If the old earth perishes in such a manner from its place in the universe, God will at the same time (the prophet does not break up in thought and chronologically arrange what belongs to the end of all things) punish the princes of heaven as well as the princes of earth. The secrets of two worlds here unveil themselves to the gaze of the Old Testament seer. Vers. 21-23: "*And it comes to pass in that day, Jehovah will visit the host of the height in the height, and the kings of the earth on the earth. And they are immured as one immures prisoners in the pit, and shut up in the prison, and after the expiry of many days they are visited. And covered with shame is the moon and confounded the sun, for as king reigns Jehovah of hosts on Mount Zion, and before His elders is glory.*" In view of the antithesis of מְרוֹם and אֲדָמָה (cf. xxiii. 17b), which is made as sharp and prominent as possible, we cannot (with the Targum, Luther, Calvin, Hävernick) understand by the host of the height earthly powers. The name itself is also opposed to this view; for צְבָא מְרוֹם, as is shown by ver. 18 (where מְרוֹם = מַשְׁכָּנִים, cf. xxxiii. 5, xxxvii. 23, xl. 26), is equivalent to צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, and everywhere this is either the starry host (xl. 26) or the angelic host (1 Kings xxii. 19; Ps. cxlviii. 2), occasionally both in one without distinction (Neh. ix. 6). As sun and moon are mentioned in ver. 23, we might be inclined to think (with Baudissin, G. A. Smith, and others) that here the host of the height is the starry host: "The shining kingly forms of the sky, the stars out of which idols have been made fall from their altars, and the kings of the earth from their thrones" (Umbreit). The antithetical member מַלְכֵי, however, compels us to suppose that צְבָא הַמְרוֹם also designates personal powers, and the par-

ticularizing account of the penal visitation (פָּקַד עַל, as in xxvii. 1, 3, cf. xxvi. 21, and the verbal and material parallel, Jer. xlv. 25), "they are immured," etc., which in some way or another must be applicable also to the host of heaven, postulates personality. It might be objected that it is the kings who are immured, and that in the putting to shame of the sun and moon in ver. 23, the penal visitation of the host of heaven is expressed. The fact, however, that sun and moon are thrown into the shade by the revelation of the glory of Jehovah, we cannot for a moment admit to be punishment. But if צָבָא מְרוֹם is the angelic host, the penal visitation referred to must be one that, happening within the spirit-world, stands in causal connection with the history of humanity, specially with the history of the peoples. Consequently צָבָא מְרוֹם will have to be understood as meaning the angels of the peoples and kingdoms (Abn Ezra, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Knobel), and the presupposition of this prophecy is what is stated in Deut. xxxii. 8a, LXX. (cf. Syriac, xvii. 14), and represented in the visions of the Book of Daniel, viz. that there is a world of spirits which God employs to carry on His government of the world, and which influences not only the life of the individual, but also the history of the peoples. God's judgment here goes forth, as against the kings of earth so against the celestial guardian powers of the peoples, though it need not from this be supposed that these guardian powers were from the first rebel angels. They come under God's penal visitation, because they have misled the peoples whom it was their duty to lead.¹ Ver. 22a states the preliminary punishment of the angelic as well as of the human princes. אֲסַפָּה takes the place of an *inf. intens.* like טָלַטְלָה, xxij. 17. עָרְיָה, Hab. iii. 9, cf. רָעָה, ver. 19, and the construction אֲסַפָּה אֲסִיר, following the verbal expression אֲסַפָּה אֲסִיר, to immure a captive, means "immuring after the manner of immuring captives;" for אָסַף, to gather, in x. 14, xxxiii. 4, has here the signification to immure (thrust into), as in Gen. xlii. 17. Both verbs are used with עַל, because the captives are thrust down into pit and ward from above (עַל contains

¹ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. p. 814 sq., shows how familiar later Judaism was with this idea.

the two ideas *upon* or *over* anything and *into* it, e.g. 1 Sam. xxxi. 4; 2 Kings iv. 4; Job vi. 16; see Hitzig on Nah. iii. 12). How we are to understand this is shown by 2 Pet. ii. 4, Jude 6, with the parallels in the Book of Henoch (xviii. 14-16, cf. x. 12 sq.) and the Jubilees (chap. v.). The prophet is thinking of the abyss of Hades, where they are reserved, bound with chains of darkness *εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας*. In accordance with this parallel, we must apparently understand by *יִשְׁקֹרֵי*, on the analogy of xxix. 6, Ezek. xxxviii. 8, cf. *יִשְׁקֹר*, seq. acc., xxvi. 21 (also xxvi. 14), Ps. lix. 6: visitation in wrath, and so execution of the final punishment. Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, Luzzatto, on the other hand, understand by it a visitation in mercy; Gesenius, Umbreit, and others (without support in idiom or custom), a citation. A comparison of xxiii. 17 in relation to xxiii. 15 (following which the Targum and Saadia paraphrase, they will come again into remembrance) is in favour of visitation in mercy; they are visited in getting free again (cf. Rev. xx. 3). They then begin again their former life, but only immediately (as ver. 23 says) to lose for ever their temporarily re-acquired dominion. Then the Lord reigns with His own in the new Jerusalem in such glory that the silvery moon (*לְבָנָה*) shamefacedly veils itself, and the glowing sun (*הַמָּאָר*) is confounded with shame (see on i. 29), because in the presence of such glory the two great lights of heaven will be, according to a Jewish expression, *בִּישְׁרָא בַּמִּהְרָא*, like a lamp in the noontide sunshine. Noteworthy among the many parallels to ver. 23 found in Isaiah (*הַמָּאָר* and *לְבָנָה*, xxx. 26; *הַמָּאָר* and *בֹּאֵר*, i. 29; *מִלְכָּה*, xxxiii. 22; on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, x. 12) are those to the concluding noun-sentence *וְיָנִי וְקִנְיִי כְבוֹד*, especially xi. 10 (also iv. 5), and for the definition of the idea in *זְקֵנִים*, i. 26, cf. iii. 14. "His elders," as also the twenty-four *πρεσβύτεροι* of the Apocalypse, are not angels, but men. Angels never become *זְקֵנִים* (see *Iris*, p. 174). They are elders after God's own heart, such as in contrast with its present bad *זְקֵנִים* (iii. 14) are promised to the Israel of the Jerusalem of the future (i. 26). These, being admitted to God's immediate presence and reigning with Him, are confronted with nothing but glory, and it they reflect.

THE FOURFOLD HYMNIC ECHO, CHAPS. XXV., XXVI.

A.—*The first echo: salvation of the peoples after the fall of the city of the world, chap. xxv. 1-8.*

But what at this time is accomplished finds not only its reflection but also its echo. At xxv. 1 sqq. the hymnic echoes begin. The prophet, transported to the end of time, celebrates what he saw in psalms and songs. These do not reproduce merely the contents of the prophecy, but by penetrating to its depths and drawing out of it, they partly develop, partly provide the means for developing it further. The first echo is xxv. 1-8, or more exactly xxv. 1-5. The prophet, whom from chap. xii. we already know to be a psalmist, acts as leader of the community of the future, and praises Jehovah for having destroyed the mighty city of the world, and for having proved Himself the shield and defence of the hitherto oppressed community against the tyranny of the city of the world. Vers. 1-5: "*Jehovah, my God art Thou! I will exalt Thee, praise Thy name, that Thou hast done wonders, counsels from afar, truthfulness, truth. For Thou hast turned what was a city into a heap of stones, the steep castle into ruins, the erection of barbarians into a city of the past, for ever not to be rebuilt. Therefore will a fierce people honour Thee, cities of violent nations fear Thee. For Thou didst prove Thyself to be a stronghold to the humble, a stronghold to the poor in his distress, a shelter from the rain-storm, a shade from the sun's burning; for the blast of violent ones became like a rain-storm against a wall. Like the sun's burning in a thirsty land Thou didst subdue the uproar of the barbarians; like the sun's burning before the shadow of clouds had the violent men's song of victory to subside.*" The introduction, in structure reminding us somewhat of the "Aufgesang" of the Minnesingers, is to be understood in accordance with Ps. cxviii. 28: Jehovah (*vocat.*), my God art Thou. This confession of faith now sounds forth in tones of increased strength and fervour. Among the many plays on sound in the cycle of prophecy the rhyme *aromimcha* (see as to *i* on i. 15, lii. 12), *odeh simcha* is noteworthy. אָדֶה שִׂמְחָה (like Ps. lxxvii. 15, lxxviii. 12) is taken from Ex. xv. 11 (as xii. 2 from Ex. xv. 2). The

wonders now accomplished are *עצות כרתוק*, resolutions taken far back, i.e. long before, God's thoughts from eternity,—the same ideal view as in xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26 (a perfect parallel in every respect to our passage), and all through the second part. Nägelsbach translates, "counsels with a distant object," but even *לכרתוק* of xxxvii. 26 points to the past in such a connection. It is the manifold *עצה* of the Holy One of Israel (v. 19, xiv. 24–27, xix. 12, 17, xxiii. 8, xxviii. 29) which displays its wonders in the events that happen in time. The phrase *עשה חסד ואמת* requires us to connect *emûma ômen* with *עשית* as accusative of the second and third object. Derivatives from the same original stand side by side in order to emphasize the idea as much as possible, as in iii. 1, xvi. 6. *אמונה* means faith and faithfulness (from the root idea of firmness) as qualities and conditions; *אמן* (only here) is faithfulness proved and maintained in deeds. Jehovah has shown constancy, has been constant, i.e. once having allowed His word to take effect, He has stood to it. The city of the world is overthrown. Jehovah has, as the first sentence, ending with *zakef*, says, transposed out of the nature of a city into the condition of a heap of stones. The parallel member might lead us to look for *העיר*, but the sentence as it stands brings only the change effected into prominence. *ז* is used as in, e.g., xxiii. 13; cf. xxxvii. 26; and *מן* as in vii. 8, xvii. 1, xxiii. 1, xxiv. 10. *כפלה* (here and xxiii. 13) or *כפלה* (xvii. 1) is a word, instances of which are found only in the Book of Isaiah. *עיר*, *קריה*, and *ארסח* are likewise words commonly used by Isaiah in parallelisms (i. 26, xxii. 2, xxxii. 13 sq.); and *אויבים*, as in i. 7, xxix. 5, is the most general designation of the enemies of the people of God. The fall of the world-empire is followed by the conversion of the heathen; for the songs, xxiv. 16, come from the lips of the farthest peoples. Ver. 3 runs parallel with Rev. xv. 3 sq. Peoples, down to this time uncivilised and slaves of their passions (*עו*), submit to Jehovah with proper reverence; those hitherto despotically oppressive (*עורצים*, as in xiii. 11 of the form *שליטים*, *פּרָצִים*), with humble fear. The reason for this conversion of the heathen is, as stated in the Apocalypse, *ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν*. *אל* and *אֱלֹהֵי* (cf. xiv. 30, xxix. 19) are names of the *ecclesia pressa*, as we know from their use in the Psalms. Jehovah has proved Himself to

her in her distress (לְצָרָהּ, as in xxvi. 16, lxiii. 9, cf. xxxiii. 2) a stronghold (מִצְדָּה from מָצָה) or refuge (from נָצַח, גָּלַח, see on xxx. 3), in short, a place of safety, a protection against the storm, and shade from the heat (cf. as to the figures, iv. 6, xxxii. 2, xvi. 3; Sir. xxxi. 16, Greek text), so that the blast of the tyrants (cf. מַלְכֵי, xxx. 28, xxxiii. 11; Ps. lxxvi. 13) became like a wall-storm, i.e. like a storm which comes in contact with a wall (cf. ix. 3, shoulder-stick, i.e. one which comes in contact with the shoulder), dashes against it and is broken, without being able to wash it away (xxviii. 17; Ps. lxii. 4), for it is the wall of a strong castle, and this strong castle is Jehovah Himself. As Jehovah is able to subdue all of a sudden the sun's intense heat in dryness (שֶׁחַר, *abstr. pro concr.*, as in xxxii. 2 = שֶׁחַר יָבֵשׁ, xli. 18), and it is allayed as soon as He raises a shady cover (Jer. iv. 29), i.e. of clouds (Ex. xix. 9; Ps. xviii. 12), so does He of a sudden subdue the raging (שֶׁחַר, as in xvii. 12) of the hordes that assail His people, and the tyrants' song of triumph (מִלִּיר, elsewhere only Cant. ii. 12), which spread over the world like scorching heat, is made to subside. עָנָה has its neuter root meaning, "to bow or bend" (Arab. عَنَا, *impf. o.*), as in xxxi. 4.

So the first hymnic echo dies out, and the eschatological prophecy, returning to xxiv. 23, but with a power of insight increased by prayer, proceeds. Ver. 6: "*And Jehovah of hosts prepares for all peoples on this mountain a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things rich in marrow, of wines on the lees well strained.*" "This mountain" is Zion, the place of God's presence, the place of His community's worship. The feast thought of therefore is a spiritual one, an antitype of the meals in connection with the Shelamîm sacrifices (cf. Ps. xxii. 26 sqq.), which it far surpasses. שְׂמֵרִים, elsewhere lees (from שָׁמַר, to lay past or up, to let ferment), are here *vina faecata*, as Cato, *de re rust.* c. 154, calls wines which have lain on the lees for a long time for the sake of gaining in strength, colour, and durability. Of course שְׂמֵרִים really means the *faeces* themselves; and bad wines might bear this name, as *faex Laletana* in Martial, i. 27. But the adjective does away with the idea of dregginess. For שְׂמֵרִים מְקֻקִּים are wines which, left on their lees after the first fermentation, have

thoroughly fermented and long settled, and which are filtered before drinking (Greek, *οίνος σακκίας*, i.e. *διυλισμένος* or *διηθικός*, from *διηθεῖν*, *percolare*), hence strong clear wines. שֶׁכֶּרֶת is equivalent to חֶלְבֵּי־חֵטֶן from חֵלֶב, שֶׁן, being also applied to animal fat (x. 27, xvii. 4, x. 16). שֶׁכֶּרֶת־חֵטֶן does not mean pieces of fat meat deprived of the marrow, for the *Piel* (Arab. مَخَضَ) is used privatively, but never the *Pual*, and seldom the *Kal* (see Muhlau on Prov. xxxi. 3); then "to deprive of marrow" can only be applied to bones, not to fat meat itself; thirdly, we expect in this place rather to find mention of abundance of marrow. So the meaning of the adjective is "made marrowy," "provided with marrow," *medullata*. The thing thus symbolized is the full enjoyment of blessedness in the perfected kingdom of God. The heathen are not only humbled in such a way that they submit to the Lord, they also have share in the blessedness of His community, and are satisfied with the abundance of His house, and given to drink of delight as of a stream (Ps. xxxvi. 9). This verse (6) sounds like the joyful music of the heavenly feast. The choice of the more flexible form שֶׁכֶּרֶת (from the original שֶׁכַּח = שֶׁכַּח) instead of שֶׁכֶּחֶם is intentional. We hear, as it were, the playing of rapidly-bowed stringed instruments.

The feast is on earth, for the Old Testament knows nothing of a heaven where blessed men are gathered. Still the promise takes a higher flight than anywhere else. Vers. 7, 8: "*And He swallows off on this mountain the veil that veils over all peoples, and the cover that is covered over all nations. He swallows off death for ever, and the All-Lord, Jehovah, wipes the tear from every face, and the shame of His people He takes away from the whole earth; for Jehovah hath spoken it.*" On the back of what Jehovah bestows comes what He removes. "This mountain" is specified as the place where this also is accomplished. He who decreed death and now also abolishes it is Jehovah Elohim. Veil and cover (מַסְכֶּה from מָסַךְ = מָסַךְ, xxii. 8, from נָסַךְ, whence *násik*, protector, prince; *mussikku*, protection=sovereignty, supremacy. *Ztschft. deut. morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxviii. 128) are symbols, not of grief and affliction, but of spiritual blindness, like the *κάλυμμα* on the heart of Israel in 2 Cor. iii. 15. מַסְכֶּה (cf. Job xli. 5) is the outer or upper

side of the veil. Nügelbach asks, "Was He then likely to take hold of it from behind?" Undoubtedly it is possible to tear off a veil in this way, but Jehovah grasps it by the **הַיָּמִין**, removing it, not with violence, but with care. The second **הַיָּמִין** is not a passive form (Kimchi), but for the sake of the homophony, takes the place of **הַיָּמִין** (see iv. 6, vii. 11, viii. 6, xxii. 13); cf. the obscure Niphal forms, xxiv. 3 (Gesen. § 72, Reni. 1). With regard to the names for the veil,—in **לִפְנֵי** the idea of all-sidedness predominates; in **סִבְכָּה** that of density. The removing of the veil, as well as of death, is called **בָּלַע**, a word which is used of God also in xix. 3; Ps. xxi. 10, lv. 10. He has abolished death (**בָּלַע**, *absorbere*, see on iii. 12), so that no trace of its former sway is to be seen. Paul renders freely: *κατεπόθη* (**בָּלַע**¹) *ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκην*, 1 Cor. xv. 54 (following the Aramaic **כָּבַע**, which, like **כָּבַע**, cf. Ps. li. 6, LXX., develops the meaning of "conquering," from the root-idea of being prominent, bright, outshining). The Syriac version, uniting the ideas of the Targum (**לַעֲלִי**) and of Paul, translates *absorpta est mors per victoriam in sempiternum*. The annihilation of death, however, is in itself not yet the perfection of blessedness. There are sufferings which wring out a sigh for death as bringing deliverance. From all these sufferings, too, which are to be traced finally to sin, Jehovah grants release. **רִמָּה**, here as in Eccles. iv. 1, is a collective idea; cf. Rev. xxi. 4, *πάντα δάκρυον*. Wherever there is a tear on any face whatever, Jehovah wipes it away; and since Jehovah does so, it is thoroughly done. He removes the cause along with its manifestation, the sin along with the tear. Naturally this applies to the *ecclesia triumphans*. The world is, of course, judged, and what it is possible to save is saved. There is therefore, too, no such thing now as shame of the people of God. In the whole earth it has no place at all; Jehovah has cleared it out. Thus, then, the earth is a holy abode of blessed men. The new Jerusalem is indeed Jehovah's throne, but the whole earth is Jehovah's glorious kingdom. The prophet's vision of things has brought him to the same point as that reached by Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 28, and Johu on the last page of his Apocalypse.

¹ See No. IV. of my *Reformationsgeschichtliche Curiosa* (Eran. Luth. Kirch. Ztg. 1884, March 28): Eine alttest. Frage Luthers (**בָּלַע** or **בָּלַעַן**?) und die Antwort Bernhard Zieglers.

B.—*The second echo: the abasement of Moab*, chap. xxv. 9–12.

After the predictive vers. 6–8, which followed the first hymnic echo like a recitative introduced at that point, the song of praise begins anew, but this is soon changed into the prophetic tone. The dishonour done to the people of God, mentioned in xxv. 8, reminds us of their hostile neighbours, who, though they cannot tyrannize over it like the imperial power, yet scoff and persecute. Of these foes, the representative and emblem (cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 2) in the present passage is the boastful Moab, xvi. 6; Jer. xlviii. 29; Ezek. xxv. 8–11. It is the prediction of Moab's humiliation, in this spiritual sense, which prepares the way for the second echo by celebrating the appearance of Jehovah, who is now manifestly present as the conqueror of death, the drier of tears, the preserver of the honour of His oppressed Church. Ver. 9: "*And people say on that day, 'Behold our God, for whom we waited that He might help us; this is Jehovah, for whom we waited; let us be glad and rejoice in His salvation!'*" The undefined but self-evident subject of *נִסְּרָם* is the Church of the latter days; *הָיָה הַיּוֹם* are connected, as in xxi. 9. The waiting is spoken of with reference to the remote past, even as far back as the exclamation of Jacob, "For Thy salvation do I wait, O Jehovah" (Gen. xlix. 18). The summons, "Let us be glad," etc., has changed into the beautiful "Praise ye" of Ps. cxviii. 24.

In the land of promise there is jubilation, but on the other side of the Jordan there is the anguish of destruction. Vers. 10–12: "*For the hand of Jehovah will sink down on this mountain, and Moab will be trodden down where it is, as a heap of straw is trodden down in the water of the dung-pit. And he spreadeth out his hands in the pool therein, as the swimmer spreadeth them out to swim; but Jehovah humbleth his [Moab's] pride, in spite of the artifices of his hands. Yea, thy steep, lofty walls He brings down, humbles, hurls to the earth, even into dust.*" Upon Zion the hand of Jehovah is brought down (*נָחַת* being here used, as in vii. 2) in order to protect (Ezra viii. 22, 31), and this, too, by taking vengeance. Moab will be threshed down, stamped or trodden down (Job xxxix. 15) where it stands (*נִסְּרָם* being employed, as in

2 Sam. vii. 10, Hab. iii. 16, to signify "in his place," "in his own land," with the additional notion of banishment without any possibility of escape),—just as straw is trampled down into a dung-pit in order to become manure. הַדִּישׁ is the construct infinitive with אֵל, probably to distinguish it from the absolute infinitive הִדִּישׁ (see Ewald, § 240b). Instead of בָּמֶן (as in xl. 2), the *Kethib* has בָּמֵי (cf. Job ix. 30),—much more correctly, inasmuch as כְּרִמְיָהּ in itself does not denote the hole with dung-water, but the dung-heap, like the Arabic *dimna*. It might also be possible, however, that בָּמֶן is meant as an allusion to the name *Moab* (מוֹאָב), as כְּרִמְיָהּ has probably been chosen with allusion to the Moabitish city *Madmen* (מִדְמַן, Jer. xlviii. 2). In ver. 11, if בָּקָרְבוֹ referred back to Moab, Jehovah would be the subject (Targum, Aben-Ezra, and Kimchi); but though the figurative representation of Jehovah as pressing down the pride of Moab, by spreading out His hands within it like a swimmer, might possibly, in another connection, produce an impression of boldness and sublimity; yet here, where Moab is described as having been forced down into the watery filth, to compare Jehovah to a swimmer would be offensive: the swimmer is Moab itself. בָּקָרְבוֹ points back, in a neuter sense, to the place, ill-suited for swimming, into which Moab has been violently plunged. In a manure-pond one cannot swim; but, to save himself, Moab attempts it, though without success, for Jehovah presses down the pride of Moab in spite of (עַם being used as in Neh. v. 18) the אֲרָבוֹת (thus written without Dagesh), "artifices," i.e. the clever and cunning movements of his hands. Ewald, with אֲרָבוֹת, compares the Arab. اَرَب in the sense of a "member" or "joint" (Kimchi, אֲרָבוֹת יָדָיו); but the comparison of اَرَب in the sense of "cunning, intelligence with craft and forecast" (see Lane's *Arab. Lex.*), comes nearer the Hebrew usage of אָרַב. Saadiah rightly renders it by *muhdala*, i.e. tricks and devices; Hitzig by "machinations," i.e. twistings and turnings, which Moab makes with his arms in order to keep himself upon the water. The noun אֲרָבָה is here the *nomen actionis* from אָרַב, which originally signifies to entwine firmly and closely, then to lay wait for cunningly (cf. such

expressions as "to forge lies," "lay plans," etc.). The figurative statement in ver. 11 is exemplified literally in ver. 12. If the reading of the text were *מִלְחָה חֲסִידָה מִבְּצָרֵי*, one would require to think of Kir-Moab (xv. 1, xvi. 7); the text as it stands, however, refers to the strong and lofty walls of the cities of Moab in general. Hitherto mention was made of but one hostile city—the imperial city of the world. This closing verse is remarkable, so that Ewald and Cheyne suppose that it originally stood in some other place; Smend, however, derives from this verse a new illustration of the whole cycle of prophecy.¹

C.—*Third echo : Israel as restored, or raised to life again.*
chaps. xxvi.–xxvii. 1.

The second hymnic echo has thus its confirmation in a prediction against Moab, on the basis of which a third hymnic echo now arises. While on the other side, in the land of Moab, the people are being trodden down and their lofty castles razed, the people in the land of Judah can boast of an impregnable city. Ver. 1 : "*On that day will this song be sung in the land of Judah : Ours is a city of defence ; salvation He sets for walls and bulwark.*" According to the pointing, one ought to translate "A city is a stronghold (צִיָּה) for us;" but it is better, in accordance with Prov. xxi. 22, to render the words "a city of powerful offence and defence belongs to us." The subject of *יֵשׁוּעַ* is Jehovah; the imperfect is used to signify what He is constantly doing, and always doing anew; for the main walls and the outer walls of Jerusalem (חָלֵל, as in Lam. ii. 8, indicating the small outermost wall which encloses the whole of the fortifications,—according to the Rabbinical interpreters, בִּרְשֵׁיטָא, as the Syriac also translates the word) are not inanimate stone, but יֵשׁוּעַ, an

¹ See the remarks of this author on Isa. chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., in Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1884, pp. 161–224, where he endeavours to make out that the historical setting of this cycle of prophecy belongs to the time of the expedition of Alexander and the fall of the Persian monarchy. The portion about Moab (in xxv. 10–12) we regard as an episode, while he considers it the centre of the whole; on this view there certainly results a state of affairs (viz. the enslavement of the Jews by the Moabites) for which no historical testimony can be adduced.

ever-living and never-dying salvation (lx. 18). In the same sense, Jehovah Himself is elsewhere called the wall of Jerusalem, and a wall of fire too, Zech. ii. 9,—parallels which show that *הַיְהוָה* is meant to be taken as the accusative of the object, not (as in v. 6 ; Ps. xxi. 7, lxxxiv. 7 ; Jer. xxii. 6) as the accusative of the predicate,—the view of Luzzatto and Nägelsbach.

In ver. 1, the city is still regarded as empty ; hence the summons in ver. 2 : “ *Open ye the gates, that a righteous nation may enter, one that maintains fidelity !* ” The cry is a heavenly one, and those who open—if we have at all to inquire who they are—are angels. We are reminded of Ps. xxiv. 7, 9, but the scene is different ; the present passage has been individualized by the writer of Ps. cxviii. (vers. 19, 20). As in xxiv. 16, the “righteous nation” is the congregation of the righteous ones ; and *וְיָ* is here used (as in ver. 15 and ix. 2) of Israel, which has now through grace become righteous, and has been confirmed in covenant-faithfulness towards God, who maintains His faithfulness (Ps. xxxi. 24). The form *אֲמִינִי* is from *אָמַן*.

Ver. 3 shows that the relations between Israel and Jehovah now continue the same on both sides : “ *A firmly settled mind Thou keepest in peace, peace ; for on Thee rests his confidence.* ” This is an apothegm taken from Ps. cxii. 7, 8, but set in a lyric context, and employed with reference to the Church of the latter days. The disposition of mind here designates him who has it, in accordance with his inmost nature. *יָצַר* is the constitution of man as inwardly taking shape in act and disposition (i.e. thinking and willing),—the form assumed by his whole mental life. This inner life is said to be “firmly settled” (*קָטַף*) when it has a firm hold within itself, and this it has when it keeps a firm hold on God (x. 20). The new Israel has such a mind, and Jehovah preserves this subjective condition (*יָצַר*, with an object indicating the mental disposition, Prov. xxii. 12), in “peace, peace,”—an accusative of the predicate used instead of a consequential clause, and signifying “so that deep, constant, and imperturbable peace prevails within” (cf. Phil. iv. 7),—for its trust is placed on Jehovah. According to Ewald (§ 149d), *בְּיָצַר* refers to *יָצַר*, and is thus equivalent to *בְּיָצָרָהּ*

(cf. Ps. vii. 10, lv. 20), the passive participle being here used like the Lat. *confisus*, *fretus*. To depend on God, to be resigned to Him, brings stability and peace.

Once more a cry goes forth, as if from heaven, exhorting Israel to continue in this frame of mind. Ver. 4: "*Trust ye in Jehovah for ever; for in Jah, Jehovah, is an everlasting rock.*" עֲרֵךְ is the construct form of עָרַךְ, which comes from עָרָה (like כָּתַר from כָּתַה); and עָרַךְ, which is likewise formed from the same verb (like שָׁלַח, a fault, from שָׁלַח), properly signifies progress, far-reaching duration. The combination יהוה יֵרֵךְ is found only here and in xii. 2: it is the proper name of God the Redeemer in its most emphatic mode of expression. The so-called *Belh essentialie* stands pretty frequently before the predicate (see the remarks on Ps. xxxv. 2); here, as in Ps. lxxviii. 5, lv. 19, it stands before the subject: "in Jah, Jehovah, there is an everlasting rock," i.e. He is essentially such a rock (cf. Deut. xxxii. 4; as Ex. xv. 2 may be compared with Isa. xii. 2), or one has such a rock in Him.

He has shown Himself to be a rock, on which everything breaks that would attack the faithful whom He encompasses. Vers. 5, 6: "*For He hath bent down those who dwell on high, the towering fortress; He tore it down, tore it down to the earth, hurled it into dust. The foot treads it to pieces,—feet of the needy one, steps of the lowly.*" After passing rapidly over the fall of Moab, there is at once celebrated the fall of the imperial city (xxv. 1, 2, xxiv. 10–12) to which Moab was but an adjunct. The imperfects are regulated by the preterite; and the anadiplosis which in other passages (like xxv. 1; cf. Ps. cxviii. 11) places words of a common derivation beside each other, here contents itself with a change in the suffix-forms. The second thought in ver. 6 is an intensification of the first: she is trodden,—trodden is she who oppressed those who have hitherto been oppressed.

The righteous ones, who, in the estimation of the world, go astray, thus reach a goal from which their way appears in quite another light. Ver. 7: "*The path on which the righteous man goes is smoothness; smooth dost Thou level the path of the just.*" יִשְׁׁר is the accusative of the predicate, indicating the result or consequence; מְשָׁלֵם means to make even or level, and also (as a denominative form מְשָׁלֵם, a balance,

by means of which an equipoise is effected) to "weigh," but not to "make horizontal:" the fundamental meaning of the word is sufficient here, so that there is no need for thinking of the balance to explain the expression. This part of the song has fallen into the style of the Solomonic proverbs (cf. Prov. iv. 26, v. 6, 21): there is a pause, as if the writer were reflecting.

In vers. 8, 9, there is then made a new beginning in lyric style: "*We have also waited for Thee [that Thou shouldst come] in the path of Thy judgments, O Jehovah; after Thy name and Thy remembrance [went] the desire of the soul. With my soul I desired Thee in the night; yea, with my spirit deeply within me I longed for Thee; for, when Thy judgments [strike] the earth, the inhabitants of the world learn righteousness.*" The Church of the last days, looking back into the past, tells how she waited longingly for the manifestation of God's righteousness which has now taken place. אֵל is here employed in the same way as when we say, after something wished for has happened: "and we were right in waiting for this." "The path of Thy judgments" belongs to the "Thee," after which we must supply such a connecting expression as "that Thou shouldst come:" the poetic expression בוא אֵלֶיךָ, following the analogy of הִלֵּךְ דֶּרֶךְ, forms the basis of the construction here. They longed for God to come as Redeemer along the path of His judgments. "Name" and "remembrance" denote the essential nature of God which becomes capable of being made the subject of speech and thought through the revelation which He makes of Himself (Ex. iii. 15). They desired that God would again come before the consciousness and memory of man in an act which would break through His concealment and silence. The prophet declares this of himself especially, for he feels himself "in spirit" to be a member of the perfected Church. נַפְשִׁי and רִיחִי are accusatives of closer specification (Ewald's *Syntax*, § 281c). "The night" is that of trouble and sorrow, as in xxi. 11; and with reference to this stands שָׁחַר, with an allusion to שֶׁחַר ("dawn"); for the morning dawn after a night of suffering was the object for which he (נַפְשִׁי, i.e. with his whole personality, see *Psychology*, English translation, p. 239; and רִיחִי בְּקִרְבִּי, i.e. with the spirit of his mind, πνεῦμα τοῦ νοῦς,—see

Psychology, p. 180) longed. And why? Because men were brought to the knowledge, and possibly also to the self-application, of what is right, whenever God showed Himself as the Judge, punishing men for their sins (cf. Ps. ix. 17). In the clause *כִּאֲשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ לְאֶרֶץ*, the verb to be supplied is suggested (as in xxiii. 5) by the *ל* which indicates the object or point on which the movement terminates; the rendering of the LXX. is *διότι φῶς (καὶ) τὰ προστάγματά σου*. The perfect *לְקִדְּ* is the usual form in gnomic poetry, and expresses a fact of experience that has often occurred and still continues frequently to happen.

Here once more the *שִׁיר* has struck the tone of the *מִזְמֹר*; and continuing in this strain it here pauses anew to reflect, as at the end of a strophe. Ver. 10: "*If favour were shown to the wicked man, he did not learn righteousness; in the most upright land, he acts perversely, and has no eye for the majesty of Jehovah.*" *וְיִן רָשָׁע* is a hypothetical clause, left to be marked as such by the manner in which it is uttered, like Neh. i. 5 (Ewald's *Syntax*, § 357b; cf. Ges. § 159. 2), and meaning "even supposing that kindness (*יִן* = *χρηστότης*, Rom. ii. 4) is shown to the wicked man:" the Hophal form *וְיִן* is either written defectively for *וְיִין*, or it has virtually a doubled *ן*; the latter is the more probable view, considering Prov. xxi. 10 (where it is written in the same way); cf. Dan. iv. 24 (where the *ן* of *וְיִין* must be regarded as virtually a doubled letter) and Job xix. 23 (*וְיִין*). *אֶרֶץ נְכוֹחַת* (cf. Isa. xxx. 10, lix. 14) is a land in which everything is right and is done uprightly. A villain, even supposing he were placed in such a country, will nevertheless act as a scoundrel; and for the majesty of Jehovah, which shows itself in premonitory visitations for sin, in the midst of which he is still spared, he has no perception; this thought the prophet utters in a way which reveals pain combined with his indignation.

In vers. 11–13 also the state of matters remains essentially the same: "*O Jehovah, Thy hand has been exalted, but they do not care to look: they will look, becoming ashamed, upon the zeal for a people; actually fire will devour Thine adversaries. O Jehovah, Thou wilt establish peace for us, for assuredly all our works Thou hast performed for us. O Jehovah our God, lords besides Thee had enslaved us—only through Thee will we*

praise Thy name." There are three prayer-ejaculations, each beginning with יהוה, which, in the case of the third, is heightened into the fuller expression "Jehovah our God." The standpoint of the first is the time before the judgment; that of the other two is in the midst of the redemption accomplished throughout the whole course of the judgment. Hence, what the prophet utters in ver. 11 will be a general truth which has now received its most splendid confirmation through the fall of the empire. The complaint of the prophet is similar to what is found in liii. 1. With this passage we are not to compare Ps. x. 5, but Ex. xiv. 8, etc. (רום does not mean to remain in the distance and unrecognised, but to prove oneself high); the hand of Jehovah has already made itself known as highly exalted (רָם is 3rd pers. sing.) by revealing itself in the history of the nations, protecting the Church, and, in the midst of its humiliation, preparing the way for its exaltation. But they have no eye to see this hand (לֹא marks not mere negation, but negation combined with a manifestation of feeling; its accompanying verb is followed by another, יהיו, but this with an objective meaning): they will be obliged to see, though they do not like to do so,—they will come to feel the hand of Jehovah in itself, especially as the Avenger of His people. The expression סְנֵאתָם עַם, "zeal concerning a people," changed from this abstract form into the concrete, means the zeal of Jehovah of hosts (ix. 6, xxxvii. 32) regarding His people (עַם being used as in xlix. 8); this expression, moreover, forms the object of יהיו, for יִבְשֵׁי forms a dependent clause, not an interruption which disturbs the flow of the sentence; cf. Micah vii. 16. The words "Thou wilt establish peace," in ver. 12, express the sure hope of a state of peace which will no longer be destroyed; and this hope is based on the fact that everything which the congregation has hitherto accomplished (סַעֲשֵׂה is the carrying out of work to which one is called, as in Ps. xc. 17; cf. the remarks on v. 12) has not been their own performance, but the work of Jehovah *for them*. In this way the liberation from the yoke of the imperial power, which they now desire, is also the work of Jehovah. The meaning of the complaint, "lords besides Thee had enslaved us," etc., is precisely the same as in lxiii. 19, with this difference, that the standpoint there is in the midst of the circum-

stances regarding which the complaint is made, while here it lies in the future beyond. Jehovah is the King of Israel. He seemed to have lost His dominion when the lords of the world ruled Israel as they liked; but it is otherwise now, and it is only Jehovah through whom (ךָ, "through Thee") Israel can again gratefully celebrate Jehovah's name.

The tyrants who usurped authority over Israel have disappeared without leaving a trace behind. Ver. 14: "*Dead men live not again; shades rise not again; therefore hast Thou visited and destroyed them, and annihilated every memorial to them.*" The meaning is not that they are dead for ever, as if there were no resurrection at all after death; the prophet knows certainly there is such a thing, as afterwards appears. When he speaks of מְחַיִּים and מְשָׁאִים, he has in his mind those who have hitherto been oppressors of Israel, who (like the king of Babylon, chap. xiv.) have been cast down into the realm of the shades, so that we are not to think of a self-resuscitation, a rising up again. The conjunction כֵּן ("therefore," "then"), like the Greek *ἄρα*, introduces what has happened along with another event, and is bound up with the very fact of its occurrence (cf. similar cases in lxi. 7; Jer. v. 2, ii. 33; Zech. xi. 7; Job xxxiv. 25, xlii. 3); and the meaning of the passage is that they have fallen into Sheôl, from which they cannot be brought back (Ps. xlix. 15),—then God has utterly swept them away, so that not even their name is perpetuated. When Israel has cause to praise Jehovah in this way, it will again have become a numerous people. Ver. 15: "*Thou hast added to the nation, O Jehovah, Thou hast added to the nation; Thou hast glorified Thyself, Thou hast extended all the boundaries of the land.*" The verb יָסַף, elsewhere construed with לָךְ or לָךְ, is here followed by לָךְ, and contains its object within itself, "to add to" being the same as to give increase. What is here stated is of parallel import with ix. 2 (cf. xlix. 19 f., liv. 1 f.; Micah ii. 12, iv. 7; Obad. 19 f., and many other passages; regarding יָסַף, see especially Micah vii. 11); it is also contained, in germ, in vi. 13b.

The prayer now returns once more to the retrospect already taken, in vers. 8, 9, of the night of sorrow which preceded the redemption that had taken place. Vers. 16–18: "*O Jehovah, in distress they missed Thee; they poured out gentle prayers*

because Thy chastisement fell on them. As a woman with child, who is nearing her delivery, writhes, cries out in her pangs, so have we been before Thee, O Jehovah. We have been with child, we have writhed in pain; it was as if we brought forth wind: deliverance we have not wrought for the land, nor did inhabitants of the world come to the light." The circumstantial clause, כִּי־יִסָּדֵךְ לָמוֹ, "while Thy chastisement was afflicting them" (כִּי being used as in ver. 9), corresponds to בָּצַר in the parallel member; and to פָּקַד (here used in the sense of looking and longing for, as in xxxiv. 16; 1 Sam. xx. 6, xxv. 15; Jer. iii. 16) corresponds צָקָה לָהֶם, "they pour out complaint,"—the perfect (from צָק = צָקַן, Job xxviii. 2, xxix. 6, to pour out, melt), with the plural termination ה (which elsewhere occurs only twice, viz. in Deut. viii. 3, 16, for יִשָּׁקֶה in xxix. 31 is the imperfect from שָׁקַח); and שָׁשַׁל means "whispering," not here as in iii. 3, a whispered utterance of incantation-formulas (G. A. Smith: "they pour out incantations"), but a whispered prayer; for sorrow and consciousness of guilt form so depressing a burden that one cannot venture to speak aloud to God (cf. xxix. 4). Pregnancy and pangs here symbolize a state of most intense expectancy, the end of which seems to be so much the nearer the more the sufferings are intensified. The Church, looking back upon the past, says: "We often thought that deliverance would certainly break forth, but our hope was ever anew disappointed." The first לָמוֹ is equivalent to כִּי ("like a woman with child who," etc.; see the remarks on viii. 23); the second לָמוֹ is equivalent to בָּאֲשֶׁר (cf. Gen. xix. 15; Prov. xxiii. 7), "[it was] as if we brought forth wind," etc.; the mode of construction is not an inversion for "we brought forth, as it were, wind," but לָמוֹ in the sense of "[it was] as if" governs the whole clause. The result of the painful labour was, like that of the seeming pregnancy, a wind-birth; but this state of matters also, as is declared by קִפְּזָנִיךְ, was the effect of Jehovah's working; it was assuredly the consequence of the sins of Israel, and the nation's continued want of the proper capacity for receiving salvation. Along with disappointed hope, ver. 18 sets forth the fruitlessness of man's own work. Israel's own doings,—no, these availed not to "make the land salvation," i.e. to aid it in reaching full and satisfactory salvation; and (for so we may understand the clause at the end)

they waited in vain for the judgment of Jehovah upon the sinful world opposed to them,—or, they made vain efforts to conquer these nations. This explanation is favoured by the fact that the expression יְצִי הָאֶרֶץ, throughout the entire cycle of prophecy, does not denote the inhabitants of the Holy Land, but those of the world, in the sense of κόσμος (see ver. 21, xxiv. 5, 6). The correlation between יְצִי and יִצְיָא (ver. 19), however, as well as the preceding figure of the birth-pangs, preponderatingly declares for the view that יִצְיָא is meant to refer to the falling of the fruit of the body (cf. Wisd. vii. 3; *Iliad*, xix. 110, καταπεσεῖν and πεσεῖν, Talm. to miscarry, as in *Kerithóth* ii. 4, and generally to throw off or separate in the manner of birth). And the expression יְצִי הָאֶרֶץ suits this meaning (viz. that the expected increase of population did not take place), from the fact that it does not here signify “the inhabitants of the earth,” but (indefinitely) “inhabitants of the earth,” or, as we say, young, new-born “mortals.” The condition of the country, as chastised through the oppression of the imperial power, still continued, and there was no appearance of a new generation to repeople the waste land (*Bibl. Psychology*, p. 485, Eng. trans.).

But this has now taken place; and instead of singing in ver. 19 of what has occurred, the prayer places itself in the midst of the occurrence: “*Thy dead ones shall live, my dead bodies shall rise again: awake and exult, ye who lie in the dust. For thy dew is the dew of lights, and the earth will bring shades to the light.*” Such is the language of the Church in the last days, after it has turned to God. Through long-continued sufferings and chastisements, it has melted away to a small remnant; and many of those who could truly be reckoned among its members are now lying dead in the dust of the grave. In the confidence of faith, and in full persuasion of a hope that shall not be put to shame, the cry is raised, “Thy dead ones (those who belong, O Lord, to Thee, and who therefore cannot be lost) shall live again” (*reviviscent*, as in תְּחִיית הַמֵּתִים, the reawakening of the dead); and comfort is drawn from the workings of God’s power and grace which were at that very time being set in operation: “My dead bodies shall rise again” (נִבְלָה, being a word without plural form, but frequently used with plural meaning, as in

v. 25, and therefore here conjoined with תְּלַמְּתָהּ = יְקִימָהּ; in the present form, before the light suffix, there is retention of the *z*, which under other circumstances is lost); while the certainty of the divine purpose gives the ground for the powerful word of faith proclaimed over the field where lie the dead, "Awake, and shout for joy, ye that dwell in the dust,"—this utterance of strong faith finding its justification of itself in looking up to Jehovah with the confession, "Thy dew is dew born out of (supernatural) lights, as the natural dew is born of the morning-dawn" (Ps. cx. 3). Instead of "dew upon herbs" (אֵרֶז = אֵרֶז, as in 2 Kings iv. 39) we take אֵרֶז (from אֵרֶז, as in Ps. cxxxix. 12), in the sense of אֵרֶז הַחַיִּים, "the light of life." The plural indicates that there is a perfect fulness of the lights of life in God ("the Father of lights," Jas. i. 17). Of these is born the gentle dew that revivifies the bones which have been sown in the earth (Ps. cxli. 7),—a deeply significant figure, which is quite obliterated by Hofmann, who would here read חֲדָרִים, "dew of thorough saturation." Luther, who renders "thy dew is a dew of the green field," stands alone among the earlier translators; the Targum, Syriac, Jerome, and Saadia all translate, "thy dew is the dew of light," and, considering the intimate connection in which the Scriptures everywhere place אֵרֶז, φῶς, and חַיִּים, ζωή, this is natural enough.

But we go on to translate, "and the earth (אֶרֶץ) being the subject, as in Prov. xxv. 3; cf. lxv. 17, where it is the object; this form is used instead of אֶרֶץ, which, except in Job xx. 27 and 1 Kings xi. 18, is always only in the construct state) will bring shades to light" (הַיָּמִים being the causative from הָיָה, ver. 18), i.e. bring forth again the dead who have sunk into it; this is the rendering of Luther in the edition of 1541, "and the land will cast forth the dead" (see *Biblical Psychology*, p. 485, Eng. trans.), and it was also preferred by A. H. Franke. The dew from the glory of God falls like a heavenly seed into the bosom of the earth; and in consequence of this the earth gives up the shades which it has hitherto held fast, so that they again appear alive on the surface of the earth. Those who understand ver. 18 as referring to the earnestly expected overthrow of the masters of the world, explain this expression, in conformity with that view, as

meaning "and to the earth (אֶרֶץ being taken as a local accusative = עַל-אֶרֶץ, ver. 5, or אֶרֶץ in xxv. 12) dost thou cast down shades," or even, "and the earth causes shades to fall" (i.e. into itself). Such is the view of Rosenmüller, who says, "terra per prosopopoeiam, ut supra, xxiv. 20, inducta, deturbare in orcum sistitur impios, eo ipso manes eos reddens." But though, according to that view, רַפָּאִים agrees with ver. 14, in which the oppressors of God's people received this designation, yet the rendering would be doubtful here, where the term would need to signify, "those who by that very fact are becoming shades;" but especially, if it be understood as referring to the fall of the oppressors, this succeeding clause gives no natural sequence and progress to the next words, "thy dew is the dew of lights," whereas, according to our explanation, it confines and seals the faith, hope, and prayer of the Church by what follows. Compared with what is stated in the Apocalypse of the New Testament, it is the "first resurrection" which is here predicted. Reuss remarks that the reference here is to national restitution, and not to the resurrection of individuals; this may be true of Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14, but the prophet here plainly means to say that those who acknowledge Jehovah will be awakened out of their graves and restored to the Church. The Church of the times of glory is a Church of those who have been miraculously saved and awakened, both in the present dispensation and in the life to come. Beneath the ground at their feet lie their persecutors.

Of the judgment upon these persecutors no mention is made till after the Church is made up through the addition of its members who had died, though that judgment, in order of actual occurrence, precedes. The standpoint of prophecy in these chapters (xxiv.-xxvii.) continually oscillates backwards and forwards, and this fact explains the exhortation and the attendant reason assigned in vers. 20, 21: "*Go, my people; enter into thy chambers, and shut thy door behind thee: hide thyself for a little moment, until the judgment of wrath passes by. For, behold, Jehovah goeth forth from His place, to visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and the earth reveals the blood she had drunk in, and no more covers her dead.*" The song (שִׁיר) has now come to an end,

and the prophet as such speaks once more. While the judgment of wrath (עֶס) goes on till it shall have passed away (on the future perfect, cf. x. 12, iv. 4; and on the thing itself, see אֲחִירֵית הַיּוֹם, Dan. viii. 19), the people of God are to continue in the solitude of prayer (Matt. vi. 6; cf. Ps. xxvii. 5, xxxi. 21). This they can do, for the judgment by which they are delivered from their foes is the work of Jehovah alone; and this they are to do, for only those who are hidden by God in prayer escape the wrath. The judgment lasts but בְּמִעוֹתָיו (x. 24, 25, liv. 7, 8; cf. Ps. xxx. 6), "a little moment," a short time, shortened for the sake of the elect. Instead of the dual-form דְּלִתָּי (as the house-door, but not the chamber-door is called), the word has with greater show of reason been pointed דְּלִתָּי (from דָּלָה = דְּלָה); in like manner חֲבִי is perhaps purposely changed into the feminine form חֲבִי, because Jehovah acts for the people, while they in a purely passive manner commit themselves to His keeping. Just as Noah, behind whom Jehovah shut the door of the ark, was hidden in it while the torrents of water poured down in judgment outside, — so is the Church to shut itself off from the world without, in its life of prayer, because a storm of judgment is impending. "He goes forth from His place" (the words being exactly the same as in Micah i. 3), i.e. not out of His own immanent divine life, but out of the sphere of manifested glory in which He has shown Himself as present to the spirits. Thence He goes forth, prepared for executing judgment, to visit the inhabitant (יֹשֵׁב is to be regarded as a collective) of the earth for his misdeeds, especially his blood-guiltiness. The prohibition of murder dates from the times of Noah, hence it was inserted as one of the conditions in the "everlasting covenant" (xxiv. 5). The earth brings forward two witnesses: (1) The innocent blood, violently shed (on דְּמַיִם see i. 15), which she was forced to drink in, but which, now disclosed, cries aloud for vengeance; (2) the persons themselves who have been innocently murdered (cf. הַרְגִּים, Ezek. xxxvii. 9), and who slumber within her. Streams of blood come to light and bear witness; martyrs arise and testify against their murderers. The earth is appeased through vengeance being taken for the martyr-blood it has drunk (Deut. xxxii. 43; cf. Num. xxxv. 33).

In xxvii. 1 the special objects of Jehovah's judgment are indicated in figurative but enigmatical language: "*On that day will Jehovah visit with His sword—the heavy, large, and strong one—leviathan the fleet serpent, and leviathan the tortuous serpent, and He will slay the dragon which is in the sea.*" The three animals are doubtless symbols of three empires. There is no truth in the assertion (by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Knobel, Umbreit, and Luzzatto), that there are no more three animals than there are three swords. If the preposition with the suffixed noun "his sword" were repeated before each adjective (בְּחֶרְבוֹ הַקָּשָׁה וּבְחֶרְבוֹ הַגָּדוֹלָה וְעַל) we should have to understand that there were also three swords; but it is in this threefold manner (with עַל repeated) that the statement is made regarding the number of the animals. We have thus to ask what are the three empires. Now, the תַּנִּין (the long aquatic animal) is the constant emblem of Egypt (li. 9; Ps. lxxiv. 13; Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2). And as the country of the Euphrates and Assyria are mentioned in vers. 12, 13 along with Egypt, it is highly probable that the two other animals will mean the kingdom on the Tigris (i.e. Assyria, with its capital Nineveh, on the Tigris), and the kingdom on the Euphrates (i.e. Chaldea, with its capital Babylon, on the Euphrates). Besides, the designation of the two kingdoms by means of the common term "leviathan," while the difference is indicated merely by the attributive in each case, certainly points to two related kingdoms. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the fact that נָחַשׁ בָּרִית in Job xxvi. 13 indicates a constellation; here we have not בְּמָרוֹם as in xxiv. 21, and we are therefore on the surface of the earth. The primary occasion of the designation here given was the situation of the two cities. Nineveh stood on the Tigris, the Hebraized name of which (viz. תִּקְרָל) points to its rapid course and terrible rapids; hence Assyria is compared to a serpent moving in a rapid, impetuous, and long-extended course (בָּרִית as in xliii. 14, for בָּרִית, following the form עֲלִיז, —different from בָּרִית, a bar or bolt, xv. 5); Babylon, on the other hand, is compared to a winding serpent, i.e. one that moves in serpentine curves, because it was situated on the Euphrates, which has many turns and labyrinth-like windings, especially in the vicinity of Babylon.

For the river, which formerly used to flow straight on, was made to wind about through curves artificially formed, in such a way that it had thrice to pass the same place (called Arderikka), which, in the time of Herodotus, as he assures us, every one who sailed down the river could not avoid passing three times in three days.¹ The peculiar feature of the tortuous serpent symbolizes, it would seem, both the longer duration of the one empire than the other, and the more numerous complications in which it will involve Israel. The empire on the Tigris soon pounces upon Israel, so that the fate of this kingdom is quickly decided; whereas the empire on the Euphrates advances by many windings, and surrounds its prey with many folds. These windings are all the more numerous because, in the view of the prophet, Babylon is the final form in which the empire of the world appears; hence Israel continues to be entwined by this serpent till the last days. The judgment on Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt is the judgment on all the world-empires together.

D.—*The fourth echo: the fruitful vineyard under the protection of Jehovah, chap. xxvii. 2-6.*

The prophecy now, in vers. 2-5, for the fourth time passes into the form and spirit of a song. In the judgments on the world, the Church recognises itself as Jehovah's carefully protected and beloved vineyard.

"On that day,—
A merry vineyard,—sing of it!
I, Jehovah, its keeper,—
Every moment I water it.
That nothing may visit it,
Day and night I keep it.

¹ In Greek, several rivers are called Δράκων or Ὄφις; moreover Φιδάρι, the modern Greek name of the Euēnos, is equivalent to Ὀφιδάριον. Cf. Paul Cassel's *Drachenkämpfe* (1868), p. 106. The Books of the Augurs called the river Tiber *colubrum tanquam flexuosum* (Serv. on *Aen.* viii. 95). Moreover, both Aratus (*Phaen.* 45) and Virgil (*Georg.* i. 244) compare the constellation known by the name of the Dragon to a stream winding its way, *flextu sinuoso*, between the two Bears.

*Wrath have I none—
 O, had I thorns, thistles before me!
 In battle would I break forth on them,
 Burn them all together.
 Men would then need to lay hold of my protection—
 Make peace with me,
 Peace make with me."*

Instead of introducing the song, as in xxvi. 1, with "this song shall be sung," or "they shall say," or similar words, the prophecy at once makes a transition into the song: the case is the same as in Ps. lxxxvii. 7. It forms a descending scale of strophes,—one of five lines (vers. 2, 3), one of four lines (ver. 4), and one of three lines (ver. 5). The theme or subject stands at the beginning, in the absolute case: **בְּרִים הָמֶר** may mean a vineyard (cf. **בְּרִים יִהְיֶה** in Judg. xv. 5), and this, too (for the term **خمر**, which in Arabic means "wine"

—from its fermenting—is a choice poetic word in Hebrew), one which produces fiery, generous wine; perhaps, however, the reading should be **בְּרִים הָמֶר**, as indicated in xxxii. 12, the LXX., Targum, and some MSS. The expression **עָנָה לִּי** (as in Ex. xxxii. 18, and more frequently the Qal, Num. xxi. 17; Hos. ii. 17; cf. our remarks on Ps. cxlvii. 7) signifies to strike up or begin a song regarding anything: it is a different word from **עָנָה** (عنى, cognate with **عَن**, to "meet," ἀμειβεσθαι), to make a nasal sound, then to sing through the nose (i.e. in Oriental fashion). The term **בְּרִים**, "vineyard," is feminine here, like **בְּאֵר** in the song of the well, Num. xxi. 17 f., and like Israel, which is symbolized by the vineyard (iii. 14, v. 1 f.), and is sometimes regarded as a masculine, sometimes as a feminine (xxvi. 20). Jehovah Himself is introduced as speaking. He is the keeper of this vineyard, who waters it every moment when there is need (the plural form **לְיָמִים** being used distributively, instead of the doubled singular,—like **לְבָקִירִים**, "every morning," in xxxiii. 2), and watches it by night as well as by day, so that nothing may "visit it,"—the expression **עָלָה**, which is elsewhere used to signify visitation by punishment, being here used of visitation through mis-

fortune of any kind.¹ Because it is the Church which has been purified through misfortunes, the feeling of Jehovah towards it is one of pure love, without any admixture of burning wrath (חֵסֶד)—a disposition which is displayed only towards those who venture to injure this vineyard. It is by way of challenge that Jehovah says, "Who, then, gives me thorns, thistles!" The form יִתְּנֵי is used instead of יִתֵּן, as in Jer. ix. 1; cf. Josh. xv. 19. The unconnected "thorns, thistles" instead of "thorns and thistles," which is the form usually employed elsewhere, is quite in keeping with the impassioned state of the great protector. If He had thorns, thistles before Him, He would burst forth upon them (בָּהֶם being used in a neuter sense,—upon such a mass of bushes) in war, and set them on fire (הִצִּיתִי = הִצִּיתָ). The arrangement of the strophes requires us, with Knobel, against the accents, to connect בְּפִלְחֶמָה with אֶשְׁשֻׁעָ; the vocalisation of this word (instead of which there is also found the reading אֶשְׁשֻׁעָ) is to be decided in the same way as that of סִבְלוֹ in ix. 3, and לִקְחָה in Gen. ii. 23, בְּפִסְעָה in 2 Kings ii. 1, 11, etc. In the very choice of the expression בְּפִלְחֶמָה, we may plainly see that thorns and thistles represent the enemies of the Church (2 Sam. xxiii. 6 f.). In this sense the brief song concludes with ver. 5: only by giving themselves up to mercy will they find mercy. When אִם is followed by the voluntative, it signifies "unless," as in Lev. xxvi. 41; הִתְחַיֵּץ אֵל (as in 1 Kings i. 50, where it is applied to Adonijah, who seized the horns of the altar) is here combined with בָּעֵץ, in which are intertwined the meanings of a "strong rock" (from עָצָה) and a "place of refuge" (from עָץ, to hide oneself, flee for refuge; cf. the remarks on xxx. 2); עֵשָׂה שְׁלוֹם לִי is employed as in Josh. ix. 15. Here ends the song. What the Church expresses in it is her consciousness of the gracious protection of her God,—a conviction that has been confirmed by her most recent experiences.

To the song of the vineyard the prophet adds, as if by way

¹ The rabbis of Tiberias (Menahem ben Seruk, etc.) read אֶשְׁשֻׁעָ instead of the form in the text; and the older expositors (followed by Abarbanel) explain the passage as if it read בְּפִלְחֶמָה יִתְּנֵי, "that its foliage may not be found wanting:" see Ewald-Dukes, *Beiträge*, ii. 146.

of explanation, in ver. 6: "*In the future will Jacob strike roots, Israel will blossom and bud, and fill the surface of the earth with fruits.*" That the peculiar language of prophecy recommences here is seen even in the use of הַיָּמִים (a temporal accusative, as in Eccles. ii. 16, which in meaning is equivalent to הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים, "behold, days are coming when . . .". Jer. vii. 32, etc.). On the employment of the active form יִכְרֹם, cf. Jer. xix. 4, Ezek. viii. 17, etc. The divergent reading תִּכְרֹם has arisen from an error of the scribes. Some editors have יִכְרֹם as the *Kethib*, and תִּכְרֹם as the *Qert*. The prophet says, in figurative language (cf. xxxvii. 31), the same as what the apostle declares in Rom. xi. 12, that Israel, when restored to favour as a nation, will become "the riches of the Gentiles."

JEHOVAH'S DEALINGS WITH ISRAEL FOR THEIR CHASTISEMENT
AND FOR THEIR SALVATION, CHAP. XXVII. 7-13.

The prophet does not now, even in ver. 7 ff., return to his own actual present, but, certain that Israel will not be exalted before it has been thoroughly humbled on account of its sins, he places himself in the midst of this condition of punishment. And then, in full view of the glorious future of Israel, there comes out clearly before his eyes the fact that the punitive dealings of God towards Israel are quite different from those directed against the world. Vers. 7, 8: "*Hath He smitten it like the smiting of its smiter, or hath it been stricken down, like the striking of those stricken by it? In measure, when thou didst drive it away, didst thou punish it, sifting with strong blast on the day of the east wind.*" מַכֵּהוּ, "its smiter," is the empire that attacked Israel (x. 20), and הַרְגָיו are the slain ones of the empire who have fallen under the strokes of Jehovah. The former smites unmercifully, and its slain ones are lying without hope (xxvi. 14); Jehovah smites differently, and it is different with the Church which was slain in the persons of many of its righteous members. (On the two cases of play upon words, cf. xxiv. 16, xxii. 18, x. 16.) When Jehovah rejected Israel (as if by means of a "bill of divorcement," l. 1), He contended against it (xlix. 25), i.e. punished it "in measure" (בְּמִסְפָּאָה = סָפָה, בְּמִסְפָּאָה), and only in measure (cf.

"peace, peace," xxvi. 3), not in unmeasured wrath, but in a manner conditioned by the terms of the covenant (cf. ^{לְשָׁלוֹם} ^{לְשָׁלוֹם} Jer. x. 24; ^{לְשָׁלוֹם} xxx. 11, xli. 28). Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel read ^{בְּשָׁלוֹם} ^{בְּשָׁלוֹם} (from a form ^{שָׁלוֹם}, allied to ^{שָׁלוֹם} and also ^{שָׁלוֹם}, "when thou didst disturb it," or, "didst drive it away"); but the traditional text does not point to any various reading showing ה with *mappiq* (ה); and the early translations (except the LXX, which has *μαχόμενος*) and expositors all regard the word as a reduplication of ^{שָׁלוֹם}, which, as the third part of an ephah, here indicates a pretty large measure. The clause ^{הֵנָּה בְּרִיתוֹ} is possibly to be regarded as an elliptical relative clause, in which case also the transition into the third person is best explained ("thou who sifted," etc.); but perhaps ^{הֵנָּה} has been intended. ^{הֵנָּה} here (as in Prov. xxiv. 4 f.; see our remarks on that passage) means to separate, remove (e.g. the dross from silver, i. 25). Jehovah sifted Israel (cf. the figure of the threshing-floor in xxi. 10) when, appointing the captivity for the nation, He blew upon it as violently as if the east wind were raging (see our commentary on Job xxvii. 21).

But He merely sifted, He did not destroy; He was angry, but not without love; He punished, but this in order that He might pardon again. Ver. 9: "*Therefore, in this way will the iniquity of Jacob be atoned for; and this is all the fruit of the removal of his sin: when he makes all altar-stones like lime-stones that have been broken to pieces, images of Astarte and sun-pillars do not rise up again.*" With the word "therefore," a conclusion is drawn from the previous expression "in measure:" God punishes Israel moderately; His punishment is a remedial measure, hence it gives way as soon as its end is attained, and it will be removed even now if Israel completely renounces sin, and, especially, the sin of all sins—idolatry. ^{כֵּן} ("thus," or "in this way") points to the following ^{כֵּן} ("when he makes"),—by this, namely, the destruction of the altars and the images of Ishtar (Ashēra), and of the sun-god (see the remarks on xvii. 8). By Israel's putting away the fundamental cause of all evil, namely, idolatry (which still continued to flourish among the exiles, Ezek. xi. 18, etc.), the guilt for which it has now to suffer will be covered, i.e. will be esteemed by God as no longer existent (see the remarks on

xxii. 14).¹ The intermediate clause (cf. xxvi. 11b) declares that this which follows will be the very fruit, sought by Jehovah, of the removal of Israel's sin, which He designed to accomplish through chastisement.

The prophet says this, speaking out from the midst of the state of punishment ; and he can thus now further prove, by the punishment which has followed the sin, that the punishment will cease with the sin. Vers. 10, 11: "*For the fenced city is solitary, a dwelling given up and forsaken like the wilderness ; there calves feed, and there they lie down and devour its branches. When its twigs become dry, they are broken off ; women come, make fires of them, for it is not an intelligent nation ; therefore its Creator pities it not, and its Former shows it no favour.*" These chapters (xxiv.-xxvii.) everywhere present such a mixture of light and darkness that it is a question whether by עִיר בְּצִוְרָה is meant the capital of the world-empire or the capital of the people of God ; our opinion is that only Jerusalem can be meant, inasmuch as Israel certainly is the people with no discernment (i. 3), the nation of which Jehovah is called the Creator and Former (xxii. 11). The standpoint of the prophet is therefore on the other side of the destruction of Jerusalem, in the midst of the exile. In spite of this, everything has an Isaian ring ; cf. generally xxxii. 13 f., v. 17, and in particular xvi. 2, 9, xi. 7, etc. The suffix in the expression "its branches" refers to the city, whose ruins were overgrown with bushes. Synonymous with קַעֲצִים, "branches" (always with *Dagesh*, to distinguish it from קַעֲצִים, "clefts," ii. 21), is קָצִיר, a "cutting," or sprig that can easily be cut off ; this word has been erroneously rendered "harvest" in the Vulgate, as well as by Symmachus and Saadiah. The form קַעֲצִינָה is not a singular (as in xxviii. 3), but a plural (Ges. § 47, note 3), referring to the separate twigs of which קָצִיר the brushwood (i.e. dried branches) consists ; reference is made to this, in a neuter sense, by אִתָּהּ ; "women light it" (הָאִיר), as in Mal. i. 10), i.e. make with it a flame giving light (אִיר), and warm-

¹ The condition presupposes the prevalence of idolatry at the time among the people ; hence Smend, who brings down the date of chaps. 24-27 to the fourth century B.C., understands advance of the Jews towards the heathen worship around them.

ing fire (אֵשׁ, xlv. 16). So waste will Jerusalem lie that in places where men once swarmed, a calf will comfortably be eating off the green foliage of the bushes growing between the ruins; and where hostile armies had been forced to withdraw without having accomplished their object, women come and take away, undisturbed, as much wood as they require.

But when Israel repents, the grace of God will change everything. Vers. 12, 13: "*And it will come to pass on that day, a beating will Jehovah make from the swelling of the Euphrates to the brook of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered one to another, ye sons of Israel. And it will come to pass on that day, there shall be a blowing with a great trumpet, and those who are lost in the land of Assyria come, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and cast themselves down before Jehovah, in the holy mountain in Jerusalem.*" All those expositions of ver. 12 which understand it as referring, like ver. 13, to the return of the exiles, I regard as false. The Euphrates and the brook of Egypt (i.e. the *Wady el-'Arish*) are, of course, the promised boundaries of the land of Israel on the north-east and south-west (Gen. xv. 18; 1 Kings viii. 65); and it is not stated that Jehovah will beat on the outside of these boundaries, but within them. Hence Gesenius seems to be pretty correct when he says that "the kingdom will be re-peopled to the fullest extent that had been promised, and that, too, as rapidly and as numerous as if human beings were dropping like olives from the trees." The term הָכָה is certainly applied in Deut. xxiv. 20 to the beating of olives; but this figure does not suit the present passage, for olives, before they can be beaten down from the trees, must already be in existence, whereas the land of Israel is to be regarded as desolate. What we expect is that Jehovah (as promised in xxvi. 19, 21) will make the dead to live within the whole wide extent of the promised land. הָכָה (cf. خبط, to beat something off, e.g. to beat a tree in order to shake off leaves or fruit) is the word usually employed to indicate the beating out of those husked fruits which are too tender and valuable to be threshed; these are carefully beaten with a stick, as mentioned in xxviii. 27, for they would be destroyed by violent process of threshing. The large and extensive field

of the dead, stretching from the Euphrates to the Rhinokouloura, is compared to a threshing-floor covered with such fine and tender fruit. There lie true Israelites and apostate Israelites mingled together; but Jehovah will separate the one company from the other. He will set a beating in operation that the true members of the Church may appear, separated from the false, as the grains are separated from the husks and the straw. "Thy dead ones shall live,"—to this the prophet here returns. And with this view accords the choice of the word שֶׁבַל, which combines in itself the meanings of "streaming" (Ps. lxix. 3, 16), and an "ear" of corn, שֶׁבַל (to go, move on), being equally applicable to the waters which flow along and to the elongated head of the stalk of corn grown up (cf. also שֶׁבַל in xlvi. 2). In this passage the word, admitting of two meanings, presents a beautiful dilogy (cf. a similar case in xix. 18 and Hab. ii. 7). From the "ear" of the Euphrates to the Peninsula of Sinai, Jehovah will beat—a great heap of ears, the grains of which are to be gathered together into one לְאֶחָד אֶחָד (a construct form, without the genitival relation, as is frequently the case with this numeral, *e.g.* in 2 Sam. xvii. 22), one, *i.e.* one to the other, hence not in a slump, wholesale, but with careful attention given to every individual (cf. לְאֶחָד אֶחָד, Eccles. vii. 27). To this risen Church there comes the still living scattered ones, gathered by divine signal (cf. xviii. 3, xi. 12). Assyria and Egypt are specifically named as lands in which the banished ones are found, but these countries represent all the lands of exile, as in xix. 23–25, cf. xi. 11. Both names are emblematical, and hence are not to be used as a proof that the prophecy lay within the horizon of Isaiah.

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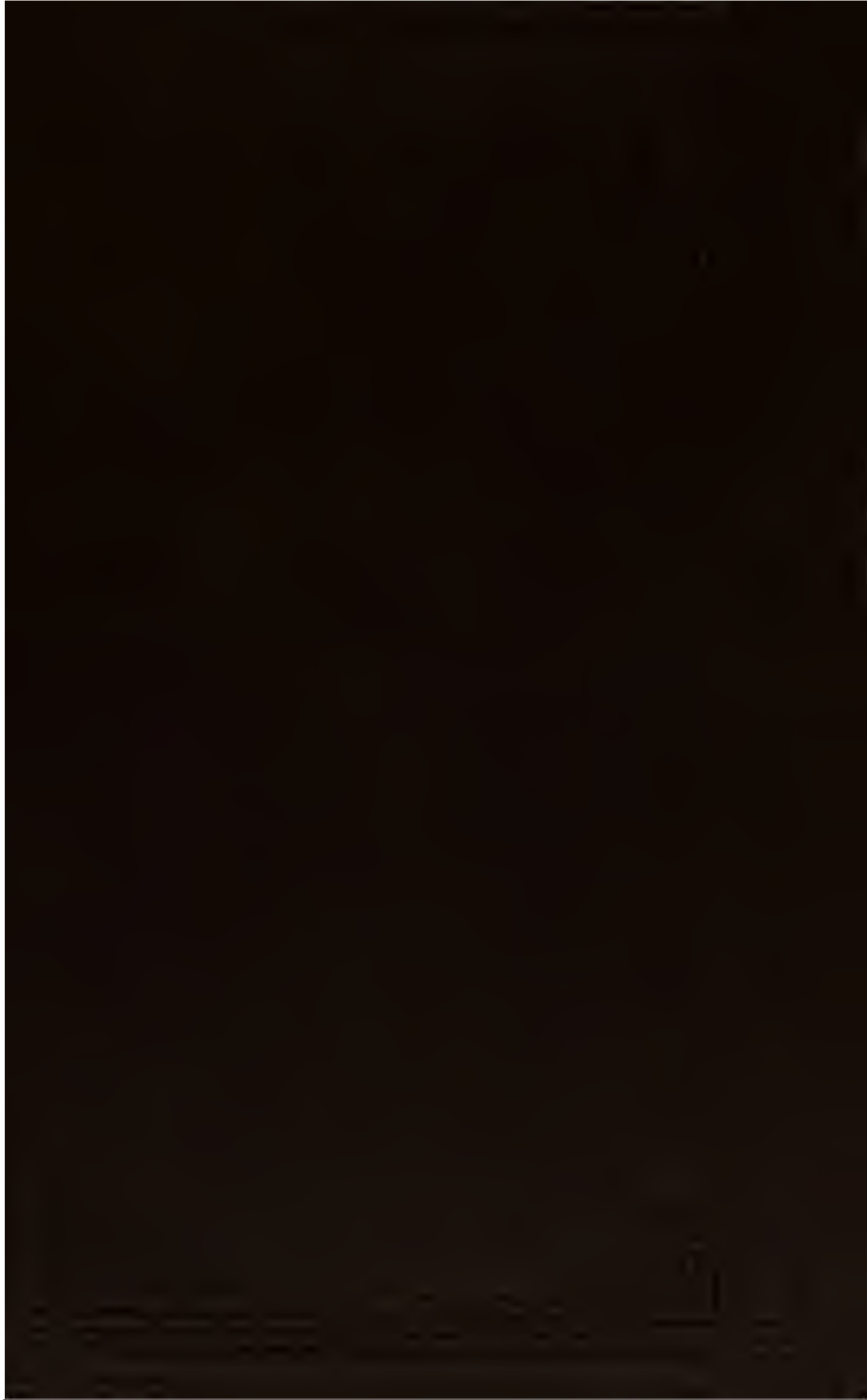
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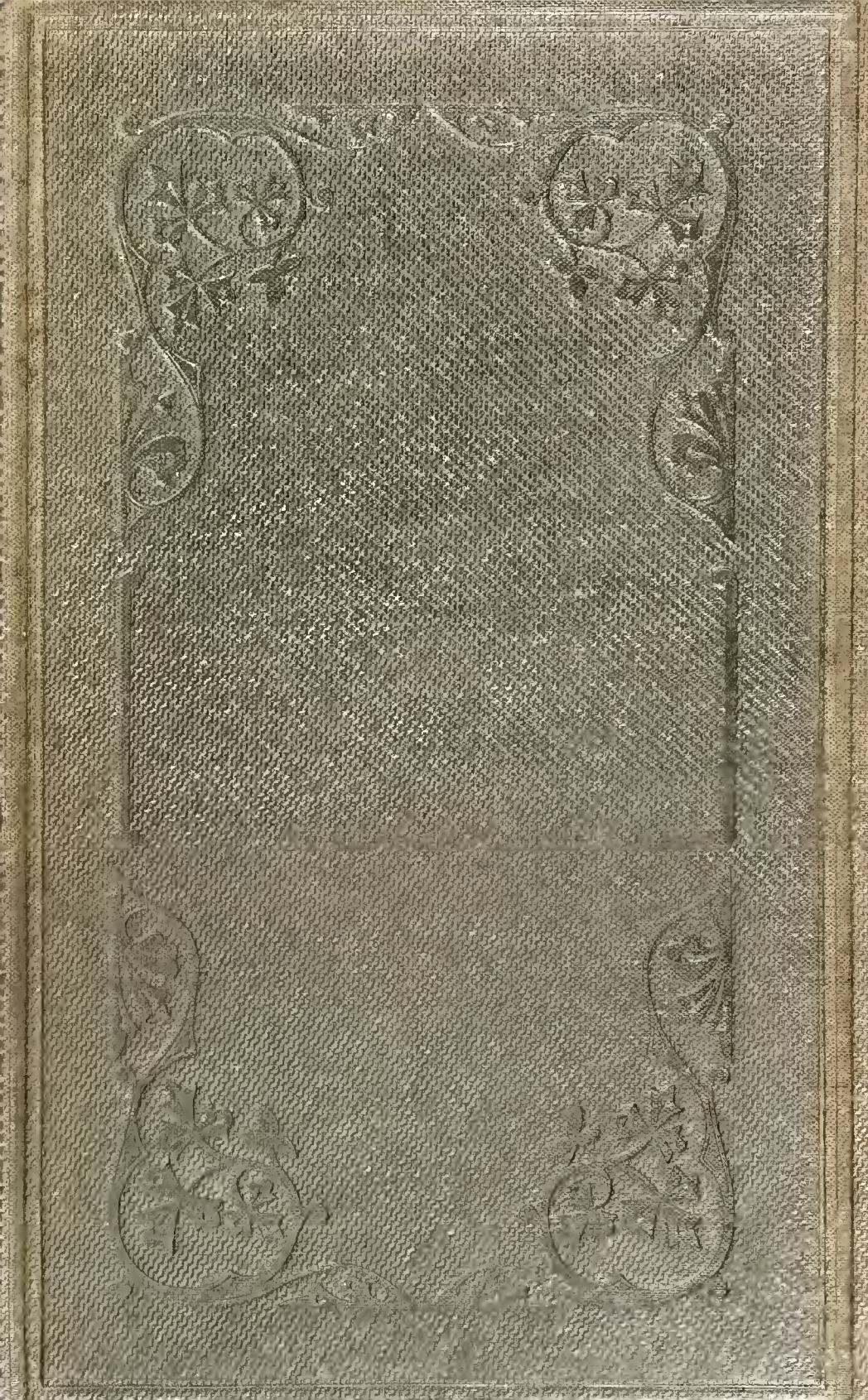
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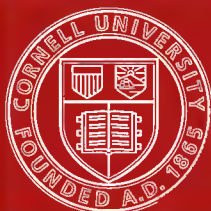
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THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

BY

FRANZ DELITZSCH. D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

Translated from the German,

BY

THE REV. JAMES MARTIN, B.A.

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PART V.

BOOK OF WOES;

OR HISTORICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO ASSHUR AND THE EGYPTIAN ALLIANCE.

CHAP. XXVIII.—XXXIII.



THESE chapters carry us to the earliest years of Hezekiah's reign, probably to the second and third; as Samaria has not yet been destroyed. They run parallel to the book of Micah, which also takes its start from the destruction of Samaria, and are as faithful a mirror of the condition of the people under Hezekiah, as ch. vii.—xii. were of their condition under Ahaz. The time of Ahaz was characterized by a spiritless submission to the Assyrian yoke; that of Hezekiah by a casual striving after liberty. The people tried to throw off the yoke of Assyria; not with confidence in Jehovah, however, but in reliance upon the help of Egypt. This Egypticizing policy is traced step by step by Isaiah, in ch. xxviii.—xxxii. The gradual rise of these addresses may be seen from the fact, that they follow the gradual growth of the alliance with Egypt through all its stages, until it is fully concluded. By the side of this casual ground of trust, which Jehovah will sweep away, the prophet exhibits the precious corner-stone in Zion as the true, firm ground of confidence. We might therefore call these chapters (xxviii.—xxxiii.) "the book of the precious corner-stone," just as we called ch. vii.—xii. "the book of Immanuel." But the prophecy in ch. xxviii. 16

does not determine and mould the whole of this section, in the same manner in which the other section is moulded and governed by the prophecy of the Son of the Virgin. We therefore prefer to call this cycle of prophecy "the book of woes;" for censure and threatening are uttered here in repeated utterances of "*woe*," not against Israel only, but more especially against Judah and Jerusalem, until at last, in ch. xxxiii., the "*hoi* concerning Jerusalem" is changed into a "*hoi* concerning Asshur." All the independent and self-contained addresses in this cycle of prophecy commence with *hoi* ("*woe*:" ch. xxviii., xxix., xxx., xxxi.-xxxii., xxxiii.). The section which does not begin with *hoi* (viz. ch. xxxii. 9-20) is the last and dependent part of the long address commencing with ch. xxxi. 1. On the other hand, ch. xxix. 15-24 also commences with *hoi*, though it does not form a distinct address in itself, since ch. xxix. forms a complete whole. The subdivisions of the sections, therefore, have not a uniform commencement throughout; but the separate and independent addresses all commence with *hoi*. The climax of these prophecies of woe is ch. xxx. Up to this point the exclamation of woe gradually ascends, but in ch. xxxi.-xxxii. it begins to fall; and in ch. xxxiii. (which contains an epilogue that was only added in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign) it has changed into the very opposite. The prophet begins with *hoi*, but it is a woe concerning the devastator. This *utmost* woe, however, was not fulfilled at the point of time when the fulfilment of "the *utmost*" predicted in ch. xxviii.-xxxii. was apparently close at hand; but Jerusalem, though threatened with destruction, was miraculously saved. Yet the prophet had not merely to look on, as Jonah had. He himself predicted this change in the purpose of God, inasmuch as the direction of the "woe" in his mouth is altered, like that of the wrath of God, which turns from Jerusalem to Asshur, and destroys it.

THE FIRST WOE.—JUDGMENT UPON SAMARIA AND JERUSALEM,
AND CONSOLATION FOR BOTH.—CHAP. XXVIII.

Isaiah, like Micah, commences with the fall of the proud and intoxicated Samaria. Ver. 1. "*Woe to the proud crown of the drunken of Ephraim, and to the fading flower of its splendid*

ornament, which is upon the head of the luxuriant valley of those slain with wine." The allusion is to Samaria, which is called (1) "the pride-crown of the drunken of Ephraim," *i.e.* the crown of which the intoxicated and blinded Ephraimites were proud (ch. xxix. 9, xix. 14), and (2) "the fading flower" (on the expression itself, compare ch. i. 30, xl. 7, 8) "of the ornament of his splendour," *i.e.* the flower now fading, which had once been the ornament with which they made a show. This flower stood "upon the head of the valley of fatnesses of those slain with wine" (cf. ch. xvi. 8), *i.e.* of the valley so exuberant with fruitfulness, belonging to the Ephraimites, who were thoroughly enslaved by wine. Samaria stood upon a beautiful swelling hill, which commanded the whole country round in a most regal way (Amos iv. 1, vi. 1), in the centre of a large basin, of about two hours' journey in diameter, shut in by a gigantic circle of still loftier mountains (Amos iii. 9). The situation was commanding; the hill terraced up to the very top; and the surrounding country splendid and fruitful (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 660, 661). The expression used by the prophet is intentionally bombastic. He heaps genitives upon genitives, as in ch. x. 12, xxi. 17. The words are linked together in pairs. *Sh'mānīm* (fatnesses) has the absolute form, although it is annexed to the following word, the logical relation overruling the syntactical usage (compare ch. xxxii. 13, 1 Chron. ix. 13). The *sesquipedalia verba* are intended to produce the impression of excessive worldly luxuriance and pleasure, upon which the woe is pronounced. The epithet *nōbhēl* (fading: possibly a genitive, as in ver. 4), which is introduced here into the midst of this picture of splendour, indicates that all this splendour is not only destined to fade, but is beginning to fade already.

In the next three verses the *hoi* is expanded. Vers. 2-4. "*Behold, the Lord holds a strong and mighty thing like a hail-storm, a pestilent tempest; like a storm of mighty overflowing waters, He casts down to the earth with almighty hand. With feet they tread down the proud crown of the drunken of Ephraim. And it happens to the fading flower of its splendid ornament, which is upon the head of the luxuriant valley, as to an early fig before it is harvest, which whoever sees it looks at, and it is no sooner in his hand than he swallows it.*" "A strong and mighty thing:" חֲזָק וְעֹמֵק we have rendered in the neuter (with the

LXX. and Targum) rather than in the masculine, as Luther does, although the strong and mighty thing which the Lord holds in readiness is no doubt the Assyrian. He is simply the medium of punishment in the hand of the Lord, which is called *yád* absolutely, because it is absolute in power,—as it were, the hand of all hands. This hand hurls Samaria to the ground (on the expression itself, compare ch. xxv. 12, xxvi. 5), so that they tread the proud crown to pieces with their feet (*tērâ-masnâh*, the more pathetic plural form, instead of the singular *tērâmēs*; Ges. § 47, Ann. 3, and Caspari on Obad. 13). The noun *sa'ar*, which is used elsewhere in the sense of shuddering, signifies here, like כַּעֲרָה, an awful tempest; and when connected with קָטָב, a tempest accompanied with a pestilential blast, spreading miasma. Such destructive power is held by the absolute hand. It is soon all over then with the splendid flower that has already begun to fade (צִיץ נָבֵל, like צִיץ נָבֵל in ch. xxii. 24). It happens to it as to a *bikkūrâh* (according to the Masora, written with *mappik* here, as distinguished from Hos. ix. 10, equivalent to *l'bhikkūrâthâh*; see Job xi. 9, "like an early fig of this valley;" according to others, it is simply euphonic). The gathering of figs takes place about August. Now, if any one sees a fig as early as June, he fixes his eyes upon it, and hardly touches it with his hand before he swallows it, and that without waiting to masticate it long. Like such a dainty bit will the luxuriant Samaria vanish. The fact that Shalmanassar, or his successor Sargon, did not conquer Samaria till after the lapse of three years (2 Kings xviii. 10), does not detract from the truth of the prophecy; it is enough that both the thirst of the conqueror and the utter destruction of Samaria answered to it.

The threat is now followed by a promise. This is essentially the same in character as ch. iv. 2-6. The place of the false glory thus overthrown is now filled by a glory that is divine and true. Vers. 5, 6. "*In that day will Jehovah of hosts be the adorning crown and the splendid diadem to the remnant of His people; and the spirit of justice to them that sit on the judgment-seat, and heroic strength to them that drive back war at the gate.*" "The remnant of His people" (שְׁאֵר with a fixed *kametz*, as in ch. xxi. 17) is not Judah, as distinguished from Ephraim that had utterly perished; but Judah and the remain-

ing portion of Ephraim, as distinguished from the portion which had perished. After the perishable thing in which they gloried had been swept away, the eternal person of Jehovah Himself would be the ornament and pride of His people. He, the Lord of the seven spirits (ch. xi. 2), would be to this remnant of His people the spirit of right and heroic strength. There would be an end to unjust judging and powerless submission. The judges are called "those who sit *'al-hammishpât*" in the sense of "on the seat of judgment" (Ps. ix. 5, cxvii. 5); the warriors are called "those who press back *milchâmâh shâ'râh*" (war at the gate), *i.e.* either war that has reached their own gate (ch. xxii. 7), or war which they drive back as far as the gate of the enemy (2 Sam. xi. 23; 1 Macc. v. 22). The promise in this last passage corresponds to Mic. v. 4, 5. The *athnach* in ver. 6 ought to stand at *hammishpât*; the second clause of the verse may be completed from the first, וְלִנְבוֹרָה being equivalent to וְלָרֶחַץ גְּבוּרָה, and לְמַשִּׁיבֵי to מְשִׁיבֵי. We might regard 2 Chron. xxx. as a fulfilment of what is predicted in ver. 6, if the feast of passover there described really fell in the age succeeding the fall of Samaria; for this feast of passover did furnish a representation and awaken a consciousness of that national unity which had been interrupted from the time of Rehoboam. But if we read the account in the Chronicles with unprejudiced minds, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that this feast of passover took place in the second month of the first year of Hezekiah's reign, and therefore not after the depopulation of the northern kingdom by Shalmanassar, but after the previous and partial depopulation by Tiglath-pileser (see vol. i. p. 52). In fact, the fulfilment cannot be looked for at all in the space between the sixth and fourteenth years of Hezekiah, since the condition of Judah during that time does not answer at all to the promises given above. The prophet here foretells what might be hoped for, when Asshur had not only humbled Ephraim, but Judah also. The address consists of two connected halves, the promising beginnings of which point to one and the same future, and lay hold of one another.

With the words, "and they also," the prophet commences the second half of the address, and passes from Ephraim to Judah. Vers. 7, 8. "And they also reel with wine, and are

giddy with meth; priest and prophet reel with meth, are swallowed up by wine: they are giddy with meth, reel when seeing visions, stagger when pronouncing judgment. For all tables are full of filthy vomit, without any more place." The Judæans are not less overcome with wine than the Ephraimites, and especially the rulers of Judah. In wicked violation of the law of God, which prohibited the priests from drinking strong drink when performing priestly service, and that on pain of death (Lev. x. 9, cf. Ezek. xlv. 21), they were intoxicated even in the midst of their prophetic visions (הִרְאָה, literally "the thing seeing," then the act of seeing; equivalent to רָאָה, like הִרְאָה in ver. 15 = הִזִּית; Olshausen, § 176, c), and when passing judicial sentences. In the same way Micah also charges the prophets and priests with being drunkards (Mic. iii. 1 sqq., cf. ii. 11). Isaiah's indignation is manifested in the fact, that in the words which he uses he imitates the staggering and stumbling of the toppers; like the well-known passage, *Sta pes sta mi pes stas pes ne labere mi pes*. Observe, for example, the threefold repetition of *shâgu—tâglu, shâgu—tâglu, shâgu—pâqu*. The hereditary priests and the four prophets represent the whole of the official personages. The preterites imply that drunkenness had become the fixed habit of the holders of these offices. The preposition אֵי indicates the cause ("through," as in 2 Sam. xiii. 28 and Esther i. 10), and *min* the effect proceeding from the cause (in consequence of wine). In ver. 8 we can hear them vomit. We have the same combination of the *p* and *z* in the verb *kotzen*, Gothic *kozan*. All the tables of the carousal are full, without there being any further room (cf. ch. v. 8); everything swims with vomit. The prophet paints from nature, here without idealizing. He receives their conduct as it were in a mirror, and then in the severest tones holds up this mirror before them, adults though they were.

Vers. 9, 10. "*Whom then would he teach knowledge? And to whom make preaching intelligible? To those weaned from the milk? To those removed from the breast? For precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, a little here, a little there!"* They sneer at the prophet, that intolerable moralist. They are of age, and free; and he does not need to bring knowledge to them (*da'ath* as in ch. xi. 9), or make them understand the proclamation. They know of old to what he would lead.

Are they little children that have just been weaned (on the constructives, see ch. ix. 2, v. 11, xxx. 18; Ges. § 114, 1), and who must let themselves be tutored? For the things he preaches are nothing but endless petty teazings. The short words (*tsáv*, as in Hos. v. 11), together with the diminutive *עִיר* (equivalent to the Arabic *sugayyir*, mean, from *sagír*, small), are intended to throw ridicule upon the smallness and vexatious character of the prophet's interminable and uninterrupted chidings, as *ל* (= *לָעַל*, *לֵא*; comp. *לָעַל*, ch. xxvi. 15) implies that they are; just as the philosophers in Acts xvii. 18 call Paul a *σπερμολόγος*, a collector of seeds, *i.e.* a dealer in trifles. And in the repetition of the short words we may hear the heavy babbling language of the drunken scoffers.

The prophet takes the *ki* ("for") out of their mouths, and carries it on in his own way. It was quite right that their ungodliness should show itself in such a way as this, for it would meet with an appropriate punishment. Vers. 11-13. "*For through men stammering in speech, and through a strange tongue, will He speak to this people. He who said to them, There is rest, give rest to weary ones, and there is refreshing! But they would not hear. Therefore the word of Jehovah becomes to them precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, a little here, a little there, that they may go and stumble backwards, and be wrecked to pieces, and be snared and taken.*" Jehovah would speak to the scoffing people of stammering tongue a language of the same kind, since He would speak to them by a people that stammered in their estimation, *i.e.* who talked as barbarians (cf. *βαρβαρίζειν* and *balbutire*; see ch. xxxiii. 19, compared with Deut. xxviii. 49). The Assyrian Semitic had the same sound in the ear of an Israelite, as Low Saxon (a provincial dialect) in the ear of an educated German; in addition to which, it was plentifully mixed up with Iranian, and possibly also with Tatar elements. This people would practically interpret the will of Jehovah in its own *patois* to the despisers of the prophet. Jehovah had directed them, through His prophets, after the judgments which they had experienced with sufficient severity (ch. i. 5 sqq.), into the true way to rest and refreshing (Jer. vi. 16), and had exhorted them to give rest to the nation, which had suffered so much under Ahaz through the calamities of war (2 Chron. xxviii.), and not

to drag it into another war by goading it on to rise against Assyria, or impose a new burden in addition to the tribute to Assyria by purchasing the help of Egypt. But they would not hearken (אָבִיָּא = אָבִי, ch. xxx. 15, 16; Ges. § 23, 3, Anm. 3). Their policy was a very different one from being still, or believing and waiting. And therefore the word of Jehovah, which they regarded as an endless series of trivial commands, would be turned in their case into an endless series of painful sufferings. To those who thought themselves so free, and lived so free, it would become a stone on which they would go to pieces, a net in which they would be snared, a trap in which they would be caught (compare ch. viii. 14, 15).

The prophet now directly attacks the great men of Jerusalem, and holds up a Messianic prophecy before their eyes, which turns its dark side to them, as ch. vii. did to Ahaz. Vers. 14-17. *"Therefore hear the word of Jehovah, ye scornful lords, rulers of this people which is in Jerusalem! For ye say, We have made a covenant with death, and with Hades have we come to an agreement. The swelling scourge, when it cometh hither, will do us no harm; for we have made a lie our shelter, and in deceit have we hidden ourselves. Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I am He who hath laid in Zion a stone, a stone of trial, a precious corner-stone of well-founded founding; whoever believes will not have to move. And I make justice the line, and righteousness the level; and hail sweeps away the refuge of lies, and the hiding-place is washed away by waters."* With *lákhen* (therefore) the announcement of punishment is once more suspended; and in ver. 16 it is resumed again, the exposition of the sin being inserted between, before the punishment is declared. Their sin is *látsōn*, and this free-thinking scorn rests upon a proud and insolent self-confidence, which imagines that there is no necessity to fear death and hell; and this self-confidence has for its secret reserve the alliance to be secretly entered into with Egypt against Assyria. What the prophet makes them say here, they do not indeed say exactly in this form; but this is the essential substance of the carnally devised thoughts and words of the rulers of the people of Jerusalem, as manifest to the Searcher of hearts. Jerusalem, the city of Jehovah, and such princes as these, who either proudly ignore Jehovah, or throw Him off as useless, what a

contrast! *Chōzeh*, and *cházūth* in ver. 18, signify an agreement, either as a decision or completion (from the radical meaning of the verb *cházāh*; see vol. i. p. 71), or as a choice, *beneplacitum* (like the Arabic *ray*), or as a record, *i.e.* the means of selecting (like the talmudic *cházith*, a countersign, a *ra'âyāh*, a proof or argument: Luzzatto). In *shōt shōtēph* ("the swelling scourge," *chethib* עֵצִיב), the comparison of Asshur to a flood (vers. 2, 8, 7), and the comparison of it to a whip or scourge, are mixed together; and this is all the more allowable, because a whip, when smacked, really does move in waving lines (compare Jer. viii. 6, where *shātaph* is applied to the galoping of a war-horse). The *chethib* עֵצִיב in ver. 15 (for which the *keri* reads יַעֲבִיר, according to ver. 19) is to be read עָבַר (granting that it shall have passed, or that it passes); and there is no necessity for any emendation. The Egyptian alliance for which they are suing, when designated according to its true ethical nature, is *sheger* (lie) and *kāzābh* (falsehood); compare 2 Kings xvii. 4 (where we ought perhaps to read *sheger* for *qesher*, according to the LXX.), and more especially Ezek. xvii. 15 sqq., from which it is obvious that the true prophets regarded self-willed rebellion even against heathen rule as a reprehensible breach of faith. The *lākhēn* (therefore), which is resumed in ver. 16, is apparently followed as strangely as in ch. vii. 14, by a promise instead of a threat. But this is only apparently the case. It is unquestionably a promise; but as the last clause, "he that believeth will not flee," *i.e.* will stand firm, clearly indicates, it is a promise for believers alone. For those to whom the prophet is speaking here the promise is a threat, a savour of death unto death. Just as on a former occasion, when Ahaz refused to ask for a sign, the prophet announced to him a sign of Jehovah's own selection; so here Jehovah opposes to the false ground of confidence on which the leaders relied, the foundation stone laid in Zion, which would bear the believing in immoveable safety, but on which the unbelieving would be broken to pieces (Matt. xxi. 44). This stone is called *'ebhen bōchan*, a stone of proving, *i.e.* a proved and self-proving stone. Then follow other epithets in a series commencing anew with *pinnath* = *'ebhen pinnath* (compare Ps. cxviii. 22): *angulus h. e. lapis angularis pretiositatis foundationis fundatæ*. It is a corner-stone, valuable in itself (on *yigrath*,

compare 1 Kings v. 31), and affording the strongest foundation and inviolable security to all that is built upon it (*mūsád* a substantive in form like *mūsár*, and *mūssád* a *hophal* participle in the form of those of the *verba contracta pe yod*). This stone was not the Davidic sovereignty, but the true seed of David which appeared in Jesus (Rom. ix. 33; 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7). The figure of a stone is not opposed to the personal reference, since the prophet in ch. viii. 14 speaks even of Jehovah Himself under the figure of a stone. The majestically unique description renders it quite impossible that Hezekiah can be intended. Micah, whose book forms the side piece of this cycle of prophecy, also predicted, under similar historical circumstances, the birth of the Messiah in Bethlehem Ephratah (Mic. v. 1). What Micah expresses in the words, "His goings forth are from of old," is indicated here in the preterite *yissad* connected with *hin'ni* (the construction is similar to that in Obad. 2, Ezek. xxv. 7; compare ver. 2 above, and Jer. xlix. 15, xxiii. 19). It denotes that which has been determined by Jehovah, and therefore is as good as accomplished. What is historically realized has had an eternal existence, and indeed an ideal pre-existence even in the heart of history itself (ch. xxii. 11, xxv. 1, xxxvii. 26). Ever since there had been a Davidic government at all, this stone had lain in Zion. The Davidic monarchy not only had in this its culminating point, but the ground of its continuance also. It was not only the Omega, but also the Alpha. Whatever escaped from wrath, even under the Old Testament, stood upon this stone. This (as the prophet predicts in *יְהוָה יִשְׁכֵּן בְּאַרְמֹן לֹא יִהְיֶה* the *fut. kal*) would be the stronghold of faith in the midst of the approaching Assyrian calamities (cf. ch. vii. 9); and faith would be the condition of life (Hab. ii. 4). But against unbelievers Jehovah would proceed according to His punitive justice. He would make this (justice and righteousness, *mishpât* and *ts'edâqâh*) a norm, i.e. a line and level. A different turn, however, is given to *qâv*, with a play upon vers. 10, 11. What Jehovah is about to do is depicted as a building which He is carrying out, and which He will carry out, so far as the despisers are concerned, on no other plan than that of strict retribution. His punitive justice comes like a hailstorm and like a flood (cf. ver. 2, ch. x. 22). The hail smites the refuge of lies of the great men of Jerusalem, and

clears it away (שָׁרַף, hence שָׂרַף, a shovel); and the flood buries their hiding-place in the waters, and carries it away (the accentuation should be תִּפְּחָהּ תִּפְּחָהּ, *tifchah*, מֵרְחָהּ *mercha*).

And the whip which Jehovah swings will not be satisfied with one stroke, but will rain strokes. Vers. 18, 19. "And your covenant with death is struck out, and your agreement with Hades will not stand; the swelling scourge, when it comes, ye will become a thing trodden down to it. As often as it passes it takes you: for every morning it passes, by day and by night; and it is nothing but shuddering to hear such preaching. For the bed is too short to stretch in, and the covering too tight when a man wraps himself in it." Although *b'rith* is feminine, the predicate to it is placed before it in the masculine form (Ges. § 144). The covenant is thought of as a document; for *khuppar* (for which Hupfeld would read *thuphar*; Ps. ii. 197) signifies here *obliterari* (just as the *kal* is used in Gen. vi. 14 in the sense of *oblinere*; or in Prov. xxx. 20, the Targum, and the Syriac, in the sense of *abstergere*; and in the Talmud frequently in the sense of wiping off = *qinnēäch*, or wiping out = *māchaq*,—which meanings all go back, along with the meaning *negare*, to the primary meaning, *tegere, obducere*). The covenant will be "struck out," as you strike out a wrong word, by crossing it over with ink and rendering it illegible. They fancy that they have fortified themselves against death and Hades; but Jehovah gives to both of these unlimited power over them. When the swelling scourge shall come, they will become to it as *mirmās*, i.e. they will be overwhelmed by it, and their corpses become like dirt of the streets (ch. x. 6, v. 5); מֵרְחָהּ has the *mercha* upon the *penult.*, according to the older editions and the smaller Masora on Lev. viii. 26, the tone being drawn back on account of the following לֵ. The strokes of the scourge come incessantly, and every stroke sweeps them, i.e. many of them, away. מֵרְחָהּ (from רָחַף, construct רָחַף, sufficiency, abundance) followed by the infinitive, *quotiescunque irruet*; *lāqach*, *auferre*, as in Jer. xv. 15, and in the idiom *lāqach nephesh*. These scourgings without end—what a painful lecture Jehovah is reading them! This is the thought expressed in the concluding words: for the meaning cannot be, that "even (*raq* as in Ps. xxxii. 6) the report (of such a fate) is alarming," as Grotius and others explain it; or the report is nothing but alarming, as Gussetius

and others interpret it, since in that case שְׁמָעָה שְׁמָעָה (cf. ch. xxiii. 5) would have been quite sufficient, instead of הִבִּין שְׁמָעָה. There is no doubt that the expression points back to the scornful question addressed by the debauchees to the prophet in ver. 9, "To whom will he make preaching intelligible?" i.e. to whom will he preach the word of God in an intelligible manner? (as if they did not possess *bīnāh* without this; שְׁמָעָה, ἀκοή, as in ch. liii. 1.) As ver. 11 affirmed that Jehovah would take up the word against them, the drunken stammerers, through a stammering people; so here the scourging without end is called the *shē'mā' āh*, or sermon, which Jehovah preaches to them. At the same time, the word *hābhīn* is not causative here, as in ver. 9, viz. "to give to understand," but signifies simply "to understand," or have an inward perception. To receive into one's comprehension such a sermon as that which was now being delivered to them, was *raq-z'vā'āh*, nothing but shaking or shuddering (*raq* as in Gen. vi. 5); רָעַע (from which comes רָעָה, or by transposition רָעָה) is applied to inward shaking as well as to outward tossing to and fro. Jerome renders it "*tantummodo sola vexatio intellectum dabit auditui*," and Luther follows him thus: "but the vexation teaches to take heed to the word," as if the reading were הִבִּין. The alarming character of the lecture is depicted in ver. 20, in a figure which was probably proverbial. The situation into which they are brought is like a bed too short for a man to stretch himself in (*min* as in 2 Kings vi. 1), and like a covering which, according to the measure of the man who covers himself up in it (or perhaps still better in a temporal sense, "when a man covers or wraps himself up in it," cf. ch. xviii. 4), is too narrow or too tight. So would it be in their case with the Egyptian treaty, in which they fancied that there were rest and safety for them. They would have to acknowledge its insufficiency. They had made themselves a bed, and procured bed-clothes; but how mistaken they had been in the measure, how miserably and ridiculously they had miscalculated!

It would be with them as it was with the Philistines when David turned their army into water at Baal-Perazim (2 Sam. v. 20, 1 Chron. xiv. 11), or when on another occasion he drove them before him from Gibeon to Gezer (1 Chron. xiv. 13

sqq.). Ver. 21. "*For Jehovah will rise up as in the mountain of Perazim, and be wroth as in the valley at Gibeon to work His work: astonishing is His work; and to act His act: strange is His act.*" The Targum wrongly supposes the first historical reminiscence to refer to the earthquake in the time of Uzziah, and the second to Joshua's victory over the Amorites. The allusion really is to the two shameful defeats which David inflicted upon the Philistines. There was a very good reason why victories over the Philistines especially should serve as similes. The same fate awaited the Philistines at the hands of the Assyrians, as predicted by the prophet in ch. xiv. 28 sqq. (cf. ch. xx.). And the strangeness and verity of Jehovah's work were just this, that it would fare no better with the magnates of Judah at the hand of Asshur, than it had with the Philistines at the hand of David on both those occasions. The very same thing would now happen to the people of the house of David as formerly to its foes. Jehovah would have to act in opposition to His gracious purpose. He would have to act towards His own people as He once acted towards their foes. This was the most paradoxical thing of all that they would have to experience.

But the possibility of repentance was still open to them, and at least a modification of what had been threatened was attainable. Ver. 22. "*And now drive ye not mockeries, lest your fetters be strengthened; for I have heard from the Lord, Jehovah of hosts, a judgment of destruction, and an irrevocable one, upon the whole earth.*" It is assumed that they are already in fetters, namely, the fetters of Asshur (Nah. i. 13). Out of these fetters they wanted to escape by a breach of faith, and with the help of Egypt without Jehovah, and consequently they mocked at the warnings of the prophet. He therefore appeals to them at any rate to stop their mocking, lest they should fall out of the bondage in which they now were, into one that would bind them still more closely, and lest the judgment should become even more severe than it would otherwise be. For it was coming without fail. It might be modified, and with thorough repentance they might even escape; but that it would come, and that upon the whole earth, had been revealed to the prophet by Jehovah of hosts. This was the *sh'mā'āh* which the prophet had heard from Jehovah, and which he gave them to

hear and understand, though hitherto he had only been scoffed at by their wine-bibbing tongues.

The address of the prophet is here apparently closed. But an essential ingredient is still wanting to the second half, to make it correspond to the first. There is still wanting the fringe of promise coinciding with vers. 5, 6. The prophet has not only to alarm the scoffers, that if possible he may pluck some of them out of the fire through fear (Judg. v. 23); he has also to comfort believers, who yield themselves as disciples to him and to the word of God (ch. viii. 16). He does this here in a very peculiar manner. He has several times assumed the tone of the *mashal*, more especially in ch. xxvi.; but here the consolation is dressed up in a longer parabolical address, which sets forth in figures drawn from husbandry the disciplinary and saving wisdom of God. Isaiah here proves himself a master of the *mashal*. In the usual tone of a *mashal* song, he first of all claims the attention of his audience as a teacher of wisdom. Ver. 23. "*Lend me your ear, and hear my voice; attend, and hear my address!*" Attention is all the more needful, that the prophet leaves his hearers to interpret and apply the parable themselves. The work of a husbandman is very manifold, as he tills, sows, and plants his field. Vers. 24-26. "*Does the ploughman plough continually to sow? to furrow and to harrow his land? Is it not so: when he levels the surface thereof, he scatters black poppy seed, and strews cummin, and puts in wheat in rows, and barley in the appointed piece, and spelt on its border? And He has instructed him how to act rightly: his God teaches it him.*" The ploughing (*chârash*) which opens the soil, *i.e.* turns it up in furrows, and the harrowing (*siddêd*) which breaks the clods, take place to prepare for the sowing, and therefore not interminably, but only so long as is necessary to prepare the soil to receive the seed. When the seed-furrows have been drawn in the levelled surface of the ground (*shivvâh*), then the sowing and planting begin; and this also takes place in various ways, according to the different kinds of fruit. *Qetsach* is the black poppy (*nigella sativa*, Arab. *habbe soda*, so called from its black seeds), belonging to the ranunculaceæ. *Kammôn* was the cummin (*cuminum cyminum*) with larger aromatic seeds, Ar. *kammûn*, neither of them our common carraway (*Kümmel*, *carum*). The wheat he

sows carefully in rows (*sōrāh*, *ordo*; *ad ordinem*, as it is translated by Jerome), *i.e.* he does not scatter it about carelessly, like the other two, but lays the grains carefully in the furrows, because otherwise when they sprang up they would get massed together, and choke one another. *Nismān*, like *sōrāh*, is an *acc. loci*: the barley is sown in a piece of the field specially marked off for it, or specially furnished with signs (*simānim*); and *kussemeth*, the spelt (*ξεία*, also mentioned by Homer, *Od.* iv. 604, between wheat and barley), along the edge of it, so that spelt forms the rim of the barley field. It is by a divine instinct that the husbandman acts in this manner; for God, who established agriculture at the creation (*i.e.* Jehovah, not Osiris), has also given men understanding. This is the meaning of *v'yiss'ro lammishpāt*: and (as we may see from all this) *He* (his God: the subject is given afterwards in the second clause) *has led him* (Prov. xxxi. 1) *to the right* (this is the rendering adopted by Kimchi, whilst other commentators have been misled by Jer. xxx. 11, and last of all Malbim Luzzatto, "*Così Dio con giustizia corregge*;" he would have done better, however, to say, *con moderazione*).

Again, the labour of the husbandman is just as manifold after the reaping has been done. Vers. 27-29. "*For the black poppy is not threshed with a threshing sledge, nor is a cart wheel rolled over cummin; but black poppy is knocked out with a stick, and cummin with a staff. Is bread corn crushed? No; he does not go on threshing it for ever, and drive the wheel of his cart and his horses over it: he does not crush it. This also, it goeth forth from Jehovah of hosts: He gives wonderful intelligence, high understanding.*" *Ki* (for) introduces another proof that the husbandman is instructed by God, from what he still further does. He does not use the threshing machine (*chārūts*, syn. *mōrag*, Ar. *naureg*, *nōreg*), or the threshing cart (*āgālāh*: see Winer's *Real-Wörterbuch*, art. *Dreschen*), which would entirely destroy the more tender kinds of fruit, but knocks them out with a staff (*baculo excutit*: see at ch. xxvii. 12). The sentence *lechem yūdāq* is to be accentuated as an interrogative: *Is bread corn crushed? Oh no, he does not crush it.* This would be the case if he were to cause the wheel (*i.e.* the wheels, *gilgal*, constr. to *galgal*) of the threshing cart with the horses harnessed in front to rattle over it with all their might (*hāmam*, to set in noisy

violent motion). *Lechem*, like the Greek *sitos*, is corn from which bread is made (ch. xxx. 23 ; Ps. civ. 14). אֶרֶשׁ is meta-
 plastic (as if from אֶרֶשׁ) for רֶשֶׁשׁ (see Ewald, § 312, *b*). Instead
 of וּפְרָשָׁיו, the pointing ought to be וּפְרָשָׁיו (from פָּרַשׁ with *kametz*
 before the tone = Arab. *fārās*, as distinguished from פָּרַשׁ with
 a fixed *kametz*, equivalent to *farras*, a rider) : “his horses,” here
 the threshing horses, which were preferred to asses and oxen.
 Even in this treatment of the fruit when reaped, there is an
 evidence of the *wonderful intelligence* (הַבִּילָה, as written הַבִּילָה)
 and *exalted understanding* (on תְּנִיחָה, from תָּנַח, see at Job xxvi.
 3) imparted by God. The expression is one of such grandeur,
 that we perceive at once that the prophet has in his mind the
 wisdom of God in a higher sphere. The wise, divinely inspired
 course adopted by the husbandman in the treatment of the field
 and fruit, is a type of the wise course adopted by the divine
 Teacher Himself in the treatment of His nation. Israel is
 Jehovah’s field. The punishments and chastisements of Je-
 hovah are the ploughshare and harrow, with which He forcibly
 breaks up, turns over, and furrows this field. But this does
 not last for ever. When the field has been thus loosened,
 smoothed, and rendered fertile once more, the painful process
 of ploughing is followed by a beneficent sowing and planting
 in a multiform and wisely ordered fulness of grace. Again,
 Israel is Jehovah’s child of the threshing-floor (see ch. xxi. 10).
 He threshes it ; but He does not thresh it only : He also knocks ;
 and when He threshes, He does not continue threshing for ever,
i.e. as Caspari has well explained it, “He does not punish all
 the members of the nation with the same severity ; and those
 whom He punishes with greater severity than others He does
 not punish incessantly, but as soon as His end is attained,
 and the husks of sin are separated from those that have been
 punished, the punishment ceases, and only the worst in the
 nation, who are nothing but husks, and the husks on the
 nation itself, are swept away by the punishments” (compare
 ch. i. 25, xxix. 20, 21). This is the solemn lesson and
 affectionate consolation hidden behind the veil of the parable.
 Jehovah punishes, but it is in order that He may be able to
 bless. He sifts, but He does not destroy. He does not thresh
 His own people, but He knocks them ; and even when He
 threshes, they may console themselves in the face of the

approaching period of judgment, that they are never crushed or injured.

THE SECOND WOE : THE OPPRESSION AND DELIVERANCE
OF ARIEL.—CHAP. XXIX.

The prophecy here passes from the fall of Samaria, the crown of flowers (ch. xxviii. 1-4), to its formal parallel. Jerusalem takes its place by the side of Samaria, the crown of flowers, under the emblem of a hearth of God. 'Ariel might, indeed, mean a lion of God. It occurs in this sense as the name of certain Moabitish heroes (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chron. xi. 22), and Isaiah himself used the shorter form אֲרִיֶּל for the heroes of Judah (ch. xxxiii. 7). But as אֲרִיֶּל (God's hearth, interchanged with הֲרִיֶּל, God's height) is the name given in Ezek. xliii. 15, 16, to the altar of burnt-offering in the new temple, and as Isaiah could not say anything more characteristic of Jerusalem, than that Jehovah had a fire and hearth there (ch. xxxi. 9); and, moreover, as Jerusalem the city and community within the city would have been compared to a lioness rather than a lion, we take אֲרִיֶּל in the sense of *ara Dei* (from אָרָה, to burn). The prophet commences in his own peculiar way with a grand summary introduction, which passes in a few gigantic strides over the whole course from threatening to promise. Ver. 1. "*Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the castle where David pitched his tent! Add year to year, let the feasts revolve: then I distress Ariel, and there is groaning and moaning; and so she proves herself to me as Ariel.*" By the fact that David fixed his headquarters in Jerusalem, and then brought the sacred ark thither, Jerusalem became a hearth of God. Within a single year, after only one more round of feasts (to be interpreted according to ch. xxxii. 10, and probably spoken at the passover), Jehovah would make Jerusalem a besieged city, full of sighs (*vahätsiqōthī*, perf. cons., with the tone upon the ultimate); but "she becomes to me like an Ariel," i.e., being qualified through me, she will prove herself a hearth of God, by consuming the foes like a furnace, or by their meeting with their destruction at Jerusalem, like wood piled up on the altar and then consumed in flame. The prophecy has thus passed over the whole ground in a few majestic words. It now starts

from the very beginning again, and first of all expands the *hoi*. Vers. 3 and 4. "*And I encamp in a circle round about thee, and surround thee with watch-posts, and erect tortoises against thee. And when brought down thou wilt speak from out of the ground, and thy speaking will sound low out of the dust; and thy voice cometh up like that of a demon from the ground, and thy speaking will whisper out of the dust.*" It would have to go so far with Ariel first of all, that it would be besieged by a hostile force, and would lie upon the ground in the greatest extremity, and then would whisper with a ghostlike softness, like a dying man, or like a spirit without flesh and bones. *Kaddûr* signifies *sphæra*, *orbis*, as in ch. xxii. 18 and in the Talmud (from *kâdar* = *kâthar*; cf. *kudur* in the name *Nabu-kudur-ussur*, Nebo protect the crown, *κίδαρν*), and is used here poetically for *קָבִיב*. Jerome renders it *quasi sphæram* (from *dûr*, *orbis*). *קָצֵב* (from *קָצַב*, *קָצַב*) might signify "firmly planted" (Luzzatto, *immobilmente*; compare *shûth*, ch. xxii. 7); but according to the parallel it signifies a military post, like *מַצֵּב*, *מַצֵּב*. *M'tsurôth* (from *mâtsôr*, Deut. xx. 20) are instruments of siege, the nature of which can only be determined conjecturally. On *'ôbh*, see ch. viii. 19;¹ there is no necessity to take it as standing for *ba'al 'ôbh*.

Thus far does the unfolding of the *hoi* reach. Now follows an unfolding of the words of promise, which stand at the end of ver. 1: "And it proves itself to me as Ariel." Vers. 5-8. "*And the multitude of thy foes will become like finely powdered dust, and the multitude of the tyrants like chaff flying away; and it will take place suddenly, very suddenly. From Jehorah of hosts there comes a visitation with crash of thunder and earthquake and great noise, whirlwind and tempest, and the blazing up of devouring fire. And the multitude of all the nations that gather together against Ariel, and all those who storm and distress Ariel and her stronghold, will be like a vision of the night in a*

¹ The *'akkûb* mentioned there is equivalent to *anbûb*, Arab. a knot on a reed stalk, then that part of such a reed which comes between two knots, then the reed stalk itself; root *כָּב*, to rise up, swell, or become convex without and concave within (Fl.). It is possible that it would be better to trace *'ôbh* back to this radical and primary meaning of what is hollow (and therefore has a dull sound), whether used in the sense of a leather-bag, or applied to a spirit of incantation, and the possessor of such a spirit.

dream. And it is just as a hungry man dreams, and behold he eats; and when he wakes up his soul is empty: and just as a thirsty man dreams, and behold he drinks; and when he wakes up, behold, he is faint, and his soul is parched with thirst: so will it be to the multitude of the nations which gather together against the mountain of Zion." The hostile army, described four times as *hāmōn*, a groaning multitude, is utterly annihilated through the terrible co-operation of the forces of nature which are let loose upon them (ch. xxx. 30, cf. ch. xvii. 13). "*There comes a visitation:*" *tippāqēd* might refer to Jerusalem in the sense of "it will be visited" in mercy, viz. by Jehovah acting thus upon its enemies. But it is better to take it in a neuter sense: "punishment is inflicted." The simile of the dream is applied in two different ways: (1.) Ver. 7. They will dissolve into nothing, as if they had only the same apparent existence as a vision in a dream. (2.) Ver. 8. Their plan for taking Jerusalem will be put to shame, and as utterly brought to nought as the eating or drinking of a dreamer, which turns out to be a delusion as soon as he awakes. Just as the prophet emphatically combines two substantives from the same verbal root in ver. 1, and two adverbs from the same verb in ver. 5; so does he place *צָבָא* and *צָרָה* together in ver. 7, the former with *עַל* relating to the crowding of an army for the purpose of a siege, the latter with an objective suffix (compare Ps. liii. 6) to the attack made by a crowded army. The *m^etsōdāh* of Ariel (i.e. the watch-tower, *specula*, from *tsūd*, to spy¹) is the mountain of Zion mentioned afterwards in ver. 8. *בְּאִשָּׁר*, as if; comp. Zech. x. 6, Job x. 19. *וְהָיָה אֲנִי* without *הָיָה*; the personal pronoun is frequently omitted, not only in the leading participial clause, as in this instance (compare ch. xxvi. 3, xl. 19; Ps. xxii. 29; Job xxv. 2; and Köhler on Zech. ix. 12), but also with a minor participial clause, as in Ps. vii. 10, lv. 20, and Hab. ii. 10. The hungering and thirsting of the waking man are attributed to his *nephesh* (soul: cf. ch. xxxii. 6, v. 14; Prov. vi. 30), just because the soul is the cause of the physical life, and without it the action of the senses would be followed by no sensation or experience whatever. The hungry stomach is simply the object of feeling,

¹ In Arabic, also, *masād* signifies a lofty hill or mountain-top, from a secondary form of *tsūd*; and *massara*, to lay the foundations of a fortified city (*‘ir mātšör*, Ps. xxxi. 22), from *tsūr*.

and everything sensitive in the bodily organism is merely the medium of sensation or feeling; that which really *feels* is the soul. The soul no sooner passes out of the dreaming state into a waking condition, than it feels that its desires are unsatisfied as ever. Just like such a dream will the army of the enemy, and that victory of which it is so certain before the battle is fought, fade away into nothing.

This enigma of the future the prophet holds out before the eyes of his contemporaries. The prophet received it by revelation of Jehovah; and without the illumination of Jehovah it could not possibly be understood. The deep degradation of Ariel, the wonderful deliverance, the sudden elevation from the abyss to this lofty height,—all this was a matter of faith. But this faith was just what the nation wanted, and therefore the understanding depending upon it was wanting also. The *sh'nu'áh* was there, but the *bíná'h* was absent; and all *הבין שמועה* was wrecked on the obtuseness of the mass. The prophet, therefore, who had received the unhappy calling to harden his people, could not help exclaiming (ver. 9a), "*Stop, and stare; blind yourselves, and grow blind!*" *התמקמה*, to show one's self delaying (from *מָהַר*, according to Luzzatto the reflective of *התמקמה*, an emphatic form which is never met with), is connected with the synonymous verb *התמקמה*, to be stiff with astonishment; but to *שָׁעַר*, to be plastered up, *i.e.* incapable of seeing (cf. ch. vi. 10), there is attached the *hithpalpel* of the same verb, signifying "to place one's self in such circumstances," *se oblinere* (differently, however, in Ps. cxix. 16, 47, compare ch. xi. 8, *se permulcere*). They could not understand the word of God, but they were confused, and their eyes were, so to speak, festered up: therefore this self-induced condition would become to them a God-appointed punishment. The imperatives are judicial words of command.

This growth of the self-hardening into a judicial sentence of obduracy, is proclaimed still more fully by the prophet. Vers. 9b-12. "*They are drunken, and not with wine; they reel, and not with meth. For Jehovah hath poured upon you a spirit of deep sleep, and bound up your eyes; the prophets and your heads, the seers, He has veiled. And the revelation of all this will be to you like words of a sealed writing, which they give to him who understands writing, saying, Pray, read this: but he*

says, *I cannot, it is sealed. And they give the writing to one who does not understand writing, saying, Pray, read this; but he says, I do not understand writing.*" They were drunken and stupid; not, however, merely because they gave themselves up to sensual intoxication (יָכָרוּ, dependent upon אֲכָרוּ, *ebrii vino*), but because Jehovah had given them up to spiritual confusion and self-destruction. All the punishments of God are inflicted through the medium of His no less world-destroying than world-sustaining Spirit, which, although not willing what is evil, does make the evil called into existence by the creature the means of punishing evil. *Tardēmāh* is used here to signify the powerless, passive state of utter spiritual insensibility. This judgment had fallen upon the nation in all its members, even upon the eyes and heads of the nation, *i.e.* the prophets. Even they whose duty it was to see to the good of the nation, and lead it, were blind leaders of the blind; their eyes were fast shut (עָצַם, the intensive form of the *kal*, ch. xxxiii. 15; *Aram.* עָצַם; *Talmud* also עָצַם: to shut the eyes, or press them close), and over their heads a cover was drawn, as over sleepers in the night. Since the time of Koppe and Eichhorn it has become a usual thing to regard אֶת־הַנְּבִיאִים and הַחֲזִיִּים as a gloss, and indeed as a false one (compare ch. ix. 13, 14); but the reason assigned—namely, that Isaiah's polemics are directed not against the prophets, but against the stupid staring people—is utterly groundless (compare ch. xxviii. 7, and the polemics of his contemporary Micah, *e.g.* ch. iii. 5-8). Moreover, the author of a gloss would have been more likely to interpret רָאִשֵׁיָּהֶם by הַשָּׂרִים or הַכֹּהֲנִים (compare Job ix. 24). And vers. 11 and 12 are also opposed to this assumption of a gloss. For by those who understood what was written (*sepher*), it is evident that the prophets and rulers of the nation are intended; and by those who did not understand it, the great mass of the people. To both of them, "the vision of all," *i.e.* of all and everything that God had shown to His true prophets, was by the judgment of God completely sealed. Some of them might have an outward knowledge; but the inward understanding of the revelation was sealed to them. Some had not even this, but stared at the word of the prophet, just as a man who cannot read stares at what is written. The *chethib* has הַסֵּפֶר; the *keri* סֵפֶר, though without any ground, since the article is merely generic. In-

stead of קרא נא־זה, we should write קרא־נא זה in both cases, as certain codices and old editions do.

This stupefaction was the self-inflicted punishment of the dead works with which the people mocked God and deceived themselves. Vers. 13, 14. *"The Lord hath spoken: Because this people approaches me with its mouth, and honours me with its lips, and keeps its heart far from me, and its reverence of me has become a commandment learned from men: therefore, behold, I will proceed wondrously with this people, wondrously and marvellously strange; and the wisdom of its wise men is lost, and the understanding of its intelligent men becomes invisible."* Ever since the time of Asaph (Ps. l., cf. lxxviii. 36, 37), the lamentation and condemnation of hypocritical ceremonial worship, without living faith or any striving after holiness, had been a leading theme of prophecy. Even in Isaiah's introductory address (ch. i.) this complaint was uttered quite in the tone of that of Asaph. In the time of Hezekiah it was peculiarly called for, just as it was afterwards in that of Josiah (as the book of Jeremiah shows). The people had been obliged to consent to the abolition of the public worship of idols, but their worship of Jehovah was hypocrisy. Sometimes it was conscious hypocrisy, arising from the fear of man and favour of man; sometimes unconscious, inasmuch as without any inward conversion, but simply with work-righteousness, the people contented themselves with, and even prided themselves upon, an outward fulfilment of the law (Mic. vi. 6-8, iii. 11). Instead of נִיֵּשׁ (LXX., Vulg., Syr., Matt. xv. 8, Mark vii. 6), we also meet with the reading נִיֵּשׁ, "because this people harasses itself as with tributary service;" but the antithesis to *richaq* (LXX. πόρρω ἀπέχει) favours the former reading *niggash*, *accedit*; and *b'phiv* (with its mouth) must be connected with this, though in opposition to the accents. This self-alienation and self-blinding, Jehovah would punish with a wondrously paradoxical judgment, namely, the judgment of a hardening, which would so completely empty and confuse, that even the appearance of wisdom and unity, which the leaders of Israel still had, would completely disappear. יִסִּיף (as in ch. xxxviii. 5) is not the third person *fut. hiphil* here (so that it could be rendered, according to ch. xxviii. 16, "Behold, I am he who;" or more strictly still, "Behold me, who;" which, however, would give a prominence

to the subject that would be out of place here), but the *part. kal* for יוֹסֵף. That the language really allowed of such a lengthening of the primary form *qatīl* into *qatīl*, and especially in the case of יוֹסֵף, is evident from Eccles. i. 18 (see at Ps. xvi. 5). In הִפְלִיא וְהִפְלִיא, הִפְלִיא (cf. Lam. i. 9) alternates with the gerundive (see at ch. xxii. 17): the fifth example in this one address of the emphatic juxtaposition of words having a similar sound and the same derivation (*vid.* vers. 1, 5, 7, 9).

Their hypocrisy, which was about to be so wonderfully punished according to the universal law (Ps. xviii. 26, 27), manifested itself in their self-willed and secret behaviour, which would not inquire for Jehovah, nor suffer itself to be chastened by His word. Vers. 15, 16. "*Woe unto them that hide plans deep from Jehovah, and their doing occurs in a dark place, and they say, Who saw us then, and who knew about us? Oh for your perversity! It is to be regarded as potters' clay; that a work could say to its maker, He has not made me; and an image to its sculptor, He does not understand it!*" Just as Ahaz had carefully kept his appeal to Asshur for help secret from the prophet; so did they try, as far as possible, to hide from the prophet the plan for an alliance with Egypt. לִמְסֹתִיר is a syncopated *hiphil* for לְהַסְתִּיר, as in ch. i. 12, iii. 8, xxiii. 11. הֶעֱמִיק adds the adverbial notion, according to our mode of expression (comp. Joel ii. 20, and the opposite thought in Joel ii. 26; Ges. § 142). To hide from Jehovah is equivalent to hiding from the prophet of Jehovah, that they might not have to listen to reproof from the word of Jehovah. We may see from ch. viii. 12 how suspiciously they watched the prophet in such circumstances as these. But Jehovah saw them in their secrecy, and the prophet saw through the whole in the light of Jehovah. הִפְפֹּכִים is an exclamation, like תִּפְלֵצְתָּךְ in Jer. xlix. 16. They are perverse, or (*im*) "is it not so?" They think they can dispense with Jehovah, and yet they are His creatures; they attribute cleverness to themselves, and practically disown Jehovah, as if the pot should say to the potter who has turned it, He does not understand it.

But the prophet's God, whose omniscience, creative glory, and perfect wisdom they so basely mistook and ignored, would very shortly turn the present state of the world upside down, and make Himself a congregation out of the poor and wretched,

whilst He would entirely destroy this proud ungodly nation. Vers. 17-21. "*Is it not yet a very little, and Lebanon is turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field esteemed as a forest? And in that day the deaf hear scripture words, and the eyes of the blind will see out of obscurity and out of darkness. And the joy of the humble increases in Jehovah, and the poor among men will rejoice in the Holy One of Israel. For tyrants are gone, and it is over with scoffers; and all who think evil are rooted out, who condemn a man for a word, and lay snares for him that is free-spoken in the gate, and overthrow the righteous through shameful lies.*" The circumstances themselves, as well as the sentence passed, will experience a change, in complete contrast with the present state of things. This is what is affirmed in ver. 17; probably a proverb transposed into a more literary style. What is now forest becomes ennobled into garden ground; and what is garden ground becomes in general estimation a forest (לְבָנוֹן, לְעֵר, although we should rather expect לְ, just as in ch. xxxii. 15). These emblems are explained in vers. 18 sqq. The people that are now blind and deaf, so far as the word of Jehovah is concerned, are changed into a people with open ears and seeing eyes. Scripture words, like those which the prophet now holds before the people so unsuccessfully, are heard by those who have been deaf. The unfettered sight of those who have been blind pierces through the hitherto surrounding darkness. The heirs of the new future thus transformed are the 'ānāvim ("meek") and the 'ebhyōnīm ("poor"). אָדָם (the antithesis of אֲנָשִׁים, e.g. ver. 13) heightens the representation of lowliness; the combination is a superlative one, as in צַעֲרֵי הַצָּן, Jer. xlix. 20, and עֲנֵי הַצָּן in Zech. xi. 7 (cf. פְּרִיץ חַיִּית in ch. xxxv. 9): needy men who present a glaring contrast to, and stand out from, the general body of men. Such men will obtain ever increasing joy in Jehovah (yāsaph as in ch. xxxvii. 31). Such a people of God would take the place of the oppressors (cf. ch. xxviii. 12) and scoffers (cf. ch. xxviii. 14, 22), and those who thought evil (shāqad, invigilare, sedulo agere), i.e. the wretched planners, who made a חֵטָא of every one who did not enter into their plans (i.e. who called him a chōtē; cf. Deut. xxiv. 4, Eccles. v. 5), and went to law with the man who openly opposed them in the gate (Amos v. 10; y'qōshūn, possibly the perf. kal, cf. Jer. l. 24;

according to the syntax, however, it is the *fut. kal* of *qūsh* = *yâqōsh*: see at ch. xxvi. 16; Ges. § 44, Anm. 4), and thrust away the righteous, *i.e.* forced him away from his just rights (ch. x. 2), by *tōhū*, *i.e.* accusations and pretences of the utmost worthlessness; for these would all have been swept away. This is the true explanation of the last clause, as given in the Targum, and not "into the desert and desolation," as Knobel and Luzzatto suppose; for with Isaiah *tōhū* is the synonym for all such words as signify nothingness, groundlessness, and fraud. The prophet no doubt had in his mind, at the time that he uttered these words, the conduct of the people towards himself and his fellow-prophets, and such as were like-minded with them. The charge brought against him of being a conspirator, or a traitor to his country, was a *tōhū* of this kind. All these conspirators and persecutors Jehovah would clear entirely away.

Everything that was incorrigible would be given up to destruction; and therefore the people of God, when it came out of the judgment, would have nothing of the same kind to look for again. Vers. 22-24. *"Therefore thus saith Jehovah of the house of Jacob, He who redeemed Abraham: Jacob shall not henceforth be ashamed, nor shall his face turn pale any more. For when he, when his children see the work of my hands in the midst of him, they will sanctify my name, and sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shudder before the God of Israel. And those who were of an erring spirit discern understanding, and murmurers accept instruction."* With לֵאלֹהֵינוּ (for which Luzzatto, following Lowth, reads לֵאלֹהֵי, "the God of the house of Jacob") the theme is introduced to which the following utterance refers. The end of Israel will correspond to the holy root of its origin. Just as Abraham was separated from the human race that was sunk in heathenism, to become the ancestor of a nation of Jehovah, so would a remnant be separated from the great mass of Israel that was sunk in apostasy from Jehovah; and this remnant would be the foundation of a holy community well pleasing to God. And this would never be confounded or become pale with shame again (on *bōsh*, see at ch. i. 29; *chāvar* is a poetical Aramaism); for both sins and sinners that called forth the punishments of God, which had put them to shame, would have been swept away (cf. Zeph. iii. 11). In

the presence of this decisive work of punishment (*ma'aseh* as in ch. xxviii. 21, x. 12, v. 12, 19), which Jehovah would perform in the heart of Israel, Israel itself would undergo a thorough change. בְּרָאיוֹ is in apposition to the subject in בְּרָאיוֹ, "when he, namely his children" (comp. Job xxix. 3); and the expression "his children" is intentionally chosen instead of "his sons" (*bānīm*), to indicate that there would be a new generation, which would become, in the face of the judicial self-manifestation of Jehovah, a holy church, sanctifying Him, the Holy One of Israel. *Yaqdīshū* is continued in *v'hiqdīshū*: the prophet intentionally repeats this most significant word, and *hé'ērīts* is the parallel word to it, as in ch. viii. 12, 13. The new church would indeed not be a sinless one, or thoroughly perfect; but, according to ver. 24, the previous self-hardening in error would have been exchanged for a willing and living appropriation of right understanding, and the former murmuring resistance to the admonitions of Jehovah would have given place to a joyful and receptive thirst for instruction. There is the same interchange of *Jacob* and *Israel* here which we so frequently meet with in ch. xl. sqq. And, in fact, throughout this undisputedly genuine prophecy of Isaiah, we can detect the language of ch. xl.-lxvi. Through the whole of the first part, indeed, we may trace the gradual development of the thoughts and forms which predominate there.

THE THIRD WOE: THE MOMENTOUS RESULT OF THE ALLIANCE WITH EGYPT.—CHAP. XXX.

The plan which, according to ch. xxix. 15, was already projected and prepared in the deepest secrecy, is now much further advanced. The negotiations by means of ambassadors have already been commenced; but the prophet condemns what he can no longer prevent. Vers. 1-5. "*Woe to the stubborn children, saith Jehovah, to drive plans, and not by my impulse, and to plait alliance, and not according to my Spirit, to heap sin upon sin: that go away to travel down to Egypt, without having asked my mouth, to fly to Pharaoh's shelter, and to conceal themselves under the shadow of Egypt. And Pharaoh's shelter becomes a shame to them, and the concealment under the shadow of Egypt a disgrace. For Judah's princes have appeared*

in Zoan, and his ambassadors arrive in Hanes. They will all have to be ashamed of a people useless to them, that brings no help and no use, but shame, and also reproach." *Sôrîm* is followed by infinitives with *Lamed* (cf. ch. v. 22, iii. 8): who are bent upon it in their obstinacy. *Massêkhâh* designates the alliance as a plait (*massêkheth*). According to Cappellus and others, it designates it as formed with a libation (*σπονδή*, from *σπένδεσθαι*); but the former is certainly the more correct view, inasmuch as *massêkhâh* (from *nâsakh*, *fundere*) signifies a cast, and hence it is more natural here to take *nâsakh* as equivalent to *sâkhakh*, *plectere* (Jerome: *ordiremini telam*). The context leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the adverbial expressions *וְלֹא־מִנִּי* and *וְלֹא־רִיחִי*, viz. without its having proceeded from me, and without my Spirit being there. "Sin upon sin:" inasmuch as they carry out further and further to perfect realization the thought which was already a sinful one in itself. The prophet now follows for himself the ambassadors, who are already on the road to the country of the Nile valley. He sees them arrive in Zoan, and watches them as they proceed thence into Hanes. He foresees and foretells what a disgraceful opening of their eyes will attend the reward of this untheocratical beginning. On *lâ'ôz b'*, see at ch. x. 31: *'ôz* is the infinitive constr. of *'ûz*; *mâ'ôz*, on the contrary, is a derivative of *'âzaz*, to be strong. The suffixes of *שָׂרֵי* (his princes) and *מִלְאָכָיו* (his ambassadors) are supposed by Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel, who take a different view of what is said, to refer to the princes and ambassadors of Pharaoh. But this is by no means warranted on the ground that the prophet cannot so immediately transfer to Zoan and Hanes the ambassadors of Judah, who were still on their journey according to ver. 2. The prophet's vision overleaps the existing stage of the desire for this alliance; he sees the great men of his nation already suing for the favour of Egypt, first of all in Zoan, and then still further in Hanes, and at once foretells the shameful termination of this self-deseccation of the people of Jehovah. The LXX. give for *הָנִים יִינְעוּ*, *μάτην κοπίαςουσιν*, i.e. *הָנִים יִינְעוּ*, and Knobel approves this reading; but it is a misunderstanding, which only happens to have fallen out a little better this time than the rendering *ὡς Δαυὶδ* given for *בְּדִיךְ* in ch. xxix. 3. If *chinnâm* had been the original reading, it would hardly have

entered any one's mind to change it into *chânēs*. The latter was the name of a city on an island of the Nile in Central Egypt, the later Heracleopolis (Eg. *Hnēs*; *Ehnēs*), the *Anysis* of Herodotus (ii. 137). On *Zoan*, see at ch. xix. 11. At that time the Tanitic dynasty was reigning, the dynasty preceding the Ethiopian. Tanis and Anysis were the two capitals. הַבְּנִיִּשׁ (= הַבְּנִיִּשׁ, a metaplastic *hiphil* of בָּנָה = בָּנָה, a different word from בָּנָה) is incorrectly pointed for הַבְּנִיִּשׁ, like רְאִישׁוֹנָה (*keri*) for רְאִישׁוֹנָה in Josh. xxi. 10. הַבְּנִיִּשׁ signifies elsewhere, "to make stinking" (to calumniate, Prov. xiii. 5), or "to come into ill odour" (1 Sam. xxvii. 12); here, however, it means to be put to shame (בָּנָה = בָּנָה).

The prophet's address is hardly commenced, however, when a heading is introduced of the very same kind as we have already met with several times in the cycle of prophecies against the heathen nations. Gesenius, Hitzig, Umbreit, and Knobel, rid themselves of it by pronouncing it a gloss founded upon a misunderstanding. But nothing is more genuine in the whole book of Isaiah than the words *massā' bahāmōth negebh*. The heading is emblematical, like the four headings in ch. xxi., xxii. And the *massā'* embraces vers. 6, 7. Then follows the command to write it on a table by itself. The heading is an integral part of the smaller whole. Isaiah breaks off his address to communicate an oracle relating to the Egyptian treaty, which Jehovah has specially commanded him to hand down to posterity. The same interruption would take place if we expunged the heading; for in any case it was vers. 6, 7 that he was to write upon a table. This is not an address to the people, but the preliminary text, the application of which is determined afterwards. The prophet communicates in the form of a citation what has been revealed to him by God, and then states what God has commanded him to do with it. We therefore enclose vers. 6, 7 in inverted commas as a quotation, and render the short passage, which is written in the tone of ch. xxi., as follows: Vers. 6, 7. "Oracle concerning the water-oxen of the south: Through a land of distress and confinement, whence the lioness and lion, adders and flying dragons; they carry their possessions on the shoulders of asses' foals, and their treasures on the humps of camels, to a nation that profits nothing. And Egypt, worthlessly and hollowly will they help; therefore

I call this Egypt, Great-mouth that sits still." The "water-ox of the south" is the Nile-horse; and this is the emblem of Egypt, the land of the south (in Daniel and Zechariah Babylon is "the land of the north"). *Bahāmōth* is the construct of *b'hēmōth* (Job xl.), which is a Hebraized form of an Egyptian word, *p-ehe-mau* (though the word itself has not yet been met with), *i.e.* the ox of the water, or possibly *p-ehe-mau-t* (with the feminine article at the close, though in *hesmut*, another name for a female animal, *mut* = *t. mau* signifies "the mother:" see at Job xl. 15). The animal referred to is the hippopotamus, which is called *bomarino* in Italian, Arab. the Nile-horse or water-pig. The emblem of Egypt in other passages of the Old Testament is *tannin*, the water-snake, or *leviathan*, the crocodile. In Ps. lxviii. 31 this is called *chayyath qāneh*, "the beast of the reed," though Hengstenberg supposes that the Nile-horse is intended there. This cannot be maintained, however; but in the passage before us this emblem is chosen, just because the fat, swine-like, fleshy colossus, whose belly nearly touches the ground as it walks, is a fitting image of Egypt, a land so boastful and so eager to make itself thick and broad, and yet so slow to exert itself in the interest of others, and so unwilling to move from the spot. This is also implied in the name *rahabh-hēm-shābbeth*. *Rahab* is a name applied to Egypt in other passages also (ch. li. 9; Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 11), and that in the senses attested by the LXX. at Job xxvi. 12 (cf. ix. 13), *viz.* *κῆτος*, a sea-monster, *monstrum marinum*. Here the name has the meaning common in other passages, *viz.* violence, domineering pride, boasting (*ἀλαζονεία*, as one translator renders it). *וְ* is a term of comparison, as in Gen. xiv. 2, 3, etc.; the plural refers to the people called *rahabh*. Hence the meaning is either, "The bragging people, they are sit-still;" or, "Boast-house, they are idlers." To this deceitful land the ambassadors of Judah were going with rich resources (*chāyālīm*, *opes*) on the shoulder of asses' foals, and on the hump (*dabbesheth*, from *dābhash*, according to Luzzatto related to *gābhash*, to be hilly) of camels, without shrinking from the difficulties and dangers of the road through the desert, where lions and snakes spring out now here and now there (*וְ*, neuter, as in Zeph. ii. 7, comp. ch. xxxviii. 16; see also Deut. viii. 15, Num. xxi. 6). Through this very desert, through which God had led their fathers when

He redeemed them out of the bondage of Egypt, they were now marching to purchase the friendship of Egypt, though really, whatever might be the pretext which they offered, it was only to deceive themselves; for the vainglorious land would never keep the promises that it made.

So runs the divine oracle to which the following command refers. Ver. 8. "*Now go, write it on a table with them, and note it in a book, and let it stand there for future days, for ever, to eternity.*" The suffixes of *kothbâh* (write it) and *chuqqâh* (note it) refer in a neuter sense to vers. 6, 7; and the expression "go" is simply a general summons to proceed to the matter (cf. ch. xxii. 15). *Sēpher* could be used interchangeably with *lūāch*, because a single leaf, the contents of which were concluded, was called *sēpher* (Ex. xvii. 14). Isaiah was to write the oracle upon a table, a separate leaf of durable material; and that "with them," i.e. so that his countrymen might have it before their eyes (compare ch. viii. 1, Hab. ii. 2). It was to be a memorial for posterity. The reading לָעַד (Sept., Targ., Syr.) for לְעַד is appropriate, though quite unnecessary. The three indications of time form a climax: for futurity, for the most remote future, for the future without end.

It was necessary that the worthlessness of the help of Egypt should be placed in this way before the eyes of the people. Vers. 9-11. "*For it is a refractory people, lying children, children who do not like to hear the instruction of Jehovah, who say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophecy not unto us right things! Speak flatteries to us! Get out of the way, turn aside from the path, remove from our face the Holy One of Israel.*" On the expression 'am m^erî (a people of stubbornness), see at ch. iii. 8. The vowel-pointing of מְרִי follows the same rule as that of מְרִי. The prophet traces back their words to an unvarnished expression of their true meaning, just as he does in ch. xxviii. 15. They forbid the prophets of Jehovah to prophesy, more especially *n^ekhōchōth*, straight or true things (things not agreeable to their own wishes), but would rather hear *chālāqōth*, i.e. smooth, insinuating, and flattering things, and even *mahāthallōth* (from *hāthal*, Talm. *tal*, *ludere*), i.e. illusions or deceits. Their desire was to be entertained and lauded, not repelled and instructed. The prophets are to adopt another course (כִּי only occurs here, and that twice, instead of

the more usual מַי = מָי, after the form מַי, מַי, and not trouble them any more with the Holy One of Israel, whom they (at least Isaiah, who is most fond of calling Jehovah by this name) have always in their mouths.

Thus do they fall out with Jehovah and the bearers of His word. Vers. 12-14. "*Therefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye dislike this word, and put your trust in force and shufflings, and rely upon this; therefore will this iniquity be to you like a falling breach, bent forwards in a high-towering wall, which falls to ruin suddenly, very suddenly. And He smites it to pieces, as a potter's vessel falls to pieces, when they smash it without sparing, and of which, when it lies smashed to pieces there, you cannot find a sherd to fetch fire with from the hearth, or to take water with out of a cistern.*" The "word" towards which they cherished מִוֹס (read *mō'oskhem*), was the word of Jehovah through His prophet, which was directed against their untheocratic policy of reckoning upon Egypt. *Nālōz*, bent out or twisted, is the term used to denote this very policy, which was ever resorting to bypaths and secret ways; whilst *'osheq* denotes the squeezing out of the money required to carry on the war of freedom, and to purchase the help of Egypt (compare 2 Kings xv. 20). The guilt of Judah is compared to the broken and overhanging part of a high wall (*nibh'eh*, bent forwards; compare נִבְחֵחַ, a term applied to a diseased swelling). Just as such a broken piece brings down the whole of the injured wall along with it, so would the sinful conduct of Judah immediately ruin the whole of its existing constitution. Israel, which would not recognise itself as the image of Jehovah, even when there was yet time (ch. xxix. 16), would be like a vessel smashed into the smallest fragments. It is the captivity which is here figuratively threatened by the prophet; for the smashing had regard to Israel as a state. The subject to יִשְׁבֵּרָהּ in ver. 14 is Jehovah, who would make use of the hostile power of man to destroy the wall, and break up the kingdom of Judah into such a diaspora of broken *sherds*. The reading is not יִשְׁבֵּרָהּ (LXX., Targum), but יִשְׁבֵּרָהּ, *et franget eam*. *Kāthōth* is an infinitive statement of the mode; the participle *kāthūth*, which is adopted by the Targum, Kimchi, Norzi, and others, is less suitable. It was necessary to proceed with לֹא יִחַמֵּל (without his sparing), simply because the infinitive absolute cannot be con-

nected with לָ (Ewald, § 350, α). לָחֶשֶׁן (to be written thus with *dagesh* both here and Hag. ii. 16) passes from the primary meaning *nudare* to that of scooping up, as עָרָה does to that of pouring out.

Into such small sherds, a heap thus scattered hither and thither, would the kingdom of Judah be broken up, in consequence of its ungodly thirst for self-liberation. Vers. 15-17. "For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, Through turning and rest ye would be helped; your strength would show itself in quietness and confidence; but ye would not. And ye said, No, but we will fly upon horses; therefore ye shall flee: and, We will ride upon racehorses; therefore your pursuers will race. A thousand, ye will flee from the threatening of one, from the threatening of five, until ye are reduced to a remnant, like a pine upon the top of the mountain, and like a banner upon the hill." The conditions upon which their salvation depended, and by complying with which they would attain to it, were *shūbhāh*, turning from their self-chosen way, and *nachath*, rest from self-confident work of their own (from *nūāch*, like *rachath*, *ventilabrum*, from *rūāch*, and *shachath*, *fovea*, from *shūāch*). Their strength (*i.e.* what they would be able to do in opposition to the imperial power) would show itself (*hāyāh*, arise, come to the light, as in ch. xxix. 2) in *hashqēt*, laying aside their busy care and stormy eagerness, and *bitchāh*, trust, which cleaves to Jehovah and, renouncing all self-help, leaves Him to act alone. This was the leading and fundamental principle of the prophet's politics even in the time of Ahaz (ch. vii. 4). But from the very first they would not act upon it; nor would they now that the alliance with Egypt had become an irreversible fact. To fly upon horses, and ride away upon racehorses (*kal*, like *κέλης*, *celer*¹), had been and still was their proud and carnal ambition, which Jehovah would answer by fulfilling upon them the curses of the *thorah* (Lev. xxvi. 8, 36; Deut. xxviii. 25, xxxii. 30). One, or at the most five, of the enemy would be able with their snorting to put to flight a whole thousand of the men of Judah. The verb *nūs* (ver. 16), which rhymes with *ūs*, is used first of all in its primary sense of "flying" (related to

¹ We regard the Sanscrit *kal*, to drive or hunt, the Greek *κέλλ(όκέλλ)ειν*, and the Semitic *qal*, as all having the same root: cf. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griech. Etymol.* i. 116.

nûts, cf. Ex. xiv. 27), and then in its more usual sense of "fleeing." (Luzzatto, after Abulwalîd: *vogliamo far sui cavalli gloriosa comparsa*, from *nûs*, or rather *nâsas*, hence *nânôs*, from which comes *nês*, *excellere*.) נִפְּלִי, the fut. *niphal*, signifies to be light, i.e. swift; whereas לָקַל, the fut. *kal*, had become a common expression for light in the sense of despised or lightly esteemed. The horses and chariots are Judah's own (ch. ii. 7; Mic. v. 9), though possibly with the additional allusion to the Egyptian cavalry, of world-wide renown, which they had called to their help. In ver. 17*a* the subject of the first clause is also that of the second, and consequently we have not יִכְרְפֵנִי (compare the asyndeta in ch. xvii. 6). The insertion of רִבְּחָבְחָה (ten thousand) after *chämishshâh* (five), which Lowth, Gesenius, and others propose, is quite unnecessary. The play upon the words symbolizes the divine law of retribution (*talio*), which would be carried out with regard to them. The nation, which had hitherto resembled a thick forest, would become like a lofty pine (*tören*, according to the talmudic *türnithâ*, *Pinus pinea*), standing solitary upon the top of a mountain, and like a flagstaff planted upon a hill—a miserable remnant in the broad land so fearfully devastated by war. For עָרַם followed by a preterite (equivalent to the fut. *exactum*), compare ch. vi. 11 and Gen. xxiv. 19.

The prophet now proceeds with יָכַח, to which we cannot give any other meaning than *et propterea*, which it has everywhere else. The thought of the prophet is the perpetually recurring one, that Israel would have to be reduced to a small remnant before Jehovah would cease from His wrath. Ver. 18. "And therefore will Jehovah wait till He inclines towards you, and therefore will He withdraw Himself on high till He has mercy upon you; for Jehovah is a God of right, salvation to those who wait for Him." In other places *lâkkhên* (therefore) deduces the punishment from the sin; here it infers, from the nature of the punishment, the long continuance of the divine wrath. *Chikkâh*, to wait, connected as it is here with *Lamed*, has at least the idea, if not the actual signification, of *delay* (as in 2 Kings ix. 3; compare Job xxxii. 4). This helps to determine the sense of *yârûm*, which does not mean, He will show Himself exalted as a judge, that through judgment He may render it possible to have mercy upon you (which is too far-fetched a

meaning); but, He will raise Himself up, so as to be far away (cf. Num. xvi. 45, "Get you up from among this congregation;" and Ps. x. 5, *mârôm* = "far above," as far as heaven, out of his sight), that thus (after having for a long time withdrawn His gracious presence; cf. Hos. v. 6) He may bestow His mercy upon you. A dark prospect, but only alarming to unbelievers. The salvation at the remotest end of the future belongs to believers even now. This is affirmed in the word *'ashrê* (blessed), which recalls Ps. ii. 12. The prophet uses *châkhâh* in a very significant double sense here, just as he did *nûs* a short time before. Jehovah is waiting for the time when He can show His favour once more, and blessed are they who meet His waiting with their own waiting.

None but such are heirs of the grace that follows the judgment—a people, newly pardoned in response to its cry for help, conducted by faithful teachers in the right way, and renouncing idolatry with disgust. Vers. 19–22. *"For a people continues dwelling in Zion, in Jerusalem; thou shalt not weep for ever: He will prove Himself gracious to thee at the sound of thy cry for help; as soon as He hears, He answers thee. And the Lord giveth you bread in penury, and water for your need; and thy teachers will not hide themselves any more, and thine eyes come to see thy teachers. And thine ears will hear words behind thee, saying, 'This is the way, walk ye in it!' whether ye turn to the right hand or to the left. And ye defile the covering of thy graven images of silver, and the clothing of thy molten images of gold; thou wilt scatter them like a filthy thing: 'Get out!' thou sayest to it."* We do not render ver. 19a, "For O people that dwelleth in Zion, in Jerusalem!" For although the personal pronoun may be omitted after *Vav* in an apostrophizing connection (Prov. viii. 5; Joel ii. 23), we should certainly expect to find *הנה* here. The accent very properly marks these words as forming an independent clause. The apparent tautology in the expression, "in Zion, in Jerusalem," is emphatic and explanatory. The fate of Zion-Jerusalem will not be the same as that of the imperial city (ch. xiii. 20, xxv. 2); for it is the city of Jehovah, which, according to His promise, cannot become an eternally deserted ruin. After this promising declaration, the prophet turns and addresses the people of the future in the people of his own time: *bâkhô* strengthens the verbal

notion with the mark of duration; *chânôn* with the mark of certainty and fulness. יִחְיֶה, with an advanced *ô*, as in Gen. xliii. 29, for יִחְיֶה. הֵן is the shortest expression used to denote simultaneous occurrence; answering and hearing would coincide (*shom'âh, nomen actionis*, as in ch. xlvii. 9, lv. 2; Ges. § 45, 1b; 'ânâkh, the pausal form here, as in Jer. xxiii. 37). From this lowest stage of response to the penitential cry for help, the promise rises higher and higher. The next stage is that in which Jerusalem is brought into all the distress consequent upon a siege, as threatened by the prophet in ch. xxix. 3, 4; the besieged would not be allowed by God to die of starvation, but He would send them the necessary support. The same expression, but very little altered, viz. "to give to eat *lechem lachatz ûmayim lachatz*," signifies to put any one upon the low rations of a siege or of imprisonment, in 1 Kings xxii. 27 and 2 Chron. xviii. 26; but here it is a promise, with the threat kept in the background. לֶחֶם and מַיִם are connected with the absolute nouns לֶחֶם and מַיִם, not as adverbial, but as appositional definitions (like מֵין תַּרְעִלָה, "wine which is giddiness," in Ps. lx. 5; and מַיִם בְּרִכַּיִם, "water which is knees," i.e. which has the measure of the knees, where *birkayim* is also in apposition, and not the accusative of measurement): literally, bread which is necessity, and water which is affliction; that is to say, nourishment of which there is extreme need, the very opposite of bread and water in abundance. Umbreit and Drechsler understand this spiritually. But the promise rises as it goes on. There is already an advance, in the fact that the faithful and well-meaning teachers (*mōrîm*) no longer keep themselves hidden because of the hard-heartedness and hatred of the people, as they have done ever since the time of Ahaz (נִבְנֶה, a denom.: to withdraw into בְּנֶה, πρέπουξ, the utmost end, the most secret corner; though *kânaph* in itself signifies to cover or conceal). Israel, when penitent, would once more be able to rejoice in the sight of those whom it longed to have back again. מוֹרִיד is a plural, according to the context (on the singular of the previous predicate, see Ges. § 147). As the shepherds of the flock, they would follow the people with friendly words of admonition, whilst the people would have their ears open to receive their instruction. תִּצְמִינִי is here equivalent to תִּצְמִינִי, תִּצְמִינִי. The abominations of idolatry (which continued even in the first years of Hezekiah's

reign: ch. xxxi. 7; Mic. i. 5, v. 11-13, vi. 16) would now be regarded as abominations, and put away. Even gold and silver, with which the images that were either carved or cast in inferior metal were overlaid, would be made unclean (see 2 Kings xxiii. 8 sqq.); that is to say, no use would be made of them. *Dāvâh* is a shorter expression for *k'li dāvâh*, the cloth worn by a woman at the monthly period. On *zârâh*, to dispense—to which *dāvâh* would be inappropriate if understood of the woman herself, as it is by Luzzatto—compare 2 Kings xxiii. 6. With רַבָּנִי, the plural used in the general address passes over into the individualizing singular; יְיָ is to be taken as a neuter pointing back to the plunder of idols.

The promise, after setting forth this act of penitence, rises higher and higher; it would not stop at bread in time of need. Vers. 23-25. "*And He gives rain to thy seed, with which thou sowest the land; and bread of the produce of the land, and it is full of sap and fat: in that day your flocks will feed in roomy pastures. And the oxen and the young asses, which work the land, salted mash will they eat, which is winnowed with the winnowing shovel and winnowing fork! And upon every high mountain, and every hill that rises high, there are springs, brooks in the day of the great massacre, when the towers fall.*" The blessing which the prophet depicts is the reverse of the day of judgment, and stands in the foreground when the judgment is past. The expression "in that day" fixes, as it were, the evening of the day of judgment, which is followed by the depicted morning of blessing. But the great mass of the Jewish nation would be first of all murdered in war; the towers must fall, i.e. (though without any figure, and merely as an exemplifying expression) all the bulwarks of self-confidence, self-help, and pride (ch. ii. 15; Mic. v. 9, 10). In the place of the self-induced calamities of war, there would now come the God-given rich blessings of peace; and in the place of the proud towers, there would come fruitful heights abounding with water. The field would be cultivated again, and produce luxuriant crops of nutritious corn; so that not only the labour of man, but that of the animals also, would receive a rich reward. "Rain to thy seed:" this is the early rain commencing about the middle of October. וְיָשַׁר is an accusative, וְיָרַע being construed with a double accusative, as in Deut. xxii. 9. מִקְנֶיךָ

might be the singular, so far as the form is concerned (see i. 30, v. 12, xxii. 11); but, according to Ex. xvii. 3, it must be taken as a plural, like מִוֹרִי. The 'ālāphim are the oxen used in ploughing and threshing; the 'āyārīm, the asses used for carrying manure, soil, the sheaves, or the grain. B^ēlil chāmūts is a mash (composed of oats, barley, and vetches, or things of that kind) made more savoury with salt and sour vegetables;¹ that is to say, a *farrago* (from *bālul*, to mix; *Job*, vol. ii. p. 362). According to Wetzstein, it is ripe barley (unthreshed during the harvest and threshing time, and the grain itself for the rest of the year) mixed with salt or salt vegetables. In any case, b^ēlil is to be understood as referring to the grain; this is evident from the relative clause, "which has been winnowed" (= m^ēzōreh, Ewald, § 169, d), or perhaps more correctly, "which he (one) winnows" (*part. kal*), the participle standing for the third person, with the subject contained within itself (Ewald, § 200), i.e. not what was generally given from economy, viz. barley, etc., mixed with chopped straw (*tibn*), but pure grain (*habb mahd*, as they say at the present day). *Rachuth* is a winnowing shovel, which is still used, according to Wetzstein, in *Merj*, *Gedur*, and *Hauran*; *mizreh*, on the other hand, is the winnowing fork with six prongs. Dainty food, such as was only given occasionally to the cattle, as something especially strengthening, would then be their regular food, and would be prepared in the most careful manner. "Who cannot see," exclaims Vitringa, "that this is to be taken spiritually?" He appeals to what Paul says in 1 Cor. ix. 9, viz. that God does not trouble Himself about oxen. But Paul did not mean this in the same sense as Aristotle, who maintained that the *minima* were entirely excluded from the providence of God. What the Scriptures say concerning cattle, they do not say for the sake of the cattle, but for the sake of men; though it does not follow that the cattle are to be understood figuratively, as representing men. And this is the case here. What the prophet paints in this idyllic style, in colours furnished by the existing customs,² is not indeed intended to be understood in the letter; and yet it is to be taken literally. In the age of

¹ Such as *Salsola kali*, *Salsola tragus*, *Salsola soda*, and other plants of the family of the chenopodiaceæ.

² Asses particularly, even those of a guest, are generally very much

glory, even on this side of eternity, a gigantic stride will be taken forward towards the glorification of universal nature, and towards the end of all those sighs which are so discernible now, more especially among domestic animals. The prophecy is therefore to be interpreted according to Rom. viii. 19 sqq.; from which we may clearly see that God does trouble Himself about the sighing of an ox or ass that is overburdened with severe toil, and sometimes left to starve.

The promise now rises higher and higher, and passes from earth to heaven. Ver. 26. "*And the light of the moon will be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be multiplied sevenfold, like the light of seven days, in the day that Jehovah bindeth the hurt of His people, and healeth the crushing of His stroke.*" Modern commentators from Lowth downwards for the most part pronounce פָּאָר שֶׁבַע הַיָּמִים a gloss; and there is one external evidence in favour of this, which is wanting in the case of the other supposed glosses in Isaiah, namely, that the words are omitted by the LXX. (though not by the Targum, the Syriac, or Jerome). Even Luther (although he notices these words in his exposition and sermons) merely renders them, *der Sonnen schein wird siebenmal heller sein denn jztz* (the sunlight will be seven times as bright as it is now). But the internal evidence does not favour their spuriousness even in the case before us; for the fact that the regularity of the verse, as consisting of four members, is thereby disturbed, is no evidence at all, since the verse could be arranged in a pentastich quite as well as in a tetrastich form. We therefore decide in this instance also in favour of the conclusion that the prophet composed the gloss himself. But we cannot maintain, with Umbreit, that the addition was necessary, in order to guard against the idea that there would be seven suns shining in the sky; for the prophet does not predict a multiplication of the sun by seven, but simply the multiplication of its light. The seven days are the length of an ordinary week. Drechsler gives it correctly: "The radiated light, which is sufficient to produce the daylight for a whole week according to the existing order of things, will then be concentrated into a single day." Luther renders it in

neglected. The host throws them a little grass, and then hangs up the fodder-sack full of chopped straw; and it is a sign of extraordinary hospitality if corn is given to the asses as well as to the horses.—WETZSTEIN.

this way, *als wenn sieben tag ynn eynander geschlossen weren* (as if seven days were enclosed in one another). This also is not meant figuratively, any more than Paul means it figuratively, when he says, that with the manifestation of the "glory" of the children of God, the "corruption" of universal nature will come to an end. Nevertheless, it is not of the new heaven that the prophet is speaking, but of the glorification of nature, which is promised by both the Old Testament prophecy and by that of the New at the closing period of the world's history, and which will be the closing typical self-annunciation of that eternal glory in which everything will be swallowed up. The brightest, sunniest days then alternate, as the prophet foretells, with the most brilliant moonlight nights. No other miracles will be needed for this than that wonder-working power of God, which even now produces those changes of weather, the laws of which no researches of natural science have enabled us to calculate, and which will then give the greatest brilliancy and most unchangeable duration to what is now comparatively rare,—namely, a perfectly unclouded sky, with sun or moon shining in all its brilliancy, yet without any scorching from the one, or injurious effects from the other. Heaven and earth will then put on their sabbath dress; for it will be the Sabbath of the world's history, the seventh day in the world's week. The light of the seven days of the world's week will be all concentrated in the seventh. For the beginning of creation was light, and its close will be light as well. The darkness all comes between, simply that it may be overcome. At last will come a *böger* (morning), after which it will no more be said, "And evening was, and morning was." The prophet is speaking of the last type of this morning. What he predicts here precedes what he predicted in ch. xxiv. 23, just as the date of its composition precedes that of ch. xxiv.—xxvii.; for there the imperial city was Babylon, whereas here the glory of the latter day is still placed immediately after the fall of Assyria.

Vers. 27, 28. "*Behold, the name of Jehovah cometh from far, burning His wrath, and quantity of smoke: His lips are full of wrathful foam, and His tongue like devouring fire. And His breath is like an overflowing brook, which reaches half-way to the neck, to sift nations in the sieve of nothingness; and a misleading*

bridle comes to the cheeks of the nations." Two figures are here melted together,—namely, that of a storm coming up from the farthest horizon, which turns the sky into a sea of fire, and kindles whatever it strikes, so that there rises up a heavy burden, or thick mass of smoke (*kōbhed massá'áh*, like *mas'ēth* in Judg. xx. 40, cf. 38; on this attributive combination, burning His wrath (Ewald, § 288, c) and a quantity, etc., see ch. xiii. 9); and that of a man burning with wrath, whose lips foam, whose tongue moves to and fro like a flame, and whose breath is a snorting that threatens destruction, which when it issues from Jehovah swells into a stream, which so far covers a man that only his neck appears as the visible half. We had the same figure in ch. viii. 8, where Asshur, as it came upon Judah, was compared to such an almost overwhelming and drowning flood. Here, again, it refers to Judah, which the wrath of Jehovah had almost though not entirely destroyed. For the ultimate object of the advancing name of Jehovah (*shēm*, name, relating to His judicial coming) is to sift nations, etc.: *lahănâphâh* for *l'hânîph* (like *lahăzâdâh* in Dan. v. 20), to make it more like *nâphâh* in sound. The *sieve of nothingness* is a sieve in which everything, that does not remain in it as good corn, is given up to annihilation; *שׁוֹן* is want of being, i.e. of life from God, and denotes the fate that properly belongs to such worthlessness. In the case of *v'resen* (and a bridle, etc.) we must either supply in thought *לְשׁוֹן* (*שׁוֹן*), or, what is better, take it as a substantive clause: "a misleading bridle" (or a bridle of misleading, as Böttcher renders it, *math'eh* being the form *mashqeh*) holds the cheeks of the nations. The nations are regarded as wild horses, which could not be tamed, but which were now so firmly bound and controlled by the wrath of God, that they were driven down into the abyss.

This is the issue of the judgment which begins at the house of God, then turns against the instrument employed, namely the heathen, and becomes to the Israel that survives a counterpart of the deliverance from Egypt. Ver. 29. "*Your song will then sound as in the night, when the feast is celebrated; and ye will have joy of heart like those who march with the playing of flutes, to go up to the mountain of Jehovah, to the Rock of Israel.*" In the word *châg* (feast), which is generally used with special reference to the feast of tabernacles, there is here an

unmistakeable allusion to the passover, as we may see from the introduction of "the night," which evidently means the night before the passover (*lél shimmurim*, Ex. xii. 42), which was so far a festal night, that it preceded and introduced the feast of unleavened bread. The prophet has taken his figure from the first passover-night in Egypt, when Israel was rejoicing in the deliverance which it was just about to receive, whilst the destroying angel was passing through the land. Such would be the song which they would be able to sing, when Jehovah poured out His judgment upon His people's enemies outside. The church is shut up in its chamber (ch. xxvi. 20), and its joy resembles the heartfelt joy of those who go on pilgrimage on one of the three great feasts, or in the procession that carries up the first-fruits to Jerusalem (*Biccurim*, iii. 3), going up with the sound of flutes to the mountain of Jehovah, to appear before Him, the Rock of Israel.

Israel is marching in such a joyful way to a sacred and glorious height, whilst outside Jehovah is sweeping the world-power entirely away, and that without any help from Israel. Vers. 30-33. "*And Jehovah causes His majestic voice to be heard, and causes the lowering of His arm to be seen, with the snorting of wrath and the blazing of devouring fire, the bursting of a cloud, and pouring of rain and hailstones. For Asshur will be terrified at the voice of Jehovah, when He smites with the staff. And it will come to pass, every stroke of the rod of destiny, which Jehovah causes to fall upon Asshur, is dealt amidst the noise of drums and the playing of guitars; and in battles of swinging arm He fights it. For a place for the sacrifice of abominations has long been made ready, even for the king is it prepared; deep, broad has He made it: its funeral-pile has fire and wood in abundance; the breath of Jehovah like a stream of brimstone sets it on fire.*" The imposing crash (on *hād*, see Job xxxix. 20) of the cry which Jehovah causes to be heard is thunder (see Ps. xxix.); for the catastrophe occurs with a discharge of all the destructive forces of a storm (see ch. xxix. 6). *Nephets* is the "breaking up" or "bursting," viz. of a cloud. It is through such wrath-announcing phenomena of nature that Jehovah manifests the otherwise invisible letting down of His arm to smite (*nachath* may possibly not be the derivative of *nūāch*, "a settling down," but of *nāchath*, "the coming down,"

as in Ps. xxxviii. 3; just as *shebbeth* in 2 Sam. xxiii. 7 is not derived from *shūbh*, but from *shābbhath*, to go to ruin). Ver. 31, commencing with *ki* (for), explains the terrible nature of what occurs, from the object at which it is directed: Asshur is alarmed at the voice of Jehovah, and thoroughly goes to pieces. We must not render this, as the Targum does, "which smites with the rod," *i.e.* which bears itself so haughtily, so tyrannically (after ch. x. 24). The smiter here is Jehovah (LXX., Vulg., Luther); and *basshēbhet yakkeh* is either an attributive clause, or, better still, a circumstantial determining clause, *eo virga percutiente*. According to the accents, *v'hāyāh* in ver. 32 is introductory: "And it will come to pass, every stroke of the punishing rod falls (supply יְהִי) with an accompaniment of drums and guitars" (the *Beth* is used to denote instrumental accompaniment, as in ver. 29, ch. xxiv. 9, Ps. xlix. 5, etc.),—namely, on the part of the people of Jerusalem, who have only to look on and rejoice in the approaching deliverance. *Mūsādāh* with *matteh* is a verbal substantive used as a genitive, "an appointment according to decree" (comp. *yāsad* in Hab. i. 12, and *yā'ad* in Mic. vi. 9). The fact that drums and guitars are heard along with every stroke, is explained in ver. 32b: "Jehovah fights against Asshur with battles of swinging," *i.e.* not with darts or any other kind of weapon, but by swinging His arm incessantly, to smite Asshur without its being able to defend itself (cf. ch. xix. 16). Instead of כָּרַךְ, which points back to *Asshur*, not to *matteh*, the *keri* has כָּרַךְ, which is not so harsh, since it is immediately preceded by עָלָיו. This cutting down of the Assyrians is accounted for in ver. 33, (*ki*, for), from the fact that it had long ago been decreed that they should be burned as dead bodies. 'Ethmūl in contrast with *māchār* is the past: it has not happened to-day, but yesterday, *i.e.*, as the predestination of God is referred to, "long ago." *Tophteh* is the primary form of *tōpheth* (from *tūph*, not in the sense of the Neo-Persian *tāften*, Zend. *tap*, to kindle or burn, from which comes *tafedra*, melting; but in the Semitic sense of vomiting or abhorring: see at Job xvii. 6), the name of the abominable place where the sacrifices were offered to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom: a Tophet-like place. The word is variously treated as both a masculine and feminine, possibly because the place of abominable sacrifices is described

first as *bâmâh* in Jer. vii. 31. In the clause גַּם-הוּא לְפָנָיו הוּבֵן, the *gam*, which stands at the head, may be connected with *lammelekh*, "also for the king is it prepared" (see at Job ii. 10); but in all probability *lammelekh* is a play upon *lammolekh* (e.g. Lev. xviii. 2), "even this has been prepared for the Melekh," viz. the king of Asshur. Because he was to be burned there, together with his army, Jehovah had made this Tophet-like place very deep, so that it might have a far-reaching background, and very broad, so that in this respect also there might be room for many sacrifices. And their *m'durâh*, i.e. their pile of wood (as in Ezek. xxiv. 9, cf. 5, from *dûr*, Talm. *dayyêr*, to lay round, to arrange, pile), has abundance of fire and wood (a *hendiadys*, like "cloud and smoke" in ch. iv. 5). Abundance of fire: for the breath of Jehovah, pouring upon the funeral pile like a stream of brimstone, sets it on fire. בָּעֵר בָּ, not to burn up, but to set on fire. בָּ points back to *tophthēh*, like the suffix of *m'durâthâh*.¹

THE FOURTH WOE.—THE FALSE HELP; THE DESPISED ONE PITIED; AND THE NEW ERA.—CHAP. XXXI.—XXXII. 1-8.

There is nothing to surprise us in the fact, that the prophet returns again and again to the alliance with Egypt. After his warning had failed to prevent it, he wrestled with it in spirit, set before himself afresh the curse which would be its certain fruit, brought out and unfolded the consolation of believers that lay hidden in the curse, and did not rest till the cursed fruit, that had become a real thing, had been swallowed up by the promise, which was equally real. The situation of this fourth woe is just the same as that of the previous one. The alliance with Egypt is still in progress. Vers. 1-3. "Woe to

¹ So far as the form of the text is concerned, *kôl* has the disjunctive *yethib* before *pashta*, which occurs eleven times according to the Masora. Nevertheless the word is logically connected in the closest manner with what follows (comp. 'êth tôrath in ch. v. 24). The *âh* of *mûsâdâh* is *rafatum pro mappicato*, according to the Masora; in which case the suffix would refer to Asshur. In the place of הוּא גַּם we also meet with גַּם הוּא, with this *chethib* and *keri* reversed; but the former, according to which הוּבֵן is equivalent to הוּבְנָה, has many examples to support it in the Masora. הוּבֵן has *kametz* in correct mss. in half pause; whereas Kimchi (*Michlol*, 117b) regards it as a participle.

them that go down to Egypt for help, and rely upon horses, and put their trust in chariots, that there are many of them; and in horsemen, that there is a powerful multitude of them; and do not look up to the Holy One of Israel, and do not inquire for Jehovah! And yet He also is wise; thus then He brings evil, and sets not His words aside; and rises up against the house of miscreants, and against the help of evil-doers. And Egypt is man, and not God; and its horses flesh, and not spirit. And when Jehovah stretches out His hand, the helper stumbles, and he that is helped falls, and they all perish together." The expression "them that go down" (*hayyōr'dim*) does not imply that the going down was taking place just then for the first time. It is the participle of qualification, just as God is called *הַפִּיָּא לְעֹזְרָה* with *Lamed* of the object, as in ch. xx. 6. The horses, chariots, and horsemen here, are those of Egypt, which Diodorus calls *ἰππάρισμος*, on account of its soil being so suitable for cavalry (see Lepsius in Herzog's *Cyclopædia*). The participle is combined in the finite verb. Instead of *וְעַל-סוּסִים*, we also find the reading preferred by Norzi, of *עַל* without *Vav*, as in ch. v. 11 (cf. 23). The perfects, *לֹא יָרְשׁוּ* and *לֹא יִשְׁעוּ*, are used without any definite time, to denote that which was always wanting in them. The circumstantial clause, "whilst He is assuredly also wise," i.e. will bear comparison with their wisdom and that of Egypt, is a touching *μείωσις*. It was not necessary to think very highly of Jehovah, in order to perceive the reprehensible and destructive character of their apostasy from Him. The fut. consec. *וַיִּבֶא* is used to indicate the inevitable consequence of their despising Him who is also wise. He will not set aside His threatening words, but carry them out. The house of miscreants is Judah (ch. i. 4); and the help (*abstr. pro concr.*, just as Jehovah is frequently called "my help," *ezrāthī*, by the Psalmist) of evil-doers is Egypt, whose help has been sought by Judah. The latter is "man" (*ādām*), and its horses "flesh" (*bāsār*); whereas Jehovah is God (*El*) and spirit (*rūāch*; see *Psychol.* p. 85). Hofmann expounds it correctly: "As *rūāch* has life in itself, it is opposed to the *bāsār*, which is only rendered living through the *rūāch*; and so *El* is opposed to the corporeal *ādām*, who needs the spirit in order to live at all." Thus have they preferred the help of the impotent and conditioned, to the help of the almighty and all-conditioning One.

Jehovah, who is God and spirit, only requires to stretch out His hand (an anthropomorphism, by the side of which we find the rule for interpreting it); and the helpers, and those who are helped (*i.e.* according to the terms of the treaty, though not in reality), that is to say, both the source of the help and the object of help, are all cast into one heap together.

And things of this kind would occur. Ver. 4. "*For thus hath Jehovah spoken to me, As the lion growls, and the young lion over its prey, against which a whole crowd of shepherds is called together; he is not alarmed at their cry, and does not surrender at their noise; so will Jehovah of hosts descend to the campaign against the mountain of Zion, and against their hill.*" There is no other passage in the book of Isaiah which sounds so Homeric as this (*vid. Il. xviii. 161, 162, xii. 299 sqq.*). It has been misunderstood by Knobel, Umbreit, Drechsler, and others, who suppose עַל נֶפֶשׁ to refer to Jehovah's purpose to fight for Jerusalem: Jehovah, who would no more allow His city to be taken from Him, than a lion would give up a lamb that it had taken as its prey. But how could Jerusalem be compared to a lamb which a lion holds in its claws as *tereph*? (ch. v. 29.) We may see, even from ch. xxix. 7, what construction is meant to be put upon עַל נֶפֶשׁ. Those sinners and their protectors would first of all perish; for like a fierce indomitable lion would Jehovah advance against Jerusalem, and take it as His prey, without suffering Himself to be thwarted by the Judæans and Egyptians, who set themselves in opposition to His army (the Assyrians). The mountain of Zion was the citadel and temple; the hill of Zion the city of Jerusalem (ch. x. 32). They would both be given up to the judgment of Jehovah, without any possibility of escape. The commentators have been misled by the fact, that a simile of a promising character follows immediately afterwards, without anything to connect the one with the other. But this abrupt μετάβασις was intended as a surprise, and was a true picture of the actual fulfilment of the prophecy; for in the moment of the greatest distress, when the actual existence of Jerusalem was in question (cf. ch. x. 33, 34), the fate of Ariel took suddenly and miraculously a totally different turn (ch. xxix. 2). In this sense, a pleasant picture is placed side by side with the terrible one (compare Mic. v. 6, 7).

Jehovah suddenly arrests the work of punishment, and the love which the wrath enfolds within itself begins to appear. Ver. 5. "*Like fluttering birds, so will Jehovah of Hosts screen Jerusalem; screening and delivering, sparing and setting free.*" The prophet uses the plural, "like fluttering birds," with an object—namely, not so much to represent Jehovah Himself, as the tender care and, as it were, *maternal* love, into which His leonine fierceness would be changed. This is indicated by the fact, that he attaches the feminine *‘āphōth* to the common gender *tsippōrim*. The word *pāsōāch* recals to mind the deliverance from Egypt (as in ch. xxx. 29) in a very significant manner. The sparing of the Israelites by the destroyer passing over their doors, from which the passover derived its name, would be repeated once more. We may see from this, that in and along with Assyria, Jehovah Himself, whose instrument of punishment Assyria was, would take the field against Jerusalem (ch. xxix. 2, 3); but His attitude towards Jerusalem is suddenly changed into one resembling the action of birds, as they soar round and above their threatened nests. On the inf. abs. *kal* (*gānōn*) after the *hiphil*, see Ewald, § 312, *b*; and on the continuance of the inf. abs. in the finite verb, § 350, *a*. This generally takes place through the future, but here through the preterite, as in Jer. xxiii. 14, Gen. xxvi. 13, and 1 Sam. ii. 26 (if indeed *v’gādēl* is the third pers. preterite there).

On the ground of this half terrible, half comforting picture of the future, the call to repentance is now addressed to the people of the prophet's own time. Ver. 6. "*Then turn, O sons of Israel, to Him from whom men have so deeply departed.*" Strictly speaking, "to Him with regard to whom (יֵשׁוּעַ) ye are deeply fallen away" (*hé’ēmīq*, as in Hos. ix. 9, and *sārāh*, that which is alienated, alienation, as in ch. i. 5); the transition to the third person is like the reverse in ch. i. 29. This call to repentance the prophet strengthens by two powerful motives drawn from the future.

The first is, that idolatry would one day be recognised in all its abomination, and put away. Ver. 7. "*For in that day they will abhor every one their silver idols and their gold idols, which your hands have made you for a sin,*" i.e. to commit sin and repent, with the preponderance of the latter idea, as in Hos. viii. 11b (compare 1 Kings xiii. 34). אֲנִי, a second accusative

to וַיִּשָּׁלַח, indicating the result. The prospect is the same as that held out in ch. xxx. 22, xxvii. 9, xvii. 8, ii. 20.

The second motive is, that Israel will not be rescued by men, but by Jehovah alone; so that even He from whom they have now so deeply fallen will prove Himself the only true ground of confidence. Vers. 8, 9. "*And Asshur falls by a sword not of a man, and a sword not of a man will devour him; and he flees before a sword, and his young men become tributary. And his rock, for fear will it pass away, and his princes be frightened away by the flags: the saying of Jehovah, who has His fire in Zion, and His furnace in Jerusalem.*" The LXX. and Jerome render this falsely *φεύξεται οὐκ (ἐκ) ἀπὸ προσώπου μάχαιρας*. ἔκ is an ethical dative, and the prophet intentionally writes "before a sword" without any article, to suggest the idea of the unbounded, infinite, awful (cf. ch. xxviii. 2, *b'ýád*; *Psalter*, vol. i. p. 15). A sword is drawn without any human intervention, and before this Asshur falls, or at least so many of the Assyrians as are unable to save themselves by flight. The power of Asshur is for ever broken; even its young men will henceforth become tributary, or perform feudal service. By "his rock" most commentators understand the rock upon which the fugitive would gladly have taken refuge, but did not dare (Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Knobel, etc.); others, again, the military force of Asshur, as its supposed invincible refuge (Saad., etc.); others, the apparently indestructible might of Asshur generally (Vulgate, Rashi, Hitzig). But the presence of "his princes" in the parallel clause makes it most natural to refer "his rock" to the king; and this reference is established with certainty by what ch. xxxii. 2 affirms of the king and princes of Judah. Luther also renders it thus: *und jr Fels wird fur furcht wegzihen* (and their rock will withdraw for fear). Sennacherib really did hurry back to Assyria after the catastrophe in a most rapid flight. *Minnēs* are the standards of Asshur, which the commanders of the army fly away from in terror, without attempting to rally those that were scattered. Thus speaks Jehovah, and this is what He decrees who has His *'ūr* and *tannūr* in Jerusalem. We cannot suppose that the allusion here is to the fire and hearth of the sacrifices; for *tannūr* does not mean a hearth, but a furnace (from *nūr*, to burn). The reference is to the light of the divine presence, which was out-

wardly a devouring fire for the enemies of Jerusalem, an unapproachable red-hot furnace (*ignis et caminus qui devorat peccatores et ligna, fœnum stipulamque consumit*: Jerome).

For Judah, sifted, delivered, and purified, there now begins a new era. Righteous government, as a blessing for the people, is the first beneficent fruit. Ch. xxxii. 1, 2. "*Behold, the king will reign according to righteousness; and the princes, according to right will they command. And every one will be like a shelter from the wind, and a covert from the storm; like water-brooks in a dry place, like the shadow of a gigantic rock in a languishing land.*" The kingdom of Asshur is for ever destroyed; but the kingdom of Judah rises out of the state of confusion into which it has fallen through its God-forgetting policy and disregard of justice. King and princes now rule according to the standards that have been divinely appointed and revealed. The *Lamed* in *ul'sârîm* (and the princes) is that of reference (*quod attinet ad*, as in Ps. xvi. 3 and Eccles. ix. 4), the exponent of the usual *casus abs.* (Ges. § 146, 2); and the two other *Lameds* are equivalent to *katá, secundum* (as in Jer. xxx. 11). The figures in ver. 2 are the same as in ch. xxv. 4. The rock of Asshur (*i.e.* Sennacherib) has departed, and the princes of Asshur have deserted their standards, merely to save themselves. The king and princes of Judah are now the defence of their nation, and overshadow it like colossal walls of rock. This is the first fruit of the blessing.

The second is an opened understanding, following upon the ban of hardening. Vers. 3, 4. "*And the eyes of the seeing no more are closed, and the ears of the hearing attend. And the heart of the hurried understands to know, and the tongue of stammerers speaks clear things with readiness.*" It is not physical miracles that are predicted here, but a spiritual change. The present judgment of hardening will be repealed: this is what ver. 3 affirms. The spiritual defects, from which many suffer who do not belong to the worst, will be healed: this is the statement in ver. 4. The form *הִשְׁעִיחַ* is not the future of *שָׁח* here, as in ch. xxxi. 1, xxii. 4, xvii. 7, 8 (in the sense of, they will no longer stare about restlessly and without aim), but of *שָׁח* = *שָׁחַ*, a metaplastic future of the latter, in the sense of, to be smeared over or closed (see ch. xxix. 9, vi. 10; cf. *tach* in ch. xlv. 18).

On *qâshabh* (the *kal* of which is only met with here), see at ch. xxi. 7. The times succeeding the hardening, of which Isaiah is speaking here, are "the last times," as ch. vi. clearly shows; though it does not therefore follow that the king mentioned in ver. 1 (as in ch. xi. 1 sqq.) is the Messiah Himself. In ver. 1 the prophet merely affirms, that Israel as a national commonwealth will then be governed in a manner well pleasing to God; here he predicts that Israel as a national congregation will be delivered from the judgment of not seeing with seeing eyes, and not hearing with hearing ears, and that it will be delivered from defects of weakness also. The *nimhârîm* are those that fall headlong, the precipitate, hurrying, or rash; and the עֲלִילִים, stammerers, are not scoffers (ch. xxviii. 7 sqq., xxix. 20), as Knobel and Drechsler maintain, but such as are unable to think and speak with distinctness and certainty, more especially concerning the exalted things of God. The former would now have the gifts of discernment (*yâbbhîn*), to perceive things in their true nature, and to distinguish under all circumstances that which is truly profitable (*lâda'ath*); the latter would be able to express themselves suitably, with refinement, clearness, and worthiness. *Tsachôth* (old ed. *tsâchôth*) signifies that which is light, transparent; not merely intelligible, but refined and elegant. תִּשְׁחֹת gives the adverbial idea to *l'dabbêr* (Ewald, § 285, a).

A third fruit of the blessing is the naming and treating of every one according to his true character. Vers. 5-8. "*The fool will no more be called a nobleman, nor the crafty a gentleman. For a fool speaks follies, and his heart does godless things, to practise tricks and to speak error against Jehovah, to leave the soul of hungry men empty, and to withhold the drink of thirsty ones. And the craft of a crafty man is evil, who devises stratagems to destroy suffering ones by lying words, even when the needy exhibits his right. But a noble man devises noble things, and to noble things he adheres.*" Nobility of birth and wealth will give place to nobility of character, so that the former will not exist or not be recognised without the latter. *Nâdîbh* is properly one who is noble in character, and then, dropping the ethical meaning, one who is noble by rank. The meaning of the word *generosus* follows the same course in the opposite direction. *Shôâ'* is the man who is raised to eminence by the possession of property; the gentle-

man, as in Job xxxiv. 19. The prophet explains for himself in what sense he uses the words *nābhāl* and *kilai*. We see from his explanation that *kilai* neither signifies the covetous, from *kāl* (Saad.), nor the spendthrift, from *killāh* (Hitzig). Jerome gives the correct rendering, viz. *fraudulentus*; and Rashi and Kimchi very properly regard it as a contraction of *n'khilai*. It is an adjective form derived from כָּיִל = כָּיִל, like נִשְׂיָא = נִשְׂיָא (Job xx. 6). The form כָּיִל in ver. 1 is used interchangeably with this, merely for the sake of the resemblance in sound to כָּלִי (machinatoris machinæ prave). In ver. 6, commencing with *ki* (for), the fact that the *nābhāl* (fool) and *kilai* (crafty man) will lose their titles of honour, is explained on the simple ground that such men are utterly unworthy of them. *Nābhāl* is a scoffer at religion, who thinks himself an enlightened man, and yet at the same time has the basest heart, and is a worthless egotist. The infinitives with *Lamed* show in what the immorality (*'āven*) consists, with which his heart is so actively employed. In ver. 6, *ūbh^edabbēr* ("and if he speak") is equivalent to, "even in the event of a needy man saying what is right and well founded:" *Vāv* = *et* in the sense of *etiam* (cf. 2 Sam. i. 23; Ps. xxxi. 12; Hos. viii. 6; Eccles. v. 6); according to Knobel, it is equivalent to *et quidem*, as in Eccles. viii. 2, Amos iii. 11, iv. 10; whereas Ewald regards it as *Vāv conj.* (§ 283, d), "and by going to law with the needy," but אֶת־אֲבִיִּי would be the construction in this case (*vid.* 2 Kings xxv. 6). According to ver. 8, not only does the noble man devise what is noble, but as such (הוֹנָא) he adheres to it. We might also adopt this explanation, "It is not upon gold or upon chance that he rises;" but according to the Arabic equivalents, *qūm* signifies *persistere* here.

AGAINST THE WOMEN OF JERUSALEM.—CHAP. XXXII. 9-20.

APPENDIX TO THE FOURTH WOE.

This short address, although rounded off well, is something more than a fragment complete in itself, like the short parabolic piece in ch. xxviii. 23-29, which commences in a similar manner. It is the last part of the fourth woe, just as that was the last part of the first. It is a side piece to the threatening prophecy of the time of Uzziah-Jotham (ch. iii. 16 sqq.), and chastises the frivolous self-security of the women of Jerusalem,

just as the former chastises their vain and luxurious love of finery. The prophet has now uttered many a woe upon Jerusalem, which is bringing itself to the verge of destruction; but notwithstanding the fact that women are by nature more delicate, and more easily affected and alarmed, than men, he has made no impression upon the women of Jerusalem, to whom he now foretells a terrible undeceiving of their carnal ease, whilst he holds out before them the ease secured by God, which can only be realized on the ruins of the former. The first part of the address proclaims the annihilation of their false ease. Vers. 9-14. "*Ye contented women, rise up, hear my voice; ye confident daughters, hearken to my speech! Days to the year: then will ye tremble, confident ones! for it is all over with the vintage, the fruit harvest comes to nought. Tremble, contented ones! Quake, ye confident ones! Strip, make yourselves bare, and gird your loins with sackcloth! They smite upon their breasts for the pleasant fields, for the fruitful vine. On the land of my people there come up weeds, briers; yea, upon all joyous houses of the rejoicing city. For the palace is made solitary; the crowd of the city is left desolate; the ofel and watch-tower serve as caves for ever, for the delight of wild asses, for the tending of flocks.*" The summons is the same as in Gen. iv. 23 and Jer. ix. 19 (comp. ch. xxviii. 23); the attributes the same as in Amos vi. 1 (cf. ch. iv. 1, where Isaiah apostrophizes the women of Samaria). שְׂאֵנִי, lively, of good cheer; and בְּיָמַי, trusting, namely to nothing. They are to rise up (*qōmnāh*), because the word of God must be heard standing (Judg. iii. 20). The definition of the time "days for a year" (*yāmim 'al-shānāh*) appears to indicate the length of time that the desolation would last, as the word *tirgaznāh* is without any *Vav apod.* (cf. ch. lxv. 24, Job i. 16-18); but ch. xxix. 1 shows us differently, and the *Vav* is omitted, just as it is, for example, in Dan. iv. 28. *Shānāh* is the current year. In an undefined number of days, at the most a year from the present time (which is sometimes the meaning of *yāmim*), the trembling would begin, and there would be neither grapes nor fruit to gather. Hence the spring harvest of corn is supposed to be over when the devastation begins. יָמַי is an *acc. temporis*; it stands here (as in ch. xxvii. 6, for example; *vid.* Ewald, § 293, 1) to indicate the starting point, not the period of duration. The *milel*-forms שְׁמִטָּה, עֲרָה, חֲגִירָה,

are explained by Ewald, Drechsler, and Luzzatto, as *plur. fem. imper.* with the *Nun* of the termination *nāh* dropped,—an elision that is certainly never heard of. Others regard it as *inf.* with *He* *femin.* (Credner, *Joel*, p. 141); but קָטְלָהּ for the infinitive קָטְלָהּ is unexampled; and equally unexampled would be the *inf.* with *He* indicating the summons, as suggested by Böttcher, “to the shaking!” “to the stripping!” They are *sing. masc. imper.*, such as occur elsewhere apart from the pause, *e.g.* מְלוֹכָה (for which the *keri* has מְלָכָה) in *Judg.* ix. 8; and the singular in the place of the plural is the strongest form of command. The masculine instead of the feminine appears already in הָרְדוּ, which is used in the place of הִרְדֵּינָה. The prophet then proceeds in the singular number, comprehending the women as a mass, and using the most massive expression. The *He* introduced into the summons required that the feminine forms, רִנְיִי, etc., should be given up. עָרָה, from עָרַר, to be naked, to strip one’s self. הִנָּרְה absolute, as in *Joel* i. 13 (cf. ch. iii. 24), signifies to gird one’s self with sackcloth (*sag*). We meet with the same remarkable *enall. generis* in ver. 12. Men have no breasts (*shādaim*), and yet the masculine *sōphēdīm* is employed, inasmuch as the prophet had the whole nation in his mind, throughout which there would be such a *plangere ubera* on account of the utter destruction of the hopeful harvest of corn and wine. *Shādaim* (breasts) and שָׂרִי (construct to *sādōth*) have the same common ring as *ubera* and *ubertas frugum*. In ver. 13 *ta’ālek* points back to *qōts shāmīr*, which is condensed into one neuter idea. The *ki* in ver. 13*b* has the sense of the Latin *imo* (Ewald, § 330, *b*). The genitive connection of קִרְיָהּ עֲלֵיָהּ with בְּתֵי מְשׁוּשׁ (joy-houses of the jubilant city) is the same as in ch. xxviii. 1. The whole is grammatically strange, just as in the Psalms the language becomes all the more complicated, disjointed, and difficult, the greater the wrath and indignation of the poet. Hence the short shrill sentences in ver. 14: palace given up (cf. ch. xiii. 22); city bustle forsaken (*i.e.* the city generally so full of bustle, ch. xxii. 2). The use of בָּעָר is the same as in *Prov.* vi. 26, *Job* ii. 4. ‘*Ofel*, *i.e.* the south-eastern fortified slope of the temple mountain, and the *bachan* (*i.e.* the watch-tower, possibly the flock-tower which is mentioned in *Mic.* iv. 8 along with ‘*ofel*), would be *pro speluncis*, *i.e.* would be considered and serve as such. And in the very place where

the women of Jerusalem had once led their life of gaiety, wild asses would now have their delight, and flocks their pasture (on the wild asses, *p'rá'im*, that fine animal of the woodless steppe, see at Job xxiv. 5, xxxix. 5-8). Thus would Jerusalem, with its strongest, proudest places, be laid in ruins, and that in a single year, or even less than a year.

The state would then continue long, very long, until at last the destruction of the false rest would be followed by the realization of the true. Vers. 15-19. "*Until the Spirit is poured out over us from on high, and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is counted as the forest. And justice makes its abode in the desert, and righteousness settles down upon the fruit-field. And the effect of righteousness will be peace, and the reward of righteousness rest and security for ever. And my people dwells in a place of peace, and in trustworthy, safe dwellings, and in cheerful resting-places. And it hails with the overthrow of the forest, and into lowliness must the city be brought low.*" There is a limit, therefore, to the "for ever" of ver. 14. The punishment would last till the Spirit, which Israel had not then dwelling in the midst of it (see Hag. ii. 5), and whose fulness was like a closed vessel to Israel, should be emptied out over Israel from the height of heaven (compare the *piel* עֲרַה, Gen. xxiv. 20), *i.e.* should be poured out in all its fulness. When that was done, a great change would take place, the spiritual nature of which is figuratively represented in the same proverbial manner as in ch. xxix. 17. At the same time, a different turn is given to the second half in the passage before us. The meaning is, not that what was now valued as a fruit-bearing garden would be brought down from its false eminence, and be only regarded as forest; but that the whole would be so glorious, that what was now valued as a fruit-garden, would be thrown into the shade by something far more glorious still, in comparison with which it would have the appearance of a forest, in which everything grew wild. The whole land, the uncultivated pasture-land as well as the planted fruitful fields of corn and fruit, would then become the tent and seat of justice and righteousness. "Justice and righteousness" (*mishpât* and *ts'dâqâh*) are throughout Isaiah the stamp of the last and perfect time. As these advance towards self-completion, the *produce* and *result* of these will be peace (*ma'âseh* and *'âbhôdâh*

are used to denote the fruit or self-reward of work and pains-taking toil; compare פִּעֻלָּהּ). But two things must take place before this calm, trustworthy, happy peace, of which the existing carnal security is only a caricature, can possibly be realized. In the *first* place, it must *hail*, and *the wood must fall*, being beaten down with hail. We already know, from ch. x. 34, that "the wood" was an emblem of Assyria; and in ch. xxx. 30, 31, we find "the hail" mentioned as one of the forces of nature that would prove destructive to Assyria. And *secondly*, "*the city*" (הָעִיר), a play upon the word, and a counterpart to הָעִיר) must first of all *be brought low into lowliness* (i.e. be deeply humiliated). Rosenmüller and others suppose the imperial city to be intended, according to parallels taken from ch. xxiv.-xxvii.; but in this cycle of prophecies, in which the imperial city is never mentioned at all, "the city" must be Jerusalem, whose course from the false peace to the true lay through a humiliating punishment (ch. xxix. 2-4, xxx. 19 sqq., xxxi. 4 sqq.).

In the face of this double judgment, the prophet congratulates those who will live to see the times after the judgment. Ver. 20. "*Blessed are ye that sow by all waters, and let the foot of the oxen and asses rove in freedom.*" Those who lived to see these times would be far and wide the lords of a quiet and fruitful land, cleared of its foes, and of all disturbers of peace. They would sow wherever they pleased, by all the waters that fertilized the soil, and therefore in a soil of the most productive kind, and one that required little if any trouble to cultivate. And inasmuch as everything would be in the most copious abundance, they would no longer need to watch with anxiety lest their oxen and asses should stray into the corn-fields, but would be able to let them wander wherever they pleased. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this is the correct explanation of the verse, according to ch. xxx. 23-25 (compare also ch. vii. 21 sqq.).

This concludes the four woes, from which the fifth, that immediately follows, is distinguished by the fact, that in the former the Assyrian troubles are still in the future, whereas the fifth places us in the very midst of them. The prophet commenced (ch. xxviii. 1-4) with the destruction of Samaria; he then threatened Judah and Jerusalem also. But it is un-

commonly difficult to combine the different features of the threat into a complete picture. Sifting even to a small remnant is a leading thought, which runs through the threat. And we also read throughout the whole, that Asshur will meet with its own destruction in front of that very Jerusalem which it is seeking to destroy. But the prophet also knows, on the one hand, that Jerusalem is besieged by the Assyrians, and will not be rescued till the besieged city has been brought to the last extremity (ch. xxix. 1 sqq., xxxi. 4 sqq.); and, on the other hand, that this will reach even to the falling of the towers (ch. xxx. 25), the overthrow of the wall of the state (ch. xxx. 13, 14), the devastation of the land, and the destruction of Jerusalem itself (ch. xxxii. 12 sqq.); and for both of these he fixes the limit of a year (ch. xxix. 1, xxxii. 10). This double threat may be explained in the following manner. The judgments which Israel has still to endure, and the period of glory that will follow them, lie before the mental eye of the prophet like a long deep diorama. While threatening the existing generation, he penetrates more or less deeply into the judgments which lie in perspective before him. He threatens at one time merely a siege that will continue till it is brought to the utmost extremity; at another time utter destruction. But the imperial power intended, by which this double calamity is to be brought upon Judah, must be Assyria; since the prophet knew of no other in the earliest years of Hezekiah, when these threatening addresses were uttered. And this gives rise to another difficulty. Not only was the worst prediction—namely, that of the destruction of Jerusalem—not fulfilled; but even the milder prophecy—namely, that of a siege, which would bring them to the deepest distress—was not accomplished. There never was any actual siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians. The explanation of this is, that, according to Jer. xviii. 7, 8, and 9, 10, neither the threatenings of punishment nor the promises of blessing uttered by the prophets were so unconditional, that they were certain to be fulfilled and that with absolute necessity, at such and such a time, or upon such and such a generation. The threatened punishment might be repealed or modified, if repentance ensued on the part of the persons threatened (Jonah iii. 4; 1 Kings xxi. 29; 2 Kings xxii. 15–20; 2 Chron. xii. 5–8). The words of the prophecy did not on that account fall to the ground. If they produced re-

penitance, they answered the very purpose for which they were intended; but if the circumstances which called for punishment should return, their force returned as well in all its fulness. If the judgment was one irrevocably determined, it was merely delayed by this, to be discharged upon the generation which should be ripest for it. And we have also an express historical testimony, which shows that this is the way in which the non-fulfilment of what Isaiah threatened as about to take place within a year is to be accounted for. Not only Isaiah, but also his contemporary Micah, threatened, that along with the judgment upon Samaria, the same judgment would also burst upon Jerusalem. Zion would be ploughed as a field, Jerusalem would be laid in ruins, and the temple mountain would be turned into a wooded height (Mic. iii. 12). This prophecy belongs to the first year of Hezekiah's reign, for it was then that the book of Micah was composed. But we read in Jer. xxvi. 18, 19, that, in their alarm at this prophecy, Hezekiah and all Judah repented, and that Jehovah withdrew His threat in consequence. Thus, in the very first year of Hezekiah, a change for the better took place in Judah; and this was necessarily followed by the withdrawal of Isaiah's threatenings, just as those threatenings had co-operated in the production of this conversion (see Caspari, *Micha*, p. 160 sqq.). Not one of the three threats (Isa. xxix. 1-4, xxxii. 9-14; Mic. iii. 12), which form an ascending climax, was fulfilled. Previous threatenings so far recovered their original force, when the insincerity of the conversion became apparent, that the Assyrians did unquestionably march through Judah, devastating everything as they went along. But because of Hezekiah's self-humiliation and faith, the threat was turned from that time forward into a promise. In direct opposition to his former threatening, Isaiah now promised that Jerusalem would not be besieged by the Assyrians (ch. xxxvii. 33-35), but that, before the siege was actually established, Assyria would fall under the walls of Jerusalem.

THE FIFTH WOE.—WOE CONCERNING ASSHUR; DELIVERANCE
AND GLORY OF JERUSALEM.—CHAP. XXXIII.

We are now in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign. The threatenings of the first years, which the repentance of the people had delayed, are now so far in force again, and so far actually realized, that the Assyrians are already in Judah, and have not only devastated the land, but are threatening Jerusalem. The element of promise now gains the upper hand, the prophet places himself between Asshur and his own nation with the weapons of prophecy and prayer, and the woe turns from the latter to the former. Ver. 1. "*Woe, devastator, and thyself not devastated; and thou spoiler, and still not spoiled! Hast thou done with devastating? thou shalt be devastated. Hast thou attained to rob? men rob thee.*" Asshur is described as not devastated and not spoiled (which could not be expressed by a participle as with us, since *bāgad* is construed with *Beth*, and not with the accusative of the person), because it had not yet been visited by any such misfortune as that which had fallen upon other lands and nations. But it would be repaid with like for like as soon as (פְּ indicating simultaneousness, as in ch. xxx. 19 and xviii. 5, for example) its devastating and spoiling had reached the point determined by Jehovah. Instead of כָּדָה, we find in some codd. and editions the reading בָּה, which is equally admissible. In כְּהִתִּימָה (from תָּמַם) the radical syllable is lengthened, instead of having *dagesh*. כְּנָלְתָהּ is equivalent to כְּהִלְתָּהּ, a *hiphil* syncopated for the sake of rhythm (as in ch. iii. 8, Deut. i. 33, and many other passages), written here with *dagesh dirimens*, from the verb *nālāh*, which is attested also by Job xv. 29. The coincidence in meaning with the verb נָל (fut. *i* and *u*), to acquire or attain (see *Job*, vol. i. 296, ii. 165), has been admitted by the earliest of the national grammarians, Ben-Koreish, Chayug, etc. The conjecture כְּנָלְתָהּ (in addition to which Cappellus proposed כְּנָלְתָהּ) is quite unnecessary. The play upon the sound sets forth the punishment of the hitherto unpunished one as the infallible echo of its sin.

In ver. 2 the prophet's word of command is changed into a

believing prayer: "*Jehovah, be gracious to us; we wait for Thee: be their arm with every morning, yea, our salvation in time of need!*" "*Their arm,*" i.e. the power which shelters and defends them, viz. Thy people and my own. "*Yea,*" 'aph, is emphatic. Israel's arm every morning, because the danger is renewed every day; Israel's salvation, i.e. complete deliverance (ch. xxv. 9), because the culminating point of the trouble is still in prospect.

While the prophet is praying thus, he already sees the answer. Vers. 3, 4. "*At the sound of a noise peoples pass away; at Thy rising nations are scattered. And your booty is swept away as a swarm of locusts sweeps away; as beetles run, they run upon it.*" The indeterminate *hāmōn*, which produces for that very reason the impression of something mysterious and terrible, is at once explained. The noise comes from Jehovah, who is raising Himself judicially above Assyria, and thunders as a judge. Then the hostile army runs away (נִפְּצָוּ = נִפְּצָוּ, from the *niphal* נָפַץ, 1 Sam. xiii. 11, from נִפְּצָוּ = נִפְּצָוּ, from נָפַץ); and your booty (the address returns to Assyria) is swept away, just as when a swarm of locusts settles on a field, it soon eats it utterly away. Jerome, Cappellus, and others follow the Septuagint rendering, *ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις συναγάγῃ ἀκρίδας*. The figure is quite as appropriate, but the article in *hechâsîl* makes the other view the more natural one; and ver. 4b places this beyond all doubt. *Shâqag*, from which the participle *shōqēq* and the substantive *masshâq* are derived, is used here, as in Joel ii. 9, to signify a busy running hither and thither (*discursitare*). The syntactic use of *shōqēq* is the same as that of נִקְּחָו (they call) in ch. xxi. 11, and *sōphēdîm* (they smite) in ch. xxxii. 12. The inhabitants of Jerusalem swarm in the enemy's camp like beetles; they are all in motion, and carry off what they can.

The prophet sees this as he prays, and now feasts himself on the consequences of this victory of Jehovah, prophesying in vers. 5, 6: "*Jehovah is exalted; for, dwelling on high, He has filled Zion with justice and righteousness. And there will be security of thy times, riches of salvation, of wisdom, and knowledge. Fear of Jehovah is then the treasure of Judah.*" *Exalted:* for though highly exalted in Himself, He has performed an act of justice and righteousness, with the sight and remembrance of which Zion is filled as with an overflowing rich supply of

instruction and praise. A new time has dawned for the people of Judah. The prophet addresses them in ver. 6; for there is nothing to warrant us in regarding the words as addressed to Hezekiah. To the times succeeding this great achievement there would belong *'ēmūnāh*, i.e. durability (Ex. xvii. 12),—a uniform and therefore trustworthy state of things (compare ch. xxxix. 8, “peace and truth”). Secondly, there would also belong to them *יְשׁוּעָה*, a rich store of salvation, wisdom, and knowledge (compare the verb in ch. xxiii. 18). We regard these three ideas as all connected with *chōsen*. The prophet makes a certain advance towards the unfolding of the seven gifts in ch. xi. 2, which are implied in “salvation;” but he hurries at once to the lowest of them, which forms the groundwork of all the rest, when he says, thirdly, that the fear of Jehovah will be the people’s treasure. The construct form, *chokhmāth*, instead of *chokhmāh*, is a favourite one, which Isaiah employs, even apart from the genitive relation of the words, for the purpose of securing a closer connection, as ch. xxxv. 2, li. 21 (compare *pārash* in Ezek. xxvi. 10), clearly show. In the case before us, it has the further advantage of consonance in the closing sound.

The prophet has thus run through the whole train of thought with a few rapid strides, in accordance with the custom which we have already frequently noticed; and now he commences afresh, mourning over the present miserable condition of things, in psalm-like elegiac tones, and weeping with his weeping people. Vers. 7-9. “Behold, their heroes weep without; the messengers of peace weep bitterly. Desolate are roads, disappeared are travellers; he has broken covenant, insulted cities, despised men. The land mourns, languishes; Lebanon stands ashamed, parched; the meadow of Sharon has become like a steppe, and Bashan and Carmel shake their leaves.” *הַיְּרֵמָה* is probably chosen with some allusion to *'Ariel*, the name of Jerusalem in ch. xxix.; but it has a totally different meaning. We have rendered it “heroes,” because *הַיְּרֵמָה* is here synonymous with *הַיְּרֵמָה* in the *Nibelung*-like piece contained in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20 and 1 Chron. xi. 22. This *'ārī'ēl*, which is here contracted into *'er'el* (compare the biblical name *'Ar'ēl* and the post-biblical name of the angels, *'Er'ellim*), is compounded of *'ārī* (a lion) and *'El* (God), and therefore signifies “the lion of

God," but in this sense, that *El* (God) gives to the idea of leonine courage merely the additional force of extraordinary or wonderful; and as a composite word, it contents itself with a singular, with a collective sense according to circumstances, without forming any plural at all. The *dagesh* is to be explained from the fact that the word (which tradition has erroneously regarded as a compound of אֶרְאָה לָהֶם) is pointed in accordance with the form פִּרְמֵלוּ (פִּרְמֵלוּ). The heroes intended by the prophet were the messengers sent to Sennacherib to treat with him for peace. They carried to him the amount of silver and gold which he had demanded as the condition of peace (2 Kings xviii. 14). But Sennacherib broke the treaty, by demanding nothing less than the surrender of Jerusalem itself. Then the heroes of Jerusalem cried aloud, when they arrived at Jerusalem, and had to convey this message of disgrace and alarm to the king and nation; and bitterly weeping over such a breach of faith, such deception and disgrace, the embassy, which had been sent off, to the deep self-humiliation of Judah and themselves, returned to Jerusalem. Moreover, Sennacherib continued to storm the fortified places, in violation of his agreement (on *mâ'as 'ārīm*, see 2 Kings xviii. 13). The land was more and more laid waste, the fields were trodden down; and the autumnal aspect of Lebanon, with its faded foliage, and of Bashan and Carmel, with their falling leaves, looked like shame and grief at the calamities of the land. It was in the autumn, therefore, that the prophet uttered these complaints; and the definition of the time given in his prophecy (ch. xxxii. 10) coincides with this. קָמַל is the pausal form for קָמַל, just as in other places an *ē* with the tone, which has sprung from *i*, easily passes into *a* in pause; the sharpening of the syllable being preferred to the lengthening of it, not only when the syllable which precedes the tone syllable is an open one, but sometimes even when it is closed (*e.g.* Judg. vi. 19, וַיִּנָּשׁ). Instead of בָּעֲרֵבָה we should read בָּעֲרֵבָה (without the article), as certain codd. and early editions do.¹ Isaiah having mourned in the tone of the Psalms, now comforts himself with the words of a

¹ We find the same in Zech. xiv. 10, and בָּעֲרֵבִים in ch. xliv. 4, whereas we invariably have בָּעֲרֵבָה (see *Michlol*, 45*b*), just as we always find בָּאֲבָנִים, and on the other hand בָּאֲבָנִים.

psalm. Like David in Ps. xii. 6, he hears Jehovah speak. The measure of Asshur's iniquity is full; the hour of Judah's redemption is come; Jehovah has looked on long enough, as though sitting still (ch. xviii. 4). Ver. 10. "*Now will I arise, saith Jehovah, now exalt myself, now lift up myself.*" Three times does the prophet repeat the word 'attâh (now), which is so significant a word with all the prophets, but more especially with Hosea and Isaiah, and which always fixes the boundary-line and turning-point between love and wrath, wrath and love. אֶתְרוּמָם (in half pause for אֶרֶוּמָם) is contracted from אֶתְרוּמָם (Ges. § 54, 2, b). Jehovah would rise up from His throne, and show Himself in all His greatness to the enemies of Israel.

After the prophet has heard this from Jehovah, he knows how it will fare with them. He therefore cries out to them in triumph (ver. 11), "*Ye are pregnant with hay, ye bring forth stubble! Your snorting is the fire that will devour you.*" Their vain purpose to destroy Jerusalem comes to nothing; their burning wrath against Jerusalem becomes the fire of wrath, which consumes them (for *châshash* and *qash*, see at ch. v. 24).

The prophet announces this to them, and now tells openly what has been exhibited to him in his mental mirror as the purpose of God. Ver. 12. "*And nations become as lime burnings, thorns cut off, which are kindled with fire.*" The first simile sets forth the totality of the destruction: they will be so completely burned up, that nothing but ashes will be left, like the lump of lime left at the burning of lime. The second contains a figurative description of its suddenness: they have vanished suddenly, like dead brushwood, which is cut down in consequence, and quickly crackles up and is consumed (ch. v. 24, cf. ix. 17): *kâsach* is the Targum word for *zâmar*, *amputate*, whereas in Arabic it has the same meaning as *sâchâh*, *verrere*.

But the prophet, while addressing Asshur, does not overlook those sinners of his own nation who are deserving of punishment. The judgment upon Asshur is an alarming lesson, not only for the heathen, but for Israel also; for there is no respect of persons with Jehovah. Vers. 13, 14. "*Hear, ye distant ones, what I have accomplished; and perceive, ye near ones, my omnipotence! The sinners in Zion are afraid; trembling seizes*

the hypocrites : who of us can abide with devouring fire? who of us abide with everlasting burnings?" Even for the sinners in Jerusalem also there is no abiding in the presence of the Almighty and Just One, who has judged Asshur (the act of judgment is regarded by the prophet as having just occurred); they must either repent, or they cannot remain in His presence. Jehovah, so far as His wrath is concerned, is "a consuming fire" (Deut. iv. 24, ix. 3); and the fiery force of His anger is "everlasting burnings" (*mōkēdē 'ōlām*), inasmuch as it consists of flames that are never extinguished, never burn themselves out. And this God had His fire and His furnace in Jerusalem (ch. xxxi. 9), and had just shown what His fire could do, when once it burst forth. Therefore do the sinners inquire in their alarm, whilst confessing to one another (*lānū*; cf. Amos ix. 1) that none of them can endure it, "Who can dwell with devouring fire?" etc. (*gūr* with the *acc. loci*, as in Ps. v. 5).

The prophet answers their question. Vers. 15, 16. "*He that walketh in righteousness, and speaketh uprightness; he that despiseth gain of oppressions, whose hand keepeth from grasping bribes; he that stoppeth his ear from hearing murderous counsel, and shutteth his eyes from looking at evil; he will dwell upon high places; rocky fastnesses are his castle; his bread is abundant, his waters inexhaustible.*" Isaiah's variation of Ps. xv. and xxiv. 3-6 (as Jer. xvii. 5-8 contains Jeremiah's variation of Ps. i.). *Ts'dāqōth* is the accusative of the object, so also is *mēshārīm*: he who walks in all the relations of life in the full measure of righteousness, *i.e.* who practises it continually, and whose words are in perfect agreement with his inward feelings and outward condition. The third quality is, that he not only does not seek without for any gain which injures the interests of his neighbour, but that he inwardly abhors it. The fourth is, that he diligently closes his hands, his ears, and his eyes, against all danger of moral pollution. Bribery, which others force into his hand, he throws away (cf. Neh. v. 13); against murderous suggestions, or such as stimulate revenge, hatred, and violence, he stops his ear; and from sinful sights he closes his eyes firmly, and that without even winking. Such a man has no need to fear the wrath of God. Living according to the will of God, he lives in the love of God; and in that he is

shut in as it were upon the inaccessible heights and in the impregnable walls of a castle upon a rock. He suffers neither hunger nor thirst; but his bread is constantly handed to him (*nittân, partic.*), namely, by the love of God; and his waters never fail, for God, the living One, makes them flow. This is the picture of a man who has no need to be alarmed at the judgment of God upon Asshur.

Over this picture the prophet forgets the sinners in Zion, and greets with words of promise the thriving church of the future. Ver. 17. "*Thine eyes will see the king in his beauty, will see a land that is very far off.*" The king of Judah, hitherto so deeply humbled, and, as Micah instances by way of example, "smitten upon the cheeks," is then glorified by the victory of his God; and the nation, constituted as described in vers. 15, 16, will see him in his God-given beauty, and see the land of promise, cleared of enemies as far as the eye can reach and the foot carry, restored to Israel without reserve, and under the dominion of this sovereign enjoying all the blessedness of peace.

The tribulation has passed away like a dream. Vers. 18, 19. "*Thy heart meditates upon the shuddering. Where is the valuer? where the weigher? where he who counted the towers? The rough people thou seest no more, the people of deep inaudible lip, of stammering unintelligible tongue.*" The dreadful past is so thoroughly forced out of mind by the glorious present, that they are obliged to turn back their thoughts (*hâgâh, meditari*, as Jerome renders it) to remember it at all. The *sōphēr* who had the management of the raising of the tribute, the *shōqēl* who tested the weight of the gold and silver, the *sōphēr 'eth hammigdālīm* who drew up the plan of the city to be besieged or stormed, are all vanished. The rough people (עַם נִפְחָל, the *niphal* of נִפַּח, from נָפַח), that had shown itself so insolent, so shameless, and so insatiable in its demands, has become invisible. This attribute is a perfectly appropriate one; and the explanation given by Rashi, Vitringa, Ewald, and Fürst, who take it in the sense of *lō'ēz* in Ps. cxiv. 1, is both forced and groundless. The expressions *'imkē* and *nil'ag* refer to the obscure and barbarous sound of their language; *misshēmōā'* to the unintelligibility of their speech; and אִי בִינָה to the obscurity of their meaning. Even if the Assyrians spoke a Semitic language,

they were of so totally different a nationality, and their manners were so entirely different, that their language must have sounded even more foreign to an Israelite than Dutch to a German.

And how will Jerusalem look when Asshur has been dashed to pieces on the strong fortress? The prophet passes over here into the tone of Ps. xlviii. (vers. 13, 14.) Ps. xlvi. and xlviii. probably belong to the time of Jehoshaphat; but they are equally applicable to the deliverance of Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah. Ver. 20. "*Look upon Zion, the castle of our festal meeting. Thine eyes will see Jerusalem, a pleasant place, a tent that does not wander about, whose pegs are never drawn, and none of whose cords are ever broken.*" Jerusalem stands there unconquered and inviolable, the fortress where the congregation of the whole land celebrates its feasts, a place full of good cheer (ch. xxxii. 18), in which everything is now arranged for a continuance. Jerusalem has come out of tribulation stronger than ever,—not a nomadic wandering tent (*tsā'an*, a nomad word, to wander, *lit.* to pack up = *tā'an* in Gen. xlv. 17), but one set up for a permanent dwelling.

It is also a great Lord who dwells therein, a faithful and almighty defender. Vers. 21, 22. "*No, there dwells for us a glorious One, Jehovah; a place of streams, canals of wide extent, into which no fleet of rowing vessels ventures, and which no strong man of war shall cross. For Jehovah is our Judge; Jehovah is our war-Prince; Jehovah is our King; He will bring us salvation.*" Following upon the negative clauses in ver. 20b, the next verse commences with *kī'im* (*imo*). Glorious (*'addir*) is Jehovah, who has overthrown Lebanon, *i.e.* Assyria (ch. x. 34). He dwells in Jerusalem for the good of His people,—a place of streams, *i.e.* one resembling a place of streams, from the fact that He dwells therein. Luzzatto is right in maintaining, that *בְּזֵרְיָו* and *בְּעֵרְיָו* point back to *בְּקִיּוֹם*, and therefore that *m'kōm* is neither equivalent to *loco* (*tachath*, instead of), which would be quite possible indeed, as 1 Kings xxi. 19, if not Hos. ii. 1, clearly proves (cf. ch. xxii. 38), nor used in the sense of substitution or compensation. The meaning is, that, by virtue of Jehovah's dwelling there, Jerusalem had become a place, or equivalent to a place, of broad streams, like those which in other instances defended the cities they surrounded (*e.g.* Babylon, the "twisted snake," ch. xxvii. 1), and of broad canals,

which kept off the enemy, like moats around a fortification. The word יָאֲרִים was an Egyptian word, that had become naturalized in Hebrew; nevertheless it is a very natural supposition, that the prophet was thinking of the *No* of Egypt, which was surrounded by waters, probably Nile-canals (see Winer, *R.W. Nah.* iii. 8). The adjective in which *yâdaïm* brings out with greater force the idea of breadth, as in ch. xxii. 18 ("on both sides"), belongs to both the nouns, which are placed side by side, ἀσυνδέτως (because permutative). The presence of Jehovah was to Jerusalem what the broadest streams and canals were to other cities; and into these streams and canals, which Jerusalem had around it spiritually in Jehovah Himself, no rowing vessels ventured (יָלָךְ, *ingredi*). Luzzatto renders the word "ships of roving," i.e. pirate ships; but this is improbable, as *shût*, when used as a nautical word, signifies to row. Even a majestic *tsî*, i.e. *trieris magna*, could not cross it: a colossal vessel of this size would be wrecked in these mighty and dangerous waters. The figure is the same as that in ch. xxvi. 1. In the consciousness of this inaccessible and impenetrable defence, the people of Jerusalem gloried in their God, who watched as a *shôphêl* over Israel's rights and honour, who held as *m'choqêq* the commander's rod, and ruled as *melek* in the midst of Israel; so that for every future danger it was already provided with the most certain help.

Now indeed it was apparently very different from this. It was not Assyria, but Jerusalem, that was like a ship about to be wrecked; but when that which had just been predicted should be fulfilled, Jerusalem, at present so powerless and sinful, would be entirely changed. Vers. 23, 24. "*Thy ropes hang loose; they do not hold fast the support of thy mast; they do not hold the flag extended: then is booty of plunder divided in abundance; even lame men share the prey. And not an inhabitant will say, I am weak: the people settled there have their sins forgiven.*" Nearly every commentator (even Luzzatto) has taken ver. 23 as addressed to Assyria, which, like a proud vessel of war, would cross the encircling river by which Jerusalem was surrounded. But Drechsler has very properly given up this view. The address itself, with the suffix *ayikk* (see at ch. i. 26), points to Jerusalem; and the reference to this gives the most appropriate sense, whilst the contrast

between the *now* and *then* closes the prophecy in the most glorious manner. Jerusalem is now a badly appointed ship, dashed about by the storm, the sport of the waves. Its rigging hangs loose (Jerome, *laxati sunt*); it does not hold the *kēn tornām* fast, *i.e.* the support of their mast, or cross beam with a hole in it, into which the mast is slipped (the *mesodme* of Homer, *Od.* xv. 289), which is sure to go to ruin along with the falling mast, if the ropes do not assist its bearing power (*malum sustinentes thecæ succurrant*, as Vitruvius says). And so the ropes of the ship Jerusalem do not keep the *nēs* spread out, *i.e.* the *ἐπίσημον* of the ship, whether we understand by it a flag or a sail, with a device worked upon it (see Winer, *R. W. s. v. Schiffe*). And this is the case with Jerusalem now; but then (*āz*) it will be entirely different. Asshur is wrecked, and Jerusalem enriches itself, without employing any weapons, from the wealth of the Assyrian camp. It was with a prediction of this spoiling of Asshur that the prophet commenced in ver. 1; so that the address finishes as it began. But the closing words of the prophet are, that the people of Jerusalem are now strong in God, and are *נִשְׂאָה בְּיָדֵי* (as in Ps. xxxii. 1), lifted up, taken away from their guilt. A people humbled by punishment, penitent, and therefore pardoned, would then dwell in Jerusalem. The strength of Israel, and all its salvation, rest upon the forgiveness of its sins.

PART VI.

FINALE OF THE JUDGMENT UPON ALL THE WORLD (MORE ESPECIALLY UPON EDM), AND REDEMPTION OF THE PEOPLE OF JEHOVAH.

CHAP. XXXIV. XXXV.

THESE two chapters stand in precisely the same relation to ch. xxviii.—xxxiii. as ch. xxiv.—xxvii. to ch. xiii.—xxiii. In both instances the special prophecies connected with the history of the prophet's own times are followed by a comprehensive *finale* of an apocalyptic character. We feel that we are carried en-

tirely away from the stage of history. There is no longer that foreshortening, by which the prophet's perspective was characterized before the fall of Assyria. The tangible shapes of the historical present, by which we have been hitherto surrounded, are now spiritualized into something perfectly ideal. We are transported directly into the midst of the last things; and the eschatological vision is less restricted, has greater mystical depth, belongs more to another sphere, and has altogether more of a New Testament character. The totally different impression which is thus made by ch. xxxiv. xxxv., as compared with ch. xxviii.-xxxiii., must not cause any misgivings as to the authenticity of this closing prophecy. The relation in which Jeremiah and Zephaniah stand to ch. xxxiv. and xxxv., is quite sufficient to drive all doubts away. (Read Caspari's article, "Jeremiah a Witness to the Genuineness of Isa. xxxiv., and therefore also to the Genuineness of Isa. xl.-lxvi., xiii.-xiv. 23, and xxi. 1-10," in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift*, 1843, 2; and Nägelsbach's *Jeremia und Babylon*, pp. 107-113, on the relation of Jer. l. li. more especially to Isa. xxxiv. xxxv.) There are many passages in Jeremiah (viz. ch. xxv. 31, 33, 34, xlv. 10, l. 27, 39, li. 40) which cannot be explained in any other way than on the supposition that Jeremiah had the prophecy of Isaiah in ch. xxxiv. before him. We cannot escape from the conclusion, that just as we find Jeremiah introducing earlier prophecies generally into his cycle of prophecies against the nations, and, in the addresses already mentioned, borrowing from Amos and Nahum, and placing side by side with a passage from Amos (compare Jer. xxv. 30 with Amos i. 2) one of a similar character, and agreeing with Isa. xxxiv., so he also had Isa. xxxiv. and xxxv. before him, and reproduced it in the same sense as he did other and earlier models. It is equally certain that Zeph. i. 7, 8, and ii. 14, stand in a dependent relation to Isa. xxxiv. 6, 11; just as Zeph. ii. 15 was taken from Isa. xlvii. 8, and Zeph. i. 7 *fin.* and iii. 11 from Isa. xiii. 3; whilst Zeph. ii. 14 also points back to Isa. xiii. 21, 22. We might, indeed, reverse the relation, and make Jeremiah and Zephaniah into the originals in the case of the passages mentioned; but this is opposed to the generally reproductive and secondary character of both these prophets, and also to the evident features of the passages in question. We might also

follow Movers, De Wette, and Hitzig, who get rid of the testimony of Isaiah by assuming that the passages resting upon Isa. xxxiv., and other disputed prophecies of Isaiah, are interpolated; but this is opposed to the moral character of all biblical prophecy, and, moreover, it could only apply to Jeremiah, not to Zephaniah. We must in this case "bring reason into captivity to obedience" to the external evidence; though internal evidence also is not wanting to set a seal upon these external proofs. Just as ch. xxiv.-xxvii. are full of the clearest marks of Isaiah's authorship, so is it also with ch. xxxiv. xxxv. It is not difficult to understand the marked contrast which we find between these two closing prophecies and the historical prophecies of the Assyrian age. These two closing prophecies were appended to ch. xiii.-xxiii. and xxviii.-xxxiii. at the time when Isaiah revised the complete collection. They belong to the latest revelations received by the prophet, to the last steps by which he reached that ideal height at which he soars in ch. xl.-lxvi., and from which he never descends again to the stage of passing history, which lay so far beneath. After the fall of Assyria, and when darkness began to gather on the horizon again, Isaiah broke completely away from his own times. "The end of all things" became more and more his own true home. The obscure foreground of his prophecies is no longer *Asshur*, which he has done with now so far as prophecy is concerned, but *Babel* (Babylon). And the bright centre of his prophecies is not the fall of Asshur (for this was already prophetically a thing of the past, which had not been followed by complete salvation), but deliverance from Babylon. And the bright noon-day background of his prophecies is no longer the realized idea of the kingdom of prophecy,—realized, that is to say, in the one person of the Messiah, whose form had lost the sharp outlines of ch. vii.-xii. even in the prophecies of Hezekiah's time,—but the *parousia* of Jehovah, which *all flesh* would see. It was the revelation of the mystery of the incarnation of God, for which all this was intended to prepare the way. And there was no other way in which that could be done, than by completing the perfect portrait of the Messiah in the light of the ultimate future, so that both the factors in the prophecy might be assimilated. The spirit of Isaiah, more than that of any other prophet, was the laboratory of this great

process in the history of revelation. The prophetic cycles in ch. xxiv.-xxvii. and xxxiv. xxxv. stand in the relation of precludes to it. In ch. xl.-lxvi. the process of assimilation is fully at work, and there is consequently no book of the Old Testament which has gone so thoroughly into New Testament depths, as this second part of the collection of Isaiah's prophecies, which commences with a prediction of the parousia of Jehovah, and ends with the creation of the new heaven and new earth. Ch. xxxiv. and xxxv. are, as it were, the first preparatory chords. Edom here is what Moab was in ch. xxiv.-xxvii. By the side of Babylon, the empire of the world, whose policy of conquest led to its enslaving Israel, it represents the world in its hostility to Israel as the people of Jehovah. For Edom was Israel's brother-nation, and hated Israel as the chosen people. In this its unbrotherly, hereditary hatred, it represented the sum-total of all the enemies and persecutors of the church of Jehovah. The special side-piece to ch. xxxiv. is ch. lxiii. 1-6.

What the prophet here foretells relates to all nations, and to every individual within them, in their relation to the congregation of Jehovah. He therefore commences with the appeal in vers. 1-3: "*Come near, ye peoples, to hear; and ye nations, attend. Let the earth hear, and that which fills it, the world, and everything that springs from it. For the indignation of Jehovah will fall upon all nations, and burning wrath upon all their host; He has laid the ban upon them, delivered them to the slaughter. And their slain are cast away, and their corpses—their stench will arise, and mountains melt with their blood.*" The summons does not invite them to look upon the completion of the judgment, but to hear the prophecy of the future judgment; and it is issued to everything on the earth, because it would all have to endure the judgment upon the nations (see at ch. v. 25, xiii. 10). The expression *qetseph layehōvâh* implies that Jehovah was ready to execute His wrath (compare *yôm layehōvâh* in ver. 8 and ch. ii. 12). The nations that are hostile to Jehovah are slaughtered, the bodies remain unburied, and the streams of blood loosen the firm masses of the mountains, so that they melt away. On the stench of the corpses, compare Ezek. xxxix. 11. Even if *châsam*, in this instance, does not mean "to take away the breath with the stench," there

is no doubt that Ezekiel had this prophecy of Isaiah in his mind, when prophesying of the destruction of Gog and Magog (Ezek. xxxix.).

The judgment foretold by Isaiah also belongs to the last things; for it takes place in connection with the simultaneous destruction of the present heaven and the present earth. Ver. 4. "*And all the host of the heavens moulder away, and the heavens are rolled up like a scroll, and all their host withers as a leaf withers away from the vine, and like withered leaves from the fig-tree.*" *Nāmaq*, to be dissolved into powdered matter (ch. iii. 24, v. 24); *nāgōl* (for *nāgal*, like *nāzōl* in ch. lxiii. 19, lxiv. 2, and *nārōts* in Eccles. xii. 6), to be rolled up,—a term applied to the cylindrical book-scroll. The heaven, that is to say, the present system of the universe, breaks up into atoms, and is rolled up like a book that has been read through; and the stars fall down as a withered leaf falls from a vine, when it is moved by even the lightest breeze, or like the withered leaves shaken from the fig-tree. The expressions are so strong, that they cannot be understood in any other sense than as relating to the end of the world (ch. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; compare Matt. xxiv. 29). It is not sufficient to say that "the stars appear to fall to the earth," though even Vitringa gives this explanation.

When we look, however, at the following *kī* (for), it undoubtedly appears strange that the prophet should foretell the passing away of the heavens, simply because Jehovah judges Edom. But Edom stands here as the representative of all powers that are hostile to the church of God as such, and therefore expresses an idea of the deepest and widest cosmical signification (as ch. xxiv. 21 clearly shows). And it is not only a doctrine of Isaiah himself, but a biblical doctrine universally, that God will destroy the present world as soon as the measure of the sin which culminates in unbelief, and in the persecution of the congregation of the faithful, shall be really full.

If we bear this in mind, we shall not be surprised that the prophet gives the following reason for the passing away of the present heavens. Vers. 5-7. "*For my sword has become intoxicated in the heaven; behold, it comes down upon Edom, and upon the people of my ban to judgment. The sword of Jehovah fills itself with blood, is fattened with fat, with blood*

of lambs and he-goats, with kidney-fat of rams; for Jehovah has a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Edom. And buffaloes fall with them, and bullocks together with bulls; and their land becomes intoxicated with blood, and their dust fattened with fat." Just as in ch. lxiii. Jehovah is represented as a treader of the wine-press, and the nations as the grapes; so here He is represented as offering sacrifice, and the nations as the animals offered (*zebhach*: cf. Zeph. i. 7; Jer. xlv. 10; Ezek. xxxix. 17 sqq.: all three passages founded upon this). Jehovah does not appear here in person as judge, as He does there, but His sword appears; just as in Gen. iii. 24, the "sword which turned every way" is mentioned as an independent power standing by the side of the cherub. The sword is His executioner, which has no sooner drunk deeply of wrath in heaven, *i.e.* in the immediate sphere of the Deity (*rivv^ethâh*, an intensive form of the *kal*, like *pittēäch*, ch. xlviii. 8; Ewald, § 120, *d*), than it comes down in wild intoxication upon Edom, the people of the ban of Jehovah, *i.e.* the people upon whom He has laid the ban, and there, as His instrument of punishment, fills itself with blood, and fattens itself with fat. הַדִּשְׁנָה is the *hothpaal* = הִתְדִּשְׁנָה, with the *n* of the preformative syllable assimilated (compare הִנְבִּי in ch. i. 16, and אִדְמָה in ch. xiv. 14). The penultimate has the tone, the *nâh* being treated as in the plural forms of the future. The dropping of the *dagesh* in the *v* is connected with this. The reading מַחֲלֵב, in ver. 6, is an error that has been handed down in modern copies (in opposition to both codices and ancient editions); for חֵלֵב (primary form, *chilb*) is the only form met with in the Old Testament. The lambs, he-goats, and rams, represent the Edomitish nation, which is compared to these smaller sacrificial animals. Edom and Bozrah are also placed side by side in ch. lxiii. 1. The latter was one of the chief cities of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 33; Amos i. 12; Jer. xlix. 13, 22),—not the Bozrah in Auranitis (*Haurân*), however, which is well known in church history, but Bozrah in the mountains of Edom, upon the same site as the village of *Buzaire* (*i.e.* Minor Bozrah), which is still surrounded by its ruins. In contrast with the three names of the smaller animals in ver. 6, the three names of oxen in ver. 7 represent the lords of Edom. They also will fall, smitten by the sword (*yâr^edû*: cf. Jer. l. 27,

li. 40; also Jer. xlviii. 15). The feast of the sword is so abundant, that even the earth and the dust of the land of Edom are satiated with blood and fat.

Thus does Jehovah avenge His church upon Edom. Vers. 8-10. "*For Jehovah hath a day of vengeance, a year of recompense, to contend for Zion. And the brooks of Edom are turned into pitch, and its dust into brimstone, and its land becomes burning pitch. Day and night it is not quenched; the smoke of Edom goes up for ever: it lies waste from generation to generation; no one passes through it for ever and ever.*" The one expression, "to contend for Zion," is like a flash of lightning, throwing light upon the obscurity of prophecy, both backwards and forwards. A day and a year of judgment upon Edom (compare ch. lxi. 2, lxiii. 4) would do justice to Zion against its accusers and persecutors (*rîbh*, *vindicare*, as in ch. li. 22). The everlasting punishment which would fall upon it is depicted in figures and colours, suggested by the proximity of Edom to the Dead Sea, and the volcanic character of this mountainous country. The unquenchable fire (for which compare ch. lxvi. 24), and the eternally ascending smoke (cf. Rev. xix. 3), prove that the end of all things is referred to. The prophet meant primarily, no doubt, that the punishment announced would fall upon the land of Edom, and within its geographical boundaries; but this particular punishment represented the punishment of all nations, and all men who were Edomitish in their feelings and conduct towards the congregation of Jehovah.

The land of Edom, in this geographical and also emblematical sense, would become a wilderness; the kingdom of Edom would be for ever destroyed. Vers. 11, 12. "*And pelican and hedgehog take possession of it, and eared-owl and raven dwell there; and he stretches over it the measure of Tohu and the level of Bohu. Its nobles—there is no longer a monarchy which they elected; and all its princes come to nought.*" The description of the ruin, which commences in ver. 11a with a list of animals that frequent marshy and solitary regions, is similar to the one in ch. xiii. 20-22, xiv. 23 (compare Zeph. ii. 14, which is founded upon this). Isaiah's was the original of all such pictures of ruin which we meet with in the later prophets. The *qippōd* is the hedgehog, although we find it here in the company of birds (from *qāphad*,

to draw one's self together, to roll up; see ch. xiv. 23). קָאָץ is written here with a double *kametz*, as well as in Zeph. ii. 14, according to *codd.* and Kimchi, *W.B.* (Targ. *qáth*, elsewhere *qáq*; Saad. and Abulwalid, *qúq*; see at Ps. cii. 7). According to well-established tradition, it is the long-necked pelican, which lives upon fish (the name is derived either from קָו , to vomit, or, as the construct is קָאָץ , from a word קָאָץ , formed in imitation of the animal's cry). *Yanshūph* is rendered by the Targum *qippōphān* (Syr. *kafūfo*), i.e. eared-owls, which are frequently mentioned in the Talmud as birds of ill omen (Rashi, or *Berachoth* 57b, *chouette*). As the parallel to *qáv*, we have אֲבָנִים (stones) here instead of מִשְׁקָלֶת , the *level*, in ch. xxviii. 17. It is used in the same sense, however,—namely, to signify the weight used in the plumb or level, which is suspended by a line. The level and the measure are commonly employed for the purpose of building up; but here Jehovah is represented as using these for the purpose of pulling down (a figure met with even before the time of Isaiah: *vid.* Amos vii. 7–9, cf. 2 Kings xxi. 13, Lam. ii. 8), inasmuch as He carries out this negative reverse of building with the same rigorous exactness as that with which a builder carries out his well-considered plan, and throws Edom back into a state of desolation and desert, resembling the disordered and shapeless chaos of creation (compare Jer. iv. 23, where *tōhū vābhōhū* represents, as it does here, the state into which a land is reduced by fire). הָיָה has no *dagesh lene*; and this is one of the three passages in which the opening mute is without a *dagesh*, although the word not only follows, but is closely connected with, one which has a soft consonant as its final letter (the others are Ps. lxviii. 18 and Ezek. xxiii. 42). Thus the primeval kingdom with its early monarchy, which so long preceded that of Israel, is brought to an end (Gen. xxxvi. 31). הָיָה stands at the head as a kind of protasis. Edom was an elective monarchy; the hereditary nobility electing the new king. But this would be done no more. The electoral princes of Edom would come to nothing. Not a trace would be left of all that had built up the glory of Edom.

The allusion to the monarchy and the lofty electoral dignity leads the prophet on to the palaces and castles of the land. Starting with these, he carries out the picture of the ruins in vers. 13–15. “*And the palaces of Edom break out into thorns,*

nettles and thistles in its castles ; and it becomes the abode of wild dogs, pasture for ostriches. And martens meet with jackals, and a wood-devil runs upon its fellow ; yea, *Lilith* dwells there, and finds rest for itself. There the arrow-snake makes its nest, and breeds and lays eggs, and broods in the shadow there ; yea, there vultures gather together one to another." The feminine suffixes refer to Edom, as they did in the previous instance, as *בְּתִּירוֹם* or *אֶרֶץ תִּירוֹם*. On the *tannūm*, *tsiyyīm*, and *'iyyīm*, see at ch. xiii. 21, 22. It is doubtful whether *châtsîr* here corresponds to the Arabic word for an enclosure (= *حِصْر*), as Gesenius, Hitzig, and others suppose, as elsewhere to the Arabic for green, a green field, or garden vegetable. We take it in the latter sense, viz. a grassy place, such as was frequented by ostriches, which live upon plants and fruits. The word *tsiyyīm* (steppe animals) we have rendered "martens," as the context requires a particular species of animals to be named. This is the interpretation given by Rashi (*in loc.*) and Kimchi in Jer. i. 39 to the Targum word *tamvân*. We do not render *'iyyīm* "wild cats" (*chattûlîn*), but "jackals," after the Arabic. *קָרָא* with *עַל* we take in the sense of *קָרָה* (as in Ex. v. 3). *Lilith* (Syr. and Zab. *lelitho*), lit. the creature of the night, was a female demon (*shēdāh*) of the popular mythology ; according to the legends, it was a malicious fairy that was especially hurtful to children, like some of the fairies of our own fairy tales. There is life in Edom still ; but what a caricature of that which once was there ! In the very spot where the princes of Edom used to proclaim the new king, satyrs now invite one another to dance (ch. xiii. 21) ; and where kings and princes once slept in their palaces and country houses, the *lilith*, which is most at home in horrible places, finds, as though after a prolonged search, the most convenient and most comfortable resting-place. Demons and serpents are not very far distant from one another. The prophet therefore proceeds in ver. 15 to the arrow-snake, or springing-snake (Arabic *qiffāze*, from *qāphaz*, related to *qāphats*, Song of Sol. ii. 8, to prepare for springing, or to spring ; a different word from *qippōd*, which has the same root). This builds its nest in the ruins ; there it breeds (*millēt*, to let its eggs slide out) and lays eggs (*bāqā*, to split, i.e. to bring forth) ; and then it broods in the shade (*dāgar* is the Targum word in Job xxxix. 14 for *chimmēm* (*ithpaël* in Lam.

i. 20 for *חֲמִיר*), and is also used in the rabbinical writings for *fovere*, as Jerome renders it here). The literal sense of the word is probably to keep the eggs together (Targum, Jer. xvii. 11, *מְכַנֵּשׁ בִּצְעִין*, LXX. *συνήγαγεν*), since *רִיז* (syn. *חִמֵּר*) signifies “to collect.” Rashi has therefore explained it in both passages as meaning *glousser*, to cluck, the noise by which a fowl calls its brood together. The *dayyâh* is the vulture. These fowls and most gregarious birds of prey also collect together there.

Whenever any one compared the prophecy with the fulfilment, they would be found to coincide. Vers. 16, 17. “*Search in the book of Jehovah, and read! Not one of the creatures fails, not one misses the other: for my mouth—it has commanded it; and His breath—it has brought them together. And He has cast the lot for them, and His hand has assigned it (this land) to them by measure: they will possess it for ever; to generation and generation they will dwell therein.*” The phrase *בְּתִבּוּ עַל* is used for entering in a book, inasmuch as what is written there is placed upon the page; and *רִיז מֵעַל* for searching in a book, inasmuch as a person leans over the book when searching in it, and gets the object of his search out of it. The prophet applied the title “The Book of Jehovah” to his collection of the prophecies with which Jehovah had inspired him, and which He had commanded him to write down. Whoever lived to see the time when the judgment should come upon Edom, would have only to look inquiringly into this holy scripture; and if he compared what was predicted there with what had been actually realized, he would find the most exact agreement between them. The creatures named, which loved to frequent the marshes and solitary places, and ruins, would all really make their homes in what had once been Edom. But the *satyrs* and the *lilith*, which were only the offspring of the popular belief—what of them? They, too, would be there; for in the sense intended by the prophet they were actual devils, which he merely calls by well-known popular names to produce a spectral impression. Edom would really become a rendezvous for all the animals mentioned, as well as for such unearthly spirits as those which he refers to here. The prophet, or rather Jehovah, whose temporary organ he was, still further confirms this by saying, “My mouth hath commanded it, and His breath has brought them (all these creatures) together.” As the first creating

word proceeded from the mouth of Jehovah, so also does the word of prophecy, which resembles such a word; and the breath of the mouth of Jehovah, *i.e.* His Spirit, is the power which accomplishes the fiat of prophecy, as it did that of creation, and moulds all creatures and their history according to the will and counsel of God (Ps. xxxiii. 6). In the second part of ver. 16b the prophet is speaking of Jehovah; whereas in the first Jehovah speaks through him,—a variation which vanishes indeed if we read פִּי (Olshausen on Job ix. 20), or, what would be better, פִּיהוּ, but which may be sustained by a hundred cases of a similar kind. There is a shadow, as it were, of this change in the לָהֶם, which alternates with לָהֶן in connection with the animals named. The suffix of *chill^eqattâh* (without *mappik*, as in 1 Sam. i. 6) refers to the land of Edom. Edom is, as it were, given up by a divine lot, and measured off with a divine measure, to be for ever the horrible abode of beasts and demons such as those described. A prelude of the fulfilment of this swept over the mountainous land of Edom immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem (see Köhler on Mal. i. 2–5); and it has never risen to its previous state of cultivation again. It swarms with snakes, and the desolate mountain heights and barren table-lands are only inhabited by wild crows and eagles, and great flocks of birds. But the ultimate fulfilment, to which the appeal in ver. 16 refers, is still in the future, and will eventually fall upon the abodes of those who spiritually belong to that circle of hostility to Jehovah (Jesus) and His church, of which ancient Edom was merely the centre fixed by the prophet.

Edom falls, never to rise again. Its land is turned into a horrible wilderness. But, on the other hand, the wilderness through which the redeemed Israel returns, is changed into a flowery field. Ch. xxxv. 1, 2. "*Gladness fills the desert and the heath; and the steppe rejoices, and flowers like the crocus. It flowers abundantly, and rejoices; yea, rejoicing and singing: the glory of Lebanon is given to it, the splendour of Carmel and the plain of Sharon; they will see the glory of Jehovah, the splendour of our God.*" יִשְׂשׁוּם מִדְבָּר (to be accentuated with *tiphchah munach*, not with *mercha tiphchah*) has been correctly explained by Aben-Ezra. The original *Nun* has been assimilated to the following *Mem*, just as *pidyôn* in Num. iii. 49 is after-

wards written *pidyôm* (Ewald, § 91, *b*). The explanation given by Rashi, Gesenius, and others (*lætabuntur his*), is untenable, if only because *sûs* (*sis*) cannot be construed with the accusative of the object (see at ch. viii. 6); and to get rid of the form by correction, as Olshausen proposes, is all the more objectionable, because "the old full plural in *ûn* is very frequently met with before *Mem*" (Böttcher), in which case it may have been pronounced as it is written here.¹ According to the Targum on Song of Sol. ii. 1 (also Saad., Abulw.), the *châbhatstseleth* is the narcissus; whilst the Targum on the passage before us leaves it indefinite—*sicut lilîa*. The name (a derivative of *bâtsal*) points to a bulbous plant, probably the crocus and primrose, which were classed together.² The sandy steppe would become like a lovely variegated plain covered with meadow flowers.³ On *gîlath*, see at ch. xxxiii. 6 (cf. ch. lxxv. 18): the infin. noun takes the place of an inf. abs., which expresses the abstract verbal idea, though in a more rigid manner; 'aph (like *gam* in Gen. xxxi. 15, xli. 4) is an exponent of the increased emphasis already implied in the gerunds that come after. So joyful and so gloriously adorned will the barren desert, which has been hitherto so mournful, become, on account of the great things that are in store for it. Lebanon, Carmel, and Sharon have, as it were, shared their splendour with the desert, that all might be clothed alike in festal dress, when the glory of Jehovah, which surpasses everything else in

¹ Böttcher calls *ûm* the oldest primitive form of the plural; but it is only a strengthening of *ûn*; cf. *tannîm* = *tannîn*, *Hanameel* = *Hananeel*, and such Sept. forms as Gesem, Madiam, etc. (see Hitzig on Jer. xxxii. 7). Wetzstein told me of a Bedouin tribe. in whose dialect the third pers. præt. regularly ended in *m*, e.g. *akalum* (they have eaten).

² The crocus and the primrose (ܐܬܬܝܠܝܬܐ in Syriac) may really be easily confounded, but not the narcissus and primrose, which have nothing in common except that they are bulbous plants, like most of the flowers of the East, which shoot up rapidly in the spring, as soon as the winter rains are over. But there are other colchicaceæ beside our *colchicum autumnale*, which flowers before the leaves appear and is therefore called *filius ante patrem* (e.g. the eastern *colchicum variegatum*).

³ Layard, in his *Nineveh and Babylon*, describes in several places the enchantingly beautiful and spring-like variation of colours which occurs in the Mesopotamian "desert;" though what the prophet had in his mind was not the real *midbâr*, or desert of pasture land, but, as the words *tsiyâh* and 'ârêbhâh show, the utterly barren sandy desert.

its splendour, should appear; that glory which they would not only be privileged to behold, but of which they would be honoured to be the actual scene.

The prophet now exclaims to the afflicted church, in language of unmixed consolation, that Jehovah is coming. Vers. 3, 4. "*Strengthen ye the weak hands, and make the trembling knees strong! Say to those of a terrified heart, Be strong! Fear ye not! Behold, your God will come for vengeance, for a divine retribution: He will come, and bring you salvation.*" Those who have become weak in faith, hopeless and despairing, are to cheer up; and the stronger are to tell such of their brethren as are perplexed and timid, to be comforted now: for Jehovah is coming *nâqâm* (i.e. as vengeance), and *g'mûl' Elôhîm* (i.e. as retribution, such as God the highly exalted and Almighty Judge inflicts; the expression is similar to that in ch. xxx. 27, xiii. 9, cf. xl. 10, but a bolder one; the words in apposition stand as abbreviations of final clauses). The infliction of punishment is the immediate object of His coming, but the ultimate object is the salvation of His people (יִשְׁעָכֶם a contracted future form, which is generally confined to the aorist). Vers. 5-7. "*Then the eyes of the blind will be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped. Then will the lame man leap as the stag, and the tongue of the dumb man shout; for waters break out in the desert, and brooks in the steppe. And the mirage becomes a fish-pond, and the thirsty ground gushing water-springs; in the place of jackals, where it lies, there springs up grass with reeds and rushes.*" The bodily defects mentioned here there is no reason for regarding as figurative representations of spiritual defects. The healing of bodily defects, however, is merely the outer side of what is actually effected by the coming of Jehovah (for the other side, comp. ch. xxxii. 3, 4). And so, also, the change of the desert into a field abounding with water is not a mere poetical ornament; for in the last times, the era of redemption, nature itself will really share in the *doxa* which proceeds from the manifested God to His redeemed. *Shârâbh* (Arab. *sarâb*) is essentially the same thing as that which we call in the western languages the *mirage*, or *Fata morgana*; not indeed every variety of this phenomenon of the refraction of light, through strata of air of varying density lying one above another, but more especially that appearance of water, which is

produced as if by magic in the dry, sandy desert¹ (literally perhaps the "desert shine," just as we speak of the "Alpine glow;" see ch. xlix. 10). The antithesis to this is 'āgam (Chald. 'agmā, Syr. egmo, Ar. ag'am), a fish-pond (as in ch. xli. 18, different from 'āgām in ch. xix. 10). In the arid sandy desert, where the jackal once had her lair and suckled her young (this is, according to Lam. iv. 3, the true explanation of the permutative ribhtsāh, for which ribhtsām would be in some respects more suitable), grass springs up even into reeds and rushes; so that, as ch. xliii. 20 affirms, the wild beasts of the desert praise Jehovah.

In the midst of such miracles, by which all nature is glorified, the people of Jehovah are redeemed, and led home to Zion. Vers. 8-10. "*And a highway rises there, and a road, and it will be called the Holy Road; no unclean man will pass along it, as it is appointed for them: whoever walks the road, even simple ones do not go astray. There will be no lion there, and the most ravenous beast of prey will not approach it, will not be met with there; and redeemed ones walk. And the ransomed of Jehovah will return, and come to Zion with shouting, and everlasting joy upon their head: they lay hold of gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing flee away.*" Not only unclean persons from among the heathen, but even unclean persons belonging to Israel itself, will never pass along that holy road; none but the church purified and sanctified through sufferings, and those connected with it. הוֹיָא לָמִי, to them, and to them alone, does this road belong, which Jehovah has made and secured, and which so readily strikes the eye, that even an idiot could not miss it; whilst it lies so high, that no beast of prey, however powerful (*p'rīts chayyōth*, a superlative verbal noun: Ewald, § 313, c), could possibly leap up to it: not one is ever encountered by the pilgrim there. The pilgrims are those whom Jehovah has redeemed and delivered, or set free from captivity and affliction (נָצַח, נָל, related to חָל, *solvere*; פָּרַד, פָּר, *scindere*, *abscindere*). Everlasting joy soars above their head; they lay fast hold of delight and joy (compare on ch. xiii. 8), so that it never departs from them. On the other hand, sorrow and sighing flee away. The whole of ver. 10 is like a mosaic from ch. li. 11, lxi. 7, li. 3; and what is affirmed of the holy road,

¹ See G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, i. p. 38.

is also affirmed in ch. lii. 1 of the holy city (compare ch. lxii. 12, lxiii. 4). A prelude of the fulfilment is seen in what Ezra speaks of with gratitude to God in Ezra viii. 31. We have intentionally avoided crowding together the parallel passages from ch. xl.-lxvi. The whole chapter is, in every part, both in thought and language, a prelude of that book of consolation for the exiles in their captivity. Not only in its spiritual New Testament thoughts, but also in its ethereal language, soaring high as it does in majestic softness and light, the prophecy has now reached the highest point of its development.

PART VII.

FULFILMENTS OF PROPHECY; AND PROPHECIES BELONGING TO THE FOURTEENTH YEAR OF HEZEKIAH'S REIGN, AND THE TIMES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING.

CHAP. XXXVI.-XXXIX.

To the first six books of Isaiah's prophecies there is now appended a seventh. The six form three syzygies. In the "Book of Hardening," ch. i.-vi. (apart from ch. i., which belonged to the times of Uzziah and Jotham), we saw Israel's day of grace brought to an end. In the "Book of Immanuel," ch. vii.-xii. (from the time of Ahaz), we saw the judgment of hardening and destruction in its first stage of accomplishment, but Immanuel was a pledge that, even if the great mass should perish, neither the whole of Israel nor the house of David would be destroyed. The separate judgments through which the way was to be prepared for the kingdom of Immanuel, are announced in the "Book concerning the Nations," ch. xiii.-xxiii. (from the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah); and the general judgment in which they would issue, and after which a new Israel would triumph, is foretold in the "Book of the great Catastrophe," ch. xxiv.-xxvii. (after the fifteenth year of Hezekiah). These two syzygies form the first great orbit of the collection. A second opens with the "Book of Woes, or of the Precious Corner-stone," ch. xxviii.-xxxiii. (xxviii.-xxxii.,

from the first years of Hezekiah, and xxxiii. from the fourteenth year), by the side of which is placed the "Book of the Judgment upon Edom, and of the Restoration of Israel," ch. xxxiv. xxxv. (after Hezekiah's fifteenth year). The former shows how Ephraim succumbs to the power of Asshur, and Judah's trust in Egypt is put to shame; the latter, how the world, with its hostility to the church, eventually succumbs to the vengeance of Jehovah, whereas the church itself is redeemed and glorified. Then follows, in ch. xxxvi.-xxxix., a "Book of Histories," which returns from the ideal distances of ch. xxxiv. xxxv. to the historical realities of ch. xxxiii., and begins by stating that "at the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field," where Ahaz had formerly preferred the help of Asshur to that of Jehovah, there stood an embassy from the king of Asshur with a detachment of his army (ch. xxxvi. 2), scornfully demanding the surrender of Jerusalem.

Just as we have found throughout a well-considered succession and dovetailing of the several parts, so here we can see reciprocal bearings, which are both designed and expressive; and it is *à priori* a probable thing that Isaiah, who wrote the historical introduction to the Judæo-Assyrian drama in the second book, is the author of the concluding act of the same drama, which is here the subject of Book vii. The fact that the murder of Sennacherib is related in ch. xxxvii. 37, 38, in accordance with the prophecy in ch. xxxvii. 7, does not render this impossible, since, according to credible tradition, Isaiah outlived Hezekiah (see vol. i. 34). The assertion made by Hitzig and others—that the speciality of the prophecy, and the miraculous character of the events recorded in ch. xxxvi.-xxxix., preclude the possibility of Isaiah's authorship, inasmuch as, "according to a well-known critical rule," such special prophecies as these are always *vaticinia ex eventu*, and accounts of miracles are always more recent than their historical germ—rests upon a foregone conclusion which was completed before any investigation took place, and which we have good ground for rejecting, although we are well acquainted with the valuable service that has been rendered by this philosopher's stone. The statement that accounts of miracles as such are never contemporaneous with the events themselves, is altogether at variance with experience; and if the advance from the general to the particular were to

be blotted out of Isaiah's prophecy in relation to Asshur, this would be not only unhistorical, but unpsychological also.

The question whether Isaiah is the author of ch. xxxvi.-xxxix. or not, is bound up with the question whether the original place of these histories is in the book of Isaiah or the book of Kings, where the whole passage is repeated with the exception of Hezekiah's psalm of thanksgiving (2 Kings xviii. 13-xx. 19). We shall find that the text of the book of Kings is in several places the purer and more authentic of the two (though not so much so as a biassed prejudice would assume), from which it apparently follows that this section is not in its original position in the book of Isaiah, but has been taken from some other place and inserted there. But this conclusion is a deceptive one. In the relation in which Jer. lii. and 2 Kings xxiv. 18-xxv. stand to one another, we have a proof that the text of a passage may be more faithfully preserved in a secondary place than in its original one. For in this particular instance it is equally certain that the section relating to king Zedekiah and the Chaldean catastrophe was written by the author of the book of Kings, whose style was formed on that of Deuteronomy, and also, that in the book of Jeremiah it is an appendix taken by an unknown hand from the book of the Kings. But it is also an acknowledged fact, that the text of Jer. lii. is incomparably the purer of the two, and also that there are many other instances in which the passage in the book of Kings is corrupt—that is to say, in the form in which it lies before us now—whereas the Alexandrian translator had it in his possession in a partially better form. Consequently, the fact that Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix. is in some respects less pure than 2 Kings xviii. 13-xx. 19, cannot be any argument in itself against the originality of this section in the book of Isaiah.

It is indeed altogether inconceivable, that the author of the book of Kings should have written it; for, on the one hand, the liberality of the prophetic addresses communicated point to a written source (see vol. i. 16); and, on the other hand, it is wanting in that Deuteronomic stamp, by which the hand of this author is so easily recognised. Nor can it have been copied by him out of the annals of Hezekiah (*dibhrē hayyāmim*), as is commonly supposed, since it is written in prophetic and not in annalistic style. Whoever has once made himself

acquainted with these two different kinds of historical composition, the fundamentally different characteristics of which we have pointed out in the Introduction (vol. i. p. 2 sqq.), can never by any possibility confound them again. And this passage is written in a style so peculiarly prophetic, that, like the magnificent historical accounts of Elijah, for example, which commence so abruptly in 2 Kings xvii. 1, it must have been taken from some special and prophetic source, which had nothing to do with other prophetic-historical portions of the book of Kings. And the following facts are sufficient to raise the probability, that this source was no other than the book of Isaiah itself, into an absolute certainty. In the *first* place, the author of the book of Kings had the book of Isaiah amongst the different sources, of which his apparatus was composed; this is evident from 2 Kings xvi. 5, a passage which was written with Isa. vii. 1 in view. And *secondly*, we have express, though indirect, testimony to the effect that this section, which treats of the most important epoch in Hezekiah's reign, is in its original place in the book of Isaiah. The author of the book of Chronicles says, in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32: "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and the gracious occurrences of his life, behold, they are written in the vision (*châzôn*) of Isaiah the son of Amoz, and in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel." This notice clearly proves that a certain historical account of Hezekiah had either been taken out of the collection of Isaiah's prophecies, which is headed *châzôn* (vision), and inserted in the "book of the kings of Judah and Israel," or else had been so inserted along with the whole collection. The book of the Kings was the principal source employed by the chronicler, which he calls "the *midrash* of the book of the Kings" in 2 Chron. xxiv. 27. Into this Midrash, or else into the still earlier work upon which it was a commentary, the section in question was copied from the book of Isaiah; and it follows from this, that the writer of the history of the kings made use of our book of Isaiah for one portion of the history of Hezekiah's reign, and made extracts from it. The chronicler himself did not care to repeat the whole section, which he knew to be already contained in the canonical book of Kings (to say nothing of the book of Isaiah). At the same time, his own historical account of Hezekiah in 2 Chron. xxvii

clearly shows that he was acquainted with it, and also that the historical materials, which the annals supplied to him through the medium of the Midrash, were totally different both in substance and form from those contained in the section in question. These two testimonies are further strengthened by the fact, that Isaiah is well known to us as a historian through another passage in the Chronicles, namely, as the author of a complete history of Uzziah's reign (see vol. i. 38); also by the fact, that the prophetic-historical style of ch. xxxvi.-xxxix., with their fine, noble, pictorial prose, which is comparable to the grandest historical composition to be met with in Hebrew, is worthy of Isaiah, and bears every mark of Isaiah's pen; thirdly, by the fact, that there are other instances in which Isaiah has interwoven historical accounts with his prophecies (ch. vii. viii. and xx.), and that in so doing he sometimes speaks of himself in the first person (ch. vi. 1, viii. 1-4), and sometimes in the third (ch. vii. 3 sqq., and xx.), just as in ch. xxxvi.-xxxix.; and fourthly, by the fact that, as we have already observed, ch. vii. 3 and xxxvi. 2 bear the clearest marks of having had one and the same author; and, as we shall also show, the order in which the four accounts in ch. xxxvi.-xxxix. are arranged, corresponds to the general plan of the whole collection of prophecies,—ch. xxxvi. and xxxvii. looking back to the prophecies of the Assyrian era, and ch. xxxviii. and xxxix. looking forwards to those of the Babylonian era, which is the prophet's ideal present from ch. xl. onwards.

A. FIRST ASSYRIAN ATTEMPT TO COMPEL THE SURRENDER
OF JERUSALEM.—CHAP. XXXVI.-XXXVII. 7.

Marcus v. Niebuhr, in his *History of Asshur and Babel* (p. 164), says, "Why should not Hezekiah have revolted from Asshur as soon as he ascended the throne? He had a motive for doing this, which other kings had not,—namely, that as he held his kingdom in fief from his God, obedience to a temporal monarch was in his case sin." But this assumption, which is founded upon the same idea as that in which the question was put to Jesus concerning the tribute money, is not at all in accordance with Isaiah's view, as we may see from ch. xxviii.-xxxii.; and Hezekiah's revolt cannot have occurred

even in the sixth year of his reign (see vol. i. 51). For Shalmanassar, or rather Sargon, made war upon Egypt and Ethiopia after the destruction of Samaria (ch. xx.; cf. Oppert, *Les Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 22, 27), without attempting anything against Hezekiah. It was not till the time of Sargon, who overthrew the reigning house of Assyria, that the actual preparations for the revolt were commenced, by the formation of an alliance between the kingdom of Judah on the one hand, and Egypt, and probably Philistia, on the other, the object of which was the rupture of the Assyrian yoke.¹ The campaign of Sennacherib the son of Sargon, into which we are transported in the following history, was the third of his expeditions, the one to which Sennacherib himself refers in the inscription upon the prism: "*dans ma 3^e campagne je marchai vers la Syrie.*" The position which we find Sennacherib taking up between Philistia and Jerusalem, to the south-west of the latter, is a very characteristic one in relation to both the occasion and the ultimate object of the campaign. Ch. xxxvi. 1.² "*And it came to pass in the (K. and in the) fourteenth year of king Hizkiyahu, Sancherib king of Asshur came up against all the fortified cities of Judah, and took them. (K. adds: Then Hizkiyah king of Judah sent to the king of Asshur to Lachish, saying, I have sinned, withdraw from me again; what thou imposest upon me I will raise. And the king of Asshur imposed upon Hizkiyah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold. And Hizkiyah gave up all the silver that was in the house of Jehovah, and in the treasures of the king's house. At the same time Hizkiyah mutilated the doors of the temple of Jehovah, and the pillars which Hizkiyah king of Judah had plated with gold, and gave it to the king of Asshur).*" This long addition, which is distinguished at once by the introduction of חזקיה in the place of חזקיהו, is probably only an annalistic interpolation, though one of great importance in relation to Isa. xxxiii. 7. What follows in Isaiah does not dovetail

¹ The name *Amqarron* upon the earthenware prism of Sennacherib does not mean *Migron* (Oppert), but *Ekron* (Rawlinson).

² We shall show the variations in the text of 2 Kings xviii. 13 sqq., as far as we possibly can, in our translation. K. signifies the book of Kings. But the task of pronouncing an infallible sentence upon them all we shall leave to those who know everything.

well into this addition, and therefore does not presuppose its existence. Ver. 2. "*Then the king of Asshur sent Rabshakeh (K.: Tartan, and Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh) from Lachish towards Jerusalem to king Hizkiyahu with a great army, and he advanced (K.: to king H. with a great army to Jerusalem; and they went up and came to Jerusalem, and went up, and came and advanced) to the conduit of the upper pool by the road of the fuller's field.*" Whereas in K. the repeated ויעלו ויבאו (and went up and came) forms a "dittography," the names *Tartan* and *Rab-saris* have apparently dropped out of the text of Isaiah, as ch. xxxvii. 6 and 24 presuppose a plurality of messengers. The three names are not names of persons, but official titles, viz. the commander-in-chief (*Tartan*, which really occurs in an Assyrian list of offices; see Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, ii. 412), the chief eunuch (see the plate in Rawlinson, ii. 118), and the chief cup-bearer (רַב־שֵׁטָה with *tzere* = רַב־שֵׁטָה). The situation of *Lachish* is marked by the present ruins of *Umm Lakis*, to the south-west of *Bet-Gibrin* (Eleutheropolis) in the Shephelah. The messengers come from the south-west with the *ultima ratio* of a strong detachment (חַיִּל a connecting form, from חָיַל, like גְּדוּלָה, Zech. xiv. 4; Ewald, § 287, a); they therefore halt on the western side of Jerusalem (on the locality, see at ch. vii. 3, xxii. 8–11; compare Keil on Kings).

Hezekiah's confidential ministers go there also. Ver. 3 (K. "*And they called to the king), and there went out to him (K. to them) Eliakim son of Hilkiyahu, the house-minister, and Shebna the chancellor, and Joah son of Asaph, the recorder.*" On the office of the house-minister, or major-domo, which was now filled by Eliakim instead of Shebna (שֶׁבְנָה, K. twice שֶׁבְנָה), see ch. xxii. 15 sqq.; and on that of *sōphēr* and *mazkir*, see vol. i. pp. 7, 8. Rabshakeh's message follows in vers. 4–10: "*And Rabshakeh said to them, Say now to Hizkiyahu, Thus saith the great king, the king of Asshur, What sort of confidence is this that thou hast got? I say (K. thou sayest, i.e. thou talkest), vain talk is counsel and strength for war: now, then, in whom dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against me? (K. Now) Behold, thou trustest (K. הָיָה) in this broken reed-staff there, in Egypt, on which one leans, and it runs into his hand and pierces it; so does Pharaoh king of Egypt to all who trust in him. But if thou sayest to me (K. ye say), We trust in Jehovah our God;*

is it not *He* whose high places and altars *Hizkiyahu* has removed, and has said to Judah and Jerusalem, *Ye shall worship before the altar* (K. adds, *in Jerusalem*)? And now take a wager with my lord (K. with) the king of Asshur; I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou art able for thy part to give horsemen upon them. And how couldst thou repel the advance of a single satrap among the least of the servants of my lord?! Thou puttest thy trust then in Egypt for chariots and riders! And (omitted in K.) now have I come up without Jehovah against this land to destroy it (K. against this place, to destroy it)? Jehovah said to me, Go up to (K. against) this land, and destroy it." The chronicler has a portion of this address of Rabshakeh in 2 Chron. xxxii. 10-12. And just as the prophetic words in the book of Kings have a Deuteronomic sound, and those in the Chronicles the ring of a chronicle, so do Rabshakeh's words, and those which follow, sound like the words of Isaiah himself. "The great king" is the standing royal title appended to the names of Sargon and Sennacherib upon the Assyrian monuments (compare ch. x. 8). Hezekiah is not thought worthy of the title of king, either here or afterwards. The reading אַמְרֵי in ver. 5 (thou speakest vain talk) is not the preferable one, because in that case we should expect דְּבָרָי, or rather (according to the usual style) אֵלֶּה דְּבָרָי. The meaning is, that he must look upon Hezekiah's resolution, and his strength (עֲצָה וְגִבּוֹרָה connected as in ch. xi. 2) for going to war, as mere boasting ("lip-words," as in Prov. xiv. 23), and must therefore assume that there was something in the background of which he was well aware. And this must be Egypt, which would not only be of no real help to its ally, but would rather do him harm by leaving him in the lurch. The figure of a reed-staff has been borrowed by Ezekiel in ch. xxix. 6, 7. It was a very appropriate one for Egypt, with its abundance of reeds and rushes (ch. xix. 6), and it has Isaiah's peculiar ring (for the expression itself, compare ch. xlii. 3; and for the fact itself, ch. xxx. 5, and other passages). רָעוּץ does not mean fragile (Luzz. *quella fragil canna*), but broken, namely, in consequence of the loss of the throne by the native royal family, from whom it had been wrested by the Ethiopians (ch. xviii.), and the defeats sustained at the hands of Sargon (ch. xx.). The construction *cui quis innititur et intrat* is para-

tactic for *cui si quis*. In ver. 7 the reading תִּאְמָרֶךָ commends itself, from the fact that the sentence is not continued with הִסְיִירָה; but as Hezekiah is addressed throughout, and it is to him that the reply is to be made, the original reading was probably תִּאְמָר. The fact that Hezekiah had restricted the worship of Jehovah to Jerusalem, by removing the other places of worship (2 Kings xviii. 4), is brought against him in a thoroughly heathen, and yet at the same time (considering the inclination to worship other gods which still existed in the nation) a very crafty manner. In vers. 8, 9, he throws in his teeth, with most imposing scorn, his own weakness as compared with Asshur, which was chiefly dreaded on account of its strength in cavalry and war-chariots. הִתְעַרְבֵנָּה does not refer to the performance and counter-performance which follow, in the sense of "connect thyself" (Luzz. *associati*), but is used in a similar sense to the Homeric *μυηῆναι*, though with the idea of vying with one another, not of engaging in war (the synonym in the Talmud is *himráh*, to bet, *e.g.* *b. Sabbath* 31a): a bet and a pledge are kindred notions (Heb. עֲרִבֹן, cf. Lat. *vadari*). On *pecháh* (for *pacháh*), which also occurs as an Assyrian title in Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23, see vol. i. p. 267, note 3. פָּחַת אֲחֵר, two constructives, the first of which is to be explained according to Ewald, § 286, *a* (compare above, ver. 2, חֵיל כְּבֹד), form the logical *regens* of the following *servorum domini mei minimorum*; and *hēshībḥ p'nē* does not mean here to refuse a petitioner, but to repel an antagonist (ch. xxviii. 6). The *fut. consec.* וְהִכְבֵּיתָ deduces a consequence: Hezekiah could not do anything by himself, and therefore he trusted in Egypt, from which he expected chariots and horsemen. In ver. 10, the prophetic idea, that Asshur was the instrument employed by Jehovah (ch. x. 5, etc.), is put into the mouth of the Assyrian himself. This is very conceivable, but the colouring of Isaiah is undeniable. The concluding words, in which the Assyrian boasts of having Jehovah on his side, affect the messengers of Hezekiah in the keenest manner, especially because of the people present. Ver. 11. "Then said Eliakim (K. the son of Hilkiyahu), and Shebna, and Joah, to Rabshakeh, Pray, speak to thy servants in Aramæan, for we understand it; and do not speak to (K. with) us in Jewish, in the ears of the people that are on the wall." They spoke Y'hūdīth, i.e. the

colloquial language of the kingdom of Judah. The kingdom of Israel was no longer in existence, and the language of the Israelitish nation, as a whole, might therefore already be called Judæan (Jewish), as in Neh. xiii. 24, more especially as there may have been a far greater dialectical difference between the popular speech of the northern and southern kingdoms, than we can gather from the biblical books that were written in the one or the other. Aramæan ('*ārāmīth*), however, appears to have been even then, as it was at a later period (Ezra iv. 7), the language of intercourse between the empire of Eastern Asia and the people to the west of the Tigris (compare Alex. Polyhistor in Euseb. *chron. arm.* i. 43, where Sennacherib is said to have erected a monument with a Chaldean inscription); and consequently educated Judæans not only understood it, but were able to speak it, more especially those who were in the service of the state. Assyrian, on the contrary, was unintelligible to Judæans (ch. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 19), although this applied comparatively less to the true Assyrian dialect, which was Semitic, and can be interpreted for the most part from the Hebrew (see Oppert's "Outlines of an Assyrian Grammar" in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1859), than to the motley language of the Assyrian army, which was a compound of Arian and Turanian elements. The name Sennacherib (*Sanchēribh* = סַנְחֶרִיב, LXX. *Sennachēreim*, i.e. "Sin, the moon-god, had multiplied the brethren") is Semitic; on the other hand, the name Tartan, which cannot be interpreted either from the Semitic or the Arian, is an example of the element referred to, which was so utterly strange to a Judæan ear.

The harsh reply is given in ver. 12. "Then Rabshakeh said (K. to them), *Has my lord sent me to* (K. הָעַל) *thy lord and to thee, not rather to* (both texts, עַל) *the men who sit upon the wall, to eat their dung, and to drink their urine together with you?*"—namely, because their rulers were exposing them to a siege which would involve the most dreadful state of famine.

After Rabshakeh had refused the request of Hezekiah's representatives in this contemptuous manner, he turned in defiance of them to the people themselves. Vers. 13-20. "Then Rabshakeh went near, and cried with a loud voice in the Jewish language (K. and spake), and said, *Hear the words* (K. the word) *of the great king, the king of Asshur. Thus saith*

the king, Let not Hizkiyahu practise deception upon you (נִשְׁחָ, K. נִשְׁחָ); for he cannot deliver you (K. out of his hand). And let not Hizkiyahu feed you with hope in Jehovah, saying, Jehovah will deliver, yea, deliver us: (K. and) this city will not be delivered into the hand of the king of Asshur. Harken not to Hizkiyahu; for thus saith the king (hammelekh, K. melekh) of Asshur, Enter into a connection of mutual good wishes with me, and come out to me: and enjoy every one his vine, and every one his fig-tree, and drink every one the water of his cistern; till I come and take you away into a land like your land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread-corn and vineyards (K. a land full of fine olive-trees and honey, and live and do not die, and hearken not to Hizkiyahu); that Hizkiyahu do not befool you (K. for he befools you), saying, Jehovah will deliver us! Have the gods of the nations delivered (K. really delivered) every one his land out of the hand of the king of Asshur? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? where the gods of Sepharvayim (K. adds, Henu' and 'Ivah)? and how much less (וְיָ, K. וְיָ) have they delivered that Samaria out of my hand? Who were they among all the gods of these (K. of the) lands, who delivered their land out of my hand? how much less will Jehovah deliver Jerusalem out of my hand!?" The chronicler also has this continuation of Rabshakeh's address in part (2 Chron. xxxii. 13-15), but he has fused into one the Assyrian self-praise uttered by Rabshakeh on his first and second mission. The encouragement of the people, by referring to the help of Jehovah (2 Chron. xxxii. 6-8), is placed by him before this first account is given by Isaiah, and forms a conclusion to the preparations for the contest with Asshur as there described. Rabshakeh now draws nearer to the wall, and harangues the people. הִנֵּנִי is construed here with a dative (to excite treacherous hopes); whereas in 2 Chron. xxxii. 15 it is written with an accusative. The reading מִיָּדוֹ is altered from מִיָּדוֹ in ver. 20, which is inserted still more frequently by the chronicler. The reading אֶת־הָעִיר with תִּנָּתֵן is incorrect; it would require יִתֵּן (Ges. § 143, 1a). To make a *b'râkhâh* with a person was equivalent to entering into a relation of blessing, i.e. into a state of mind in which each wished all prosperity to the other. This was probably a common phrase, though we only meet with it here. נָצַח, when applied to the besieged, is equivalent to surrendering (e.g. 1 Sam. xi. 3). If they did

that, they should remain in quiet possession and enjoyment, until the Assyrian fetched them away (after the Egyptian campaign was over), and transported them to a land which he describes to them in the most enticing terms, in order to soften down the inevitable transportation. It is a question whether the expansion of this picture in the book of Kings is original or not; since הָיָה וַעֲבִירָה in ver. 19 appears to be also tacked on here from Isa. xxxvii. 13 (see at this passage). On *Hamath* and *Arpad* (to the north of Haleb in northern Syria, and a different place from *Arvad* = *Arad*), see ch. x. 9. *S'pharvayim* (a dual form, the house of the *S'pharvim*, 2 Kings xvii. 31) is the Sipphara of Ptol. v. 18, 7, the southernmost city of Mesopotamia, on the left bank of the Euphrates; Pliny's *Hipparenum* on the *Narraga*, i.e. the canal, *n'har malká'*, the key to the irrigating or inundating works of Babylon, which were completed afterwards by Nebuchadnezzar (Plin. *h. n.* vi. 30); probably the same place as the sun-city, *Sippara*, in which Xisuthros concealed the sacred books before the great flood (see K. Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Gr.* ii. 501-2). הָיָה in ver. 18 has a warning meaning (as if it followed הָשְׁמַרְוּ לָכֵן); and both וְכִי and כִּי in vers. 19, 20, introduce an exclamatory clause when following a negative interrogatory sentence: "and that they should have saved," or "that Jehovah should save," equivalent to "how much less have they saved, or will He save" (Ewald, § 354, c; comp. וְכִי־יִשְׁׁמְרֵהוּ, 2 Chron. xxxii. 15). Rabshakeh's words in vers. 18-20 are the same as those in Isa. x. 8-11. The manner in which he defies the gods of the heathen, of Samaria, and last of all of Jerusalem, corresponds to the prophecy there. It is the prophet himself who acts as historian here, and describes the fulfilment of the prophecy, though without therefore doing violence to his character as a prophet.

The effect of Rabshakeh's words. Vers. 21, 22. "*But they held their peace* (K. and they, the people, held their peace), and answered him not a word; for it was the king's commandment, saying, Ye shall not answer him. Then came Eliakim son of Hilkiyahu (K. Hilkiyah), the house-minister, and Shebna the chancellor, and Joah son of Asaph, the recorder, to Hizkiyahu, with torn clothes, and told him the words of Rabshakeh." It is only a superficial observation that could commend the reading in Kings, "They, the people, held their peace," which Hitzig

and Knobel prefer, but which Luzzatto very properly rejects. As the Assyrians wished to speak to the king himself (2 Kings xviii. 18), who sent the three to them as his representatives, the command to hear, and to make no reply, can only have applied to them (and they had already made the matter worse by the one remark which they had made concerning the language); and the reading *יִתְרִישִׁי* in the text of Isaiah is the correct one. The three were silent, because the king had imposed the duty of silence upon them; and regarding themselves as dismissed, inasmuch as Rabshakeh had turned away from them to the people, they hastened to the king, rending their clothes, in despair and grief at the disgrace they had experienced.

The king and the deputation apply to Isaiah. Ch. xxxvii. 1-4. "*And it came to pass, when king Hizkiyahu had heard, he rent his clothes, and wrapped himself in mourning linen, and went into the house of Jehovah. And sent Eliakim the house-minister, and Shebna (K. omits אֶת) the chancellor, and the eldest of the priests, wrapped in mourning linen, to Isaiah son of Amoz, the prophet (K. has what is inadmissible: the prophet son of Amoz). And they said to him, Thus saith Hizkiyahu, A day of affliction, and punishment, and blasphemy is this day; for children are come to the matrix, and there is no strength to bring them forth. Perhaps Jehovah thy God will hear the words (K. all the words) of Rabshakeh, with which the king of Asshur his lord has sent him to revile the living God; and Jehovah thy God will punish for the words which He hath heard, and thou wilt make intercession for the remnant that still exists.*" The distinguished embassy is a proof of the distinction of the prophet himself (Knobel). The character of the deputation accorded with its object, which was to obtain a consolatory word for the king and people. In the form of the instructions we recognise again the flowing style of Isaiah. *תוֹכַחָה*, as a synonym of *נִקָּם*, *מוֹסָר*, is used as in Hos. v. 9; *נִאָצָה* (from the *kal* נִאָץ) according to ch. i. 4, v. 24, lii. 5, like *נִאָצָה* (from the *piel* נִאָץ), Neh. ix. 18, 26 (reviling, i.e. reviling of God, or blasphemy). The figure of there not being sufficient strength to bring forth the child, is the same as in ch. lxvi. 9. *מִשְׁבֵּר* (from *שָׁבַר*, syn. *פָּרַץ*, Gen. xxxviii. 29) does not signify the actual birth (Luzzatto, *punto di dover nascere*), nor the delivering-stool (Targum), like *mashbēr shel-chayyāh*, the delivering-

stool of the midwife (*Kelim* xxiii. 4); but as the subject is the children, and not the mother, the matrix or mouth of the womb, as in Hos. xiii. 13, "He (Ephraim) is an unwise child; when it is time does he not stop in the children's passage" (*mashbēr bānīm*), i.e. the point which a child must pass, not only with its head, but also with its shoulders and its whole body, for which the force of the pains is often not sufficient? The existing condition of the state resembled such unpromising birth-pains, which threatened both the mother and the fruit of the womb with death, because the matrix would not open to give birth to the child. לָרָה like רָעָה in ch. xi. 9. The timid inquiry, which hardly dared to hope, commences with 'ūlai. The following future is continued in perfects, the force of which is determined by it: "and He (namely Jehovah, the Targum and Syriac) will punish for the words," or, as we point it, "there will punish for the words which He hath heard, Jehovah thy God (*hōkhāch*, referring to a judicial decision, as in a general sense in ch. ii. 4 and xi. 4); and thou wilt lift up prayer" (i.e. begin to offer it, ch. xiv. 4). "He will hear," namely as judge and deliverer; "He hath heard," namely as the omnipresent One. The expression, "to revile the living God" (*l'chārēph 'Elōhīm chai*), sounds like a comparison of Rabshakeh to Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 26, 36). The "existing remnant" was Jerusalem, which was not yet in the enemy's hand (compare ch. i. 8, 9). The deliverance of the remnant is a key-note of Isaiah's prophecies. But the prophecy would not be fulfilled, until the grace which fulfilled it had been met by repentance and faith. Hence Hezekiah's weak faith sues for the intercession of the prophet, whose personal relation to God is here set forth as a closer one than that of the king and priests.

Isaiah's reply. Vers. 5-7. "*And the servants of king Hizkiyahu came to Isaiah. And Isaiah said to them (אֱלִיָּהוּ, K. אֱלִיָּהוּ), Speak thus to your lord, Thus saith Jehovah, Be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Asshur have blasphemed me! Behold, I will bring a spirit upon him, and he will hear a hearsay, and return to his land; and I cut him down with the sword in his own land.*" Luzzatto, without any necessity, takes וַיִּאָּמְרוּ in ver. 3 in the modal sense of what they were to do (*e dovevano dirgli*):

they were to say this to him, but he anticipated them at once with the instructions given here. The fact, so far as the style is concerned, is rather this, that ver. 5, while pointing back, gives the ground for ver. 6: "and when they had come to him (saying this), he said to them." עֲבָדֵי we render "servants" (*Knappen*¹) after Esth. ii. 2, vi. 3, 5; it is a more contemptuous expression than עֲבָדֵי. The *rūāch* mentioned here as sent by God is a superior force of a spiritual kind, which influences both thought and conduct, as in such other connections as ch. xix. 14, xxviii. 6, xxix. 10 (*Psychol.* p. 295, Anm.).

The external occasion which determined the return of Sennacherib, as described in ch. xxxvii. 36, 37, was the fearful mortality that had taken place in his army. The *sh'mū'āh* (rumour, hearsay), however, was not the tidings of this catastrophe, but, as the continuation of the account in vers. 8, 9, clearly shows, the report of the advance of Tirhakah, which compelled Sennacherib to leave Palestine in consequence of this catastrophe. The prediction of his death is sufficiently special to be regarded by modern commentators, who will admit nothing but the most misty figures as prophecies, as a *vaticinium post eventum*. At the same time, the prediction of the event which would drive the Assyrian out of the land is intentionally couched in these general terms. The faith of the king, and of the inquirers generally, still needed to be tested and exercised. The time had not yet come for him to be rewarded by a clearer and fuller announcement of the judgment.

B. SECOND ATTEMPT OF THE ASSYRIANS TO FORCE THE SURRENDER OF JERUSALEM. ITS MIRACULOUS DELIVERANCE.—CHAP. XXXVII. 8 SQQ.

Rabshakeh, who is mentioned alone in both texts as the leading person engaged, returns to Sennacherib, who is induced to make a second attempt to obtain possession of Jerusalem, as a position of great strength and decisive importance. Vers. 8, 9. "*Rabshakeh thereupon returned, and found the king of*

¹ *Knappe* is the same word as "*Knave*;" but we have no word in use now which is an exact equivalent, and *knave* has entirely lost its original sense of *servant*.—TR.

Asshur warring against Libnah : for he had heard that he had withdrawn from Lachish. And he heard say concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, (K. Behold), he has come out to make war with thee ; and heard, and sent (K. and repeated, and sent) messengers to Hizkiyahu, saying." Tirhakah was cursorily referred to in ch. xviii. The twenty-fifth dynasty of Manetho contained three Ethiopian rulers : *Sabakon, Sebichōs* (סב = סב, although, so far as we know, the Egyptian names begin with *Sh*), and *Tarakos* (Tarkos), Egypt. *Taharka*, or Heb. with the tone upon the penultimate, *Tirhāqāh*. The only one mentioned by Herodotus is Sabakon, to whom he attributes a reign of fifty years (ii. 139), *i.e.* as much as the whole three amount to, when taken in a round sum. If Sebichos is the biblical *So'*, to whom the lists attribute from twelve to fourteen years, it is perfectly conceivable that Tirhakah may have been reigning in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah. But if this took place, as Manetho affirms, 366 years before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, *i.e.* from 696 onwards (and the *Apis-stele*, No. 2037, as deciphered by Vic. de Rougé, *Revue archéol.* 1863, confirms it), it would be more easily reconcilable with the Assyrian chronology, which represents Sennacherib as reigning from 702-680 (Oppert and Rawlinson), than with the current biblical chronology, according to which Hezekiah's fourteenth year is certainly not much later than the year 714.¹ It is worthy of remark also, that Tirhakah is not described as Pharaoh here, but as the king of Ethiopia (*melekh Kūsh*; see at ver. 36). Libnah, according to the Onom. a place in *regione Eleuthero-politana*, is probably the same as *Tell es-Safieh* ("hill of the pure" = of the white), to the north-west of *Bet Gibrin*, called *Alba Specula* (*Blanche Garde*) in the middle ages. The expression וַיִּשְׁמָע ("and he heard"), which occurs twice in the text, points back to what is past, and also prepares the way for what follows: "having heard this, he sent," etc. At the same time it appears to have been altered from וַיִּשְׁמָע.

The message. Vers. 10-13. "*Thus shall ye say to Hizkiyahu king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem will not be given into the hand of the king of Asshur. Behold, thou hast surely heard what (K.*

¹ On the still prevailing uncertainty with regard to the synchronism, see Keil on Kings; and Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*. pp. 713-4.

that which) the kings of Asshur have done to all lands, to lay the ban upon them; and thou, thou shouldst be delivered?! Have the gods of the nations, which my fathers destroyed, delivered them: Gozan, and Haran, and Rezep, and the B'nē-Eden, which are in Telassar? Where is (K. where is he) the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of 'Ir-Sepharvaim, Hena', and 'Ivah?' Although אֲרָרְיָה is feminine, אֲרָרְיָה (K. אֲרָרְיָה), like לְהַחֲרִימָם, points back to the lands (in accordance with the want of any thoroughly developed distinction of the genders in Hebrew); likewise אֲרָרְיָה *quas pessumdedederunt*. There is historical importance in the fact, that here Sennacherib attributes to his fathers (Sargon and the previous kings of the Derketade dynasty which he had overthrown) what Rabshakeh on the occasion of the first mission had imputed to Sennacherib himself. On Gozan, see vol. i. p. 51. It is no doubt identical with the Zuzan of the Arabian geographers, which is described as a district of outer Armenia, situated on the *Chabur*, e.g. in the *Meravid*. "The *Chabur* is the *Chabur* of *el-Hasaniye*, a district of *Mosul*, to the east of the *Tigris*; it comes down from the mountains of the land of *Zuzan*, flows through a broad and thickly populated country in the north of *Mosul*, which is called outer Armenia, and empties itself into the *Tigris*." Ptolemy, on the other hand (v. 18, 14), is acquainted with a Mesopotamian *Gauzanitis*; and, looking upon northern Mesopotamia as the border land of Armenia, he says, κατέχει δὲ τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἢ Ἀνθεμουσίᾳ (not far from Edessa) ὑφ' ἣν ἡ Χαλκίτις, ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτην ἡ Γαυζανίτις, possibly the district of *Gulzan*, in which *Nisibin*, the ancient *Nisibis*, still stands.¹ For *Hārān* (Syr. *Horon*; Joseph. *Charran* of Mesopotamia), the present *Harrān*, not far from *Charmelik*, see *Genesis*, p. 327. The *Harran* in the *Guta* of Damascus (on the southern arm of the *Harus*), which Beke has recently identified with it, is not connected with it in any way. *Retseph* is the *Rhesapha* of Ptol. v. 18, 6, below *Thapsacus*, the present *Rusafa* in the Euphrates-valley of *ez-Zor*, between the Euphrates and *Tadmur* (*Palmyra*; see Robinson, *Pal.*). *Telassar*, with which the Targum (ii. iii.) and Syr. confound the *Ellasar* of Gen. xiv. 1, i.e. *Artemita* (*Artamita*), is not the *Thelseæ* of the *Itin. Antonini* and of the *Notitia*

¹ See Oppert, *Expédition*, i. 60.

dignitatum,—in which case the *B^enē-Eden* might be the tribe of *Bét Genn* (Bettegene) on the southern slope of Lebanon (*i.e.* the 'Eden of Cœlesyria, Amos i. 5; the *Paradeisos* of Ptol. v. 15, 20; *Paradisus*, Plin. v. 19),—but the *Thelser* of the *Tab. Peut.*, on the eastern side of the Tigris; and *B^enē-Eden* is the tribe of the 'Eden mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 23) after Haran and Ctesiphon. Consequently the enumeration of the warlike deeds describes a curve, which passes in a north-westerly direction through Hamath and Arpad, and then returns in Sepharvaim to the border of southern Mesopotamia and Babylonia. *Ir-S^epharvaim* is like *Ir-Nâchâsh*, *Ir-Shemesh*, etc. The legends connect the name with the sacred books. The form of the name is inexplicable; but the name itself probably signifies the double shore (after the Aramæan), as the city, which was the southernmost of the leading places of Mesopotamia, was situated on the Euphrates. The words *הָנִיעַ וְנָחַץ*, if not taken as proper names, would signify, "he has taken away, and overthrown;" but in that case we should expect *הָנִיעַ וְנָחַץ* or *הָנִיעַ וְנָחַץ*. They are really the names of cities which it is no longer possible to trace. *Hena'* is hardly the well-known *Avatho* on the Euphrates, as Gesenius, v. Niebuhr, and others suppose; and *Ivah*, the seat of the *Avvîm* (2 Kings xvii. 31), agrees still less, so far as the sound of the word is concerned, with "the province of *Hebeh* (? *Hebeb*: Ritter, *Erdk.* xi 707), situated between *Anah* and the *Chabur* on the Euphrates," with which v. Niebuhr combines it.¹

This intimidating message, which declared the God of Israel to be utterly powerless, was conveyed by the messengers of Sennacherib in the form of a letter. Vers. 14, 15. "*And Hizkiyahu took the letter out of the hand of the messengers, and read it (K. read them), and went up to the house of Jehovah; and Hizkiyahu spread it before Jehovah.*" *S^ephârîm* (the sheets) is equivalent to the letter (not a letter in *duplo*), like *literæ* (cf. *grammata*). *וְנִקְרְאוּ* (changed by K. into *וְנִקְרְאוּ*) is construed according to the singular idea. Thenius regards this spreading out of the letter as a *naiveté*; and Gesenius even goes so far as to speak of the praying machines of the Buddhists. But it was simply prayer without words—an act of prayer, which afterwards passed into vocal prayer. Vers. 16-20. "*And Hizkiyahu prayed to (K. before)*

¹ For other combinations of equal value, see Oppert, *Expédition*, i. 220.

Jehovah, saying (K. and said), *Jehovah of hosts* (K. omits *ts'bhâ-'ôth*), *God of Israel, enthroned upon the cherubim, Thou, yea Thou alone, art God of all the kingdoms of the earth; Thou, Thou hast made the heavens and the earth. Incline Thine ear, Jehovah, and hear* (יִשְׁמַע, various reading in both texts יִשְׁמַע!) *Open Thine eyes* (K. with Yod of the plural), *Jehovah, and see; and hear the* (K. all the) *words of Sennacherib, which he hath sent* (K. with which he hath sent him, i.e. Rabshakeh) *to despise the living God! Truly, O Jehovah, the kings of Asshur have laid waste all lands, and their land* (K. the nations and their land), *and have put* (v'nâthôn, K. v'nâth'nû) *their gods into the fire: for they were not gods, only the work of men's hands, wood and stone; therefore they have destroyed them. And now, Jehovah our God, help us* (K. adds pray) *out of his hand, and all the kingdoms of the earth may know that Thou Jehovah* (K. Jehovah Elohim) *art it alone."*

On עֲרֻבִים (no doubt the same word as γρυπές, though not fabulous beings like these, but a symbolical representation of heavenly beings), see my *Genesis*, p. 626; and on *yōshēbh hakkrubhim* (enthroned on the cherubim), see at Ps. xviii. 11 and lxxx. 2. הוּא in אֶת־הַהוּא is an emphatic repetition, that is to say a strengthening, of the subject, like ch. xliii. 25, li. 12, 2 Sam. vii. 28, Jer. xlix. 12, Ps. xliv. 5, Neh. ix. 6, 7, Ezra v. 11: *tu ille* (not *tu es ille*, Ges. § 121, 2) = *tu, nullus alius*. Such passages as ch. xli. 4, where הוּא is the predicate, do not belong here. עֲנֶיךָ is not a singular (like עֲנֵי in Ps. xxxii. 8, where the LXX. have עֲנֵי), but a defective plural, as we should expect after *pāqach*. On the other hand, the reading *sh'êlāchō* ("hath sent him"), which cannot refer to *ḏ'bhārīm* (the words), but only to the person bringing the written message, is to be rejected. Moreover, Knobel cannot help giving up his preference for the reading *v'nâthôn* (compare Gen. xli. 43; Ges. § 131, 4a); just as, on the other hand, we cannot help regarding the reading אֶת־כָּל־הָאֲרָצוֹת וְאֶת־אֲרָצָם as a mistake, when compared with the reading of the book of Kings. Abravanel explains the passage thus: "The Assyrians have devastated the lands, and *their own land*" (cf. ch. xiv. 20), of which we may find examples in the list of victories given above; compare also *Beth-Arbel* in Hos. x. 14, if this is *Irbil* on the Tigris, from which Alexander's second battle in Persia, which was really fought at Gaugamela, derived its name. But how does this

tally with the fact that they threw the gods of these lands—that is to say, of their own land also (for אֱלֹהֵיהֶם could not possibly refer to הארצות, to the exclusion of אַרְצֵם)—into the fire? If we read *haggōyīm* (the nations), we get rid both of the reference to their own land, which is certainly purposeless here, and also of the otherwise inevitable conclusion that they burned the gods of their own country. The reading הארצות appears to have arisen from the fact, that after the verb החרִיב the lands appeared to follow more naturally as the object, than the tribes themselves (compare, however, ch. lx. 12). The train of thought is the following: The Assyrians have certainly destroyed nations and their gods, because these gods were nothing but the works of men: do Thou then help us, O Jehovah, that the world may see that Thou alone art it, viz. God ('*Elōhīm*, as K. adds, although, according to the accents, Jehovah *Elohim* are connected together, as in the books of Samuel and Chronicles, and very frequently in the mouth of David: see *Symbolæ in Psalmos*, pp. 15, 16).

The prophet's reply. Vers. 21, 22a. "*And Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hizkiyahu, saying, Thus saith Jehovah the God of Israel, That which thou hast prayed to me concerning Sennacherib the king of Asshur* (K. adds, *I have heard*): *this is the utterance which Jehovah utters concerning him.*" He sent, i.e. sent a message, viz. by one of his disciples (*limmūdīm*, ch. viii. 16). According to the text of Isaiah, אִשָּׁר would commence the protasis to הִרְבֵּר (as for that which—this is the utterance); or, as the *Vav* of the apodosis is wanting, it might introduce relative clauses to what precedes ("I, to whom:" Ges. § 123, 1, Anm. 1). But both of these are very doubtful. We cannot dispense with שָׁמַעְתִּי (I have heard), which is given by both the LXX. and Syr. in the text of Isaiah, as well as that of Kings.

The prophecy of Isaiah which follows here, is in all respects one of the most magnificent that we meet with. It proceeds with strophe-like strides on the *cothurnus* of the Deborah style: Vers. 22b, 23. "*The virgin daughter of Zion despiseth thee, laugheth thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem shaketh her head after thee. Whom hast thou reviled and blasphemed, and over whom hast thou spoken loftily, that thou hast lifted up thine eyes on high? Against the Holy One of Israel.*" The predicate is

written at the head, in ver. 22*l*, in the masculine, *i.e.* without any precise definition; since *בָּנָה* is a verb *לָהּ*, and neither the participle nor the third pers. fem. of *בָּנָה*. Zion is called a virgin, with reference to the shame with which it was threatened though without success (ch. xxiii. 12); *b'thūlath bath* are subordinate appositions, instead of co-ordinate. With a contented and heightened self-consciousness, she shakes her head behind him as he retreats with shame, saying by her attitude, as she moves her head backwards and forwards, that it must come to this, and could not be otherwise (Jer. xviii. 16; Lam. ii. 15, 16). The question in ver. 23 reaches as far as *עֵינַיִךְ*, although, according to the accents, ver. 23 is an affirmative clause: "and thou turnest thine eyes on high against the Holy One of Israel" (Hitzig, Ewald, Drechsler, and Keil). The question is put for the purpose of saying to Asshur, that He at whom they scoff is the God of Israel, whose pure holiness breaks out into a consuming fire against all by whom it is dishonoured. The *fut. cons.* *וַיִּשְׂא* is essentially the same as in ch. li. 12, 13, and *מָרוֹם* is the same as in ch. xl. 26.

Second turn, ver. 24. "*By thy servants (K. thy messengers) hast thou reviled the Lord, in that thou sayest, With the multitude (K. chethib ברכב) of my chariots have I climbed the height of the mountains, the inner side of Lebanon; and I shall fell the lofty growth of its cedars, the choice (mibhchar, K. mibhchōr) of its cypresses: and I shall penetrate (K. and will penetrate) to the height (K. the halting-place) of its uttermost border, the grove of its orchard.*" The other text appears, for the most part, the preferable one here. Whether *mal'ākhekḥā* (thy messengers, according to ch. ix. 14) or *'ābhādekḥā* (thy servants, viz. Rabshakeh, Tartan, and Rabsaris) is to be preferred, may be left undecided; also whether *ברכב רכבי* is an error or a superlative expression, "with chariots of my chariots," *i.e.* my countless chariots; also, thirdly, whether Isaiah wrote *mibhchōr*. He uses *mistōr* in ch. iv. 6 for a special reason; but such obscure forms befit in other instances the book of Kings, with its colouring of northern Palestine; and we also meet with *mibhchōr* in 2 Kings iii. 19, in the strongly Aramaic first series of histories of Elisha. On the other hand, *מָלֶן קָצֶה* is certainly the original reading, in contrast with *מָרוֹם קָצֶה*. It is important, as bearing upon the interpretation of the passage, that both texts have

וְאֶכְרֶת, not וְאֶכְרֶת, and that the other text confirms this pointing, inasmuch as it has וְאֶכְרֶת instead of וְאֶכְרֶת. The Lebanon here, if not purely emblematical (as in Jer. xxii. 6 = the royal city Jerusalem; Ezek. xvii. 3 = Judah-Jerusalem), has at any rate a synecdochical meaning (cf. xiv. 8), signifying the land of Lebanon, i.e. the land of Israel, into which he had forced a way, and all the fortresses and great men of which he would destroy. He would not rest till Jerusalem, the most renowned height of the land of Lebanon, was lying at his feet. Thenius is quite right in regarding the "resting-place of the utmost border" and "the pleasure-garden wood" as containing allusions to the holy city and its royal citadel (compare the allegory in ch. v. vol. i. pp. 164-5).

Third turn, ver. 25. "*I, I have digged and drunk (K. foreign) waters, and will make dry with the sole of my feet all the Nile-arms (יְאֵרִי, K. יְאֵרִי) of Matsor.*" If we take עָלִיתִי in ver. 24 as a perfect of certainty, ver. 25a would refer to the overcoming of the difficulties connected with the barren sandy steppe on the way to Egypt (viz. *et-Tih*); but the perfects stand out against the following futures, as statements of what was actually past. Thus, in places where there were no waters at all, and it might have been supposed that his army would inevitably perish, there he had dug them (*qūr*, from which *māqōr* is derived, *fodere*; not *scaturire*, as Luzzatto supposes), and had drunk up these waters, which had been called up, as if by magic, upon foreign soil; and in places where there were waters, as in Egypt (*mātsōr* is used in Isaiah and Micah for *mitsrayim*, with a play upon the appellative meaning of the word: an enclosing fence, a fortifying girdle: see Ps. xxxi. 22), the Nile-arms and canals of which appeared to bar all farther progress, it was an easy thing for him to set at nought all these opposing hindrances. The Nile, with its many arms, was nothing but a puddle to him, which he trampled out with his feet.

And yet what he was able to do was not the result of his own power, but of the counsel of God, which he subserved. Fourth turn, vers. 26, 27. "*Hast thou not heard? I have done it long ago, from (K. *l'min*, since) the days of ancient time have I formed it, and now brought it to pass (הִבְיֵאתִיהָ, K. הִבְיֵאתִיהָ): that thou shouldst lay waste fortified cities into desolate stone heaps; and their inhabitants, powerless, were terrified, and were*

put to shame (וַיִּבְשֹׁ, K. וַיִּבְשֵׁ): *became herb of the field and green of the turf, herb of the house-tops, and a corn-field (וַיִּשְׂרָחָה, K. and blighted corn) before the blades.* *L'mērāchōq* (from afar) is not to be connected with the preceding words, but according to the parallel with those which follow. The historical reality, in this instance the Assyrian judgment upon the nations, had had from all eternity an ideal reality in God (see at ch. xxii. 11). The words are addressed to the Assyrian; and as his instrumentality formed the essential part of the divine purpose, וַיִּתֵּן does not mean "there should," but "thou shouldst," ἐμελλες ἐξηρεμῶσαι (cf. ch. xliv. 14, 15, and Hab. i. 17). K. has וַיִּשְׂרָחָה instead of וַיִּשְׂחָה (though not as *chethib*, in which case it would have to be pointed וַיִּשְׂחָה), a singularly syncopated *hiphil* (for וַיִּשְׂחָה). The point of comparison in the four figures is the facility with which they can be crushed. The nations in the presence of the Assyrian became, as it were, weak, delicate grasses, with roots only rooted in the surface, or like a corn-field with the stalk not yet formed (*sh'dēmāh*, ch. xvi. 8), which could easily be rooted up, and did not need to be cut down with the sickle. This idea is expressed still more strikingly in Kings, "like corn blighted (*sh'dēphāh*, compare *shiddāphōn*, corn-blight) before the shooting up of the stalk;" the Assyrian being regarded as a parching east wind, which destroys the seed before the stalk is formed.

Asshur is Jehovah's chosen instrument while thus casting down the nations, which are "short-handed against him," i.e. incapable of resisting him. But Jehovah afterwards places this lion under firm restraint; and before it has reached the goal set before it, He leads it back into its own land, as if with a ring through its nostril. Fifth turn, vers. 28, 29. "*And thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy entering in, I know; and thy heating thyself against me. On account of thy heating thyself against me, and because thy self-confidence has risen up into mine ears, I put my ring into thy nose, and my muzzle into thy lips, and lead thee back by the way by which thou hast come.*" Sitting down and rising up (Ps. cxxxix. 2), going out and coming in (Ps. cxxi. 8), denote every kind of human activity. All the thoughts and actions, the purposes and undertakings of Sennacherib, more especially with regard to the people of Jehovah, were under divine control. וַיִּשְׂחָה is followed by the

infinitive, which is then continued in the finite verb, just as in ch. xxx. 12. שִׂאֲנִיךָ (another reading, שִׂאֲנִיךָ) is used as a substantive, and denotes the Assyrians' complacent and scornful self-confidence (Ps. cxxiii. 4), and has nothing to do with שִׂאֲנִיךָ (Targum, Abulw., Rashi, Kimchi, Rosenmüller, Luzzatto). The figure of the leading away with a nose-ring (*chachī* with a latent *dagesh*, חָח to prick, hence *chōäch*, Arab. *chōch*, *chōcha*, a narrow slit, literally means a cut or aperture) is repeated in Ezek. xxxviii. 4. Like a wild beast that had been subdued by force, the Assyrian would have to return home, without having achieved his purpose with Judah (or with Egypt).

The prophet now turns to Hezekiah. Ver. 30. "*And let this be a sign to thee, Men eat this year what is self-sown; and in the second year what springs from the roots (shāchīs, K. sākūsh); and in the third year they sow and reap and plant vineyards, and eat (chethib אכול) their fruit.*" According to Thenius, *hasshānāh* (this year) signifies the first year after Sennacherib's invasion, *hasshānāh hasshēnūth* (the second year) the current year in which the words were uttered by Hezekiah, *hasshānāh hasshēlīshūth* (the third year) the year that was coming in which the land would be cleared of the enemy. But understood in this way, the whole would have been no sign, but simply a prophecy that the condition of things during the two years was to come to an end in the third. It would only be a "sign" if the second year was also still in the future. By *hasshānāh*, therefore, we are to understand what the expression itself requires (cf. ch. xxix. 1, xxxii. 10), namely the current year, in which the people had been hindered from cultivating their fields by the Assyrian who was then in the land, and therefore had been thrown back upon the *sāphīāch*, i.e. the after growth (*αὐτόματα*, LXX., the self-sown), or crop which had sprung up from the fallen grains of the previous harvest (from *sāphach*, *adjicere*, see at Hab. ii. 15; or, according to others, *effundere*, see vol. i. 165). It was autumn at the time when Isaiah gave this sign (ch. xxxiii. 9), and the current civil year was reckoned from one autumnal equinox to the other, as, for example, in Ex. xxiii. 16, where the feast of tabernacles or harvest festival is said to fall at the close of the year; so that if the fourteenth year of Hezekiah was the year 714, the current year would extend from Tishri 714 to Tishri 713. But if in the next year also,

713-712, there was no sowing and reaping, but the people were to eat *shâchîs*, i.e. that which grew of itself (*αὐτοφύες*, Aq., Theod.), and that very sparingly, not from the grains shed at the previous harvest, but from the roots of the wheat, we need not assume that this year, 713-712, happened to be a sabbatical year, in which the law required all agricultural pursuits to be suspended.¹ It is very improbable in itself that the prophet should have included a circumstance connected with the calendar in his "sign;" and, moreover, according to the existing chronological data, the year 715 had been a sabbatical year (see Hitzig). It is rather presupposed, either that the land would be too thoroughly devastated and desolate for the fields to be cultivated and sown (Keil); or, as we can hardly imagine such an impossibility as this, if we picture to ourselves the existing situation and the kind of agriculture common in Palestine, that the Assyrian would carry out his expedition to Egypt in this particular year (713-12), and returning through Judah, would again prevent the sowing of the corn (Hitzig, Knobel). But in the third year, that is to say the year 712-11, freedom and peace would prevail again, and there would be nothing more to hinder the cultivation of the fields or vineyards. If this should be the course of events during the three years, it would be a sign to king Hezekiah that the fate of the Assyrian would be no other than that predicted. The year 712-11 would be the peremptory limit appointed him, and the year of deliverance.

Seventh turn, vers. 31, 32. "*And that which is escaped of the house of Judah, that which remains will again take root downward, and bear fruit upward. For from Jerusalem will a remnant go forth, and a fugitive from Mount Zion; the zeal of Jehovah of hosts (K. chethib omits ts'bhâ'ôth) will carry this out.*" The agricultural prospect of the third year shapes itself here into a figurative representation of the fate of Judah. Isaiah's watchword, "a remnant shall return," is now fulfilled; Jerusalem has been spared, and becomes the source of national rejuvenation. You hear the echo of ch. v. 24, ix. 6, and also of ch. xxvii. 6. The word *ts'bhâ'ôth* is wanting in Kings, here as well as in ver. 17; in fact, this

¹ There certainly is no necessity for a sabbatical year followed by a year of jubilee, to enable us to explain the "sign," as Hofmann supposes.

divine name is, as a rule, very rare in the book of Kings, where it only occurs in the first series of accounts of Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 15, xix. 10, 14; cf. 2 Kings iii. 14).

The prophecy concerning the protection of Jerusalem becomes more definite in the last turn than it ever has been before. Vers. 33-35. "*Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning the king of Asshur, He will not enter into this city, nor shoot off an arrow there; nor do they assault it with a shield, nor cast up earthworks against it. By the way by which he came (K. will come) will he return; and he will not enter into this city, saith Jehovah. And I shield this city (על, K. לך), to help it, for mine own sake, and for the sake of David my servant.*" According to Hitzig, this conclusion belongs to the later reporter, on account of its "suspiciously definite character." Knobel, on the other hand, sees no reason for disputing the authorship of Isaiah, inasmuch as in all probability the pestilence had already set in (ch. xxxiii. 24), and threatened to cripple the Assyrian army very considerably, so that the prophet began to hope that Sennacherib might now be unable to stand against the powerful Ethiopian king. To us, however, the words "Thus saith Jehovah" are something more than a flower of speech; and we hear the language of a man exalted above the standard of the natural man, and one who has been taken, as Amos says (iii. 7), by God, the moulder of history, into "His secret." Here also we see the prophecy at its height, towards which it has been ascending from ch. vi. 13 and x. 33, 34 onwards, through the midst of obstacles accumulated by the moral condition of the nation, but with the same goal invariably in view. The Assyrian will not storm Jerusalem; there will not even be preparations for a siege. The verb *qiddēm* is construed with a double accusative, as in Ps. xxi. 4; *sōl'lah* refers to the earthworks thrown up for besieging purposes, as in Jer. xxxii. 24. The reading יבֵּן instead of בָּן has arisen in consequence of the eye having wandered to the following יבֵּן. The promise in ver. 35a sounds like ch. xxxi. 5. The reading אֶל for עַל is incorrect. One motive assigned ("for my servant David's sake") is the same as in 1 Kings xv. 4, etc.; and the other ("for mine own sake") the same as in ch. xliii. 25, xlvi. 11 (compare, however, ch. lv. 3 also). On the one hand, it is in accordance with the honour and faithfulness of Jehovah, that Jerusalem is

delivered; and, on the other hand, it is the worth of David, or, what is the same thing, the love of Jehovah turned towards him, of which Jerusalem reaps the advantage.

To this culminating prophecy there is now appended an account of the catastrophe itself. Vers. 36-38. "*Then (K. And it came to pass that night, that) the angel of Jehovah went forth and smote (vayyakkeh, K. vayyakh) in the camp of Asshur a hundred and eighty-five thousand; and when men rose up in the morning, behold, they were all lifeless corpses. Then Sennacherib king of Asshur decamped, and went forth and returned, and settled down in Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch, his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons (K. chethib omits 'his sons') smote him with the sword; and when they escaped to the land of Ararat, Esarhaddon ascended the throne in his stead.*" The first pair of histories closes here with a short account of the result of the Assyrian drama, in which Isaiah's prophecies were most gloriously fulfilled: not only the prophecies immediately preceding, but all the prophecies of the Assyrian era since the time of Ahaz, which pointed to the destruction of the Assyrian forces (*e.g.* x. 33-4), and to the flight and death of the king of Assyria (ch. xxxi. 9, xxx. 33). If we look still further forward to the second pair of histories (ch. xxxviii. xxxix.), we see from ch. xxxviii. 6 that it is only by anticipation that the account of these closing events is finished here; for the third history carries us back to the period before the final catastrophe. We may account in some measure for the haste and brevity of this closing historical fragment, from the prophet's evident wish to finish up the history of the Assyrian complications, and the prophecy bearing upon it. But if we look back, there is a gap between ch. xxxvii. 36 and the event narrated here. For, according to ver. 30, there was to be an entire year of trouble between the prophecy and the fulfilment, during which the cultivation of the land would be suspended. What took place during that year? There can be no doubt that Sennacherib was engaged with Egypt; for (1) when he made his second attempt to get Jerusalem into his power, he had received intelligence of the advance of Tirhakah, and therefore had withdrawn the centre of his army from Lachish, and encamped before Libnah (ch. xxxvii. 8, 9); (2) according to Josephus

(*Ant.* x. 1, 4), there was a passage of Berosus, which has been lost, in which he stated that Sennacherib "made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt;" (3) Herodotus relates (ii. 141) that, after Anysis the blind, who lost his throne for fifty years in consequence of an invasion of Egypt by the Ethiopians under Sabakoa, but who recovered it again, Sethon the priest of Hephæstus ascended the throne. The priestly caste was so oppressed by him, that when Sanacharibos, the king of the Arabians and Assyrians, led a great army against Egypt, they refused to perform their priestly functions. But the priest-king went into the temple to pray, and his God promised to help him. He experienced the fulfilment of this prophecy before Pelusium, where the invasion was to take place, and where he awaited the foe with such as continued true to him. "Immediately after the arrival of Sanacharibos, an army of field-mice swarmed throughout the camp of the foe, and devoured their quivers, bows, and shield-straps, so that when morning came on they had to flee without arms, and lost many men in consequence. This is the origin of the stone of Sethon in the temple of Hephæstus (at Memphis), which is standing there still, with a mouse in one hand, and with this inscription: Whosoever looks at me, let him fear the gods!" This Σέθων (possibly the *Zet* whose name occurs in the lists at the close of the twenty-third dynasty, and therefore in the wrong place) is to be regarded as one of the Saitic princes of the twenty-sixth dynasty, who seem to have ruled in Lower Egypt contemporaneously with the Ethiopians¹ (as, in fact, is stated in a passage of the Armenian Eusebins, *Æthiopas et Saitas regnasse aiunt eodem tempore*), until they succeeded at length in ridding themselves of the hateful supremacy. Herodotus evidently depended in this instance upon the hearsay of Lower Egypt, which transferred the central point of the Assyrian history to their own native princely house. The question,

¹ A seal of Pharaoh *Sabakon* has been found among the ruins of the palace of Kuyunjik. The colossal image of *Tarakos* is found among the bas-reliefs of Medinet-Habu. He is holding firmly a number of Asiatic prisoners by the hair of their head, and threatening them with a club. There are several other stately monuments in imitation of the Egyptian style in the ruins of Nepata, the northern capital of the Meroitic state, which belong to him (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, p. 10 of the programme).

whether the disarming of the Assyrian army in front of Pelusium merely rested upon a legendary interpretation of the mouse in Sethon's hand,¹ which may possibly have been originally intended as a symbol of destruction; or whether it was really founded upon an actual occurrence which was exaggerated in the legend,² may be left undecided. But it is a real insult to Isaiah, when Thenius and G. Rawlinson place the scene of ver. 36 at Pelusium, and thus give the preference to Herodotus. Has not Isaiah up to this point constantly prophesied that the power of Asshur was to be broken in the holy mountain land of Jehovah (ch. xiv. 25), that the Lebanon forest of the Assyrian army would break to pieces before Jerusalem (ch. x. 32-34), and that there the Assyrian camp would become the booty of the inhabitants of the city, and that without a conflict? And is not the catastrophe that would befall Assyria described in ch. xviii. as an act of Jehovah, which would determine the Ethiopians to do homage to God who was enthroned upon Zion? We need neither cite 2 Chron. xxxii. 21 nor Ps. lxxvi. (LXX. *ὁδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον*), according to which the weapons of Asshur break to pieces upon Jerusalem; Isaiah's prophecies are quite sufficient to prove, that to force this Pelusiatic disaster³ into ver. 36 is a most thoughtless concession to Herodotus. The final catastrophe occurred before Jerusalem, and the account in Herodotus gives us no certain information even as to the issue of the Egyptian campaign, which took place in the intervening year. Such a gap as the one which occurs before ver. 36 is not without analogy in the historical writings of the Bible; see, for example, Num. xx. 1, where an abrupt leap is made over the thirty-seven years of the wanderings in the desert. The abruptness is not affected by the addition of the clause in the book of Kings, "It came to pass that night." For, in the face of the "sign" mentioned in ver. 30, this cannot mean "in that very night" (viz. the night following the answer given by Isaiah); but (un-

¹ This Sethos monument has not yet been discovered (Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, p. 79). The temple of Phta was on the south side of Memphis; the site is marked by the ruins at Mitrahenni.

² The inhabitants of Troas worshipped mice, "because they gnawed the strings of the enemies' bows" (see Wesseling on *Il. i.* 39).

³ G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, ii. 445.

less it is a careless interpolation) it must refer to vers. 33, 34, and mean *illa nocte*, viz. the night in which the Assyrian had encamped before Jerusalem. The account before us reads just like that of the slaying of the first-born in Egypt (Ex. xii. 12, xi. 4). The plague of Egypt is marked as a pestilence by the use of the word *nâgaph* in connection with *hikkâh* in Ex. xii. 23, 13 (compare Amos iv. 10, where it seems to be alluded to under the name נִגַּף); and in the case before us also we cannot think of anything else than a divine judgment of this kind, which even to the present day defies all attempts at an ætiological solution, and which is described in 2 Sam. xxiv. as effected through the medium of angels, just as it is here. Moreover, the concise brevity of the narrative leaves it quite open to assume, as Hensler and others do, that the ravages of the pestilence in the Assyrian army, which carried off thousands in the night (Ps. xci. 6), even to the number of 185,000, may have continued for a considerable time.¹ The main thing is the fact that the prophecy in ch. xxxi. 8 was actually fulfilled. According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 1, 5), when Sennacherib returned from his unsuccessful Egyptian expedition, he found the detachment of his army, which he had left behind in Palestine, in front of Jerusalem, where a pestilential disease sent by God was making great havoc among the soldiers, and that on the very first night of the siege. The three verses, "he broke up, and went away, and returned home," depict the hurried character of the retreat, like "*abiit excessit evasit erupit*" (Cic. ii. *Catil. init.*). The form of the sentence in ver. 38 places Sennacherib's act of worship and the murderous act of his sons side by side, as though they had occurred simultaneously. The connection would be somewhat different if the reading had been נִיבְרַח (cf. Ewald, § 341, a). *Nisroch* apparently signifies the eagle-like, or hawk-like (from *nisr*, *nesher*), possibly like *Arioch* from 'ārî. The LXX. transcribe it *νασαραχ*, A *ασαραχ*, & *ασαρακ* (K *εσθραχ*, where B has *μεσεραχ*), and explorers of the monuments imagined at one time that they had discovered this god as

¹ The pestilence in Mailand in 1629 carried off, according to Tadino, 160,000 men; that in Vienna, in 1679, 122,849; that in Moscow, at the end of the last century, according to Martens, 670,000; but this was during the whole time that the ravages of the pestilence lasted.

Asarak; ¹ but they have more recently retracted this, although there really is a hawk-headed figure among the images of the Assyrian deities or genii.² The name has nothing to do with that of the supreme Assyrian deity, *Asur*, *Asshur*. A better derivation of *Nisroch* would be from שָׂרֹךְ, שָׂרֹךְ, כִּרְךָ; and this is confirmed by Oppert, who has discovered among the inscriptions in the harem of Khorsabad a prayer of Sargon to Nisroch, who appears there, like the Hymen of Greece, as the patron of marriage, and therefore as a "uniter."³ The name '*Adrammelekh* (a god in 2 Kings xvii. 31) signifies, as we now know, "*gloriosus ('addir) est rex*;" and *Sharetser* (for which we should expect to find *Saretser*), *dominator tuebitur*. The Armenian form of the latter name (in Moses Choren. i. 23), *San-asar* (by the side of *Adramel*, who is also called *Arcamozan*), probably yields the original sense of "*Lunus (the moon-god Sin) tuebitur*." Polyhistorus (in Euseb. *chron. arm.* p. 19), on the authority of Berosus, mentions only the former, *Ardumuzan*, as the murderer, and gives eighteen years as the length of Sennacherib's reign. The murder did not take place immediately after his return, as Josephus says (*Ant.* x. 1, 5; cf. Tobit i. 21-25, Vulg.); and the expression used by Isaiah, he "dwelt (settled down) in Nineveh," suggests the idea of a considerable interval. This interval embraced the suppression of the rebellion in Babylon, where Sennacherib made his son *Asordan* king, and the campaign in Cilicia (both from Polyhistorus),⁴ and also, according to the monuments, wars both by sea and land with Susiana, which supported the Babylonian thirst for independence. The *Asordan* of Polyhistorus is *Esar-haddon* (also written without the *makkeph*, *Esarhaddon*), which is generally supposed to be the Assyrian form of אֲשׁוּר-אֲחִידָן, *Assur fratrem dedit*. It is so difficult to make the chronology tally here, that Oppert, on Isa. xxxvi. 1, proposes to alter the fourteenth year into the twenty-ninth, and Rawlinson would alter it into the twenty-seventh.⁵ They both of them assign to king

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xii. 2, pp. 426-7.

² Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, ii. 265.

³ *Expédition Scientifique en Mesopotamie*, t. ii. p. 339.

⁴ *Vid.* Richter, *Berosi quæ supersunt* (1825), p. 62; Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Gr.* ii. 504.

⁵ *Sargonides*, p. 10, and *Monarchies*, ii. 434.

Sargon a reign of seventeen (eighteen) years, and to Sennacherib (in opposition to Polyhistorus) a reign of twenty-three (twenty-four) years; and they both agree in giving 680 as the year of Sennacherib's death. This brings us down below the first decade of Manasseh's reign, and would require a different author from Isaiah for vers. 37, 38. But the accounts given by Polyhistorus, Abydenus, and the astronomical canon, however we may reconcile them among themselves, do not extend the reign of Sennacherib beyond 693.¹ It is true that even then Isaiah would have been at least about ninety years old. But the tradition which represents him as dying a martyr's death in the reign of Manasseh, does really assign him a most unusual old age. Nevertheless, vers. 37, 38 may possibly have been added by a later hand. The two parricides fled to the "land of Ararat," *i.e.* to Central Armenia. The Armenian history describes them as the founders of the tribes of the Sassunians and Arzerunians. From the princely house of the latter, among whom the name of Sennacherib was a very common one, sprang Leo the Armenian, whom Genesios describes as of Assyrio-Armenian blood. If this were the case, there would be no less than ten Byzantine emperors who were descendants of Sennacherib, and consequently it would not be till a very late period that the prophecy of Nahum was fulfilled.²

C. HEZEKIAH'S ILLNESS. ISAIAH ASSURES HIM OF HIS
RECOVERY.—CHAP. XXXVIII.

There is nothing to surprise us in the fact that we are carried back to the time when Jerusalem was still threatened by the Assyrian, since the closing verses of ch. xxxvii. merely

¹ See Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*. i. pp. 708-9.

² Duncker, on the contrary (p. 709), speaks of the parricides as falling very shortly afterwards by their brother's hand, and overlooks the Armenian tradition (cf. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, ii. 465), which transfers the flight of the two, who were to have been sacrificed, as is reported by their own father, to the year of the world 4494, *i.e.* B.C. 705 (see the historical survey of Prince Hubbof in the *Miscellaneous Translations*, vol. ii. 1834). The Armenian historian Thomas (at the end of the ninth century) expressly states that he himself had sprung from the Arzerunians, and therefore from Sennacherib; and for this reason his historical work is chiefly devoted to Assyrian affairs (see Aucher on Euseb. *chron.* i. p. xv).

contain an anticipatory announcement, introduced for the purpose of completing the picture of the last Assyrian troubles, by adding the fulfilment of Isaiah's prediction of their termination. It is within this period, and indeed in the year of the Assyrian invasion (ch. xxxvi. 1), since Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, and fifteen of these are promised here, that the event described by Isaiah falls,—an event not merely of private interest, but one of importance in connection with the history of the nation also.—Vers. 1–3. “*In those days Hizkiyahu became dangerously ill. And Isaiah son of Amoz, the prophet, came to him, and said to him, Thus saith Jehovah, Set thine house in order: for thou wilt die, and not recover. Then Hizkiyahu turned (K. om.) his face to the wall, and prayed to Jehovah, and said (K. saying), O Jehovah, remember this, I pray, that I have walked before thee in truth, and with the whole heart, and have done what was good in Thine eyes! And Hizkiyahu wept with loud weeping.*” “Give command to thy house” (לְךָ, cf. נָא, 2 Sam. xvii. 23) is equivalent to, “Make known thy last will to thy family” (compare the rabbinical *tsavvâ’âh*, the last will and testament); for though *tsivvâh* is generally construed with the accusative of the person, it is also construed with *Lamed* (e.g. Ex. i. 22; cf. נָא, Ex. xvi. 34). הָיָה in such a connection as this signifies to revive or recover. The announcement of his death is unconditional and absolute. As Vitringa observes, “the condition was not expressed, because God would draw it from him as a voluntary act.” The sick man turned his face towards the wall (הָיָה פָּנָיו, hence the usual fut. cons. וַיִּפֹּב, as in 1 Kings xxi. 4, 8, 14), to retire into himself and to God. The supplicatory אָנָּה (here, as in Ps. cxvi. 4, 16, and in all six times, with ה) always has the principal tone upon the last syllable before יהוה = יְהוָה־נִּי (Neh. i. 11). The *metheg* has sometimes passed into a conjunctive accent (e.g. Gen. l. 17, Ex. xxxii. 31). אֲשֶׁר אֵלֶּה does not signify that which, but this, that, as in Deut. ix. 7, 2 Kings viii. 12, etc. “In truth,” i.e. without wavering or hypocrisy. בְּלֵב שָׁלֵם, with a complete or whole heart, as in 1 Kings viii. 61, etc. He wept aloud, because it was a dreadful thing to him to have to die without an heir to the throne, in the full strength of his manhood (in the thirty-ninth year of his age), and with the nation in so unsettled a state.

The prospect is now mercifully changed. Vers. 4–6. “*And*

it came to pass (K. *Isaiah was not yet out of the inner city ; kerī* הָצִיר, the forecourt, and) the word of Jehovah came to Isaiah (K. to him) as follows : Go (K. turn again) and say to Hizkijahu (K. adds, to the prince of my people), Thus saith Jehovah, the God of David thine ancestor, I have heard thy prayer, seen thy tears ; behold, I (K. will cure thee, on the third day thou shalt go up to the house of Jehovah) add (K. and I add) to thy days fifteen years. And I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Asshur, and will defend this city (K. for mine own sake and for David my servant's sake)." In the place of הָצִיר (the city) the *keri* and the earlier translators have הָצִיר. The city of David is not called the "inner city" anywhere else ; in fact, Zion, with the temple hill, formed the upper city, so that apparently it is the inner space of the city of David that is here referred to, and Isaiah had not yet passed through the middle gate to return to the lower city, where he dwelt (vol. i. pp. 70, 390). The text of Kings is the more authentic throughout ; except that נָגִיד עַמִּי, "the prince of my people," is an annalistic adorning which is hardly original. הָלֵךְ in Isaiah is an inf. abs. used in an imperative sense ; שׁוּב, on the other hand, which we find in the other text, is imperative. On *yōsiph*, see at ch. xxix. 14.

The text of Isaiah is not only curtailed here in a very forced manner, but it has got into confusion ; for vers. 21 and 22 are removed entirely from their proper place, although even the Septuagint has them at the close of Hezekiah's psalm. They have been omitted from their place at the close of ver. 6 through an oversight, and then added in the margin, where they now stand (probably with a sign, to indicate that they were supplied). We therefore insert them here, where they properly belong. Vers. 21, 22. "Then Isaiah said they were to bring (K. take) a fig-cake ; and they plaistered (K. brought and covered) the boil, and he recovered. And Hizkijahu said (K. to Isaiah), What sign is there that (K. Jehovah will heal me, so that I go up) I shall go up into the house of Jehovah?" As *sh'chīn* never signifies a plague-spot, but an abscess (indicated by heightened temperature), more especially that of leprosy (cf. Ex. ix. 9, Lev. xiii. 18), there is no satisfactory ground, as some suppose, for connecting Hezekiah's illness (taken along with ch. xxxiii. 24) with the pestilence which broke out in the Assyrian army.

The use of the figs does not help us to decide whether we are to assume that it was a boil (*bubon*) or a carbuncle (*charbon*). Figs were a well-known *emolliens* or *maturans*, and were used to accelerate the rising of the swelling and the subsequent discharge. Isaiah did not show any special medical skill by ordering a softened cake of pressed figs to be laid upon the boil, nor did he expect it to act as a specific, and effect a cure: it was merely intended to promote what had already been declared to be the will of God. *וַיִּמְרְחוּ עָלָיו* is probably more original than the simpler but less definite *וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ עָלָיו*. Hitzig is wrong in rendering *וַיִּחַי*, "that it (the boil) may get well," and Knobel in rendering it, "that he may recover." It is merely the anticipation of the result so common in the historical writings of Scripture (see at ch. vii. 1 and xx. 1), after which the historian goes back a step or two.

The pledge desired. Vers. 7, 8. "(K. *Then Isaiah said*) and (K. om.) *let this be the sign to thee on the part of Jehovah, that* (*וַיִּשְׁרַח*, K. *בִּי*) *Jehovah will perform this* (K. *the*) *word which He has spoken; Behold, I make the shadow retrace the steps, which it has gone down upon the sun-dial of Ahaz through the sun, ten steps backward. And the sun went back ten steps upon the dial, which it had gone down*" (K. "*Shall the shadow go forward* [*וַיִּלְךָ*, read *וַיָּחַץ* according to Job xl. 2, or *וַיִּלְךָ*] *ten steps, or shall it go back ten steps? Then Yechizkiyahu said, It is easy for the shadow to go down ten steps; no, but the shadow shall go back ten steps. Then Isaiah the prophet cried to Jehovah, and turned back the shadow by the steps that it had gone down upon the sun-dial of Ahaz, ten steps backward*"). "*Steps of Ahaz*" was the name given to a sun-dial erected by him. As *ma'ālāh* may signify either one of a flight of steps or a degree (syn. *madrigāl*), we might suppose the reference to be to a dial-plate with a gnomon; but, in the first place, the expression points to an actual succession of steps, that is to say, to an obelisk upon a square or circular elevation ascended by steps, which threw the shadow of its highest point at noon upon the highest steps, and in the morning and evening upon the lowest, either on the one side or the other, so that the obelisk itself served as a gnomon. It is in this sense that the Targum on 2 Kings ix. 13 renders *gerem hamma'ālōth* by *d'rag shā'ayyā'*, step (flight of steps) of the sun-dial; and the obelisk of Augustus, on the

Field of Mars at Rome, was one of this kind, which served as a sun-dial. The going forward, going down, or declining of the shadow, and its going back, were regulated by the meridian line, and under certain circumstances the same might be said of a vertical dial, *i.e.* of a sun-dial with a vertical dial-plate; but it applies more strictly to a step-dial, *i.e.* to a sun-dial in which the degrees that measure definite periods of time are really *gradus*. The step-dial of Ahaz may have consisted of twenty steps or more, which measured the time of day by half-hours, or even quarters. If the sign was given an hour before sunset, the shadow, by going back ten steps of half-an-hour each, would return to the point at which it stood at twelve o'clock. But how was this effected? Certainly not by giving an opposite direction to the revolution of the earth upon its axis, which would have been followed by the most terrible convulsions over the entire globe; and in all probability not even by an apparently retrograde motion of the sun (in which case the miracle would be optical rather than cosmical); but as the intention was to give a sign that should serve as a pledge, and therefore had no need whatever to be supernatural (vol. i. 214), it may have been simply through a phenomenon of refraction, since all that was required was that the shadow which was down at the bottom in the afternoon should be carried upwards by a sudden and unexpected refraction. *Hamma' alôth* (the steps) in ver. 8 does not stand in a genitive relation to *tse'el* (the shadow), as the accents would make it appear, but is an accusative of measure, equivalent to *בַּמַּעֲלֹת* in the sum of the steps (2 Kings xx. 11). To this accusative of measure there is appended the relative clause: *quos (gradus) descendit* (יֵרֶדָה); *לָא* being used as a feminine) *in scala Ahasi per solem, i.e.* through the onward motion of the sun. When it is stated that "the sun returned," this does not mean the sun in the heaven, but the sun upon the sun-dial, upon which the illumined surface moved upwards as the shadow retreated; for when the shadow moved back, the sun moved back as well. The event is intended to be represented as a miracle; and a miracle it really was. The force of will proved itself to be a power superior to all natural law; the phenomenon followed upon the prophet's prayer as an extraordinary result of divine power, not effected through his astronomical learning, but simply through

that faith which can move mountains, because it can set in motion the omnipotence of God.

As a documentary proof of this third account, a psalm of Hezekiah is added in the text of Isaiah, in which he celebrates his miraculous rescue from the brink of death. The author of the book of Kings has omitted it; but the genuineness is undoubted. The heading runs thus in ver. 9: "*Writing of Hizkiyahu king of Judah, when he was sick, and recovered from his sickness.*" The song which follows might be headed *Mikhtam*, since it has the characteristics of this description of psalm (see at Ps. xvi. 1). We cannot infer from *bachälōthō* (when he was sick) that it was composed by Hezekiah during his illness (see at Ps. li. 1); *vayyechi* (and he recovered) stamps it as a song of thanksgiving, composed by him after his recovery. In common with the two Ezrahitish psalms, Ps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix., it has not only a considerable number of echoes of the book of Job, but also a lofty sweep, which is rather forced than lyrically direct. and appears to aim at copying the best models.

Strophe 1 consists indisputably of seven lines:

Vers. 10–12. "*I said, In quiet of my days shall I depart
into the gates of Hades:*

I am mulcted of the rest of my years.

I said, I shall not see Jah, Jah, in the land of the living:

*I shall behold man no more, with the inhabitants of the regions
of the dead.*

*My home is broken up, and is carried off from me like a
shepherd's tent:*

*I rolled up my life like a weaver; He would have cut me loose
from the roll:*

From day to night Thou makest an end of me."

"In quiet of my days" is equivalent to, in the midst of the quiet course of a healthy life, and is spoken without reference to the Assyrian troubles, which still continued. דָּמָה, from דָּמָה, to be quiet, lit. to be even, for the radical form דָּם has the primary idea of a flat covering, of something stroked smooth, of that which is level and equal, so that it could easily branch out into the different ideas of *æquabilitas*, equality of measure, *æquitas*, equanimity, *æquitas*, equality, and also of destruction

= *complanatio*, levelling. On the cohortative, in the sense of that which is to be, see Ewald, § 228, *a*; אֲלֶכָה, according to its verbal idea, has the same meaning as in Ps. xxxix. 14 and 2 Chron. xxi. 20; and the construction with בָּ (= אֲלֶכָה וְאִבֹּוֹאָה) is *constructio prægnaus* (Luzzatto). The *pual* פִּקְרֹתִי does not mean, "I am made to want" (Rashi, Knobel, and others), which, as the passive of the causative, would rather be הִפְקֵרֹתִי, like הִנְחֵלֹתִי, I am made to inherit (Job vii. 3); but, I am visited with punishment as to the remnant, mulcted of the remainder, deprived, as a punishment, of the rest of my years. The clause, "Jah in the land of the living," *i.e.* the God of salvation, who reveals Himself in the land of the living, is followed by the corresponding clause, עִם-יֹשְׁבֵי הָהָר, "I dwelling with the inhabitants of the region of the dead;" for whilst הָהָר signifies temporal life (from *chäläd*, to glide imperceptibly away, Job xi. 17), הָהָר signifies the end of this life, the negation of all conscious activity of being, the region of the dead. The body is called a dwelling (*dör*, Arab. *där*), as the home of a man who possesses the capacity to distinguish himself from everything belonging to him (*Psychol.* p. 227). It is compared to a nomadic tent. רָעָי (a different word from that in Zech. xi. 17, where it is the *chirek compaginis*) is not a genitive (= רָעָה, Ewald, § 151, *b*), but an adjective in *i*, like אֲוִילִי רָעָה in Zech. xi. 15. With *nigläh* (in connection with נָפַע, as in Job iv. 21), which does not mean to be laid bare (Luzz.), nor to be wrapt up (Ewald), but to be obliged to depart, compare the New Testament ἐκδημεῖν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος (2 Cor. v. 8). The ἀπ. γεγρ. קָצַר might mean to cut off, or shorten (related to *qáphach*); it is safer, however, and more appropriate, to take it in the sense of rolling up, as in the name of the *bädger* (ch. xiv. 23, xxxiv. 11), since otherwise what Hezekiah says of himself and of God would be tautological. I rolled or wound up my life, as the weaver rolls up the finished piece of cloth: *i.e.* I was sure of my death, namely, because God was about to give me up to death; He was about to cut me off from the thrum (the future is here significantly interchanged with the perfect). *Dalläh* is the thrum, *licium*, the threads of the warp upon a loom, which becomes shorter and shorter the further the weft proceeds, until at length the piece is finished, and the weaver cuts through the short threads, and so sets it free (בָּצַע,

cf. Job vi. 9, xxvii. 8). The strophe closes with the deep lamentation which the sufferer poured out at that time: he could not help feeling that God would put an end to him (*shâlam*, syn. *kâlâh*, *tâmam*, *gâmar*) from day to night, i.e. in the shortest time possible (compare Job iv. 20).

In *strophe* 2 the retrospective glance is continued. His sufferings increased to such an extent, that there was nothing left in his power but a whining moan—a languid look for help.

Vers. 13, 14. *"I waited patiently till the morning; like the lion,*

So He broke in pieces all my bones:

From day to night Thou makest it all over with me.

Like a swallow, a crane, so I chirped;

I cooed like the dove:

Mine eyes pined for the height.

O Lord, men assault me! Be bail for me."

The meaning of *shivvithi* may be seen from Ps. cxxxi. 2, in accordance with which an Arabic translator has rendered the passage, "I smoothed, i.e. quieted (*sâweitu*) my soul, notwithstanding the sickness, all night, until the morning." But the morning brought no improvement; the violence of the pain, crushing him like a lion, forced from him again and again the mournful cry, that he must die before the day had passed, and should not live to see another. The Masora here has a remark, which is of importance, as bearing upon Ps. xxii. 17, viz. that כָּאֵרִי occurs twice, and בָּחֲרִי לִישֵׁנִי with two different meanings. The meaning of כָּאֵרִי is determined by Jer. viii. 7, from which it is evident that כָּאֵרִי is not an attribute of כָּאֵרִי here, in the sense of "chirping mournfully," or "making a circle in its flight," but is the name of a particular bird, namely the crane. For although the Targum and Syriac both seem to render כָּאֵרִי in that passage (*keri* כָּאֵרִי, which is the *chethib* here, according to the reading of Orientals) by כְּרִיָּא (a crane, Arab: *Kurki*), and כָּאֵרִי by כְּנִיָּא (the ordinary name of the swallow, which Haji Gaon explains by the Arabic *chuttaf*), yet the relation is really the reverse: *sūs* (*sīs*) is the swallow, and 'āgūr the crane. Hence Rashi, on *b. Kiddushin* 44a ("then cried Res Lakis like a crane"), gives 'āgūr, Fr. *grue*, as the rendering

of ברוכיא; whereas Parchon (s.v. 'ágūr) confounds the crane with the hoarsely croaking stork (*ciconia alba*). The verb 'ātsaphtsēph answers very well not only to the *flebile murmur* of the swallow (into which the penitential Progne was changed, according to the Grecian myth), but also to the shrill shriek of the crane, which is caused by the extraordinary elongation of the windpipe, and is onomatopoeically expressed in its name 'ágūr.¹ Tsiphtsēph, like τριζευ, is applied to every kind of shrill, penetrating, inarticulate sound. The ordinary meaning of dallū, to hang long and loose, has here passed over into that of pining (syn. kálāh). The name of God in ver. 14b is Adonai, not Jehovah, being one of the 134 נִרְאִין, i.e. words which are really written Adonai, and not merely to be read so.² It is impossible to take עֲשֵׂה־לִי as an imperative. The pointing, according to which we are to read 'ashqa, admits this (compare shāmrah in Ps. lxxxvi. 2, cxix. 167; and on the other hand, zochrālī, in Neh. v. 19, etc.);³ but the usage of the language does not yield any appropriate meaning for such an imperative. It is either the third person, used in a neuter sense, "it is sorrowful with me;" or, what Luzzatto very properly considers still more probable, on account of the antithesis of 'ashqāh and 'ārbēni, a substantive ('ashqah for 'osheq), "there is pressure upon me" (compare לִי־כֶּ, ch. xxiv. 16), i.e. it presses me like an unmerciful creditor; and to this there is appended the petition, Guarantee me, i.e. be bail for me, answer for me (see at Job xvii. 3).

In *strophe* 3 he now describes how Jehovah promised him help, how this promise put new life into him, and how it was fulfilled, and turned his sufferings into salvation.

Ver. 15-17. "What shall I say, that He promised me, and
He hath carried it out:
I should walk quietly all my years, on the trouble of my soul?!

¹ The call of the parent cranes, according to Naumann (*Vögel Deutschlands*, ix. 364), is a rattling krah (*gruh*), which is uncommonly violent when close, and has a trumpet-like sound, which makes it audible at a very great distance. With the younger cranes it has a somewhat higher tone, which often passes, so to speak, into a falsetto.

² Vid. Bär, *Psalterium*, p. 133.

³ Vid. Bär, *Thorath Emeth*, pp. 22, 23.

*'O Lord, by such things men revive, and the life of my spirit
is always therein :*

And so wilt Thou restore me, and make me to live !'

Behold, bitterness became salvation to me, bitterness ;

*And Thou, Thou hast delivered my soul in love out of the pit
of destruction*

For Thou hast cast all my sins behind Thy back.'

The question, "What shall I say?" is to be understood as in 2 Sam. vii. 20, viz. What shall I say, to thank Him for having promised me, and carried out His promise? The *Vav* in וְאָמַר introduces the statement of his reason (Ges. § 155, 1, c). On הַיָּדָה (= הַתְּדָה), from יָדָה (= יָאָרָה), see at Ps. xlii. 5. The future here, in ver. 15*b*, gives the purpose of God concerning him. He was to walk (referring to the walk of life, not the walk to the temple) gently (without any disturbance) all his years upon the trouble of his soul, *i.e.* all the years that followed upon it, the years that were added to his life. This is the true explanation of עַל, as in ch. xxxviii. 5, xxxii. 10, Lev. xv. 25; not "in spite of" (Ewald), or "with," as in Ps. xxxi. 24, Jer. vi. 14, where it forms an adverb. A better rendering than this would be "for," or "on account of," *i.e.* in humble salutary remembrance of the way in which God by His free grace averted the danger of death. What follows in ver. 16 can only be regarded in connection with the petition in ver. 16*b*, as Hezekiah's reply to the promise of God, which had been communicated to him by the prophet. Consequently the neuters עֲלֵיהֶם and בֵּינָם (cf. ch. lxiv. 4, Job xxii. 21, Ezek. xxxiii. 18, 19) refer to the gracious words and gracious acts of God. These are the true support of life (עַל as in Deut. viii. 3) for every man, and in these does the life of his spirit consist, *i.e.* his inmost and highest source of life, and that "on all sides" (לְכָל, which it would be more correct to point לְכָל, as in 1 Chron. vii. 5; cf. *bakkol*, in every respect, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5). With this explanation, the conjecture of Ewald and Knobel, that the reading should be רִחוּי, falls to the ground. From the general truth of which he had made a personal application, that the word of God is the source of all life, he drew this conclusion, which he here repeats with a retrospective glance, "So wilt Thou then make me whole (see the *kal* in Job xxxix. 4), and

keep me alive" (for וַתְּחַיֵּי; with the hope passing over into a prayer). The praise for the fulfilment of the promise commences with the word *hinnēh* (behold). His severe illness had been sent in anticipation of a happy deliverance (on the radical signification of *mar*, which is here doubled, to give it a superlative force, see *Job*, vol. i. 279). The Lord meant it for good; the suffering was indeed a chastisement, but it was a chastisement of love. Casting all his sins behind Him, as men do with things which they do not wish to know, or have no desire to be reminded of (compare *e.g.* Neh. ix. 26), He "loved him out," *i.e.* drew him lovingly out, of the pit of destruction (*chāshaq*, love as a firm inward bond; *bēh*, which is generally used as a particle, stands here in its primary substantive signification, from *bālāh*, to consume).

In *strophe* 4 he rejoices in the preservation of his life as the highest good, and promises to praise God for it as long as he lives.

Vers. 18-20. "*For Hades does not praise Thee; death does not sing praises to Thee:*

They that sink into the grave do not hope for Thy truth.

The living, the living, he praises Thee, as I do to-day;

The father to the children makes known Thy truth.

Jehovah is ready to give me salvation;

Therefore will we play my stringed instruments all the days of my life

In the house of Jehovah."

We have here that comfortless idea of the future state, which is so common in the Psalms (*vid.* Ps. vi. 6, xxx. 10, lxxxviii. 12, 13, cf. cxv. 17), and also in the book of Ecclesiastes (Eccles. ix. 4, 5, 10). The foundation of this idea, notwithstanding the mythological dress, is an actual truth (*vid. Psychol.* p. 409), which the personal faith of the hero of *Job* endeavours to surmount (*Comment.* pp. 150-153, and elsewhere), but the decisive removal of which was only to be effected by the progressive history of salvation. The verse is introduced with "for" (*kī*), inasmuch as the gracious act of God is accounted for on the ground that He wished to be still further glorified by His servant whom He delivered. אֲנִי, in ver. 18a, is written only once instead of twice, as in ch. xxiii. 4. They "sink

into the grave," i.e. are not thought of as dying, but as already dead. "Truth" (*ḥemeth*) is the sincerity of God, with which He keeps His promises. Ver. 19*b* reminds us that Manasseh, who was twelve years old when he succeeded his father, was not yet born (cf. ch. xxxix. 7). The *יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי*, μέλλει σώζειν *με*, is the same as in ch. xxxvii. 26. The change in the number in ver. 20*b* may be explained from the fact that the writer thought of himself as the choral leader of his family; *ay* is a suffix, not a substantive termination (Ewald, § 164, p. 427). The impression follows us to the end, that we have cultivated rather than original poetry here. Hezekiah's love to the older sacred literature is well known. He restored the liturgical psalmody (2 Chron. xxix. 30). He caused a further collection of proverbs to be made, as a supplement to the older book of Proverbs (Prov. xxv. 1). The "men of Hezekiah" resembled the Pisistratian Society, of which Onomacritus was the head.

On vers. 21, 22, see the notes at the close of vers. 4-6, where these two verses belong.

D. THREATENING OF THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OCCASIONED BY HEZEKIAH.—CHAP. XXXIX.

From this point onwards the text of the book of Kings (2 Kings xx. 12-19, cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24-31) runs parallel to the text before us. Babylonian ambassadors have an interview with the convalescent king of Judah. Ver. 1. "*At that time Merodach Bal'adan (K. Berodach Bal'adan), son of Bal'adan king of Babel, sent writings and a present to Hizkiyahu, and heard (K. for he had heard) that he (K. Hizkiyahu) had been sick, and was restored again.*" The two texts here share the original text between them. Instead of the unnatural *וַיִּשְׁמַע* (which would link the cause on to the effect, as in 2 Sam. xiv. 5), we should read *בִּי שָׁמַע*, whereas *וַיִּהְיֶה* in our text appears to be the genuine word out of which *הוֹקִיאוּ* in the other text has sprung, although it is not indispensable, as *הָלָה* has a pluperfect sense. In a similar manner the name of the king of Babylon is given here correctly as *מְרֹאֲדַךְ* (Nissel, *מְרֹדַךְ* without *א*, as in Jer. i. 2), whilst the book of Kings has *בְּרֹאֲדַךְ* (according to the Masora with *א*), probably occasioned by the other name Bal'ādān, which begins with *Beth*. It cannot be maintained that the words

ben Bal'ādān are a mistake; at the same time, *Bal'ādān* (Jos. *Baladas*) evidently cannot be a name by itself if *M^erō'dakh Bal'ādān* signifies "*Merodach* (the Babylonian *Bel* or Jupiter¹) *jilium dedit.*"² In the Canon Ptol. *Mardokempados* is preceded by a *Jugæus*; and the inscriptions, according to G. Rawlinson, *Mon.* ii. 395, indicate Merodach-Baladan as the "son of *Yakin.*" They relate that the latter acknowledged Tiglath-pileser as his feudal lord; that, after reigning twelve years as a vassal, he rose in rebellion against Sargon in league with the Susanians and the Aramæan tribes above Babylonia, and lost everything except his life; that he afterwards rebelled against Sennacherib in conjunction with a Chaldean prince named *Susub*, just after Sennacherib had returned from his first³ Judæan campaign to Nineveh; and that having been utterly defeated, he took refuge in an island of the Persian Gulf. He does not make his appearance any more; but *Susub* escaped from his place of concealment, and being supported by the Susanians and certain Aramæan tribes, fought a long and bloody battle with Sennacherib on the Lower Tigris. This battle he lost, and *Nebo-som-iskun*, a son of Merodach Baladan, fell into the hands of the conqueror. In the midst of these details, as given by the inscriptions, the statement of the *Can. Ptol.* may still be maintained, according to which the twelve years of *Mardokempados* (a contraction, as Ewald supposes, of *Mardokempalados*) commence with the year 721. From this point onwards the biblical and extra-biblical accounts dovetail together; whereas in Polyhistor (*Eus. chron. arm.*) the following Babylonian rulers are mentioned: "a brother of Sennacherib, Acises, who reigned hardly a month; *Marodach Baladan*, six months; *Elibus* into the third year; *Asordan*, Sennacherib's son, who was made king after the defeat of *Elibus.*" Now, as the *Can. Ptolem.* also gives a *Belibos* with a three years' reign, the identity of *Mardokempados* and *Marodach Baladan* is indisputable. The *Can. Ptol.* seems only to take into account his legitimate reign as a vassal, and Polyhistor (from Berosus) only his last act of rebellion. At the same time, this is very far from removing all the difficulties that lie in the way of a reconciliation, more

¹ Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, i. 169.

² Oppert, *Expédition*, ii. 355.

³ The inscriptions mention two campaigns.

especially the chronological difficulties. Rawlinson, who places the commencement of the (second) Judæan campaign in the year 698, and therefore transfers it to the end of the twenty-ninth year of Hezekiah's reign instead of the middle, sets himself in opposition not only to ch. xxxvi. 1, but also to ch. xxxviii. 5 and 2 Kings xviii. 2. According to the biblical accounts, as compared with the *Can. Ptol.*, the embassy must have been sent by Merodach Baladan during the period of his reign as vassal, which commenced in the year 721. Apparently it had only the harmless object of congratulating the king upon his recovery (and also, according to 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, of making some inquiry, in the interests of Chaldean astrology, into the *mōphēth* connected with the sun-dial); but it certainly had also the secret political object of making common cause with Hezekiah to throw off the Assyrian yoke. All that can be maintained with certainty beside this is, that the embassy cannot have been sent before the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign; for as he reigned twenty-nine years, his illness must have occurred, according to ch. xxxviii. 5, in the fourteenth year itself, *i.e.* the seventh year of Mardokempados. Such questions as whether the embassy came before or after the Assyrian catastrophe, which was still in the future at the time referred to in ch. xxxviii. 4-6, or whether it came before or after the payment of the compensation money to Sennacherib (2 Kings xviii. 14-16), are open to dispute. In all probability it took place immediately before the Assyrian campaign,¹ as Hezekiah was still able to show off the abundance of his riches to the Babylonian ambassadors.

Ver. 2. "*And Hezekiah rejoiced (K. heard, which is quite inappropriate) concerning them, and showed them (K. all) his storehouse: the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the fine oil (hasshâmen, K. shemen), and all his arsenal, and all that was in his treasures: there was nothing that Hezekiah had not shown them, in his house or in all his kingdom.*" Although there were

¹ A reviewer in the *Theol. L. Bl.* 1857, p. 12, inquires: "How could the prophet have known that all that Hezekiah showed to the Babylonian ambassador would one day be brought to Babylon, when in a very short time these treasures would all have been given by Hezekiah to the king of Assyria?" Answer: The prophecy is so expressed in ch. xxxix. 6, 7, that this intervening occurrence does not prejudice its truth at all.

spices kept in נִכְתָּה, נִכְתָּה is not equivalent to נִכְתָּה (from נָכַח, to break to pieces, to pulverize), which is applied to gum-dragon and other drugs, but is the *niph'al* נִכְתָּה from כָּתַח (*piel*, Arab. *kayyata*, to cram full, related to כָּסָה (כִּסָּה), and possibly also to כָּתַם, *katama* (Hitzig, Knobel, Furst), and consequently it does not mean "the house of his spices," as Aquila, Symmachus, and the Vulgate render it, but his "treasure-house or storehouse" (Targ., Syr., Saad.). It differs, however, from *bēth kēlīm*, the wood house of Lebanon (ch. xxii. 8). He was able to show them all that was worth seeing "in his whole kingdom," inasmuch as it was all concentrated in Jerusalem, the capital.

The consequences of this coqueting with the children of the stranger, and this vain display, are pointed out in vers. 3-8: "*Then came Isaiah the prophet to king Hizkiyahu, and said to him, What have these men said, and whence come they to thee? Hizkiyahu said, They came to me from a far country (K. omits to me), out of Babel. He said further, What have they seen in thy house? Hizkiyahu said, All that is in my house have they seen: there was nothing in my treasures that I had not shown them. Then Isaiah said to Hizkiyahu, Hear the word of Jehovah of hosts (K. omits ts'bhā'ōth); Behold, days come, that all that is in thy house, and all that thy fathers have laid up unto this day, will be carried away to Babel (בָּבֶל, K. בְּבִלָּה): nothing will be left behind, saith Jehovah. And of thy children that proceed from thee, whom thou shalt beget, will they take (K. chethib, 'will he take'); and they will be courtiers in the palace of the king of Babel. Then said Hizkiyahu to Isaiah, Good is the word of Jehovah which thou hast spoken. And he said further, Yea (וַיֵּן, K. הָלֹא אֵם), there shall be peace and steadfastness in my days.*" Hezekiah's two candid answers in vers. 3 and 4 are an involuntary condemnation of his own conduct, which was sinful in two respects. This self-satisfied display of worthless earthly possessions would bring its own punishment in their loss; and this obsequious suing for admiration and favour on the part of strangers, would be followed by plundering and enslaving on the part of those very same strangers whose envy he had excited. The prophet here foretells the Babylonian captivity; but, in accordance with the occasion here given, not as the destiny of the whole nation, but as that of the house of David.

Even political sharp-sightedness might have foreseen, that some such disastrous consequences would follow Hezekiah's imprudent course; but this absolute certainty, that Babylon, which was then struggling hard for independence, would really be the heiress to the Assyrian government of the world, and that it was not from Assyria, which was actually threatening Judah with destruction for its rebellion, but from Babylon, that this destruction would really come, was impossible without the spirit of prophecy. We may infer from ver. 7 (cf. ch. xxxviii. 19, and for the fulfilment, Dan. i. 3) that Hezekiah had no son as yet, at least none with a claim to the throne; and this is confirmed by 2 Kings xxi. 1. So far as the concluding words are concerned, we should quite misunderstand them, if we saw nothing in them but common egotism. כִּי (for) is explanatory here, and therefore confirmatory. וְהָלַלְתִּי אֱלֹהִים, however, does not mean "yea, if only," as Ewald supposes (§ 324, b), but is also explanatory, though in an interrogative form, "Is it not good (*i.e.* still gracious and kind), if," etc.? He submits with humility to the word of Jehovah, in penitential acknowledgment of his vain, shortsighted, untheocratic conduct, and feels that he is mercifully spared by God, inasmuch as the divine blessings of peace and stability (וְשָׁלוֹם a self-attesting state of things, without any of those changes which disappoint our confident expectations) would continue. "Although he desired the prosperity of future ages, it would not have been right for him to think it nothing that God had given him a token of His clemency, by delaying His judgment" (Calvin).

Over the kingdom of Judah there was now hanging the very same fate of captivity and exile, which had put an end to the kingdom of Israel eight years before. When the author of the book of Kings prefaces the four accounts of Isaiah in 2 Kings xviii. 13-20, with the recapitulation in 2 Kings xviii. 9-12 (cf. ch. xvii. 5, 6), his evident meaning is, that the end of the kingdom of Israel, and the beginning of the end of the kingdom of Judah, had their meeting-point in Hezekiah's time. As Israel fell under the power of the Assyrian empire, which foundered upon Judah, though only through a miraculous manifestation of the grace of God (see Hos. i. 7); so did Judah fall a victim to the Babylonian empire. The four accounts are so arranged, that the first two, together with the

epilogue in Isa. xxxvii. 36 sqq., which contains the account of the fulfilment, bring the Assyrian period of judgment to a close ; and the last two, with the eventful sketch in ch. xxxix. 6, 7, open the way for the great bulk of the prophecies which now follow in ch. xl.-lxvi., relating to the Babylonian period of judgment. This Janus-headed arrangement of the contents of ch. xxxvi.-xxxix. is a proof that this historical section formed an original part of the "vision of Isaiah." At any rate, it leads to the conclusion that, whoever arranged the four accounts in their present order, had ch. xl.-lxvi. before him at the time. We believe, however, that we may, or rather, considering the prophetico-historical style of ch. xxxvi.-xxxix., that we must, draw the still further conclusion, that Isaiah himself, when he revised the collection of his prophecies at the end of Hezekiah's reign, or possibly not till the beginning of Manasseh's, bridged over the division between the two halves of the collection by the historical trilogy in the seventh book.

SECOND HALF OF THE COLLECTION.

CHAP. XL-LXVI.

THE first half consisted of seven parts; the second consists of three. The trilogical arrangement of this cycle of prophecies has hardly been disputed by any one, since Rückert pointed it out in his *Translation of the Hebrew Prophets* (1831). And it is equally certain that each part consists of 3×3 addresses. The division of the chapters furnishes an unintentional proof of this, though the true commencement is not always indicated. The *first* part embraces the following nine addresses: ch. xl.; xli.; xlii. 1-xliii. 13; xliii. 14-xliv. 5; xliv. 6-23; xliv. 24-xlv.; xlv.; xlvii.; xlviii. The *second* part includes the following nine: ch. xlix.; l.; li.; lii. 1-12; lii. 13-liii.; liv.; lv.; lvi. 1-8; lvi. 9-lvii. The *third* part the following nine: ch. lviii.; lix.; lx.; lxi.; lxii.; lxiii. 1-6; lxiii. 7-lxiv.; lxv.; lxvi. It is only in the middle of the first part that the division is at all questionable. In the other two it is hardly possible to err. The theme of the whole is the comforting announcement of the approaching deliverance, and its attendant summons to repentance. For the deliverance itself was for the Israel, which remained true to the confession of Jehovah in the midst of affliction and while redemption was delayed, and not for the rebellious, who denied Jehovah in word and deed, and thus placed themselves on the level of the heathen. "*There is no peace, saith Jehovah, for the wicked:*" with these words does the first part of the twenty-seven addresses close in ch. xlviii. 22. The second closes in ch. lvii. 21 in a more excited and fuller tone: "*There is no peace, saith my God, for the wicked.*" And at the close of the third part (ch. lxvi. 24) the prophet drops this form of refrain, and declares the miserable end of the wicked in deeply pathetic though horrifying terms: "*Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be*

quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh;" just as, at the close of the fifth book of the Psalms, the shorter form of *brákháh* (blessing) is dropt, and an entire psalm, the Hallelujah (Ps. cl.), takes its place.

The three parts, which are thus marked off by the prophet himself, are only variations of the one theme common to them all. At the same time, each has its own leading thought, and its own special key-note, which is struck in the very first words. In each of the three parts, also, a different antithesis stands in the foreground: viz. in the *first* part, ch. xl.-xlviii., the contrast between Jehovah and the idols, and between Israel and the heathen; in the *second* part, ch. xlix.-lvii., the contrast between the present suffering of the Servant of Jehovah and His future glory; in the *third* part, ch. lviii.-lxvi., the contrast observable in the heart of Israel itself, between the hypocrites, the depraved, the rebellious, on the one side, and the faithful, the mourning, the persecuted, on the other. The first part sets forth the deliverance from Babylon, in which the prophecy of Jehovah is fulfilled, to the shame and overthrow of the idols and their worshippers; the second part, the way of the Servant of Jehovah through deep humiliation to exaltation and glory, which is at the same time the exaltation of Israel to the height of its world-wide calling; the third part, the indispensable conditions of participation in the future redemption and glory. There is some truth in Hahn's opinion, that the distinctive characteristics of the three separate parts are exhibited in the three clauses of ch. xl. 2: "*that her distress is ended, that her debt is paid, that she has received* (according to his explanation, '*will receive*') *double for all her sins.*" For the central point of the first part is really the termination of the Babylonian distress; that of the second, the expiation of guilt by the self-sacrifice of the Servant of Jehovah; and that of the third, the assurance that the sufferings will be followed by "a far more exceeding weight of glory." The promise rises higher and higher in the circular movements of the 3 × 9 addresses, until at length it reaches its zenith in ch. lxv. and lxvi., and links time and eternity together.

So far as the language is concerned, there is nothing more finished or more elevated in the whole of the Old Testament than this trilogy of addresses by Isaiah. In ch. i.-xxxix. of

the collection, the prophet's language is generally more compressed, chiselled (*lapidarisch*), plastic, although even there his style passes through all varieties of colour. But here in ch. xl.-lxvi., where he no longer has his foot upon the soil of his own time, but is transported into the far distant future, as into his own home, even the language retains an ideal and, so to speak, ethereal character. It has grown into a broad, pellucid, shining stream, which floats us over as it were into the world beyond, upon majestic yet gentle and translucent waves. There are only two passages in which it becomes more harsh, turbid, and ponderous, viz. ch. liii. and lvi. 9-lvii. 11a. In the former it is the emotion of sorrow which throws its shadow upon it; in the latter, the emotion of wrath. And in every other instance in which it changes, we may detect at once the influence of the object and of the emotion. In ch. lxiii. 7 the prophet strikes the note of the liturgical *ephellâh*; in ch. lxiii. 19b-lxiv. 4 it is sadness which chokes the stream of words; in ch. lxiv. 5 you hear, as in Jer. iii. 25, the key-note of the liturgical *vidduy*, or confessional prayer.

And when we turn to the contents of his trilogy, it is more incomparable still. It commences with a prophecy, which gave to John the Baptist the great theme of his preaching. It closes with the prediction of the creation of a new heaven and new earth, beyond which even the last page of the New Testament Apocalypse cannot go. And in the centre (ch. lii. 13-liii.) the sufferings and exaltation of Christ are proclaimed as clearly, as if the prophet had stood beneath the cross itself, and had seen the Risen Saviour. He is transported to the very commencement of the New Testament times, and begins just like the New Testament evangelists. He afterwards describes the death and resurrection of Christ as completed events, with all the clearness of a Pauline discourse. And lastly, he clings to the heavenly world beyond, like John in the Apocalypse. Yet the Old Testament limits are not disturbed; but within those limits, evangelist, apostle, and apocalypticist are all condensed into one. Throughout the whole of these addresses we never meet with a strictly Messianic prophecy; and yet they have more christological depth than all the Messianic prophecies taken together. The bright picture of the coming King, which is met with in the earlier Messianic prophecies, undergoes a

metamorphosis here, out of which it issues enriched by many essential elements, viz. those of the two *status*, the *mors vicaria*, and the *munus triplex*. The dark typical background of suffering, which the mournful Davidic psalms give to the figure of the Messiah, becomes here for the first time an object of direct prediction. The place of the Son of David, who is only a King, is now taken by the Servant of Jehovah, who is *Prophet* and *Priest* by virtue of His self-sacrifice, and *King* as well; the Saviour of Israel and of the Gentiles, persecuted even to death by His own nation, but exalted by God to be both Priest and King. So rich and profound a legacy did Isaiah leave to the church of the captivity, and to the church of the future also, yea, even to the New Jerusalem upon the new earth. Hengstenberg has very properly compared these prophecies of Isaiah to the Deuteronomic “last words” of Moses in the steppes of Moab, and to the last words of the Lord Jesus, within the circle of His own disciples, as reported by John. It is a thoroughly esoteric book, left to the church for future interpretation. To none of the Old Testament prophets who followed him was the ability given perfectly to open the book. Nothing but the coming of the Servant of Jehovah in the person of Jesus Christ could break all the seven seals. But was Isaiah really the author of this book of consolation? Modern criticism visits all who dare to assert this with the double ban of want of science and want of conscience. It regards Isaiah’s authorship as being quite as impossible as any miracle in the sphere of nature, of history, or of the spirit. No prophecies find any favour in its eyes, but such as can be naturally explained. It knows exactly how far a prophet can see, and where he must stand, in order to see so far. But we are not tempted at all to purchase such omniscience at the price of the supernatural. We believe in the supernatural reality of prophecy, simply because history furnishes indisputable proofs of it, and because a supernatural interposition on the part of God in both the inner and outer life of man takes place even at the present day, and can be readily put to the test. But this interposition varies greatly both in degree and kind; and even in the far-sight of the prophets there were the greatest diversities, according to the measure of their charisma. It is quite possible, therefore, that Isaiah may

have foreseen the calamities of the Babylonian age and the deliverance that followed "by an excellent spirit," as the son of Sirach says (Ecclus. xlviii. 24), and may have lived and moved in these "last things," even at a time when the Assyrian empire was still standing. But we do not regard all that is possible as being therefore real. We can examine quite impartially whether this really was the case, and without our ultimate decision being under the constraint of any unalterable foregone conclusion, like that of the critics referred to. All that we have said in praise of ch. xl.-lxvi. would retain its fullest force, even if the author of the whole should prove to be a prophet of the captivity, and not Isaiah.

We have already given a cursory glance at the general and particular grounds upon which we maintain the probability, or rather the certainty, that Isaiah was the author of ch. xl.-lxvi. (*vid.* vol. i. pp. 57-62); and we have explained them more fully in the concluding remarks to Drechsler's *Commentary* (vol. iii. pp. 361-416), to which we would refer any readers who wish to obtain a complete insight into the *pro* and *con* of this critical question. All false supports of Isaiah's authorship have there been willingly given up; for the words of Job to his friends (xiii. 7, 8) are quite as applicable to a biblical theologian of the present day.

We have admitted, that throughout the whole of the twenty-seven prophecies, the author of ch. xl.-lxvi. has the captivity as his fixed standpoint, or at any rate as a standpoint that is only so far a fluctuating one, as the eventual deliverance approaches nearer and nearer, and that without ever betraying the difference between the real present and this ideal one; so that as the prophetic vision of the future has its roots in every other instance in the soil of the prophet's own time, and springs out of that soil, to all appearance he is an exile himself. But notwithstanding this, the following arguments may be adduced in support of Isaiah's authorship. In the first place, the deliverance foretold in these prophecies, with all its attendant circumstances, is referred to as something beyond the reach of human foresight, and known to Jehovah alone, and as something the occurrence of which would prove Him to be the God of Gods. Jehovah, the God of the prophecy, knew the name of Cyrus even before he knew it himself; and He demon-

strated His Godhead to all the world, inasmuch as He caused the name and work of the deliverer of Israel to be foretold (ch. xlv. 4-7). *Secondly*, although these prophecies rest throughout upon the soil of the captivity, and do not start with the historical basis of Hezekiah's time, as we should expect them to do, with Isaiah as their author; yet the discrepancy between this phenomenon and the general character of prophecy elsewhere, loses its full force as an argument against Isaiah's authorship, if we do not separate ch. xl.—lxvi. from ch. i.—xxxix. and take it as an independent work, as is generally done. The whole of the first half of the collection is a staircase, leading up to these addresses to the exiles, and bears the same relation to them, as a whole, as the Assyrian pedestal in ch. xiv. 24-27 to the Babylonian *massâ'* in ch. xiii.—xiv. 26 (see vol. i. 317). This relation between the two—namely, that Assyrian prophecies lay the foundation for Babylonian—runs through the whole of the first half. It is so arranged, that the prophecies of the Assyrian times throughout have intermediate layers, which reach beyond those times; and whilst the former constitute the groundwork, the latter form the gable. This is the relation in which ch. xxiv.—xxvii. stand to ch. xiii.—xxiii., and ch. xxxiv. xxxv. to ch. xxviii.—xxxiii. And within the cycle of prophecies against the nations, three Babylonian prophecies—viz. ch. xiii.—xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, and xxiii.—form the commencement, middle, and end. The Assyrian prophecies lie within a circle, the circumference and diameter of which consist of prophecies that have a longer span. And are all these prophecies, that are inserted with such evident skill and design, to be taken away from our prophet? The oracle concerning Babel, in ch. xiii.—xiv. 23, has all the ring of a prophecy of Isaiah's, as we have already seen; and in the epilogue, in ch. xiv. 24-27, it has Isaiah's signature. The second oracle concerning Babel, in ch. xxi. 1-10, is not only connected with three passages of Isaiah's that are acknowledged as genuine, so as to form a tetralogy; but in style and spirit it is most intimately bound up with them. The cycle of prophecies of the final catastrophe (ch. xxiv.—xxvii.) commences so thoroughly in Isaiah's style, that nearly every word and every turn in the first three verses bears Isaiah's stamp; and in ch. xxvii. 12, 13, it dies away, just like the book of Immanuel, ch. xi. 11 sqq. And

the genuineness of ch. xxxiv. and xxxv. has never yet been disputed on any valid grounds. Knobel, indeed, maintains that the historical background of this passage establishes its spuriousness; but it is impossible to detect any background of contemporaneous history. Edom in this instance represents the world, as opposed to the people of God, just as Moab does in ch. xxv. Consider, moreover, that these disputed prophecies form a series which constitutes in every respect a prelude to ch. xl.-lxvi. Have we not in ch. xiv. 1, 2, the substance of ch. xl.-lxvi., as it were, *in nuce*? Is not the trilogy "Babel," in ch. xlv.-xlviii., like an expansion of the vision in ch. xxi. 1-10? Is not the prophecy concerning Edom in ch. xxxiv. the side-piece to ch. lxiii. 1-6? And do we not hear in ch. xxxv. the direct prelude to the melody, which is continued in ch. xl.-lxvi.? And to this we may add still further the fact, that prominent marks of Isaiah are common alike to the disputed prophecies, and to those whose genuineness is acknowledged. The name of God, which is so characteristic of Isaiah, and which we meet with on every hand in acknowledged prophecies in ch. i.-xxxix., viz. "the Holy One of Israel," runs also through ch. xl.-lxvi. (vol. i. 193). And so again do the confirmatory words, "Thus saith Jehovah," and the interchange of the national names Jacob and Israel (compare, for example, ch. xl. 27 with ch. xxxix. 23).¹ The rhetorical figure called *epanaphora*, which may be illustrated by an Arabic proverb,²—

"Enjoy the scent of the yellow roses of Negd;

For when the evening is gone, it is over with the yellow roses,"—

is very rare apart from the book of Isaiah (Gen. vi. 9, xxxv. 12; Lev. xxv. 41; Job xi. 7); whereas in the book of Isaiah itself it runs like a favourite oratorical turn from beginning to end (*vid.* ch. i. 7, iv. 3, vi. 11, xiii. 10, xiv. 25, xv. 8, xxx. 20, xxxiv. 9, xl. 19, xlii. 15, 19, xlviii. 21, li. 13, liii. 6, 7, liv. 4, 13, l. 4, lviii. 2, lix. 8,—a collection of examples which could probably be still further increased). But there are still deeper lines of connection than these. How strikingly, for example,

¹ The remark which we made at vol. i. p. 117, to the effect that Isaiah prefers Israel, is therefore to be qualified, inasmuch as in ch. xl.-lxvi. Jacob takes precedence of Israel.

² See Mehren, *Rhetorik der Araber*, p. 161 sqq.

does ch. xxviii. 5 ring in harmony with ch. lxii. 3, and ch. xxix. 23 (cf. v. 7) with ch. lx. 21 ! And does not the leading thought which is expressed in ch. xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26 (cf. ch. xxv. 1), viz. that whatever is realized in history has had its pre-existence as an idea in God, run with a multiplied echo through ch. xl.-lxvi. ? And does not the second half repeat, in ch. lxv. 25, in splendidly elaborate paintings, and to some extent in the very same words (which is not unlike Isaiah), what we have already found in ch. xi. 6 sqq., xxx. 26, and other passages, concerning the future glorification of the earthly and heavenly creation ? Yea, we may venture to maintain (and no one has ever attempted to refute it), that the second half of the book of Isaiah (ch. xl.-lxvi), so far as its theme, its standpoint, its style, and its ideas are concerned, is in a state of continuous formation throughout the whole of the first (ch. i.-xxxix.). On the frontier of the two halves, the prediction in ch. xxxix. 5, 7 stands like a sign-post, with the inscription, "To Babylon." There, viz. in Babylon, is henceforth Isaiah's spiritual home ; there he preaches to the church of the captivity the way of salvation, and the consolation of redemption, but to the rebellious the terrors of judgment.

That this is the case, is confirmed by the reciprocal relation in which ch. xl.-lxvi. stand to all the other literature of the Old Testament with which we are acquainted. In ch. xl.-lxvi. we find reminiscences from the book of Job (compare ch. xl. 23 with Job xii. 24 ; xliv. 25 with Job xii. 17, 20 ; xliv. 24 with Job ix. 8 ; xl. 14 with Job xxi. 22 ; lix. 4 with Job xv. 35 and Ps. vii. 15). And the first half points back to Job in just the same manner. The poetical words מִשְׁלֵי, הַתְּנִיכִי, וְעַתָּה, are only met with in the book of Isaiah and the book of Job. Once at least, namely ch. lix. 7, we are reminded of *mishlê* (Prov. i. 16) ; whilst in the first half we frequently met with imitations of the *māshāl* of Solomon. The two halves stand in exactly the same relation to the book of Micah ; compare ch. lviii. 1 with Mic. iii. 8, like ii. 2-4 with Mic. iv. 1-4, and xxvi. 21 with Mic. i. 3. And the same relation to Nahum runs through the two ; compare Nah. iii. 4, 5 with ch. xlvii., ii. 1 with lii. 7a, 1b, and ii. 11 with xxiv. 1, iii. 13 with xix. 16. We leave the question open, on which side the priority lies. But when we find in Zephaniah and Jeremiah points of contact not only with

ch. xl.-lxvi., but also with ch. xiii.-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxxiv.-xxxv., which preclude the possibility of accident, it is more than improbable that these two prophets should have been imitated by the author of ch. xl.-lxvi., since it is in them above all others that we meet with the peculiar disposition to blend the words and thoughts of their predecessors with their own. Not only does Zephaniah establish points of contact with Isa. xiii. and xxxiv. in by no means an accidental manner, but compare ch. ii. 15 with Isa. xlvi. 8, 10, and ch. iii. 10 with Isa. lxvi. 20. The former passage betrays its derivative character by the fact that *עָלִי* is a word that belongs exclusively to Isaiah; whilst the latter is not only a compendium of Isa. lxvi. 20, but also points back to Isa. xviii. 1, 7, in the expression *מִעֵבֶר לְנַהַר־כּוּשׁ*. In Jeremiah, the indication of dependence upon Isaiah comes out most strongly in the prophecy against Babylon in Jer. l. li.; in fact, it is so strong, that Movers, Hitzig, and De Wette regard the anonymous author of ch. xl.-lxvi. as the interpolator of this prophecy. But it also contains echoes of Isa. xiii., xiv., xxi., and xxxiv., and is throughout a Mosaic of earlier prophecies. The passage in Jer. x. 1-16 concerning the nothingness of the gods of the nations, sounds also most strikingly like Isaiah's; compare more especially Isa. xliv. 12-15, xli. 7, xlvi. 7, though the attempt has also been made to render this intelligible by the interpolation hypothesis. It is not only in vers. 6-8 and 10, which are admitted to be Jeremiah's, that we meet with the peculiar characteristics of Jeremiah; but even in passages that are rejected we find such expressions of his as *יָפָה*, *אֹחֶם* for *אֶתֶם*, *נִבְעֵר*, *תַּעֲתָעִים*, *פִּקְדָּה*, a penal visitation, such as we never meet with in Isaiah II. And the whole of the consolatory words in Jer. xxx. 10, 11, and again in xlvi. 27, 28, which sound so much like the deutero-Isaiah, are set down as having been inserted in the book of Jeremiah by Isaiah II. But Caspari has shown that this is impossible, because the concluding words of the promise, "I will correct thee in measure, and will not leave thee altogether unpunished," would have no meaning at all if uttered at the close of the captivity; and also, because such elements as are evidently Jeremiah's, and in which it coincides with prophecies of Jeremiah that are acknowledged to be genuine, far outweigh those of the deutero-Isaiah. And yet in this passage, when

Israel is addressed as “my servant,” we hear the tone of the deutero-Isaiah. Jeremiah fuses in this instance, as in many other passages, the tones of Isaiah with his own. There are also many other passages which coincide with passages of the second part of Isaiah, both in substance and expression, though not so conclusively as those already quoted, and in which we have to decide between regarding Jeremiah as an imitator, or Isaiah II. as an interpolator. But if we compare Jer. vi. 15 with Isa. lvi. 11, and Isa. xlviii. 6 with Jer. xxxiii. 3, where Jeremiah, according to his usual custom, gives a different turn to the original passages by a slight change in the letters, we shall find involuntary reminiscences of Isaiah in Jeremiah, in such parallels as Jer. iii. 16, Isa. lxv. 17; Jer. iv. 13, Isa. lxvi. 15; Jer. xi. 19, Isa. liii.; and shall hear the ring of Isa. li. 17–23 in Jeremiah’s *qinōth*, and that of Isa. lvi. 9–lvii. 11a in the earlier reproachful addresses of Jeremiah, and not *vice versa*.

In conclusion, let us picture to ourselves the gradual development of Isaiah’s view of the *captivity*, that penal judgment already threatened in the law. (1.) In the *Uzziah-Jotham* age the prophet refers to the captivity, in the most general terms that can be conceived, in ch. vi. 12, though he mentions it casually by its own name even in ch. v. 13. (2.) In the time of *Ahaz* we already see him far advanced beyond this first sketchy reference to the captivity. In ch. xi. 11 sqq. he predicts a second deliverance, resembling the Egyptian exodus. Asshur stands at the head of the countries of the *diaspora*, as the imperial power by which the judgment of captivity is carried out. (3.) In the early years of *Hezekiah*, ch. xxii. 18 appears to indicate the carrying away of Judah by Asshur. But when the northern kingdom had succumbed to the judgment of the Assyrian banishment, and Judah had been mercifully spared this judgment, the eyes of Isaiah were directed to Babylon as the imperial power destined to execute the same judgment upon Judah. We may see this from ch. xxxix. 5–7. Micah also speaks of Babylon as the future place of punishment and deliverance (Mic. iv. 10). The prophecies of the overthrow of Babylon in ch. xiii. 14, 21, are therefore quite in the spirit of the prophecies of Hezekiah’s time. And ch. xl.–lxvi. merely develop on all sides what was already contained in germ in ch. xiv. 1, 2, xxi. 10. It is well known that in the time of

Hezekiah Babylon attempted to break loose from Assyria; and so also the revolt of the Medes from Asshur, and the union of their villages and districts under one monarch named *Deyoces*, occurred in the time of Hezekiah.¹ It is quite characteristic of Isaiah that he never names the Persians, who were at that time still subject to the Medes. He mentions *Madai* in ch. xiii. 17 and xxi. 2, and *Kōresh* (*Kurus*), the founder of the Persian monarchy; but not that one of the two leading Iranian tribes, which gained its liberty through him in the time of Astyages, and afterwards rose to the possession of the imperial sway.

But how is it possible that Isaiah should have mentioned Cyrus by name centuries before this time (210 years, according to Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 1, 2)? Windischmann answers this question in his *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 137. "No one," he says, "who believes in a living, personal, omniscient God, and in the possibility of His revealing future events, will ever deny that He possesses the power to foretell the name of a future monarch." And Albrecht Weber, the Indologist, finds in this answer "an evidence of self-hardening against the scientific conscience," and pronounces such hardening nothing less than "devilish."

It is not possible to come to any understanding concerning this point, which is the real nerve of the prevailing settled conclusion as to ch. xl.-lxvi. We therefore hasten on to our exposition. *And in relation to this, if we only allow that the prophet really was a prophet, it is of no essential consequence to what age he belonged.* For in this one point we quite agree with the opponents of its genuineness, namely, that the standpoint of the prophet is the second half of the captivity. If the author is Isaiah, as we feel constrained to assume for reasons that we have already stated here and elsewhere, he is entirely carried away from his own times, and leads a pneumatic life among the exiles. There is, in fact, no more "Johannic" book in the whole of the Old Testament than this book of consolation. It is like the product of an Old Testament gift of tongues. The fleshly body of speech has been changed into a glorified body; and we hear, as it were, spiritual voices from the world beyond, or world of glory.

¹ Spiegel (*Eran*, p. 313 sqq.) places the revolt of the Medes in the year 714, and Deyoces in the year 708.

PART I.

FIRST PROPHECY.—CHAP. XL.

WORDS OF COMFORT, AND THE GOD OF COMFORT.

IN this first address the prophet vindicates his call to be the preacher of the comfort of the approaching deliverance, and explains this comfort on the ground that Jehovah, who called him to this comforting proclamation, was the incomparably exalted Creator and Ruler of the world. The first part of this address (vers. 1-11) may be regarded as the prologue to the whole twenty-seven. The theme of the prophetic promise, and the irresistible certainty of its fulfilment, are here declared. Turning to the people of the captivity, whom Jehovah has neither forgotten nor rejected, the prophet commences thus in ver. 1: "*Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.*" This is the divine command to the prophets. *Nachāmū* (*piel*, literally, to cause to breathe again) is repeated, because of its urgency (*anadiplosis*, as in ch. xli. 27, xliii. 11, xxv., etc.). The word נִחַם, which does not mean "will say" here (Hofmann, Stier), but "saith" (LXX., Jerome),—as, for example, in 1 Sam. xxiv. 14,—affirms that the command is a continuous one. The expression "*saith your God*" is peculiar to Isaiah, and common to both parts of the collection (ch. i. 11, 18, xxxiii. 10, xl. 1, 25, xli. 21, lxvi. 9). The future in all these passages is expressive of that which is taking place or still continuing. And it is the same here. The divine command has not been issued once only, or merely to one prophet, but is being continually addressed to many prophets. "*Comfort ye, comfort ye my people,*" is the continual charge of the God of the exiles, who has not ceased to be their God even in the midst of wrath, to His messengers and heralds the prophets.

The summons is now repeated with still greater emphasis, the substance of the consoling proclamation being also given Ver. 2. "*Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her affliction is ended, that her debt is paid, that she has received from the hand of Jehovah double for all her sins.*" The

holy city is thought of here in connection with the population belonging to it. דִּבֶּר עַל-לֵב (to speak to the heart) is an expression applied in Gen. xxxiv. 3 and Judg. xix. 3 to words adapted to win the heart; in Gen. l. 21, to the words used by Joseph to inspire his brethren with confidence; whilst here it is used in precisely the same sense as in Hos. ii. 16, and possibly not without a reminiscence of this earlier prophecy. קָרָא אֶת (to call to a person) is applied to a prophetic announcement made to a person, as in Jer. vii. 27, Zech. i. 4. The announcement to be made to Jerusalem is then introduced with בִּי, סֵטִי, which serves as the introduction to either an indirect or a direct address (Ges. § 155, 1, e). (1.) Her affliction has become full, and therefore has come to an end. מִלְחָמָה, military service, then feudal service, and hardship generally (Job vii. 1); here it applies to the captivity or exile—that unsheltered bivouac, as it were, of the people who had been transported into a foreign land, and were living there in bondage, restlessness, and insecurity. (2.) Her iniquity is atoned for, and the justice of God is satisfied: *nirtsâh*, which generally denotes a satisfactory reception, is used here in the sense of meeting with a satisfactory payment, like רָצָה עֲוֹן in Lev. xxvi. 41, 43, to pay off the debt of sin by enduring the punishment of sin. (3.) The third clause repeats the substance of the previous ones with greater emphasis and in a fuller tone: Jerusalem has already suffered fully for her sins. In direct opposition to לֹקְחָהּ, which cannot, when connected with two actual perfects as it is here, be taken as a perfect used to indicate the certainty of some future occurrence, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Stier, and Hahn suppose *kiphlaim* to refer to the double favour that Jerusalem was about to receive (like *mishneh* in ch. lxi. 7, and possibly borrowed from Isaiah in Zech. ix. 12), instead of to the double punishment which Jerusalem had endured (like *mishneh* in Jer. xvi. 18). It is not to be taken, however, in a judicial sense; in which case God would appear over-rigid, and therefore unjust. Jerusalem had not suffered more than its sins had deserved; but the compassion of God regarded what His justice had been obliged to inflict upon Jerusalem as superabundant. This compassion also expresses itself in the words “for all” (*b'khol*, c. *Beth pretii*): there is nothing left for further punishment. The turning-point from wrath to love

has arrived. The wrath has gone forth in double measure. With what intensity, therefore, will the love break forth, which has been so long restrained !

There is a *sethume* in the text at this point. The first two verses form a small *parashah* by themselves, the prologue of the prologue. After the substance of the consolation has been given on its negative side, the question arises, What positive salvation is to be expected ? This question is answered for the prophet, inasmuch as, in the ecstatic stillness of his mind as turned to God, he hears a marvellous voice. Ver. 3. "*Hark, a crier ! In the wilderness prepare ye a way for Jehovah, make smooth in the desert a road for our God.*" This is not to be rendered "a voice cries" (Ges., Umbreit, etc.); but the two words are in the construct state, and form an interjectional clause, as in ch. xiii. 4, lii. 8, lxvi. 6: Voice of one crying ! Who the crier is remains concealed ; his person vanishes in the splendour of his calling, and falls into the background behind the substance of his cry. The cry sounds like the long-drawn trumpet-blast of a herald (cf. ch. xvi. 1). The crier is like the outrider of a king, who takes care that the way by which the king is to go shall be put into good condition. The king is Jehovah ; and it is all the more necessary to prepare the way for Him in a becoming manner, that this way leads through the pathless desert. *Bammidbār* is to be connected with *pannū*, on account of the parallelism, according to the accents (*zakeph katan* has a stronger disjunctive force here than *zakeph gadol*, as in Deut. xxvi. 14, xxviii. 8, 2 Kings i. 6), though without any consequent collision with the New Testament description of the fulfilment itself. And so also the Targum and Jewish expositors take קורא במדבר together, like the LXX., and after this the Gospels. We may, or rather apparently we must, imagine the crier as advancing into the desert, and summoning the people to come and make a road through it. But why does the way of Jehovah lie through the desert, and whither does it lead ? It was through the desert that He went to redeem Israel out of Egyptian bondage, and to reveal Himself to Israel from Sinai (Deut. xxxiii. 2 ; Judg. v. 4 ; Ps. lxviii. 8) ; and in Ps. lxviii. 4 (5) God the Redeemer of His people is called *hārōkhēbh bā'ārābhōth*. Just as His people looked for Him then, when they were between Egypt and Canaan ; so was He to be looked

for by His people again, now that they were in the "desert of the sea" (ch. xxi. 1), and separated by *Arabia deserta* from their fatherland. If He were coming at the head of His people, He Himself would clear the hindrances out of His way; but He was coming through the desert to Israel, and therefore Israel itself was to take care that nothing should impede the rapidity or detract from the favour of the Coming One. The description answers to the reality; but, as we shall frequently find as we go further on, the literal meaning spiritualizes itself in an allegorical way.

The summons proceeds in a commanding tone. Ver. 4. "*Let every valley be exalted, and every mountain and hill made low; and let the rugged be made a plain, and the ledges of rocks a valley.*" יִהְיֶה, which takes its tone from the two jussive verbs, is also itself equivalent to יִהְיֶה. Instead of נִיִּי (from נִיִּי), the pointing in Zech. xiv. 4, we have here (according to Kimchi) the vowel-pointing נִיִּי; at the same time, the editions of Brescia, Pesaro, Venice 1678, have נִיִּי (with *tzere*), and this is also the reading of a codex of Luzzatto without Masoretic notes. The command, according to its spiritual interpretation, points to the encouragement of those that are cast down, the humiliation of the self-righteous and self-secure, the changing of dishonesty into simplicity, and of unapproachable haughtiness into submission (for 'āqōbh, hilly, rugged,¹ compare Jer. xvii. 9 together with Hab. ii. 4). In general, the meaning is that Israel is to take care, that the God who is coming to deliver it shall find it in such an inward and outward state as befits His exaltation and His purpose.

The cry of the crier proceeds thus in ver. 5: "*And the glory of Jehovah will be revealed, and all flesh seeth together: for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it.*" The *pret. cons.* יִהְיֶה is here *apodosis imper.* When the way is prepared for Jehovah the Coming One, the glory of the God of salvation will unveil itself (on the name *Jehovah*, which is applied to God, the absolute I, as living and revealing Himself in history, more especially in the history of salvation, see vol. i. p. 67). His *parousia* is the revelation of His glory (1 Pet. iv. 13). This revelation is made for the good of Israel, but not secretly or exclusively;

¹ In this ethical sense Essex applied the word to Queen Elizabeth. See Hefele, *Ximenes*, p. 90 (ed. 2).

for all the human race, called here designedly "all flesh" (*kol bāsār*), will come to see it (compare Luke iii. 6, "the salvation of God"). Man, because he is flesh, cannot see God without dying (Ex. xxxiii. 20); but the future will fill up this gulf of separation. The object to the verb "see" is not what follows, as Rosenmüller supposes, viz. "that the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken," for the word of promise which is here fulfilled is not one addressed to all flesh; nor does it mean, "see that Jehovah hath spoken with His own mouth," i.e. after having become man, as Stier maintains, for the verb required in this case would be *רָאָה*, not *רָאָה*. The clause, "for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it," is rather Isaiah's usual confirmation of the fore-going prophecy (see vol. i. p. 425). Here the crier uses it to establish the certainty of what he foretells, provided that Israel will do what he summons it to perform.

The prophet now hears a second voice, and then a third, entering in ^{the} conversation with it. Vers. 6-8. "*Hark, one speaking, אָמַר* All he answers, *What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all its beauty as the flower of the field. Grass is withered, and its flower faded: for the breath of Jehovah has blown upon it, וְהָאֵשׁ הָרָגָהּ* ^{the} *rely* grass is the people; grass withereth, flower fadeth: *הָאֵשׁ הָרָגָהּ* ^{the} *the word of our God will stand for ever.*" A second voice celebrates the divine word of promise in the face of the approaching fulfilment, and appoints a preacher of its eternal duration. The verb is not *אָמַר* (*et dixi*, LXX., Vulg.), but *אָמַר*; so that the person asking the question is not the prophet himself, but an ideal person, whom he has before him in visionary objectiveness. The appointed theme of his proclamation is the perishable nature of all flesh (ver. 5 *πᾶσα σὰρξ*, here *πᾶσα ἡ σὰρξ*), and, on the other hand, the imperishable nature of the word of God. Men living in the flesh are universally impotent, perishing, limited; God, on the contrary (ch. xxxi. 3), is the omnipotent, eternal, all-determining; and like Himself, so is His word, which, regarded as the vehicle and utterance of His willing and thinking, is not something separate from Himself, and therefore is the same as He. *Chasdō* is the charm or gracefulness of the outward appearance (LXX.; 1 Pet. i. 24, *δόξα*: see Schott on the passage, Jas. i. 11, *εὐπρέπεια*). The comparison instituted with grass and flower recalls ch. xxxvii. 27 and Job viii. 12, and still more Ps. xc. 5, 6, and Job xiv. 2.

Ver. 7a describes what happens to the grass and flower. The preterites, like the Greek *aoristus gnomicus* (cf. ch. xxvi. 10), express a fact of experience sustained by innumerable examples: *exaruit gramen, emarcuit flos*; ¹ consequently the וַיִּזְכֹּר which follows is not hypothetical (granting that), but explanatory of the reason, viz. "because *rūāch Jehovah* hath blown upon it," i.e. the "breath" of God the Creator, which pervades the creation, generating life, sustaining life, and destroying life, and whose most characteristic elementary manifestation is the wind. Every breath of wind is a drawing of the breath of the whole life of nature, the active indwelling principle of whose existence is the *rūāch* of God. A fresh verse ought to commence now with וַיִּזְכֹּר. The clause אֲנִי הָצִיר הָעַם is genuine, and thoroughly in Isaiah's style, notwithstanding the LXX., which Gesenius and Hitzig follow. אֲנִי is not equivalent to a comparative כִּי (Ewald, § 105, a), but is assuring, as in ch. xlv. 15, xlix. 4, liii. 4; and *hā'ām* (the people) refers to men generally, as in ch. xlii. 5. The order of thought is in the for this a *triolet*. The explanation of the striking simile commences with 'ākhēn (surely); and then in the repetition of the words, "grass withereth, flower fadeth," the men are intended, who resemble the grass and the flower. Surely grass is the human race; such grass withereth and such flower fadeth, but the word of our God (Jehovah, the God of His people and of sacred history) *yāqūm l'ōlām*, i.e. it rises up without withering or fading, and endures for ever, fulfilling and verifying itself through all times. This general truth refers, in the present instance, to the word of promise uttered by the voice in the desert. If the word of God generally has an eternal duration, more especially is this the case with the word of the *parousia* of God the Redeemer, the word in which all the words of God are yea and amen. The imperishable nature of this word, however, has for its dark foil the perishable nature of all flesh, and all the beauty thereof. The oppressors of Israel are mortal, and their *chesed* with which they impose and bribe is perishable; but the word of God, with which Israel can console itself, pre-

¹ נָבֵל has *munach* here and in ver. 8 attached to the penultimate in all correct texts (hence *mīlel*, on account of the monosyllable which follows), and *metheg* on the *tzere* to sustain the lengthening.

serves the field, and ensures it a glorious end to its history. Thus the seal, which the first crier set upon the promise of Jehovah's speedy coming, is inviolable; and the comfort which the prophets of God are to bring to His people, who have now been suffering so long, is infallibly sure.

The prophet accordingly now takes, as his standpoint, the time when Jehovah will already have come. Ver. 9. "*Upon a high mountain get thee up, O evangelistess Zion; lift up thy voice with strength, evangelistess Jerusalem: lift up, be not afraid; say to the cities of Judah, Behold your God.*" Knobel and others follow the LXX. and Targum, and regard *Zion* and *Jerusalem* as accusatives of the object, viz. "preacher of salvation (i.e. a chorus of preachers) to Zion-Jerusalem;" but such parallels as ch. lii. 7 and lxii. 11 are misleading here. The words are in apposition (A. S. Th. *εὐαγγελιζομένη Σιών*). Zion-Jerusalem herself is called an evangelistess: the personification as a female renders this probable at the outset, and it is placed beyond all doubt by the fact, that it is the cities of Judah (the daughters of Zion-Jerusalem) that are to be evangelized. The prophet's standpoint here is in the very midst of the *parousia*. When Jerusalem shall have her God in the midst of her once more, after He has broken up His home there for so long a time; she is then, as the restored mother-community, to ascend a high mountain, and raising her voice with fearless strength, to bring to her daughters the joyful news of the appearance of their God. The verb *bissēr* signifies literally to smooth, to unfold, then to make glad, more especially with joyful news.¹ It lies at the root of the New Testament *εὐαγγελίζειν* (evangelize), and is a favourite word of the

¹ The verb *bissēr* signifies primarily to stroke, rub, shave, or scratch the surface of anything; then to stroke off or rub off the surface, or anything which covers it; then, suggested by the idea of "rubbing smooth" (*glatt*), "to smooth a person" (*jemanden glätten*; compare the English, to gladden a person), i.e. *vultum ejus diducere*, to make him friendly and cheerful, or "to look smoothly upon a person," i.e. to show him a friendly face; and also as an intransitive, "to be glad," to be friendly and cheerful; and lastly, in a general sense, *aliquid attingere, tractare, attricare*, to grasp or handle a thing (from which comes *bāsār*, the flesh, as something tangible or material). In harmony with the Hebrew *bissēr* (Jer. xx. 15), they say in Arabic *basarahu* (or intensive, *bassarahu*) *bi-maulūdin*, he has gladdened him with the news of the birth of a son.

author of ch. xl.—lxvi., that Old Testament evangelist, though it is no disproof of Isaiah's authorship (cf. Nahum ii. 1). Hitherto Jerusalem has been in despair, bowed down under the weight of the punishment of her sins, and standing in need of consolation. But now that she has Jehovah with her again, she is to lift up her voice with the most joyful confidence, without further anxiety, and to become, according to her true vocation, the messenger of good tidings to all Judæa.

In ver. 10 the prophet goes back from the standpoint of the fulfilment to that of the prophecy. "*Behold the Lord, Jehovah, as a mighty one will He come, His arm ruling for Him; behold, His reward is with Him, and His retribution before Him.*" We must not render the first clause "with strong," i.e. with strength, as the LXX. and Targum do. The *Beth* is *Beth essentiæ* (cf. ch. xxvi. 4; Ges. § 154, 3, a). He will come in the essence, strength, and energy of a strong one; and this is still further defined by the participial, circumstantial clause, "His arm ruling for Him" (*brachio suo ipsi dominante*). It is His arm that rules for Him, i.e. that either brings into subjection to Him, or else overthrows whatever opposes Him. Nevertheless, ver. 10b does not present Him merely in one aspect, namely as coming to judge and punish, but in both aspects, viz. that of the law and that of the gospel, as a righteous rewarder; hence the double name of God, *Adonai Jehovah* (compare ch. iii. 15, xxviii. 16, xxx. 15, all in the first part), which is used even in the Pentateuch, and most frequently by Amos and Ezekiel, and which forms, as it were, an anagram. פֶּעֱלָה is already met with in Lev. xix. 13 as a synonym of שָׂכָר, passing from the general idea of *work* to that of something earned and forfeited. Jehovah brings with Him the penal reward of the enemies of His people, and also the gracious reward of the faithful of His people, whom He will compensate for their previous sufferings with far exceeding joys (see ch. lxii. 11).

The prophet dwells upon this, the redeeming side not the judicial, as he proceeds to place the image of the good shepherd by the side of that of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 11. "*He will feed His flock like a shepherd, take the lambs in His arm, and carry them in His bosom, and gently lead those that are giving suck.*" The flock is His people, now dispersed in a foreign

land. The love with which He tends this flock is shown, by way of example, in His conduct towards the *טלאים* (= *טללים* from *טל* = *טלה*), the young lambs that have not long been born, and the *עלוה*, those giving suck, *lactantes* (Vulg. *fetæ*), not those that are sucking, *sugentes* (from *על* *med. Vav*, to nourish, cf. vol. i. p. 138). Such as cannot keep pace with the flock he takes in his arms, and carries in the bosom of his dress; and the mothers he does not overdrive, but *ינהל* (see at Ps. xxiii. 2), lets them go gently along, because they require care (Gen. xxxiii. 13). With this loving picture the prologue in vers. 1-11 is brought to a close. It stands at the head of the whole, like a divine inauguration of the prophet, and like the quintessence of what he is commanded to proclaim. Nevertheless it is also an integral part of the first address. For the questions which follow cannot possibly be the commencement of the prophecy, though it is not very clear how far they form a continuation.

The connection is the following: The prophet shows both didactically and parænetically what kind of God it is whose appearance to redeem His people has been prophetically announced in vers. 1-11. He is the incomparably exalted One. This incomparable exaltation makes the ignorance of the worshippers of idols the more apparent, but it serves to comfort Israel. And Israel needs such consolation in its present banishment, in which it is so hard for it to comprehend the ways of God.

In order to bring His people to the full consciousness of the exaltation of Jehovah, the prophet asks in ver. 12, "*Who hath measured the waters with the hollow of his hand, and regulated the heavens with a span, and taken up the dust of the earth in a third measure, and weighed the mountains with a steelyard, and hills with balances?*" Jehovah, and He alone, has given to all these their proper quantities, their determinate form, and their proportionate place in the universe. How very little can a man hold in the hollow of his hand (*shô'al*)!¹ how very small is the space which a man's span will cover! how little is contained in

¹ The root *של* *سل* has the primary meaning of easily moving or being easily moved; then of being loose or slack, of hanging down, or sinking, — a meaning which we meet with in *שעל* and *שאל*. Accordingly, *shô'al* signifies the palm (i.e. the depression made by the hand), and *sh'ôl* not literally a hollowing or cavity, but a depression or low ground.

the third of an ephah (*shálîsh*; see at Ps. lxxx. 6)! and how trifling in either bulk or measure is the quantity you can weigh in scales, whether it be a *peles*, i.e. a steelyard (*statera*), or *mō'z'nayim*, a tradesman's balance (*bilances*), consisting of two scales.¹ But what Jehovah measures with the hollow of His hand, and with His span, is nothing less than the waters beneath and the heavens above. He carries a scoop, in which there is room for all the dust of which the earth consists, and a scale on which He has weighed the great colossal mountains.

A second question follows in vers. 13, 14. "*Who regulated the Spirit of Jehovah, and (who) instructed Him as His counselor? With whom took He counsel, and who would have explained to Him and instructed Him concerning the path of right, and taught Him knowledge, and made known to Him a prudent course?*" The first question called to mind the omnipotence of Jehovah; this recalls His omniscience, which has all fulness in itself, and therefore precludes all instruction from without. "The Spirit of Jehovah" is the Spirit which moved upon the waters at the creation, and by which chaos was reduced to order. "Who," inquires this prophet,—"who furnished this Spirit with the standard, according to which all this was to be done?" מִיָּדָה as in ver. 12, to bring into conformity with rule, and so to fit for regulated working. Instead of *mercha tifchah athnach*, which suggests the Targum rendering, "*quis direxit spiritum? Jehova*" (*vid.* Prov. xvi. 2), it would be more correct to adopt the accentuation *tifchah munach athnach* (cf. Ex. xxi. 24, xxiii. 9), and there are certain codices in which we find this (see Dachselt). In ver. 13b we might follow the Septuagint translation, καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο, ὃς σύμβιβᾷ (Rom. xi. 34; 1 Cor. ii. 16, συμβιβᾷσει) αὐτόν, but in this case we miss the verb הִיָּה. The rendering we have given above is not so harsh, and the accentuation is indifferent here, since *silluk* is never written without *tifchah* if only a single word precedes it. In ver. 14 the reciprocal נִצְוִי is connected with נָס = נָס. The *futt. cons.* retain their literal meaning: with whom did He

¹ According to the meaning, to level or equalize, which is one meaning of *pillēs*, the noun *peles* is applied not only to a level used to secure equilibrium, which is called *mishqelet* in ch. xxviii. 17, but also to a steelyard used for weighing, the beam of which consists of a lever with unequal arms, which flies up directly the weight is removed.

consult, so that he supplied Him with understanding in consequence (*hēbhān*, generally to understand, here in a causative sense). The verbs of instruction are sometimes construed with א of the lesson taught, sometimes with a double accusative. In reply to the questions in vers. 13, 14, which are essentially one, Israel must acknowledge that its God is the possessor of absolute might, and also of absolute wisdom.

From His exaltation as Creator, the prophet now proceeds to His exaltation as Governor of the world. Ver. 15. "*Behold, nations like a little drop on a bucket, and like a grain of sand in a balance, are they esteemed; behold, islands like an atom of dust that rises in the air.*" Upon Jehovah, the King of the world, does the burden rest of ruling over the whole human race, which is split up into different nations; but the great masses of people over whom Jehovah rules are no more burden to Him than a drop hanging upon a bucket is a burden to the man who carries it (*min* is used in the same sense as in Song of Sol. iv. 1, vi. 5), no more than the weight in a balance is perceptibly increased or diminished by a grain of sand that happens to lie upon it (*shachaq*, from *shāchag*, to grind to powder). The *islands*, those fragments of firm ground in the midst of the ocean (יָם = *ivy*, from יָמָא, to betake one's self to a place, and remain there), upon which the heathen world was dispersed (Gen. x.), are to Him who carries the universe like the small particle of dust (פָּרַק from פָּרַק, to crush or pulverize), which is lifted up, viz. by the slightest breath of wind (יָסַף metaplastic fut. niph. of *tāl* = *nātal*, ch. lxiii. 9). The rendering of Knobel, "dust which is thrown," would require עָפַר (ch. xli. 2); and neither that of Gesenius, viz. "He takes up islands like a particle of dust," nor that of Hitzig, "He carries islands," etc., is admissible, for טָל = נָטַל signifies *tollere*, not *portare*; and the former, viz. *insulas tollit*, furnishes no answer to the question, "How so, and to what end?"

By the side of this vanishing diminutiveness on the part of man as contrasted with Jehovah, everything by which man could express his adoration of the exalted One comes incomparably short of His exaltation. Ver. 16. "*And Lebanon is not a sufficiency of burning, nor its game a sufficiency of burnt-offerings;*" i.e. there is not enough wood to sustain the fire, nor a sufficient supply of sacrificial animals to be slaughtered, and to

ascend in fire. יִי (constr. יִי) signifies that which suffices (and then that which is plentiful); it differs therefore from τὸ δέον, what is requisite.¹

From the obverse of the thought in ver. 15 the prophet returns to the thought itself, and dwells upon it still further. Ver. 17. "*All the nations are as nothing before Him; they are regarded by Him as belonging to nullity and emptiness.*" 'Ephes is the end at which a thing ceases, and in an absolute sense that at which all being ceases, hence non-existence or nullity. Tōhu (from tāhāh, related to shā'āh; vid. Job, vol. ii. p. 296), a horrible desolation, like the chaos of creation, where there is nothing definite, and therefore as good as nothing at all (see p. 25); min is hardly comparative in the sense of "more nothing than nothing itself" (like Job. xi. 17, where "brighter" is to be supplied, or Mic. vii. 4, where "sharper" is similarly required), but is used in the same partitive sense as in ch. xli. 24 (cf. xliv. 11 and Ps. lxii. 10).

The conclusion drawn from ver. 17, that Jehovah is therefore the matchless Being, shapes itself into a question, which is addressed not to idolaters, but to such of the Israelites as needed to be armed against the seductive power of idolatry, to which the majority of mankind had yielded. Ver. 19. "*And to whom can ye liken God, and what kind of image can ye place beside Him!*" The י before אֱלֹהִים is conclusive, as in ch. xxviii. 26, and the futures are *modi potent.*: with what can ye bring into comparison (אֲנִי as in ch. xiv. 10) *El*, i.e. God, the one Being who is absolutely the Mighty? and what kind of *d'mūth* (i.e. divine, like Himself) can ye place by His side?

Least of all can an idol bear comparison with Him. Ver. 19. "*The idol, when the smith has cast it, the melter plates it with gold, and melteth silver chains for it.*" The object (*happesel*, the idol), which is here placed first as the theme in the accusative (lit. the image hewn out), denotes in this instance an idol generally. הַרָשׁ is as comprehensive as *faber*. רָקַע בָּהֶם signifies here to cover over with a רָקַע זָהָב (*laminā auri*), the verb being used in a denominative sense, and not in its primary meaning.

¹ The derivation of יִי is still more obscure than that of δεῖ, which signifies, according to Benfey (*Wurzelwörterbuch*, ii. 205), "there needs;" according to Sonne, "it binds, scil. ἡ ἀνάγκη."

As we must assume, according to ver. 20, that the prophet intends to carry us into the midst of the process of manufacturing the idol, the paratactic expression is to be pointed as above, viz. "after the (a) smith has cast it (compare Arab. *nasik*, a piece of cast metal), the (a) melter (goldsmith) covers it with gold plate;" and *tsōrēph*, which is palindromically repeated, according to Isaiah's custom (p. 134), is not the third pers. *poel* (on the *poel* of strong stems, see at Job ix. 15 and Ps. cix. 10), but a participle, equivalent to צִנְרֵף הָיָה (as in ch. xxix. 8, which see; and also, according to the accents, ch. xxxiii. 5), "and he melteth chains of silver," viz. to fasten the image.

This is the origin of a metal idol. The wooden idol is described in ver. 20: "*The man who is impoverished in oblations, he chooseth a block of wood that will not rot; he seeketh for himself a skilful smith, to prepare an idol that will not shake.*" He who has fallen into such poverty that he can only offer to his God a poor oblation (*ērūmah*, accusative, according to Ewald, § 284, c), has an idol cut for himself out of a block of wood. That *sākhan* (Arab. *sakana* or *sakuna*)¹ is an ancient word, is evident from Deut. viii. 9. The verb *yimmōt*, like *yittōl* in ver. 15, is a *fut. niphāl*, to be made to shake. A wooden image, which is planed at the bottom, and made heavier below than above, to prevent its falling over with every shock, is to be a god! The thing carries its own satire, even when described with the greatest seriousness.

Having thus depicted in a few strokes the infatuation of idolatry, the prophet addresses the following question to such of the Israelites as are looking at it with longing eyes, even if they have not already been deluded by it. Ver. 21. "*Do ye not know? Do ye not hear? Is it not proclaimed to you from the beginning? Have ye not obtained an insight into the foundations of the earth?*" We have here four questions chiasmatically

¹ Both forms occur in this sense, according to the evidence of original sources, with the common imperative *yaskunu*, the infinitive *sukūne* passed over by Freytag, the verbal substantive *maskane*, and the adjective *miskin* or *meskin*, primarily to be forced to inactivity through weakness, destitution, or outward influences, not to be able to move and exert one's self; or, more particularly, not to be able to defend one's self (as it were to be obliged to sit still or keep still). Hence more especially *opibus et facultatibus carens*, being in distress, destitute, poor.

arranged. The absolute being of God, which is above all created things, is something which may be either inferred *per ratiocinationem*, or learned *per traditionem*. When Israel failed to acknowledge the absolute distinctness and unequalled supremacy of Jehovah its God, it hardened itself against the knowledge which it might acquire even in a natural way (cf. Ps. xix. and Rom. i. 20), and shut its ears against the teaching of revelation and tradition, which had come down from the very beginning of its history. The first two questions are construed with futures, the other two with perfects; the former refer to what is possible, the latter to what is an actual fact. Have you—this is the meaning of the four questions—have you obtained no knowledge of the foundations of the earth, namely, as to the way in which they were laid?

The prophet now proceeds to describe the God whom both His works and word proclaim. The participles which follow are predicates of the subject, which filled the consciousness of the prophet as well as that of every believer. Ver. 22. "*He who is enthroned above the vault of the earth, and its inhabitants resemble grasshoppers; who has spread out the heavens like gauze, and stretched them out like a tent-roof to dwell in.*" He, the manifested and yet unknown, is He who has for His throne the circle of the heavens (*chûg shâmâyim*, Job xxii. 14), which arches over the earth, and to whom from His inaccessible height men appear as diminutive as grasshoppers (Num. xiii. 33); He who has spread out the blue sky like a thin transparent garment (*dôg*, a thin fabric, like *daq*, fine dust, in ver. 15), and stretched it out above the earth like a tent for dwelling in (*'ôhel¹ lāshebheeth*). The participle brings to view the actions and circumstances of all times. In the present instance, where it is continued in the historical sense, it is to be resolved into the perfect; in other cases, the preservation of the world is evidently thought of as a *creatio continua* (see *Psychol.* p. 111).

¹ The noun *'ôhel* is derived from the root **לָחַץ**, from which come **אָלַץ**, *coaluit, cohæsit*, to thicken within or gain consistency (hence, regarded on another side, to lose in outward extent or outward bulk, to shrink; to go back to its original or essential condition; to issue in something as the final result; or generally, to draw back or return from a distance), and **אָלַץ**, to attach one's self or accustom one's self to a person or thing, equiva-

This is followed by a series of predicates of God the Ruler of the universe. Vers. 23, 24. "*He who giveth up rulers to annihilation; maketh judges of the earth like a desolation. They are hardly planted, hardly sown, their stem has hardly taken root in the earth, and He only blows upon them, and they dry up, and the storm carries them away like stubble.*" There is nothing so high and inaccessible in the world, that He cannot bring it to nothing, even in the midst of its most self-confident and threatening exaltation. *Rōz'nīm* are solemn persons, *σεμνοί*, possessors of the greatest distinction and influence (vol. i. p. 207); *shōph'tim*, those who combine in themselves the highest judicial and administrative power. The former He gives up to annihilation; the latter He brings into a condition resembling the negative state of the *tōhū* out of which the world was produced, and to which it can be reduced again. We are reminded here of such descriptions as Job xii. 17, 24 (p. 135). The suddenness of the catastrophe is depicted in ver. 24. *נִפְּלָא* (which only occurs here), when followed by *וַיָּבֵן* in the apodosis (cf. 2 Kings xx. 4), signifies that even this has not yet taken place when the other also occurs: hence *vixdum plantati sunt*, etc. The *niphal* *נִפְּעַ* and the *pual* *וַיִּנְעַ* denote the hopeful commencement; the *poel* *וַיִּנְשַׁע* the hopeful continuation. A layer or seed excites the hope of blossom and fruit, more especially when it has taken root; but nothing more is needed than a breath of Jehovah, and it is all over with it (the verb *nāshaph* is used in this verse, where plants with stems are referred to; a verb with a softer labial, *nāshabh*, was employed above in connection with grass and flowers). A single withering breath lays them at rest; and by the power of Jehovah there rises a stormy wind, which carries them away like light dry stubble (*נִשָּׂא*; compare, on the other hand, the verb used in ver. 15, viz. *tūl* = *nātal*, to lift up, to keep in the air).

lent to *alifa* and *anisa*; to take up one's abode in a place, or absolutely, to commence housekeeping by marrying, like the Italian *accasarsi*, Turkish *ewlenmek* (from *ew*, a house); or, when applied to a place itself, to be habitable, inhabited, and cultivated (=pass. *uhila*, more especially in the participle *āhil*, = 'āmīr = mā'mūr). Hence *ahl*, one who belongs to a person or place, with its numerous applications, and also *אָהַל*, a tent (primarily a dwelling generally, Engl. *abode*), which stands at the end of this etymological series.

The thought of ver. 18 now recurs like a refrain, a conclusion being appended to the premises by means of ו, as was the case there. Ver. 25. "*And to whom will ye compare me, to whom I can be equal? saith the Holy One.*" Not *haqqádōsh*, because a poetical or oratorical style omits the article wherever it can be dispensed with. The Holy One asks this, and can ask it, because as such He is also exalted above the whole world (Job xv. 15, xxv. 5).

After the questions in vers. 18 and 25, which close syllogistically, a third start is made, to demonstrate the incomparable nature of Jehovah. Ver. 26. "*Lift up your eyes on high, and see: who hath created these things? It is He who bringeth out their host by number, calleth them all by names, because of the greatness of (His) might, and as being strong in power: there is not one that is missing.*" Jehovah spoke in ver. 25; now the prophet speaks again. We have here the same interchange which occurs in every prophetic book from Deuteronomy downwards, and in which the divine fulness of the prophets is displayed. The answer does not begin with הַמְּוֹצִיָּא, in the sense of "He who brings them out has created them;" but the participle is the predicate to the subject of which the prophet's soul is full: Jehovah, it is He who brings out the army of stars upon the plane of heaven, as a general leads out his army upon the field of battle, and that *b^emispâr*, by number, counting the innumerable stars, those children of light in armour of light, which meet the eye as it looks up by night. The finite verb יִקְרָא denotes that which takes place every night. He calls them all by name (comp. the derivative passage, Ps. cxlvii. 4): this He does on account of the greatness and fulness of His might (*ʿōnîm*, *vires*, *virtus*), and as strong in power, *i.e.* because He is so. This explanation is simpler than Ewald's (§ 293, c), viz. "because of the power (τὸ κρατερόν) of the Strong One." The call addressed to the stars that are to rise is the call of the Almighty, and therefore not one of all the innumerable host remains behind. וְיִשְׁׁ individualizes; נִקְרָא (participle), as in ch. xxxiv. 16, suggests the idea of a sheep that is missed from the flock through staying behind. The second part of the address closes here, having demonstrated the folly of idolatry from the infinite superiority of God; and from this the third part deduces consolation for Israel in the midst of its despair.

Such of the Israelites as require first of all to be brought to a consciousness of the folly of idolatry are not called Israel at all, because they place themselves on a par with the *gōyīm*. But now the prophet addresses those of little faith, who nevertheless desire salvation; those who are cast down, but not in utter despair. Ver. 27. "*Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is hidden from Jehovah, and my right is overlooked by my God?*" The name *Jacob* stands here at the head, as in ch. xxix. 22, as being the more exquisite name, and the one which more immediately recalled their patriarchal ancestor. They fancied that Jehovah had completely turned away from them in wrath and weariness. "My way" refers to their thorny way of life; "my right" (*mishpâti*) to their good right, in opposition to their oppressors. Of all this He appeared to take no notice at all. He seemed to have no thought of vindicating it judicially (on the double *min*, away from him, see Ges. § 154, 3, c).

The groundlessness of such despondency is set before them in a double question. Ver. 28. "*Is it not known to thee, or hast thou not heard, an eternal God is Jehovah, Creator of the ends of the earth: He fainteth not, neither becomes weary; His understanding is unsearchable.*" Those who are so desponding ought to know, if not from their own experience, at least from information that had been handed down, that Jehovah, who created the earth from one end to the other, so that even Babylonia was not beyond the range of His vision or the domain of His power, was an eternal God, *i.e.* a God eternally the same and never varying, who still possessed and manifested the power which He had displayed in the creation. Israel had already passed through a long history, and Jehovah had presided over this, and ruled within it; and He had not so lost His power in consequence, as to have now left His people to themselves. He does not grow faint, as a man would do, who neglected to take the repeated nourishment requisite to sustain the energy of his vital power; nor does He become weary, like a man who has exhausted his capacity for work by over-exertion. And if He had not redeemed His people till then, His people were to know that His course was pure *ʔbhunâh* or understanding, which was in the possession of infallible criteria for determining the right point of time at which to interpose with His aid.

Jehovah is so far from becoming faint, that it is He who gives strength to the fainting. Ver. 29. "*Giving power to the faint, and to the incapable He giveth strength in abundance.*" לֹאִין אֲנִים is equivalent to לֹאִין אֲנִים; אִין is used exactly like a privative to form a negative adjective (e.g. Ps. lxxxviii. 5; Prov. xxv. 3).

Faith is all that is needed to ensure a participation in the strength (עֲזָמָה after the form חֲכָמָה), which He so richly bestows and so powerfully enhances. Vers. 30, 31. "*And youths grow faint and weary, and young men suffer a fall. But they who wait for Jehovah gain fresh strength; lift up their wings like eagles; run, and are not weary; go forward, and do not faint.*" Even youths, even young men in the early bloom of their morning of life (*bachūrīm*, youths, from בָּהָר, related to בָּכַר, בָּנָה), succumb to the effects of the loss of sustenance or over-exertion (both futures are defective, the first letter being dropped), and any outward obstacle is sufficient to cause them to fall (נָכַשׁ with *inf. abs. kal*, which retains what has been stated for contemplation, according to Ges. § 131, 3, Anm. 2). In ver. 30a the verb stands first, ver. 30 being like a concessive clause in relation to ver. 31. "Even though this may happen, it is different with those who wait for Jehovah," i.e. those who believe in Him; for the Old Testament applies to faith a number of synonyms denoting trust, hope, and longing, and thus describes it according to its inmost nature, as *fiducia* and as hope, directed to the manifestation and completion of that which is hoped for. The *Vav cop.* introduces the antithesis, as in ver. 8. הִחַלִּיף, to cause one to pursue, or new to take the place of the old (Lat. *recentare*). The expression יַעֲלֶי וְנִי is supposed by early translators, after the Sept., Targ. Jer., and Saad., to refer to the moulting of the eagle and the growth of the new feathers, which we meet with in Ps. ciii. 5 (cf. Mic. i. 16) as a figurative representation of the renewal of youth through grace. But Hitzig correctly observes that הִעֲלָה is never met with as the causative of the *kal* used in ch. v. 6, and moreover that it would require נִוְצָה instead of אֲבָר. The proper rendering therefore is, "they cause their wings to rise, or lift their wings high, like the eagles" ('*ēbher* as in Ps. lv. 7). Their course of life, which has Jehovah for its object, is as it were possessed of wings. They draw from Him strength upon strength (see Ps. lxxxiv. 8); running does

not tire them, nor do they become faint from going ever further and further.

The first address, consisting of three parts (vers. 1-11, 12-26, 27-31), is here brought to a close.

SECOND PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLI.

THE GOD OF THE WORLD'S HISTORY, AND OF PROPHECY.

Jehovah comes forward here, and speaking in the tone in which He already began to speak in ch. xl. 25, invites the idolatrous nations to contend with Him, declares the raising up of the conqueror from the east to be His work, and adduces this as the sign that He has been the Author and Guider of the world's history from the beginning. But what if the question should be asked on the part of the nations, With what right does He do this? The acts of the conqueror prove themselves to be a work of the God who is exalted above the idols, from the fact that they bring destruction to the idolatrous nations, and to the people of Jehovah the long-desired redemption. It is in this that the conclusiveness of the illustration lies. The argument, however, presupposes that Cyrus has already entered upon his victorious course. It is evident at the outset that future events, or events still unfulfilled, would have no force as present proofs. And the words also clearly imply, that the work which Jehovah attributes to Himself, in opposition to the gods of the nations, is already in progress.

Ver. 1. Summons to the contest: "*Be silent to me, ye islands; and let the nations procure fresh strength: let them come near, then speak; we will enter into contest together.*" The words are addressed to the whole of the heathen world, and first of all to the inhabitants of the western islands and coasts. This was the expression commonly employed in the Old Testament to designate the continent of Europe, the solid ground of which is so deeply cut, and so broken up, by seas and lakes, that it looks as if it were about to resolve itself into nothing but islands and peninsulas. **הִתְרַשׁ אֶל** is a pregnant expression for turning in silence towards a person; just as in Job xiii. 13 it is used with *min*, in the sense of forsaking a person in silence. That they may have no excuse if they are defeated, they are

to put on fresh strength; just as in ch. xl. 31 believers are spoken of as drawing fresh strength out of Jehovah's fulness. They are to draw near, then speak, *i.e.* to reply after hearing the evidence, for Jehovah desires to go through all the forms of a legal process with them in *pro et contra*. The *mishpât* is thought of here in a local sense, as a forum or tribunal. But if Jehovah is one party to the cause, who is the judge to pronounce the decision? The answer to this question is the same as at ch. v. 3. "The nations," says Rosenmüller, "are called to judgment, not to the tribunal of God, but to that of reason." The deciding authority is reason, which cannot fail to recognise the facts, and the consequences to be deduced from them.

The parties invited are now to be thought of as present, and Jehovah commences in ver. 2: "*Who hath raised up the man from the rising of the sun, whom justice meets at his foot, He giveth up nations before him, and kings He subdues, giveth men like the dust to his sword, and like driven stubble to his bow?*" The sentence governed by "who" (*mî*) ends at *l'raglô* (at his foot); at the same time, all that follows is spoken with the echo of the interrogative accent. The person raised up is Cyrus, who is afterwards mentioned by name. The coming one (if, that is to say, we adhere to the belief in Isaiah's authorship of these addresses) first approaches gradually within the horizon of the prophet's ideal present; and it is only little by little that the prophet becomes more intimately acquainted with a phenomenon which belongs to so distant a future, and has been brought so close to his own eyes. Jehovah has raised up the new great hero "from the east" (*mimmizrâch*), and, according to ver. 25, "from the north" also. Both of these were fulfilled; for Cyrus was a Persian belonging to the clan of Achæmenes (*Hakhâmanis*), which stood at the head of the tribe, or of the Pasargadæ. He was the son of Cambyses; and even if the Median princess Mandane were not his mother, yet, according to nearly all the ancient accounts, he was connected with the royal house of Media; at any rate, after Astyages was dethroned, he became head and chief of the Medes as well as of the Persians (hence the name of "Mule" which was given to him by the oracle, and that given by Jerome, "*agitator bigæ*"). Now Media was to the north of Babylonia, and Persia

to the east; so that his victorious march, in which, even before the conquest of Babylon, he subjugated all the lands from the heights of Hinduku to the shores of the Ægean Sea, had for its starting-point both the east and north.¹ The clause **וְצִדִּיק יִקְרָאֵהוּ לְרֵגְלוֹ** is an attributive clause, and as such a virtual object: "him whom (supply **אֶת־אֲשֶׁר**) justice comes to meet (**קָרָא** = **קָרָה**, Ges. § 75, vi.) on his track" (cf. Gen. xxx. 30; Job xviii. 11; Hab. iii. 5). The idea of *tsedeq* is determined by what follows: Jehovah gives up nations before him, and causes kings to be trodden down (causative of *rādāh*). Accordingly, *tsedeq* is either to be understood here in an attributive sense, as denoting the justice exercised by a person (viz. the justice executed successfully by Cyrus, as the instrument of Jehovah, by the force of arms); or objectively of the justice awarded to a person (to which the idea of "meeting" is more appropriate), viz. the favourable result, the victory which procures justice for the just cause of the combatant. Rosenmüller, Knobel, and others, are wrong in maintaining that *tsedeq* (*ts'dāqāh*) in ch. xl.-lxvi. signifies primarily justice, and then prosperity and salvation as its reward. The word means straightness, justice, righteousness, and nothing more (from *tsādaq*, to be hard, firm, extended, straight, e.g. *rumh-un-tsādq*, a hard, firm, and straight lance); but it has a double aspect, because justice consists, according to circumstances, of either wrath or favour, and therefore has sometimes the idea of the strict execution of justice, as in this instance, sometimes of a manifestation of justice in fidelity to promises, as in ver. 10. **יְיָ** is repeated here in ver. 2 (just like **וַיִּלְמְדוּ** in ch. xl. 14) with the same subject, but in a different sense. To make sword and bow the subject, in the sense of "his sword gives (*sc.* 'the foe')," is a doubtful thing in itself; and as *cherebh* and *qesheth* are feminines, it is by no means advisable. Moreover, in other instances, the comparative **כִּי** leaves it to the reader to carry out the figure indicated according to his own fancy. And this is the case here: He (Jehovah) makes his sword as if there were dust, his bow as if there were hunted stubble (Böttcher), i.e. pounding the enemy like dust, and hunting it like flying stubble. Our text has **כַּעֲפָר**, but in certain codices we find **כַּעֲפָר** with *tzere*; and this reading, which is

¹ See Pahl's *Geschichte des Oriental. Alterthums*. (1864), p. 170 sqq.

contrary to rule, has in its favour the express testimony of Moses the punctuator.¹

The conqueror is now still further described in futures, which might be defined by *לְעֵינֵי*, and so express a simultaneous past (synchronistic imperfects), but which it is safer to take as standing traits in the picture drawn of the conqueror referred to. Ver. 3. "*He pursueth them, and marcheth in peace by a course which he never trod with his feet.*" He marches victoriously further and further, "*shālôm,*" i.e. "in safety" (or, as an adjective, safely; Job xxi. 9), without any one being able to do him harm, by a course (accus. Ges. § 138, 1) which he has not been accustomed to tread with his feet (*ingredi*).

The great fact of the present time, which not one of the gods of the heathen can boast of having brought to pass, is now explained. Jehovah is its author. Ver. 4. "*Who hath wrought and executed it? He who calleth the generations of men from the beginning, I Jehovah am first, and with the last am I HE.*" The synonyms *אֶעֱשֶׂה* and *אֶפְעֹל* are distinguished from each other in the same way as "to work" (or bring about) and "to realize" (or carry out). Hence the meaning is, Who is the author to whom both the origin and progress of such an occurrence are to be referred? It is He who "from the beginning," i.e. ever since there has been a human history, has called into existence the generations of men through His authoritative command. And this is no other than Jehovah, who can declare of Himself, in contrast with the heathen and their gods, who are of yesterday, and to-morrow will not be: I am Jehovah, the very first, whose being precedes all history; and with the men of the latest generations yet to come "I am it." *הוּא* is not introduced here to strengthen the subject, *ego ille* ("I and no other," as in ch. xxxvii. 16, which see); but, as in ch. xliii. 10, 13, xlv. 4, xlviii. 12, it is a predicate of the substantive clause, *ego sum is (ille)*, viz. *'Elôhim*; or even as in Ps. cii. 28 (cf. Job iii. 19 and Heb. xiii. 8), *ego sum idem* (Hitzig). They are both included, without any distinction in the assertion. He is this, viz. God throughout all ages, and is through all ages *HE*, i.e. the Being who is ever the same in this His deity. It is the full meaning of the name Jehovah which is unfolded here; for God is called

¹ In his *רִבְרִי הַנִּקּוּד* (rules of pointing), with which the *Masora finalis* is surrounded.

Jehovah as the absolute I, the absolutely free Being, pervading all history, and yet above all history, as He who is Lord of His own absolute being, in revealing which He is purely self-determined ; in a word, as the unconditionally free and unchangeably eternal personality.

In the following verse we have not a description of the impression made upon the heathen by the argument of Jehovah, but the argument itself is continued. Ver. 5. "*Islands have seen it, and shuddered; the ends of the earth trembled; they have approached, and drawn near.*" We have here a description of the effects which the victorious course of Cyrus had begun to produce in the heathen world. The perfects denote the past, and the futures a simultaneous past; so that we have not to compare ver. 5a with Hab. iii. 10 so much as with Ps. lxxvii. 17. The play upon the words יִירָאֵם . . . יִרָאֵם pairs together both seeing and fearing. The Cumæans, when consulting the oracle, commenced thus: ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. The perfect with the aorist following in ver. 5b places the following picture upon the stage: They have approached and drawn near (from all directions) to meet the threatening danger; and how? Vers. 6, 7. "*One helped his companion, and he said to his brother, Only firm! The caster put firmness into the melter, the hammer-smoother into the anvil-smiter, saying of the soldering, It is good; and made him firm with nails, that he should not shake.*" Him, viz. the idol. Everything is in confusion, from the terror that prevails; and the gods from which they expect deliverance are not made till now, the workmen stimulating one another to work. The *chârâsh*, who casts the image, encourages the *tsôrêph*, whose task it is to provide it with the plating of gold and silver chains (ch. xl. 19), to work more bravely; and the man who smooths with the hammer (*pattish*, *instrumentalis*) does the same to the man who smites the anvil (הוֹלֵם with *seghol*, whereas in other cases, e.g. Ezek. xxii. 25, the tone generally gives way without any change in the vowel-pointing). The latter finds the soldering all right, by which the gold plates of the covering are fastened together, so as to give to the golden idol a massive appearance. He is the last into whose hands it comes; and nothing more is wanting, than that he should forge upon the anvil the nails with which it is fastened, to prevent it from falling. To such foolish, fruitless

proceedings have the nations resorted when threatened with subjugation by Cyrus.

The proof adduced by Jehovah of His own deity closes here. But instead of our hearing whether the nations, with which He has entered upon the contest, have any reply to make, the address turns to Israel, upon which deliverance dawns from that very quarter, from which the others are threatened with destruction. Vers. 8-10. "*And thou, Israel my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, seed of Abraham my friend, thou whom I have laid hold of from the ends of the earth, and called from the corners thereof, and said to thee, Thou art my servant, I have chosen and not despised thee; fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not afraid, for I am thy God: I have chosen thee, I also help thee, I also hold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.*" The יְהוָה before יְהוָה connects together antitheses, which show themselves at once to be antitheses. Whereas the nations, which put their trust in idols that they themselves had made, were thrown into alarm, and yielded before the world-wide commotions that had originated with the eastern conqueror, Israel, the nation of Jehovah, might take comfort to itself. Every word here breathes the deepest affection. The address moves on in soft undulating lines. The repetition of the suffix ךָ, with which יְהוָה forms a relative of the second person, for which we have no equivalent in our language (Ges. § 123, Anm. 1), gives to the address a pressing, clinging, and, as it were, loving key-note. The reason, which precedes the comforting assurance in ver. 10, recalls the intimate relation in which Jehovah had placed Himself towards Israel, and Israel towards Himself. The leading thought, "servant of Jehovah," which is characteristic of ch. xl.-xlvii., and lies at the root of the whole spirit of these addresses, more especially of their Christology, we first meet with here, and that in a popular sense. It has both an objective and a subjective side. On the one hand, Israel is the servant of Jehovah by virtue of a divine act; and this act, viz. its election and call, was an act of pure grace, and was not to be traced, as the expression "I have chosen and not despised thee" indicates, to any superior excellence or merit on the part of Israel. On the contrary, Israel was so obscure that Jehovah might have despised it; nevertheless He had anticipated it in free unmerited love with this stamp of the *character indelibilis* of a

servant of Jehovah. On the other hand, Israel was the servant of Jehovah, inasmuch as it acted out what Jehovah had made it, partly in reverential worship of this God, and partly in active obedience. 'עָבַד אֱתֵיהּ, *i.e.* "serving Jehovah," includes both liturgical service (also עָבַד absolutely, ch. xix. 23) and the service of works. The divine act of choosing and calling is dated from Abraham. From a Palestinian point of view, Ur of Chaldæa, within the old kingdom of Nimrod, and Haran in northern Mesopotamia, seemed like the ends and corners of the earth ('*atsilim*, remote places, from '*atsal*, to put aside or apart). Israel and the land of Israel were so inseparably connected, that whenever the origin of Israel was spoken of, the point of view could only be taken in Palestine. To the far distant land of the Tigris and Euphrates had Jehovah gone to fetch Abraham, "the friend of God" (Jas. ii. 23), who is called in the East even to the present day, *chalil ollah*, the friend of God. This calling of Abraham was the furthest *terminus a quo* of the existence of Israel as the covenant nation; for the leading of Abraham was providentially appointed with reference to the rise of Israel as a nation. The latter was pre-existent in him by virtue of the counsel of God. And when Jehovah adopted Abraham as His servant, and called him "my servant" (Gen. xxvi. 24), Israel, the nation that was coming into existence in Abraham, received both the essence and name of a "servant of Jehovah." Inasmuch then as, on looking back to its past history, it could not fail to perceive that it was so thoroughly a creation of divine power and grace, it ought not to be fearful, and look about with timidity and anxiety; for He who had presented Himself at the very beginning as its God, was still always near. The question arises, in connection with the word אֶפְצִיחֵהּ, whether it means to strengthen (ch. xxxv. 3; Ps. lxxxix. 22), or to lay firm hold of, to attach firmly to one's self, to choose. We decide in favour of the latter meaning, which is established by ch. xlv. 14, cf. Ps. lxxx. 16, 18. The other perfects affirm what Jehovah has ever done, and still continues to do. In the expression "by the right hand of my righteousness," the justice or righteousness is regarded pre-eminently on its brighter side, the side turned towards Israel; but it is also regarded on its fiery side, or the side turned towards the enemies of Israel. It is the righteousness which aids the oppressed congregation

against its oppressors. The repeated הָאֵלֹהִים heaps one synonym upon another, expressive of the divine love; for אֵל simply connects, הָאֵלֹהִים appends, הָאֵלֹהִים heaps up (*cumulat*). Language is too contracted to hold all the fulness of the divine love; and for this reason the latter could not find words enough to express all that it desired.

With the exclamation *hēn* (behold) the eyes of Israel are now directed to the saving interposition of Jehovah in the immediate future. Vers. 11–13. "*Behold, all they that were incensed against thee must be ashamed and confounded; the men of thy conflict become as nothing, and perish. Thou wilt seek them, and not find them, the men of thy feuds; the men of thy warfare become as nothing, and nonentity. For I, Jehovah thy God, lay hold of thy right hand, He who saith to thee, Fear not; I will help thee.*" The comprehensive expression *omnes inflammati in te* (*nīphal*, as in ch. xlv. 24) stands at the head; and then, in order that every kind may be included, the enemies are called by a different name every time. The three substantives bear much the same relation to one another as *lis*, *rixa*, *bellum* (*milchāmāh*, lit. throng = war-tumult, like the epic κλόνος), hence *adversarii*, *inimici*, *hostes*. The suffixes have the force of objective genitives. We have founded our translation upon the reading מִצִּיתֵיךָ. The three names of the enemies are placed emphatically at the close of the sentences, and these are long drawn out, whilst the indignation gives vent to itself; whereas in ver. 13 there follows nothing but short sentences, in which the persecuted church is encouraged and affectionately embraced. Two clauses, which are made to rhyme with *ēm*, announce the utter destruction of their foes; then the inflective rhyme *ekha* is repeated five times; and the sixth time it passes over into *ikha*.

The consolatory words, "Fear not," are now repeated, for the purpose of once more adding the promise that Israel will not succumb to its foes, but will acquire power over its enemies. Vers. 14–16. "*Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and handfoul Israel: I will help thee, saith Jehovah; and thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel. Behold, I have made thee a threshing roller, a sharp new one, with double edges: thou wilt thresh mountains, and pound them; and hills thou wilt make like chaff. Thou wilt winnow them, and wind carries them away, and tempest scatters*

them: and thou wilt rejoice in Jehovah, and glory in the Holy One of Israel." Israel, which is now helplessly oppressed, is called "worm of Jacob" (*gen. appos.*) in compassion, *i.e.* Jacob that is like a worm, probably with some allusion to Ps. xxii. 7; for the image of the Messiah enriches itself in these discourses, inasmuch as Israel itself is looked upon in a Messianic light, so that the second David does not stand by the side of Israel, but appears as Israel's heart, or true and inmost essence. The people are then addressed as the "people of Israel," with some allusion to the phrase מְתֵי מִסְפָּר (*i.e.* few men, easily numbered) in Gen. xxxiv. 30, Deut. iv. 27 (LXX. ὀλιγοστός Ἰσραήλ; Luther, *Ir armer hauffe Israel*, ye poor crowd of Israel). They no longer formed the compact mass of a nation; the band of the commonwealth was broken: they were melted down into a few individuals, scattered about hither and thither. But it would not continue so. "I help thee" (perfect of certainty) is Jehovah's solemn declaration; and the Redeemer (*redemptor*, Lev. xxv. 48, 49) of His now enslaved people is the Holy One of Israel, with His love, which perpetually triumphs over wrath. Not only will He set it free, but He will also endow it with might over its oppressors; *samtikh* is a perfect of assurance (Ges. § 126, 4); *mōrag* (roller) signifies a threshing-sledge (Arab. *naureg*, *nōreg*), which has here the term קָרִיץ (ch. xxviii. 27) as a secondary name along with שֵׁן, and is described as furnished on the under part of the two arms of the sledge not only with sharp knives, but with two-edged knives (פִּיפִיּוֹת a reduplication, like כַּאֲפָאָה in ch. xxvii. 8, whereas מִימֵי is a double plural). Just like such a threshing machine would Israel thresh and grind to powder from that time forth both mountains and hills. This is evidently a figurative expression for proud and mighty foes, just as wind and tempest denote the irresistible force of Jehovah's aid. The might of the enemy would be broken down to the very last remnant, whereas Israel would be able to rejoice and glory in its God.

At the present time, indeed, the state of His people was a helpless one, but its cry for help was not in vain. Vers. 17-20. "*The poor and needy, who seek for water and there is none, their tongue faints for thirst. I Jehovah will hear them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them. I open streams upon hills of the*

field, and springs in the midst of valleys; I make the desert into a pond, and dry land into fountains of water. I give in the desert cedars, acacias, and myrtles, and oleasters; I set in the steppe cypresses, plane-trees, and sherbin-trees together, that they may see, and know, and lay to heart and understand all together, that the hand of Jehovah hath accomplished this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it." Kimchi, Hitzig, and others refer these promises to the returning exiles; but there is also a description, without any restriction to the return home, of the miraculous change which would take place in the now comfortless and helpless condition of the exiles. The *sh'phâyim*, i.e. bare, woodless hills rising up from the plain, Jer. xii. 12, the *b'qá'ôth*, or deep valleys, by the sides of which there rise precipitous mountains, and the *'erets tsiyyâh*, the land of burning heat or drought (cf. Ps. lxiii. 2), depict the homeless condition of Israel, as it wandered over bald heights and through waterless plains about a land with parched and gaping soil. For the characteristics of the object, which is placed before אַעֲנֶנּוּ, we may therefore compare such passages as ch. xliv. 3, lv. 1. נִשְׁתָּהּ is either a pausal form for נִשְׁתָּה, and therefore the *niphal* of שָׁתָה (to set, become shallow, dry up), or a pausal form for נִשְׁתָּה, and therefore the *kal* of שָׁתָה with *dagesh affectuosum*, like נִשְׁתָּה in Ezek. xxvii. 19 (Olshausen, § 83, b). The form נִשְׁתָּה in Jer. li. 30 may just as well be derived from שָׁתָה (Ges. § 67, Anm. 11) as from נִשְׁתָּה, whereas נִשְׁתָּה may certainly be taken as the *niphal* of שָׁתָה after the form נִבְּלָה, נָחַר (Ges. § 67, Anm. 5), though it would be safer to refer it to a *kal* נִשְׁתָּה, which seems to be also favoured by יִנְחָשׁוּ in Jer. xviii. 14 as a transposition of יִנְשָׁחוּ. The root נש, of which נִשְׁתָּה would be a further expansion, really exhibits the meaning to dry up or thirst, in the Arabic *nassa*; whereas the verbs נָשַׁח, נָשַׁח, נָסַח (ch. x. 18), נָשָׂה, Syr. *nas'*, *nos'*, Arab. *nâsa*, *nasnasa*, with the primary meaning to slacken, lose their hold, and נָשָׂה, נָשָׂה, נָסַע, to deceive, derange, and advance, form separate families. Just when they are thus on the point of pining away, they receive an answer to their prayer: their God opens streams, i.e. causes streams to break forth on the hills of the field, and springs in the midst of the valleys. The desert is transformed into a lake, and the steppe of burning sand into fountains of water. What was predicted in ch. xxxv. 6, 7 is echoed again here,—a figurative

representation of the manifold fulness of refreshing, consolation, and marvellous help which was to burst all at once upon those who were apparently forsaken of God. What is depicted in vers. 19, 20, is the effect of these. It is not merely a scanty vegetation that springs up, but a corresponding manifold fulness of stately, fragrant, and shady trees; so that the steppe, where neither foot nor eye could find a resting-place, is changed, as by a stroke of magic, into a large, dense, well-watered forest, and shines with sevenfold glory,—an image of the many-sided manifestations of divine grace which are experienced by those who are comforted now. Isaiah is especially fond of such figures as these (*vid.* ch. v. 7, vi. 13, xxvii. 6, xxxvii. 31). There are seven (4 + 3) trees named; seven indicating the divine character of this manifold development (*Psychol.* p. 188). 'Erez is the generic name for the cedar; *shittâh*, the acacia, the Egyptian *spina* (ἄκανθα), Copt. *shont*; *hădas*, the myrtle; 'êts *shemen*, the wild olive, as distinguished from *zayith* (ἡ ἀγριέλαιος, opposed to ἡ ἐλαία in Rom. xi. 17); *b'rôsh*, the cypress, at any rate more especially this; *tikhâr* we have rendered the "plane-tree," after Saad.; and *t'asshûr* the "sherbin" (a kind of cedar), after Saad. and Syr. The crowded synonyms indicating sensual and spiritual perception in ver. 20a (עֵץ, *sc.* עֵץ, ver. 22) are meant to express as strongly as possible the irresistible character of the impression. They will be quite unable to regard all this as accidental or self-produced, or as anything but the production of the power and grace of their God.

There follows now the second stage in the suit. Vers. 21-23. "*Bring hither your cause, saith Jehovah; bring forward your proofs, saith the king of Jacob. Let them bring forward, and make known to us what will happen: make known the beginning, what it is, and we will fix our heart upon it, and take knowledge of its issue; or let us hear what is to come. Make known what is coming later, and we will acknowledge that ye are gods: yea, do good, and do evil, and we will measure ourselves, and see together.*" In the first stage Jehovah appealed, in support of His deity, to the fact that it was He who had called the oppressor of the nations upon the arena of history. In this second stage He appeals to the fact that He only knows or can predict the future. There the challenge was addressed to the worshippers

of idols, here to the idols themselves; but in both cases both of these are ranged on the one side, and Jehovah with His people upon the other. It is with purpose that Jehovah is called the "King of Jacob," as being the tutelar God of Israel, in contrast to the tutelar deities of the heathen. The challenge to the latter to establish their deity is first of all addressed to them directly in ver. 21, and then indirectly in ver. 22*a*, where Jehovah connects Himself with His people as the opposing party; but in ver. 22*b* He returns again to a direct address. *עֲצֻמוֹת* are evidences (lit. *robora*, cf. *ὀχυρώματα*, 2 Cor. x. 4, from *עָצָם*, to be strong or stringent; *mishn.* *יִתְעַצֵּם*, to contend with one another *pro et contra*); here it signifies proofs that they can foresee the future. Jehovah for His part has displayed this knowledge, inasmuch as, at the very time when He threatened destruction to the heathen at the hands of Cyrus, He consoled His people with the announcement of their deliverance (vers. 8-20). It is therefore the turn of the idol deities now: "Let them bring forward and announce to us the things that will come to pass." The general idea of what is in the future stands at the head. Then within this the choice is given them of proving their foreknowledge of what is afterwards to happen, by announcing either *רִאשֹׁנוֹת*, or even *בְּאוֹת*. These two ideas, therefore, are generic terms within the range of the things that are to happen. Consequently *הַרְאשֹׁנוֹת* cannot mean "earlier predictions," *prius prædicta*, as Hitzig, Knobel, and others suppose. This explanation is precluded in the present instance by the logic of the context. Both ideas lie upon the one line of the future; the one being more immediate, the other more remote, or as the expression alternating with *הַבְּאוֹת* implies *הָאֵתִיּוֹת לְאַחֲרָיָהּ*, *ventura in posterum* ("in later times," compare ch. xlii. 23, "at a later period;" from the participle *אַחֲרָהּ*, radical form *אַחֲרִי*, *vid.* Ges. § 75, Anm. 5, probably to distinguish it from *אוֹתוֹת*). This is the explanation adopted by Stier and Hahn, the latter of whom has correctly expounded the word, as denoting "the events about to happen first in the immediate future, which it is not so difficult to prognosticate from signs that are discernible in the present." The choice is given them, either to foretell "*things at the beginning*" (*haggidū* in our editions is erroneously pointed with *kadma* instead of *geresh*), *i.e.* that which will take place first or

next, "*what they be*" (*quæ et qualia sint*), so that now, when the *achārith*, "the latter end" (*i.e.* the issue of that which is held out to view), as prognosticated from the standpoint of the present, really occurs, the prophetic utterance concerning it may be verified; or "things to come," *i.e.* things further off, in later times (in the remote future), the prediction of which is incomparably more difficult, because without any point of contact in the present. They are to choose which they like (אֵל from אָה, like *vel* from *velle*): "yea, do good, and do evil," *i.e.* (according to the proverbial use of the phrase; cf. Zeph. i. 12 and Jer. x. 5) only express yourselves in some way; come forward, and do either the one or the other. The meaning is, not that they are to stir themselves and predict either good or evil, but they are to show some sign of life, no matter what. "*And we will measure ourselves* (*i.e.* look one another in the face, testing and measuring), *and see together*," viz. what the result of the contest will be. הִשְׁתַּעַר like הִתְרַאָּה in 2 Kings xiv. 8, 11, with a cohortative *āh*, which is rarely met with in connection with verbs ה"ל, and the tone upon the penultimate, the *āh* being attached without tone to the voluntative נִשְׁתַּעַע in ver. 5 (Ewald, § 228, c). For the *chethib* וְנִרְאָה, the *keri* has the voluntative וְנִרְאֵה.

Jehovah has thus placed Himself in opposition to the heathen and their gods, as the God of history and prophecy. It now remains to be seen whether the idols will speak, to prove their deity. By no means; not only are they silent, but they cannot speak. Therefore Jehovah breaks out into words of wrath and contempt. Ver. 24. "*Behold, ye are of nothing, and your doing of nought: an abomination whoever chooseth you.*" The two כִּן are partitive, as in ch. xl. 17; and מֵאֲפֶע is not an error of the pen for מֵאֲפֶס, as Gesenius and others suppose, but אֲפֶע from אֲפֶע = פֶּה (from which comes פָּה), פֶּעַה, ch. xlii. 14 (from which comes אֲשַׁעֶה, ch. lix. 5), to breathe, stands as a synonym to אָה, הִבֵּל, רִיחַ. The attributive clause יִבְחַר בָּכֶם (supply הוּא אֲשֶׁר) is a virtual subject (Ewald, § 333, b): ye and your doings are equally *nil*; and whoever chooses you for protectors, and makes you the objects of his worship, is morally the most degraded of beings.

The more conclusively and incontrovertibly, therefore, does Jehovah keep the field as the moulder of history and foreteller of the future, and therefore as God above all gods. Ver. 25.

"I have raised up from the north, and he came: from the rising of the sun one who invokes my name; and he treads upon satraps as mud, and like a potter kneadeth clay." The object of the verb *hâ'irôthî* (I have wakened up) is he who came when wakened up by Jehovah from the north and east, *i.e.* from Media and Persia ($\text{הָאֵל} = \text{הָאֵל}$ for הָאֵל , with evasion of the auxiliary *pathach*, Ges. § 76, 2, *c*), and, as the second clause affirms, who invokes or will invoke the name of Jehovah (at any rate, *qui invocabit* is the real meaning of *qui invocat*). For although the Zarathustrian religion, which Cyrus followed, was nearest to the Jehovah religion of all the systems of heathenism, it was a heathen religion after all. The doctrine of a great God (*baga vazarka*), the Creator of heaven and earth, and at the same time of a great number of Bagas and Yazatas, behind whose working and worship the great God was thrown into the shade, is (apart from the dualism condemned in ch. xlv. 7) the substance of the sacred writings of the Magi in our possession, as confirmed by the inscriptions of the Achemenides.¹ But the awakened of Jehovah would, as is here predicted, "call with the name, or by means of the name, of Jehovah," which may mean either call upon this name (*Zeph.* iii. 9; *Jer.* x. 25), or call out the name (compare *Ex.* xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5, with *Ex.* xxxv. 30) in the manner in which he does make use of it in the edict setting the exiles free (*Ezra* i. 2). The verb יָבֵן which follows (*cf.* ver. 2) designates him still further as a conqueror of nations; the verb construed with an accusative is used here, as is very frequently the case, in the sense of hostile attack. The word *Sâgân*, which is met with first in *Ezekiel*—apart, that is to say, from the passage before us—may have owed its meaning in the Hebrew vocabulary to its similarity in sound to *sôkhên* (*ch.* xxii. 15); at any rate, it is no doubt a Persian word, which became naturalized in the Hebrew ($\zeta\omega\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ in *Athenæus*, and Neo-Pers. *sichne*, a governor: see *Ges. Thes.*), though this comparison is by no means so certain² as

¹ Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 134, 135.

² Spiegel has the following remarks upon the subject: There is but very little probability in the etymologies which can be suggested for the word *sâgân* through the help of the old Persian. The new Persian *shihne* cannot be traced beyond Neo-Persian, and even there it is somewhat suspicious on account of the ش which it contains, and which is not Persian. The only

that *σατραπης* is the same as the *Ksatripāvan* of the inscriptions, i.e. protector of the kingdom.¹ Without at all overlooking the fact that this word *s'gānīm*, so far as it can really be supposed to be a Persian word, favours the later composition of this portion of the book of Isaiah, we cannot admit that it has any decisive weight, inasmuch as the Persian word *pardēs* occurs even in the Song of Solomon. And the indications which might be found in the word *s'gānīm* unfavourable to Isaiah's authorship are abundantly counterbalanced by what immediately follows.

As ver. 25 points back to the first charge against the heathen and their gods (vers. 2-7), so vers. 26-28 point back to the second. Not only did Jehovah manifest Himself as the Universal Ruler in the waking up of Cyrus, but as the Omniscient Ruler also. Vers. 26-28. "*Who hath made it known from the beginning, we will acknowledge it, and from former time, we will say He is in the right?! Yea, there was none that made known; yea, none that caused to hear; yea, none that heard your words. As the first I said to Zion, Behold, behold, there it is: and I bestow evangelists upon Jerusalem. And I looked, and there was no man; and of these there was no one answering whom I could ask, and who would give me an answer.*" If any one of the heathen deities had foretold this appearance of Cyrus so long before as at the very commencement of that course of history

real Persian word to which I could think of tracing it is *shahr*, a city (old Bactrian *khshathra*, or *shoithra*, a place of abode); or it might possibly have sprung from *shoithraka*, a supposititious word, in the sense of governor of a district, but with the *r* changed into *n* (a change which only occurs in Huzvarešh) and the *h* into *ç*. There are also difficulties in the comparison of the old Bactrian *çanh*, to say or express solemnly. An adjective *çanhâna* (expressing, commanding), formed from this verb, would be pronounced *çahâna* or even *çâna* in old Persian; and from this *Sâgân* would have to be obtained, so that we should still want the *n* to take the place of the *Gimel*. At the same time, there is a still harsher form of the root *çanh* in the Gatha dialect, namely *çak* (not the same as the Sanskrit *çak*, to be strong, as Haug supposes), from which the Neo-Persian *sachan*, *sachun*, a word, is derived; so that it appears to have been also current in old Persian. Accordingly, the form *çakâna* may also have been used in the place of *çanhâna*, and this might suit in some degree for *sâgân*.

¹ See H. Rawlinson, *Asiatic Journal*, xi. 1, p. 116 ss.; and Spiegel, *Keit-inschriften*, p. 194.

which had thus reached its goal, Jehovah with His people, being thus taught by experience, would admit and acknowledge their divinity. **מֵרֵאשִׁית** is used in the same sense as in ch. xlviii. 16: and also in ch. xli. 4 and xl. 21, where it refers, according to the context in each case, to the beginning of the particular line of history. **צָדִיק** signifies either "he is right," *i.e.* in the right (compare the Arabic *siddik*, genuine), or in a neuter sense, "it is right" (= true), *i.e.* the claim to divine honours is really founded upon divine performances. But there was not one who had proclaimed it, or who gave a single sound of himself; no one had heard anything of the kind from them. **אֵין** receives a retrospective character from the connection; and bearing this in mind, the participles may be also resolved into imperfects. The repeated **אֵין**, passing beyond what is set down as possible, declares the reality of the very opposite. What Jehovah thus proves the idols to want, He can lay claim to for Himself. In ver. 27 we need not assume that there is any *hyperbaton*, as Louis de Dieu, Rosenmüller, and others have done: "I first will give to Zion and Jerusalem one bringing glad tidings: behold, behold them." After what has gone before in ver. 26 we may easily supply **אָמַרְתִּי**, "I said," in ver. 27a (compare ch. viii. 19, xiv. 16, xxvii. 2), not **אָמַר**, for the whole comparison drawn by Jehovah between Himself and the idols is retrospective, and looks back from the fulfilment in progress to the prophecies relating to it. The only reply that we can look for to the question in ver. 26 is not, "I on the contrary *do* it," but "I *did* it." At the same time, the rendering is a correct one: "Behold, behold *them*" (*illa*; for the neuter use of the masculine, compare ch. xlviii. 3, xxxviii. 16, xlv. 8). "As the first," Jehovah replies (*i.e.* without any one anticipating me), "have I spoken to Zion: behold, behold, there it is," pointing with the finger of prophecy to the coming salvation, which is here regarded as present; "and I gave to Jerusalem messengers of joy;" *i.e.* long ago, before what is now approaching could be known by any one, I foretold to my church, through the medium of prophets, the glad tidings of the deliverance from Babylon. If the author of ch. xl.-lxvi. were a prophet of the captivity, his reference here would be to such prophecies as Isa. xi. 11 (where Shinar is mentioned as a land of dispersion), and more especially still Mic. iv. 10,

"There in Babylon wilt thou be delivered, there will Jehovah redeem thee out of the hand of thine enemies;" but if Isaiah were the author, he is looking back from the ideal standpoint of the time of the captivity, and of Cyrus more especially, to his own prophecies before the captivity (such as ch. xiii. 1-xiv. 23, and xxi. 1-10), just as Ezekiel, when prophesying of Gog and Magog, looks back in ch. xxxviii. 17 from the ideal standpoint of this remote future, more especially to his own prophecies in relation to it. In that case the *m^ebhassēr*, or evangelist, more especially referred to is the prophet himself (Grotius and Stier), namely, as being the foreteller of those prophets to whom the commission in ch. xl. 1, "Comfort ye, comfort ye," is addressed, and who are greeted in ch. lii. 7, 8 as the bearers of the joyful news of the existing fulfilment of the deliverance that has appeared, and therefore as the *m^ebhassēr* or evangelist of the future **מבשרים**. In any case, it follows from vers. 26, 27 that the overthrow of Babylon and the redemption of Israel had long before been proclaimed by Jehovah through His prophets; and if our exposition is correct so far, the futures in ver. 28 are to be taken as imperfects: And I looked round (**וַאֲרָא**, a voluntative in the hypothetical protasis, Ges. § 128, 2), and there was no one (who announced anything of the kind); and of these (the idols) there was no adviser (with regard to the future, Num. xxiv. 14), and none whom I could ask, and who answered me (the questioner). Consequently, just as the raising up of Cyrus proclaimed the sole omnipotence of Jehovah, so did the fact that the deliverance of Zion-Jerusalem, for which the raising up of Cyrus prepared the way, had been predicted by Him long before, proclaim His sole omniscience.

This closing declaration of Jehovah terminates with similar words of wrath and contempt to those with which the judicial process ended in ver. 24. Ver. 29. "*See them all, vanity; nothingness are their productions, wind and desolation their molten images.*" **מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם** are not the works of the idols, but, as the parallel shows, the productions (plural, as in Ezek. vi. 6, Jer. i. 16) of the idolaters,—in other words, the idols themselves,—a parallel expression to **נִסְכֵּיהֶם** (from **נִסַּךְ**, as in ch. xlvi. 5 = *massēkhāh*, ch. xlii. 17). **אֵפֶם אֵתָּן** is an emotional asyndeton (Ges. § 155, 1, α). The address is thus rounded off by return-

ing to the idolaters, with whom it first started. The first part, vers. 1-24, contains the judicial pleadings; the second part, vers. 25 sqq., recapitulates the evidence and the verdict.

THIRD PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLII. 1-XLIII. 13.

THE MEDIATOR OF ISRAEL AND SAVIOUR OF THE GENTILES.

The *hēn* (behold) in ch. xli. 29 is now followed by a second *hēn*. With the former, Jehovah pronounced sentence upon the idolaters and their idols; with the latter, He introduces His “servant.” In ch. xli. 8 this epithet was applied to the nation, which had been chosen as the servant and for the service of Jehovah. But the servant of Jehovah who is presented to us here is distinct from Israel, and has so strong an individuality and such marked personal features, that the expression cannot possibly be merely a personified collective. Nor can the prophet himself be intended; for what is here affirmed of this servant of Jehovah goes infinitely beyond anything to which a prophet was ever called, or of which a man was ever capable. It must therefore be the future Christ; and this is the view taken in the Targum, where the translation of our prophecy commences thus: “*Hā’ ‘abhdī M^eshīchā’*.” Still there must be a connection between the national sense, in which the expression “servant of Jehovah” was used in ch. xli. 8, and the personal sense in which it is used here. The coming Saviour is not depicted as the Son of David, as in ch. vii.-xii., and elsewhere, but appears as the embodied idea of Israel, *i.e.* as its truth and reality embodied in one person. The idea of “the servant of Jehovah” assumed, to speak figuratively, the form of a pyramid. The base was Israel as a whole; the central section was that Israel, which was not merely Israel according to the flesh, but according to the spirit also; the apex is the person of the Mediator of salvation springing out of Israel. And the last of the three is regarded (1) as the centre of the circle of the promised kingdom—the *second David*; (2) the centre of the circle of the people of salvation—the *second Israel*; (3) the centre of the circle of the human race—the *second Adam*. Throughout the whole of these prophecies in ch. xl.-lxvi. the knowledge of salvation is still in its second stage, and about to pass into the

third. Israel's true nature as a servant of God, which had its roots in the election and calling of Jehovah, and manifested itself in conduct and action in harmony with this calling, is all concentrated in Him, the One, as its ripest fruit. The gracious purposes of God towards the whole human race, which were manifested even in the election of Israel, are brought by Him to their full completion. Whilst judgments are inflicted upon the heathen by the oppressor of the nations, and display the nothingness of idolatry, the servant of Jehovah brings to them in a peaceful way the greatest of all blessings. Ver. 1. "*Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, whom my soul loveth: I have laid my Spirit upon Him; He will bring out right to the Gentiles.*" We must not render the first clause "by whom I hold." *Tāmakh b'* means to lay firm hold of and keep upright (*sustinere*). רָצִיתָהּ נַפְשִׁי (supply בּוֹ or אֹתוֹ, Job xxxiii. 26) is an attributive clause. The amplified subject extends as far as *naphshī*; then follows the predicate: I have endowed Him with my Spirit, and by virtue of this Spirit He will carry out *mishpāt*, *i.e.* absolute and therefore divine right, beyond the circle in which He Himself is to be found, even far away to the Gentiles. *Mishpāt* is the term employed here to denote true religion regarded on its practical side, as the rule and authority for life in all its relations, *i.e.* religion as the law of life, *νομός*.

The prophet then proceeds to describe how the servant of Jehovah will manifest Himself in the world outside Israel by the promulgation of this right. Ver. 2. "*He will not cry, nor lift up, nor cause to be heard in the street, His voice.*" "His voice" is the object of "lift up," as well as "cause to be heard." With our existing division of the verse, it must at least be supplied in thought. Although he is certain of His divine call, and brings to the nations the highest and best, His manner of appearing is nevertheless quiet, gentle, and humble; the very opposite of those lying teachers, who endeavoured to exalt themselves by noisy demonstrations. He does not seek His own, and therefore denies Himself; He brings what commends itself, and therefore requires no forced trumpeting.

With this unassuming appearance there is associated a tender pastoral care. Ver. 3. "*A bruised reed He does not break, and a glimmering wick He does not put out: according to truth He brings out right.*" "*Bruised:*" *rātsūts* signifies here,

as in ch. xxxvi. 6, what is cracked, and therefore half-broken already. *Glimmering*: *kēheh* (a form indicative of defects, like עָרַב), that which is burning feebly, and very nearly extinguished. Tertullian understands by the “bruised reed” (*arundinem contusam*) the faith of Israel, and by the “glimmering wick” (*linum ardens*) the momentary zeal of the Gentiles. But the words hardly admit of this distinction; the reference is rather a general one, to those whose inner and outer life is only hanging by a slender thread. In the statement that in such a case as this He does not completely break or extinguish, there is more implied than is really expressed. Not only will He not destroy the life that is dying out, but He will actually save it; His course is not to destroy, but to save. If we explain the words that follow as meaning, “He will carry out right to truth,” *i.e.* to its fullest efficacy and permanence (LXX. *εἰς ἀλήθειαν*; instead of which we find *εἰς νῆκος*, “unto victory,” in Matt. xii. 20,¹ as if the reading were לָנֶצַח, as in Hab. i. 4), the connection between the first and last clauses of ver. 3 is a very loose one. It becomes much closer if we take the ל as indicating the standard, as in ch. xi. 3 and xxxii. 1, and adopt the rendering “according to truth” (Hitzig and Knobel). It is on its subjective and practical side that truth is referred to here, *viz.* as denoting such a knowledge, and acknowledgment of the true facts in the complicated affairs of men, as will promote both equity and kindness.

The figures in ver. 3a now lead to the thought that the servant of God will never be extinguished or become broken Himself. Ver. 4. “*He will not become faint or broken, till He establish right upon earth, and the islands wait for His instruction.*” As יִכָּהֵה (become faint) points back to פָּשַׁח כָּהֵה (the faint or glimmering wick), so יָרִץ must point back to קָה רָצוץ (the bruised or broken reed); it cannot therefore be derived from רָץ (to run) in the sense of “He will not be rash or impetuous, but execute His calling with wise moderation,” as Hengstenberg supposes, but as in Eccles. xii. 6, from יָרִץ = יָצַץ (Ges. § 67, Anm. 9), in the neuter sense of *infringetur* (will break). His zeal will not be extinguished, nor will anything break His strength, till He shall have secured for right a firm standing on the earth (יָשַׁם is a *fut. ex.* so far as the meaning is concerned,

¹ “*Ad victoriam enim christus perducit qui ad veritatem perducit.*”—ANGER.

like יִבְצֵעַ in ch. x. 12). The question arises now, whether what follows is also governed by עַד, in the sense of “and until the islands shall have believed his instruction,” as Hitzig supposes; or whether it is an independent sentence, as rendered by the LXX. and in Matt. xii. 21. We prefer the latter, both because of ch. li. 5, and also because, although יִהְיֶה לְרִבְרָה ה' may certainly mean to exercise a believing confidence in the word of God (Ps. cxix. 74, 81), יִהְיֶה לְחֹרֶהוּ can only mean “to wait with longing for a person's instruction” (Job xxix. 23), and especially in this case, where no thought is more naturally suggested, than that the messenger to the Gentile world will be welcomed by a consciousness of need already existing in the heathen world itself. There is a *gratia præparans* at work in the Gentile world, as these prophecies all presuppose, in perfect harmony with the Gospel of John, with which they have so much affinity; and it is an actual fact, that the cry for redemption runs through the whole human race, *i.e.* an earnest longing, the ultimate object of which, however unconsciously, is the servant of Jehovah and his instruction from Zion (ch. ii. 3),—in other words, the gospel.

The words of Jehovah are now addressed to His servant himself. He has not only an exalted vocation, answering to the infinite exaltation of Him from whom he has received his call; but by virtue of the infinite might of the caller, he may be well assured that he will never be wanting in power to execute his calling. Vers. 5-7. “*Thus saith God, Jehovah, who created the heavens, and stretched them out; who spread the earth, and its productions; who gave the spirit of life to the people upon it, and the breath of life to them that walk upon it: I, Jehovah, I have called thee in righteousness, and grasped thy hand; and I keep thee, and make thee the covenant of the people, the light of the Gentiles, to open blind eyes, to bring out prisoners out of the prison, them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house.*” The perfect *'amar* is to be explained on the ground that the words of God, as compared with the prophecy which announces them, are always the earlier of the two. הָאֵל (the absolutely Mighty) is an anticipatory apposition to Jehovah (Ges. § 113**). The attributive participles we have resolved into perfects, because the three first at least declare facts of creation, which have occurred once for all. נוֹמְיָהִם is not to be

regarded as a plural, after ch. liv. 5 and Job xxxv. 10; but as בְּיָדָא precedes it, we may take it as a singular with an original quiescent *Yod*, after ch. v. 12, xxii. 11, xxvi. 12 (cf. vol. i. p. 108). On רָקֵעַ (construct of רָקֵעַ), see ch. xl. 19. The ו of וְיִצְחָק (a word found both in Job and Isaiah, used here in its most direct sense, to signify the vegetable world) must be taken in accordance with the sense, as the *Vav* of appurtenance; since רָקֵעַ may be affirmed of the globe itself, but not of the vegetable productions upon it (cf. Gen. iv. 20; Judg. vi. 5; 2 Chron. ii. 3). *N'shâmâh* and *rûäch* are epithets applied to the divine principle of life in all created corporeal beings, or, what is the same thing, in all beings with living souls. At the same time, *n'shâmâh* is an epithet restricted to the self-conscious spirit of man, which gives him his personality (*Psychol.* p. 76, etc.); whereas *rûäch* is applied not only to the human spirit, but to the spirit of the beast as well. Accordingly, אָדָם signifies the human race, as in ch. xl. 7. What is it, then, that Jehovah, the Author of all being and all life, the Creator of the heaven and the earth, says to His servant here? "I Jehovah have called thee 'in righteousness'" (*b'tsedeq*: cf. ch. xlv. 13, where Jehovah also says of Cyrus, "I have raised him up in righteousness"). קָדָשׁ, derived from קָדַשׁ, to be rigid, straight, denotes the observance of a fixed rule. The righteousness of God is the stringency with which He acts, in accordance with the will of His holiness. This will of holiness is, so far as the human race is concerned, and apart from the counsels of salvation, a will of wrath; but from the standpoint of these counsels it is a will of love, which is only changed into a will of wrath towards those who despise the grace thus offered to them. Accordingly, *tsedeq* denotes the action of God in accordance with His purposes of love and the plan of salvation. It signifies just the same as what we should call in New Testament phraseology the *holy love* of God, which, because it is a *holy* love, has wrath against its despisers as its obverse side, but which acts towards men not according to the law of works, but according to the law of grace. The word has this evangelical sense here, where Jehovah says of the Mediator of His counsels of love, that He has called Him in strict adherence to the will of His love, which will show mercy as right, but at the same time will manifest a right of double severity towards

those who scornfully repel the offered mercy. That He had been called in righteousness, is attested to the servant of Jehovah by the fact that Jehovah has taken Him by the hand (אֲחֻזָּה) contracted after the manner of a future of sequence), and guards Him, and appoints Him לְבִרְיָת עַם לְאֹרֶן נְוִים. These words are a decisive proof that the idea of the expression "servant of Jehovah" has been elevated in ch. xlii. 1 sqq., as compared with ch. xli. 8, from the national base to the personal apex. Adherence to the national sense necessarily compels a resort to artifices which carry their own condemnation, such as that ברית עם signifies the "covenant nation," as Hitzig supposes, or "the mediating nation," as Ewald maintains, whereas either of these would require ברית עם; or "national covenant" (Knobel), in support of which we are referred, though quite inconclusively, to Dan. xi. 28, where בְּרִית קֶשֶׁת does not mean the covenant of the patriots among themselves, but the covenant religion, with its distinctive sign, circumcision; or even that עם is collective, and equivalent to עַמִּים (Rosenmüller), whereas עם and נְוִים, when standing side by side, as they do here, can only mean Israel and the Gentiles; and so far as the passage before us is concerned, this is put beyond all doubt by ch. xlix. 8 (cf. ver. 6). An unprejudiced commentator must admit that the "servant of Jehovah" is pointed out here, as He in whom and through whom Jehovah concludes a new covenant with His people, in the place of the old covenant that was broken,—namely, the covenant promised in ch. liv. 10, lxi. 8, Jer. xxxi. 31-34, Ezek. xvi. 60 sqq. The mediator of this covenant with Israel cannot be Israel itself, not even the true Israel, as distinguished from the mass (where do we read anything of this kind?); on the contrary, the remnant left after the sweeping away of the mass is the object of this covenant.¹ Nor can the expression refer to the prophets as a body, or, in fact, have any collective meaning at all: the form of the

¹ This is equally applicable to V. F. Oehler (*Der Knecht Jehova's im Deuteriojesaja*, 2 Theile, 1865), who takes the "servant of Jehovah" as far as ch. lii. 14 in a national sense, and supposes "the transition from the 'servant' as a collective noun, to the 'servant' as an individual," to be effected there; whereas two younger theologians, E. Schmutz (*Le Serviteur de Jéhova*, 1858) and Ferd. Philippi (*Die bibl. Lehre vom Knechte Gottes*, 1864), admit that the individualizing commences as early as ch. xlii. 1.

word, which is so strongly personal, is in itself opposed to this. It cannot, in fact, denote any other than that Prophet who is more than a prophet, namely, Malachi's "Messenger of the covenant" (ch. iii. 1). Amongst those who suppose that the "servant of Jehovah" is either Israel, regarded in the light of its prophetic calling, or the prophets as a body, Umbreit at any rate is obliged to admit that this collective body is looked at here in the ideal unity of one single Messianic personality; and he adds, that "in the holy countenance of this prophet, which shines forth as the ideal of future realization, we discern exactly the loved features of Him to whom all prophecy points, and who saw Himself therein." This is very beautiful; but why this roundabout course? Let us bear in mind, that the servant of Jehovah appears here not only as one who is the medium of a covenant to the nation, and of light to the Gentiles, but as being himself the people's covenant and heathen's light, inasmuch as in his own person he is the band of a new fellowship between Israel and Jehovah, and becomes in his own person the light which illumines the dark heathen world. This is surely more than could be affirmed of any prophet, even of Isaiah or Jeremiah. Hence the "servant of Jehovah" must be that one Person who was the goal and culminating point to which, from the very first, the history of Israel was ever pressing on; that One who throws into the shade not only all that prophets did before, but all that had been ever done by Israel's priests or kings; that One who arose out of Israel, for Israel and the whole human race, and who stood in the same relation not only to the wider circle of the whole nation, but also to the inner circle of the best and noblest within it, as the heart to the body which it animates, or the head to the body over which it rules. All that Cyrus did, was simply to throw the idolatrous nations into a state of alarm, and set the exiles free. But the Servant of Jehovah opens blind eyes; and therefore the deliverance which He brings is not only redemption from bodily captivity, but from spiritual bondage also. He leads His people (cf. ch. xlix. 3, 9), and the Gentiles also, out of night into light; He is the Redeemer of all that need redemption and desire salvation.

Jehovah pledges His name and honour that this work of the Servant of Jehovah will be carried into effect. Ver. 8. "*I*

am Jehovah; that is my name, and my glory I give not to another, nor my renown to idols." That is His name, which affirms how truly He stands alone in His nature, and recalls to mind the manifestations of His life, His power, and His grace from the very earliest times (cf. Ex. iii. 15). He to whom this name belongs cannot permit the honour due to Him to be permanently transferred to sham gods. He has therefore made preparations for putting an end to idolatry. Cyrus does this provisionally by the tempestuous force of arms; and the Servant of Jehovah completes it by the spiritual force of His simple word, and of His gentle, unselfish love.

First the overthrow of idolatry, then the restoration of Israel and conversion of the Gentiles: this is the double work of Jehovah's zeal which is already in progress. Ver. 9. "*The first, behold, is come to pass, and new things am I proclaiming; before it springs up, I let you hear it.*" The "first" is the rise of Cyrus, and the agitation of the nations which it occasioned,—events which not only formed the starting-point of the prophecy in these addresses, whether the captivity was the prophet's historical or ideal standpoint, but which had no less force in themselves, as the connection between the first and second halves of the verse before us imply, as events both foreknown and distinctly foretold by Jehovah. The "new things" which Jehovah now foretells before their visible development (ch. xliii. 19), are the restoration of Israel, for which the defeat of their oppressors prepares the way, and the conversion of the heathen, to which an impulse is given by the fact that God thus glorifies Himself in His people.

The prediction of these "new things," which now follows, looks away from all human mediation. They are manifestly the work of Jehovah Himself, and consist primarily in the subjugation of His enemies, who are holding His people in captivity. Vers. 10-13. "*Sing ye to Jehovah a new song, His praise from the end of the earth, ye navigators of the sea, and its fulness; ye islands, and their inhabitants. Let the desert and the cities thereof strike up, the villages that Kedar doth inhabit; the inhabitants of the rock-city may rejoice, shout from the summits of the mountains. Let them give glory to Jehovah, and proclaim His praise in the islands. Jehovah, like a hero will He go forth, kindle jealousy like a man of war; He*

will break forth into a war-cry, a yelling war-cry, prove Himself a hero upon His enemies." The "new things" furnish the impulse and materials of "a new song," such as had never been heard in the heathen world before. This whole group of verses is like a variation of ch. xxiv. 14, 15. The standing-place, whence the summons is uttered, is apparently *Ezion-geber*, at the head of the Elanitic Gulf, that seaport town from which in the time of the kings the news of the nations reached the Holy Land through the extensive commerce of Israel. From this point the eye stretches to the utmost circle of the earth, and then returns from the point where it meets with those who "go down to the sea," i.e. who navigate the ocean which lies lower than the solid ground. These are to sing, and everything that lives and moves in the sea is to join in the sailors' song. The islands and coast lands, that are washed by the sea, are likewise to sing together with their inhabitants. After the summons has drawn these into the net of the song of praise, it moves into the heart of the land. The desert and its cities are to lift up (viz. "their voice"), the villages which Kedar inhabits. The reference to *Sela'*, the rock-city of Edomitish Nabatæa, which is also mentioned in ch. xvi. 1 (the *Wadi Musa*, which is still celebrated for its splendid ruins), shows by way of example what cities are intended. Their inhabitants are to ascend the steep mountains by which the city is surrounded, and to raise a joyful cry (*yitsvâchû*, to cry out with a loud noise; cf. ch. xxiv. 11). Along with the inhabitants of cities, the stationary Arabs, who are still called *Hadariye* in distinction from *Wabariye*, the Arabs of the tents, are also summoned; *hadar* (*châtsér*) is a fixed abode, in contrast to *bedû*, the steppe, where the tents are pitched for a short time, now in one place and now in another. In ver. 12 the summons becomes more general. The subject is the heathen universally and in every place; they are to give Jehovah the glory (Ps. lxvi. 2), and declare His praise upon the islands, i.e. to the remotest ends of the whole world of nations. In ver. 13 there follows the reason for this summons, and the theme of the new song in honour of the God of Israel, viz. His victory over His enemies, the enemies of His people. The description is anthropomorphically dazzling and bold, such as the self-assurance and vividness of the Israelitish idea of

God permitted, without any danger of misunderstanding. Jehovah goes out into the conflict like a hero; and like a "man of war," *i.e.* like one who has already fought many battles, and is therefore ready for war, and well versed in warfare, He stirs up jealousy (see at ch. ix. 6). His jealousy has slumbered as it were for a long time, as if smouldering under the ashes; but now He stirs it up, *i.e.* makes it burn up into a bright flame. Going forward to the attack, יָרִיעַ, "He breaks out into a cry," אֶת־יִצְרִיָּה, "yea, a yelling cry" (*kal* Zeph. i. 14, to cry with a yell; *hiphal*, to utter a yelling cry). In the words, "He will show Himself as a hero upon His enemies," we see Him already engaged in the battle itself, in which He proves Himself to possess the strength and boldness of a hero (*hithgabbar* only occurs again in the book of Job). The overthrow which heathenism here suffers at the hand of Jehovah is, according to our prophet's view, the final and decisive one. The redemption of Israel, which is thus about to appear, is redemption from the punishment of captivity, and at the same time from all the troubles that arise from sin. The period following the captivity and the New Testament times here flow into one.

The period of punishment has now lasted sufficiently long; it is time for Jehovah to bring forth the salvation of His people. Ver. 14. "*I have been silent eternally long, was still, restrained myself; like a travailing woman, I now breathe again, snort and snuff together.*" The standpoint of these prophecies has the larger half of the captivity behind it. It has already lasted a long time, though only for several decades; but in the estimation of Jehovah, with His love to His people, this time of long-suffering towards their oppressors is already an "eternity" (see ch. lvii. 11, lviii. 12, lxi. 4, lxiii. 18, 19, lxiv. 4, cf. vers. 10, 11). He has kept silence, has still forcibly restrained Himself, just as Joseph is said to have done to prevent himself from breaking out into tears (Gen. xliii. 31). Love impelled Him to redeem His people; but justice was still obliged to proceed with punishment.

Three real futures now take the place of imperfects regulated by הִנֵּה שִׁיתִי. They are not to be understood as denoting the violent breathing and snorting of a hero, burning with rage and thirsting for battle (Knobel); nor is שִׁיתִי to be derived from שָׁנַם, as Hitzig supposes, through a mistaken comparison

of Ezek. xxxvi. 3, though the latter does not mean to waste, but to be waste (see Hitzig on Ezek. xxxvi. 3). The true derivation is from נָשַׁם, related to נָשַׁם, נָפַשׁ, נָשַׁב. To the figure of a hero there is now added that of a travailing woman: נָפַשׁ is short breathing (with the glottis closed); נָשַׁם the snoring of violent inspiration and expiration; נָשַׁב the earnest longing for deliverance pressing upon the burden in the woman, and נָשַׁב expresses the combination of all these several strainings of the breath, which are associated with the so-called labour pains. Some great thing, with which Jehovah has, as it were, long been pregnant, is now about to be born.

The delivery takes place, and the whole world of nature undergoes a metamorphosis, which is subservient to the great work of the future. Ver. 15. "*I make waste mountains and hills, and all their herbage I dry up, and change streams into islands, and lakes I dry up.*" Here is another example of Isaiah's favourite palindromy, as Nitzsch calls this return to a word that has been used before, or linking on the close of one period to its commencement (see p. 134). Jehovah's panting labour is His almighty fiery breath, which turns mountains and hills into heaps of ruins, scorches up the vegetation, condenses streams into islands, and dries up the lakes; that is to say, it turns the strange land, in which Israel has been held captive into a desert, and at the same time removes all the hindrances to His people's return, thus changing the present condition of the world into one of the very opposite kind, which displays His righteousness in wrath and love.

The great thing which is brought to pass by means of this catastrophe is the redemption of His people. Ver. 16. "*I lead the blind by a way that they know not; by steps that they know not, I make them walk: I turn dark space before them into light, and rugged places into a plain. These are the things that I carry out, and do not leave.*" The "blind" are those who have been deprived of sight by their sin, and the consequence of punishment. The unknown ways in which Jehovah leads them, are the ways of deliverance, which are known to Him alone, but which have now been made manifest in the fulness of time. The "dark space" (*machshák*) is their existing state of hopeless misery; the "rugged places" (*ma'âqasshim*) the hindrances that met them, and dangers that threatened them.

on all sides in the foreign land. The mercy of Jehovah adopts the blind, lights up the darkness, and clears every obstacle away. "*These are the things*" (*hadd^bhârîm*): this refers to the particulars already sketched out of the double manifestation of Jehovah in judgment and in mercy. The perfects of the attributive clause are perfects of certainty.

In connection with this, the following verse declares what effect this double manifestation will produce among the heathen. Ver. 17. "*They fall back, are put deeply to shame, that trust in molten images, that say to the molten image, Thou art our God.*" *Bōsheth* takes the place of an inf. intens.; cf. Hab. iii. 9. Jehovah's glorious acts of judgment and salvation unmask the false gods, to the utter confusion of their worshippers. And whilst in this way the false religions fall, the redemption of Israel becomes at the same time the redemption of the heathen. The first half of this third prophecy is here brought to a close.

The thought which connects the second half with the first is to be found in the expression in ver. 16, "I will bring the blind by a way." It is the blind whom Jehovah will lead into the light of liberty, the blind who bring upon themselves not only His compassion, but also His displeasure; for it is their own fault that they do not see. And to them is addressed the summons, to free themselves from the ban which is resting upon them. Ver. 18. "*Ye deaf, hear; and ye blind, look up, that ye may see.*" הַחֲרָשִׁים and הָעֵוְרִים (this is the proper pointing, according to the codd. and the Masora¹) are vocatives. The relation in which הָעֵוְרִים and רָאָה stand to one another is that of design and accomplishment (ch. lxiii. 15, Job xxxv. 5, 2 Kings iii. 14, etc.); and they are used interchangeably with פָּקַח עֵינָיו and רָאָה (e.g. 2 Kings xix. 16), which also stand in the same relation of design and result.

The next verse states who these self-willed deaf and blind are, and how necessary this arousing was. Ver. 19. "*Who is blind, but my servant? and deaf, as my messenger whom I send? who blind as the confidant of God, and blind as the servant of Jehovah?*" The first double question implies that Jehovah's servant and messenger is blind and deaf in a singular and un-

¹ The Masora observes expressly כָּל סְמִיךְ רַפּוּיָן וּפְתַחִין *omnes cæci raphati et pathachati*; but our editions have both here and in 2 Sam. v. 6, 8, הָעֵוְרִים.

paralleled way. The words are repeated, the questioner dwelling upon the one predicate 'ıvver, "blind," in which everything is affirmed, and, according to Isaiah's favourite custom, returning palindromically to the opening expression "servant of Jehovah" (cf. ch. xl. 19, xlii. 15, and many other passages). עֶבֶד does not mean "the perfect one," as Vitranga renders it, nor "the paid, i.e. purchased one," as Rosenmüller supposes, but one allied in peace and friendship, the confidant of God. It is the passive of the Arabic *muslim*, one who trusts in God (compare the *hophal* in Job v. 23). It is impossible to read the expression, "My messenger whom I send," without thinking of ch. xlii. 1 sqq., where the "servant of Jehovah" is represented as a messenger to the heathen. (Jerome is wrong in following the Jewish commentators, and adopting the rendering, *ad quem nuntios meos misi*.) With this similarity both of name and calling, there must be a connection between the "servant" mentioned here, and the "servant" referred to there. Now the "servant of Jehovah" is always Israel. But since Israel might be regarded either according to the character of the overwhelming majority of its members (the mass), who had forgotten their calling, or according to the character of those living members who had remained true to their calling, and constituted the kernel, or as concentrated in that one Person who is the essence of Israel in the fullest truth and highest potency, statements of the most opposite kind could be made with respect to this one homonymous subject. In ch. xli. 8 sqq. the "servant of Jehovah" is caressed and comforted, inasmuch as there the true Israel, which deserved and needed consolation, is addressed, without regard to the mass who had forgotten their calling. In ch. xlii. 1 sqq. that One person is referred to, who is, as it were, the centre of this inner circle of Israel, and the head upon the body of Israel. And in the passage before us, the idea is carried from this its highest point back again to its lowest basis; and the servant of Jehovah is blamed and reproved for the harsh contrast between its actual conduct and its divine calling, between the reality and the idea. As we proceed, we shall meet again with the "servant of Jehovah" in the same *systole* and *diastole*. The expression covers two concentric circles, and their one centre. The inner circle of the "Israel according to the Spirit" forms

the connecting link between Israel in its widest sense, and Israel in a personal sense. Here indeed Israel is severely blamed as incapable, and unworthy of fulfilling its sacred calling; but the expression "whom I send" nevertheless affirms that it will fulfil it,—namely, in the *person* of the servant of Jehovah, and in all those members of the "servant of Jehovah" in a national sense, who long for deliverance from the ban and bonds of the present state of punishment (see ch. xxix. 18). For it is really the mission of Israel to be the medium of salvation and blessing to the nations; and this is fulfilled by the servant of Jehovah, who proceeds from Israel, and takes his place at the head of Israel. And as the history of the fulfilment shows, when the foundation for the accomplishment of this mission had been laid by the servant of Jehovah in person, it was carried on by the servant of Jehovah in a national sense; for the Lord became "a covenant of the people" through His own preaching and that of His apostles. But "a light of the Gentiles" He became purely and simply through the apostles, who represented the true and believing Israel.

The reproof, which affects Israel *a potiori*, now proceeds still further, as follows. Vers. 20-22. "*Thou hast seen much, and yet keepest not; opening the ears, he yet doth not hear. Jehovah was pleased for His righteousness' sake: He gave a thorah great and glorious. And yet it is a people robbed and plundered; fastened in holes all of them, and they are hidden in prison-houses: they have become booty, without deliverers; a spoil, without any one saying, Give it up again!*" In ver. 20 "thou" and "he" alternate, like "they" and "ye" in ch. i. 29, and "I" and "he" in ch. xiv. 30. רָאִיתָ, which points back to the past, is to be preserved. The reading of the *keri* is רָאִיתָ (inf. abs. like שָׁתוּת, ch. xxii. 13, and עָרִית, Hab. iii. 13), which makes the two half-verses uniform. Israel has had many and great things to see, but without keeping the admonitions they contained; opening its ears, namely to the earnestness of the preaching, it hears, and yet does not hear, *i.e.* it only hears outwardly, but without taking it into itself. Ver. 21 shows us to what ver. 20 chiefly refers. לִפְנֵי is followed here by the future instead of by *Lamed* with an infinitive, just as in ch. liii. 10 it is followed by the perfect (Ges. § 142, 3, *b*). Jehovah

was pleased for His righteousness' sake (which is mentioned here, not as that which recompenses for works of the law, but as that which bestows mercy according to His purpose, His promise, and the plan of salvation) to make *thorāh*, i.e. the direction, instruction, revelation which He gave to His people, great and glorious. The reference is primarily and chiefly to the Sinaitic law, and the verbs relate not to the solemnity of the promulgation, but to the riches and exalted character of the contents. But what a glaring contrast did the existing condition of Israel present to these manifestations and purposes of mercy on the part of its God! The intervening thought expressed by Hosea (Hos. viii. 12*b*), viz. that this condition was the punishment of unfaithfulness, may easily be supplied. The inf. abs. הִפִּיל is introduced to give life to the picture, as in ch. xxii. 13. Hahn renders it, "They pant (*hiphil* of *pāch*) in the holes all of them," but *kullām* (all of them) must be the accusative of the object; so that the true meaning is, "They have fastened (*hiphil* of *pāchach*) all of them," etc. (Ges. § 131, 4, *b*). Schegg adopts the rendering, "All his youths fall into traps," which is wrong in two respects; for *bachūrīm* is the plural of *chūr* (ch. xi. 8), and it is parallel to the double plural בְּתֵי כְלָאִים, houses of custodies. The whole nation in all its members is, as it were, put into bonds, and confined in prisons of all kinds (an allegorizing picture of the homelessness and servitude of exile), without any one thinking of demanding it back (הָשִׁב = הִשָּׁב, as in Ezek. xxi. 35; a pausal form here: *vid.* Ges. § 29, 4 Anm.).

When they ceased to be deaf to this crying contradiction, they would recognise with penitence that it was but the merited punishment of God. Vers. 23–25. "*Who among you will give ear to this, attend, and hear for the time to come? Who has given up Jacob to plundering, and Israel to the spoilers? Is it not Jehovah, against whom we have sinned? and they would not walk in His ways, and hearkened not to His law. Then He poured upon it in burning heat His wrath, and the strength of the fury of war: and this set it in flames round about, and it did not come to be recognised; it set it on fire, and it did not lay it to heart.*" The question in ver. 23 has not the force of a negative sentence, "No one does this," but of a wish, "O that one would" (as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, xv. 4; Ges. § 136, 1). If they had but an

inward ear for the contradiction which the state of Israel presented to its true calling, and the earlier manifestations of divine mercy, and would but give up their previous deafness for the time to come: this must lead to the knowledge and confession expressed in ver. 24. The names Jacob and Israel here follow one another in the same order as in ch. xxix. 23, xl. 27 (compare ch. xli. 8, where this would have been impracticable). וְ belongs to לִי in the sense of *cui*. The punctuation does not acknowledge this relative use of וְ (on which, see at ch. xliii. 21), and therefore puts the *athnach* in the wrong place (see Rashi). In the words "we have sinned" the prophet identifies himself with the exiles, in whose sin he knew and felt that he was really involved (cf. ch. vi. 5). The objective affirmation which follows applies to the former generations, who had sinned on till the measure became full. הִלֵּינוּ takes the place of the object to אָבִינוּ (see ch. i. 17); the more usual expression would be לִלְכֹּת; the inverted order of the words makes the assertion all the more energetic. In ver. 25 the genitive relation הִמַּת אֲפִי is avoided, probably in favour of the similar ring of הִמָּה and מִלְחָמָה. הִמָּה is either the accusative of the object, and אֲפִי a subordinate statement of what constituted the burning heat (cf. Ewald, § 287, *k*), or else an accusative, of more precise definition = בְּהִמָּה in ch. lxvi. 15 (Ges. § 118, 3). The outpouring is also connected by *zeugma* with the "violence of war." The *milchâmâh* then becomes the subject. The war-fury raged without result. Israel was not brought to reflection.

The tone of the address is now suddenly changed. The sudden leap from reproach to consolation was very significant. It gave them to understand, that no meritorious work of their own would come in between what Israel was and what it was to be, but that it was God's free grace which came to meet it. Ch. xliii. 1, 2. "*But now thus saith Jehovah thy Creator, O Jacob, and thy Former, O Israel! Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by name, thou art mine. When thou goest through the water, I am with thee; and through rivers, they shall not drown thee: when thou goest into fire, thou shalt not be burned; and the flame shall not set thee on fire.*" The punishment has now lasted quite long enough; and, as יְעִתָּה affirms, the love which has hitherto retreated behind the wrath returns to its own prerogatives again. He who created and formed

Israel, by giving Abraham the son of the promise, and caused the seventy of Jacob's family to grow up into a nation in Egypt, He also will shelter and preserve it. He bids it be of good cheer; for their early history is a pledge of this. The perfects after 'פ in ver. 1b stand out against the promising futures in ver. 2, as retrospective glances: the expression "I have redeemed thee" pointing back to Israel's redemption out of Egypt; "I have called thee by thy name" (lit. I have called with thy name, *i.e.* called it out), to its call to be the peculiar people of Jehovah, who therefore speaks of it in ch. xlviii. 12 as "My called." This help of the God of Israel will also continue to arm it against the destructive power of the most hostile elements, and rescue it from the midst of the greatest dangers, from which there is apparently no escape (cf. Ps. lxvi. 12; Dan. iii. 17, 27; and Ges. § 103, 2).

Just as in ver. 1b, *kî* (for), with all that follows, assigns the reason for the encouraging "Fear not;" so here a second *kî* introduces the reason for the promise which ensures them against the dangers arising from either water or fire. Vers. 3, 4. "*For I Jehovah am thy God; (I) the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour: I give up Egypt as a ransom for thee, Ethiopia and Seba in thy stead. Because thou art dear in my eyes, highly esteemed, and I loved thee; I give up men in thy stead, and peoples for thy life.*" Both "Jehovah" and "the Holy One of Israel" are in apposition to "I" (*'ānī*), the force of which is continued in the second clause. The preterite *nāthattī* (I have given), as the words "I will give" in ver. 4b clearly show, states a fact which as yet is only completed so far as the purpose is concerned. "*A ransom:*" *kōpher* (λύτρον) is literally the covering (see vol. i. 397 and ii. 11),—the person making the payment, or the person for whom he makes it, being covered by the payment. מֶרֶוֹ is the land of *Meroë*, which is enclosed between the White and Blue Nile, the present *Dār Sennār*, district of Sennār (*Sen-ārti*, *i.e.* island of *Senā*), or the ancient Meroitic priestly state settled about this enclosed land, probably included in the *Mudrāya* (Egypt) of the Achæmenidian arrow-headed inscriptions; though it is uncertain whether the *Kusiya* (Heb. *Kūshīm*) mentioned there are the predatory tribe of archers called *Κοσσαῖοι* (Strabo, xi. 13, 6), whose name has been preserved in the present Chuzistan, the eastern Ethiopians

of the Greeks (as Lassen and Rawlinson suppose), or the African Ethiopians of the Bible, as Oppert imagines. The fact that Egypt was only conquered by Cambyses, and not by Cyrus, who merely planned it (Herod. i. 153), and to whom it is only attributed by a legend (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 6, 20, λέγεται καταστρέφασθαι Αἴγυπτον), does no violence to the truth of the promise. It is quite enough that Egypt and the neighbouring kingdoms were subjugated by the new imperial power of Persia, and that through that empire the Jewish people recovered their long-lost liberty. The free love of God was the reason for His treating Israel according to the principle laid down in Prov. xi. 8, xxi. 18. מִאֲשֶׁר does not signify *ex quo tempore* here, but is equivalent to מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר in Ex. xix. 18, Jer. xliv. 23; for if it indicated the *terminus a quo*, it would be followed by a more distinct statement of the fact of their election. The personal pronoun "and I" (*va'ānī*) is introduced in consequence of the change of persons. In the place of וְיִתְהַיָּהּ (*perf. cons.*), וְיִתְהַיָּהּ commended itself, as the former had already been used in a somewhat different function. All that composed the chosen nation are here designated as "man" (*ādām*), because there was nothing in them but what was derived from Adam. יִתְהַיָּהּ has here a strictly substitutionary meaning throughout.

The encouraging "Fear not" is here resumed, for the purpose of assigning a still further reason. Vers. 5-7. "*Fear not; for I am with thee: I bring thy seed from the east, and from the west will I gather them; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the end of the earth; everything that is called by my name, and I have created for my glory, that I have formed, yea finished!*" The fact that Jehovah is with Israel will show itself in this, that He effects its complete restoration from all quarters of the heaven (compare the lands of the diaspora in all directions already mentioned by Isaiah in ch. xi. 11, 12). Jehoyah's command is issued to north and south to give up their unrighteous possession, not to keep it back, and to restore His sons and daughters (compare the similar change in the gender in ch. xi. 12), which evidently implies the help and escort of the exiles on the part of the heathen (ch. xiv. 2). The four quarters and four winds

are of the feminine gender. In ver. 7 the object is more precisely defined from the standpoint of sacred history. The three synonyms bring out the might, the freeness, and the riches of grace, with which Jehovah called Israel into existence, to glorify Himself in it, and that He might be glorified by it. They form a climax, for בָּרָא signifies to produce as a new thing; יָצַר, to shape what has been produced; and עָשָׂה, to make it perfect or complete, hence *creavi, formavi, perfecti*.

We come now to the third turn in the second half of this prophecy. It is linked on to the commencement of the first turn ("Hear, ye deaf, and look, ye blind, that ye may see"), the summons being now addressed to some one to bring forth the Israel, which has eyes and ears without seeing or hearing; whilst, on the other hand, the nations are all to come together, and this time not for the purpose of convincing them, but of convincing Israel. Vers. 8-10. "*Bring out a blind people, and it has eyes; and deaf people, and yet furnished with ears! All ye heathen, gather yourselves together, and let peoples assemble! Who among you can proclaim such a thing? And let them cause former things to be heard, appoint their witnesses, and be justified. Let these hear, and say, True! Ye are my witnesses, saith Jehovah, and my servant whom I have chosen; that ye may know and believe me, and see that it is I: before me was no God formed, and there will be none after me.*" "Bring out" does not refer here to bringing out of captivity, as in Ezek. xx. 34, 41, xxxiv. 13, since the names by which Israel is called are hardly applicable to this, but rather to bringing to the place appointed for judicial proceedings. The verb is in the imperative. The heathen are also to gather together *en masse*; נִקְבְּצוּ is also an imperative here, as in Joel iv. 11 = הִקְבְּצוּ (cf. גִּלּוּי, Jer. i. 5; Ewald, § 226, c). In ver. 9b we have the commencement of the evidence adduced by Jehovah in support of His own divine right: Who among the gods of the nations can proclaim this? *i.e.* anything like my present announcement of the restoration of Israel? To prove that they can, let them cause "former things" to be heard, *i.e.* any former events which they had foretold, and which had really taken place; and let them appoint witnesses of such earlier prophecies, and so prove themselves to be gods, that is to say, by the fact that these witnesses have publicly heard their declaration and confirm the truth

thereof. The subject to 'וְשָׁמְעוּ (they may hear, etc.) is the witnesses, not as now informing themselves for the first time, but as making a public declaration. The explanation, "that men may hear," changes the subject without any necessity. But whereas the gods are dumb and lifeless, and therefore cannot call any witnesses for themselves, and not one of all the assembled multitude can come forward as their legitimate witness, or as one able to vindicate them, Jehovah can call His people as witnesses, since they have had proofs in abundance that He possesses infallible knowledge of the future. It is generally assumed that "and my servant" introduces a second subject: "Ye, and (especially) my servant whom I have chosen." In this case, "my servant" would denote that portion of the nation which was so, not merely like the mass of the people according to its divine calling, but also by its own fidelity to that calling; that is to say, the kernel of the nation, which was in the midst of the mass, but had not the manners of the mass. At the same time, the sentence which follows is much more favourable to the unity of the subject; and why should not "my servant" be a second predicate? The expression "*ye*" points to the people, who were capable of seeing and hearing, and yet both blind and deaf, and who had been brought out to the forum, according to ver. 8. *Ye*, says Jehovah, are *my* witnesses, and *ye* are my servant whom I have chosen; I can appeal to what I have enabled you to experience and to perceive, and to the relation in which I have in mercy caused you to stand to myself, that ye may thereby be brought to consider the great difference that there is between what ye have in your God and that which the heathen (here present with you) have in their idols. "I am He," *i.e.* God exclusively, and God for ever. His being has no beginning and no end; so that any being apart from His, which could have gone before or could follow after, so as to be regarded as divine (in other words, the deity of the artificial and temporal images which are called gods by the heathen), is a contradiction in itself.

The address now closes by holding up once more the object and warrant of faith. Vers. 11-13. "*I, I am Jehovah; and beside me there is no Saviour. I, I have proclaimed and brought salvation, and given to perceive, and there was no other god among you: and ye are my witnesses, saith Jehovah, and I*

am God. Even from the day onwards I am so ; and there is no deliverer out of my hand : I act, and who can turn it back ?” The proper name “*Jehovah*” is used here (ver. 13) as a name indicating essence : “I and no other am the absolutely existing and living One,” *i.e.* He who proves His existence by His acts, and indeed by His saving acts. יהוה and Jehovah are kindred epithets here ; just as in the New Testament the name Jehovah sets, as it were, but only to rise again in the name Jesus, in which it is historically fulfilled. Jehovah’s previous self-manifestation in history furnished a pledge of the coming redemption. The two synonyms הַיְהוָה and הַשִּׁמְעָנִי have הַשִּׁמְעָנִי in the midst. He proclaimed salvation, brought salvation, and in the new afflictions was still ever preaching salvation, without there having been any *zâr*, *i.e.* any strange or other god in Israel (Deut. xxxii. 16 ; see above, ch. xvii. 10), who proved his existence in any such way, or, in fact, gave any sign of existence at all. This they must themselves confess ; and therefore (*Vav* in sense equivalent to *ergo*, as in ch. xl. 18, 25) He, and He alone, is *El*, the absolutely mighty One, *i.e.* God. And from this time forth He is so, *i.e.* He, and He only, displays divine nature and divine life. There is no reason for taking כִּיּוֹם in the sense of מִהַיּוֹם, “from the period when the day, *i.e.* time, existed” (as the LXX., Jerome, Stier, etc., render it). Both the *gam* (also) and the future *’eph’al* (I will work) require the meaning supported by Ezek. xlviii. 35, “from the day onwards,” *i.e.* from this time forth (syn. לְפָנֵינוּ, ch. xlviii. 7). The concluding words give them to understand, that the predicted salvation is coming in the way of judgment. Jehovah will go forward with His work ; and if He who is the same yesterday and to-day sets this before Him, who can turn it back, so that it shall remain unaccomplished ? The prophecy dies away, like the *massâ* *Bâbhel* with its epilogue in ch. xiv. 27. In the first half (ch. xlii. 1–17) Jehovah introduced His servant, the medium of salvation, and proclaimed the approaching work of salvation, at which all the world had reason to rejoice. The second half (ch. xlii. 18–xliii. 13) began with reproaching, and sought to bring Israel through this predicted salvation to reflect upon itself, and also upon its God, the One God, to whom there was no equal.

FOURTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLIII. 14—XLIV. 5.

AVENGING AND DELIVERANCE ; AND OUTPOURING OF THE SPIRIT.

In close connection with the foregoing prophecy, the present one commences with the dissolution of the Chaldean empire. Vers. 14, 15. "*Thus saith Jehovah, your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, For your sake I have sent to Babel, and will hurl them all down as fugitives, and the Chaldeans into the ships of their rejoicing. I, Jehovah, am your Holy One ; (I) Israel's Creator, your King.*" Hitzig reads בְּאֵינִיָּה, and adopts the rendering, "and drowned the shouting of the Chaldeans in groaning." Ewald also corrects ver. 14a thus : "And plunge their guitars into groanings, and the rejoicing of the Chaldeans into sighs." We cannot see any good taste in this un-Hebraic bombast. Nor is there any more reason for altering בְּרִיחִים (LXX. *φεύγοντας*) into בְּרִיחִים (Jerome, *vectes*), as Umbreit proposes : "and make all their bolts¹ fall down, and the Chaldeans, who rejoice in ships" (*bāḏniyōth*). None of these alterations effect any improvement. For your sakes, says Jehovah, *i.e.* for the purpose of releasing you, I have sent to Babylon (*sc.* the agents of my judgments, ch. xiii. 3), and will throw them all down (*viz.* the *πάμπικτος ὄχλος* of this market of the world ; see ch. xiii. 14, xlvii. 15) as fugitives (*bārīchīm* with a fixed *kametz*, equivalent to *barrīchīm*), *i.e.* into a hurried flight ; and the Chaldeans, who have been settled there from a hoary antiquity, even they shall be driven into the ships of their rejoicing (*bōḏniyōth*, as in Prov. xxxi. 14), *i.e.* the ships which were previously the object of their jubilant pride and their jubilant rejoicing. יְהוָה יִרְדָּתִי stands in the *perf. consec.*, as indicating the object of all the means already set in motion. The ships of pleasure are not air-balloons, as Hitzig affirms. Herodotus (i. 194) describes the freight ships discharging in Babylon ; and we know from other sources that the Chaldeans not only navigated the Euphrates, but the Persian Gulf as well, and employed vessels built by Phœnicians for warlike purposes

¹ This would require בְּרִיחִיָּה.

also.¹ הוֹרִיר itself might indeed signify "to hurl to the ground" (Ps. lvi. 8, lix. 12); but the allusion to ships shows that הוֹרִיר and הוֹרִירָה are to be connected (cf. ch. lxiii. 14), and that a general driving down both by land and water to the southern coast is intended. By thus sweeping away both foreigners and natives out of Babylon into the sea, Jehovah proves what He is in Himself, according to ver. 15, and also in His relation to Israel; we must supply a repetition of הֵן here (ver. 15b), as in ver. 3a. The congregation which addresses Him as the Holy One, the people who suffer Him to reign over them as their King, cannot remain permanently despised and enslaved.

There now follows a second field of the picture of redemption; and the expression "for your sake" is expounded in vers. 16-21: "*Thus saith Jehovah, who giveth a road through the sea, and a path through tumultuous waters; who bringeth out chariot and horse, army and hero; they lie down together, they never rise: they have flickered away, extinguished like a wick. Remember not things of olden time, nor meditate upon those of earlier times! Behold, I work out a new thing: will ye not live to see it? Yea, I make a road through the desert, and streams through solitudes. The beast of the field will praise me, wild dogs and ostriches: for I give water in the desert, streams in solitude, to give drink to my people, my chosen. The people that I formed for myself, they shall show forth my praise.*" What Jehovah really says commences in ver. 18. Then in between He is described as Redeemer out of Egypt; for the redemption out of Egypt was a type and pledge of the deliverance to be looked for out of Babylon. The participles must not be rendered *qui dedit, eduxit*; but from the mighty act of Jehovah in olden time general attributes are deduced: He who makes a road in the sea, as He once showed. The sea with the tumultuous waters is the Red Sea (Neh. ix. 11); 'izzūz, which rhymes with vāsūs, is a concrete, as in Ps. xxiv. 8, the army with the heroes at its head. The expression "bringeth out," etc., is not followed by "and suddenly destroys them," but we are transported at once into the very midst of the scenes of destruction. יִשְׁכְּבוּ shows them to us entering upon the sleep of death, in which they lie without hope (ch. xxvi. 14). The close (*kappishutāh khābhū*) is iambic, as in Judg. v. 27. The

¹ See G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, i. 128, ii. 448.

admonition in ver. 18 does not commend utter forgetfulness and disregard (see ch. xlvi. 9); but that henceforth they are to look forwards rather than backward. The new thing which Jehovah is in the process of working out eclipses the old, and deserves a more undivided and prolonged attention. Of this new thing it is affirmed, "even now it sprouts up;" whereas in ch. xlii. 9, even in the domain of the future, a distinction was drawn between "the former things" and "new things," and it could be affirmed of the latter that they were not yet sprouting up. In the passage before us the entire work of God in the new time is called *chādāshāh* (new), and is placed in contrast with the *ri'shōnōth*, or occurrences of the olden time; so that as the first part of this new thing had already taken place (ch. xlii. 9), and there was only the last part still to come, it might very well be affirmed of the latter, that it was even now sprouting up (not already, which עתה may indeed also mean, but as in ch. xlviii. 7). In connection with this, הָלֹא תִרְעֶיָהּ (a verbal form with the suffix, as in Jer. xiii. 17, with *kametz* in the syllable before the tone, as in ch. vi. 9, xlvii. 11, in pause) does not mean, "Will ye then not regard it," as Ewald, Umbreit, and others render it; but, "shall ye not, *i.e.* assuredly ye will, experience it." The substance of the *chādāshāh* (the new thing) is unfolded in ver. 19*b*. It enfolds a rich fulness of wonders: אֵין affirming that, among other things, Jehovah will do this one very especially. He transforms the pathless, waterless desert, that His chosen one, the people of God, may be able to go through in safety, and without fainting. And the benefits of this miracle of divine grace reach the animal world as well, so that their joyful cries are an unconscious praise of Jehovah. (On the names of the animals, see vol. i. 305; and Köhler on Mal. i. 3.) In this we can recognise the prophet, who, as we have several times observed since ch. xi. (compare especially ch. xxx. 23, 24, xxxv. 7), has not only a sympathizing heart for the woes of the human race, but also an open ear for the sighs of all creation. He knows that when the sufferings of the people of God shall be brought to an end, the sufferings of creation will also terminate; for humanity is the heart of the universe, and the people of God (understanding by this the people of God according to the Spirit) are the heart of humanity. In ver. 21 the promise is brought to a general

close: the people that (*zū* personal and relative, as in ch. xlii. 24¹) I have formed for myself will have richly to relate how I glorified myself in them.

It would be the praise of God, however, and not the merits of their own works, that they would have to relate; for there was nothing at all that could give them any claim to reward. There were not even acts of ceremonial worship, but only the guilt of grievous sins. Vers. 22-24. "*And thou hast not called upon me, O Jacob, that thou shouldst have wearied thyself for me, O Israel! Thou hast not brought me sheep of thy burnt-offerings, and thou hast not honoured me with thy slain-offerings. I have not burdened thee with meat-offerings, and have not troubled thee about incense. Thou hast bought me no spice-cane for silver, nor hast thou refreshed me with fat of thy slain-offerings. No; thou hast wearied me with thy sins, troubled me with thine iniquities.*" We cannot agree with Stier, that these words refer to the whole of the previous worship of Israel, which is treated here as having no existence, because of its heartlessness and false-holiness. And we must also not forget, that all these prophecies rested on either the historical or the ideal soil of the captivity. The charge commences with the worship of prayer (with calling upon Jehovah, as in Ps. xiv. 4, xviii. 7), to which the people were restricted when in exile, since the law did not allow them to offer sacrifice outside the holy land. The personal pronoun *אני*, in the place of the suffix, is written first of all for the sake of emphasis, as if the meaning were, "Israel could exert itself to call upon other gods, but not upon Jehovah." The following *kī* is equivalent to *ut* (Hos. i. 6), or *'ad-kī* in 2 Sam. xxiii. 10, *adeo ut laborasses me colendo* (so as to have wearied thyself in worshipping me). They are also charged with having offered no sacrifices, inasmuch as in a foreign land this duty necessarily lapsed of itself, together with

¹ The pointing connects *אני-עם* with *makkeph*, so that the rendering would be, "The people there I have formed for myself;" but according to our view, *עם* should be accented with *yethib*, and *zū* with *munach*. In just the same way, *zū* is connected with the previous noun as a demonstrative, by means of *makkeph*, in Ex. xv. 13, 16, Ps. ix. 16, lxii. 12, cxlii. 4, cxliii. 8, and by means of a subsidiary accent in Ps. x. 2, xii. 8. The idea which underlies ch. xlii. 24 appears to be, "This is the retribution that we have met with from him." But in none of these can we be bound by the punctuation.

the self-denial that it involved. The spelling הַבִּיאָה (as in Num. xiv. 31) appears to have been intended for the pronunciation הַבִּיאָה (compare the pronunciation in 2 Kings xix. 25, which comes between the two). The *'olōth* (burnt-offerings) stand first, as the expression of adoration, and are connected with *sēh*, which points to the daily morning and evening sacrifice (the *tāmīd*). Then follow the *z'bhāchīm* (slain-offerings), the expression of the establishment of fellowship with Jehovah (וַיִּבְחֵי is equivalent to וַיִּבְחֵי, like חָמָה = בַּחמָה, ch. xliii. 25). The "fat" (*chēleb*) in ver. 24 refers to the portions of fat that were placed upon the altar in connection with this kind of sacrifice. After the *z'bhāchīm* comes the *minchāh*, the expression of desire for the blessing of Jehovah, a portion of which, the so-called remembrance portion (*azkārāh*), was placed upon the altar along with the whole of the incense. And lastly, the *qāneh* (spice-cane), *i.e.* some one of the *Amoma*,¹ points to the holy anointing oil (Ex. xxx. 23), or if it refer to spices generally, to the sacred incense, though *qāneh* is not mentioned as one of the ingredients in Ex. xxx. 34. The nation, which Jehovah was now redeeming out of pure unmingled grace, had not been burdened with costly tasks of this description (see Jer. vi. 20); on the contrary, it was Jehovah only who was burdened and troubled. He denies that there was any "causing to serve" (וַיַּעֲבִיר, lit. to make a person a servant, to impose servile labour upon him) endured by Israel, but affirms this rather of Himself. The sins of Israel pressed upon Him, as a burden does upon a servant. His love took upon itself the burden of Israel's guilt, which derived its gravitating force from His own holy righteous wrath; but it was a severe task to bear this heavy burden, and expunge it,—a thoroughly divine task, the significance of which was first brought out in its own true light by the cross on Golgotha. When God creates, He expresses His *fiat*, and what He wills comes to pass. But He does not blot out sin without balancing

¹ The *qāneh* is generally supposed to be the *Calamus*; but the calamus forms no stalk, to say nothing of a cane or hollow stalk. It must be some kind of aromatic plant, with a stalk like a cane, either the *Cardamum*, *Ingber*, or *Curcuma*; at any rate, it belonged to the species *Amomum*. The aroma of this was communicated to the anointing oil, the latter being infused, and the resinous parts of the former being thereby dissolved.

His love with His justice ; and this equalization is not effected without conflict and victory.

Nevertheless, the sustaining power of divine love is greater than the gravitating force of divine wrath. Ver. 25. "*I, I alone, blot out thy transgressions for my own sake, and do not remember thy sins.*" Jehovah Himself here announces the *sola gratia* and *sola fides*. We have adopted the rendering "I alone," because the threefold repetition of the subject, "I, I, He is blotting out thy transgressions," is intended to affirm that this blotting out of sin is so far from being in any way merited by Israel, that it is a sovereign act of His absolute freedom ; and the expression "for my own sake," that it has its foundation only in God, namely, in His absolute free grace, that movement of His love by which wrath is subdued. For the debt stands written in God's own book. Justice has entered it, and love alone blots it out (*máchâh, ἐξαλείφει*, as in ch. xlv. 22, Ps. li. 3, 11, cix. 14) ; but, as we know from the actual fulfilment, not without paying with blood, and giving the quittance with blood.

Jehovah now calls upon Israel, if this be not the case, to remind Him of any merit upon which it can rely. Ver. 26. "*Call to my remembrance ; we will strive with one another : tell now, that thou mayst appear just.*" Justification is an *actus forensis* (see ch. i. 18). Justice accuses, and grace acquits. Or has Israel any actual merits, so that Justice would be obliged to pronounce it just ? The object to *hazkîrênî* and *sappêr*, which never have the closed sense of pleading, as Böttcher supposes, is the supposed meritorious works of Israel.

But Israel has no such works ; on the contrary, its history has been a string of sins from the very first. Ver. 27. "*Thy first forefather sinned, and thy mediators have fallen away from me.*" By the first forefather, Hitzig, Umbreit, and Knobel understand Adam ; but Adam was the forefather of the human race, not of Israel ; and the debt of Adam was the debt of mankind, and not of Israel. The reference is to Abraham, as the first of the three from whom the origin and election of Israel were dated ; Abraham, whom Israel from the very first had called with pride "our father" (Matt. iii. 9). Even the history of Abraham was stained with sin, and did not shine in the light of meritorious works, but in that of grace, and of faith laying

hold of grace. The *m^ltsim*, interpreters, and mediators generally (2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Job xxxiii. 23), are the prophets and priests, who stood between Jehovah and Israel, and were the medium of intercourse between the two, both in word and deed. They also had for the most part become unfaithful to God, by resorting to ungodly soothsaying and false worship. Hence the sin of Israel was as old as its very earliest origin; and apostasy had spread even among those who ought to have been the best and most godly, because of the office they sustained.

Consequently the all-holy One was obliged to do what had taken place. Ver. 28. "*Then I profaned holy princes, and gave up Jacob to the curse, and Israel to blasphemies.*" וְאַחֲלַל might be an imperfect, like וְאָכַל, "I ate," in ch. xlv. 19, and וְרָאִיתִי, "I looked," in ch. lxiii. 5; but וְאַחֲלַל by the side of it shows that the pointing sprang out of the future interpretation contained in the Targum; so that as the latter is to be rejected, we must substitute וְאַחֲלַל, וְאַחֲלַל (Ges. § 49, 2). The "holy princes" (*sârê qôdesh*) are the hierarchs, as in 1 Chron. xxiv. 5, the supreme spiritual rulers as distinguished from the temporal rulers. The profanation referred to was the fact that they were ruthlessly hurried off into a strange land, where their official labours were necessarily suspended. This was the fate of the leaders of the worship; and the whole nation, which bore the honourable names of Jacob and Israel, was given up to the ban (*chêrem*) and the blasphemies (*giddûphim*) of the nations of the world.

The prophet cannot bear to dwell any longer upon this dark picture of their state of punishment; the light of the promise breaks through again, and in this third field of the fourth prophecy in all the more intensive form. Ch. xlv. 1-4. "*And now hear, O Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen. Thus saith Jehovah, thy Creator, and thy Former from the womb, who cometh to thy help; Fear not, my servant Jacob; and Jeshurun, whom I have chosen! For I will pour out water upon thirsty ones, and brooks upon the dry ground; will pour out my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine after-growth; and they shoot up among the grass, as willows by flowing waters.*" In contrast with the *chêrem*, i.e. the setting apart for destruction, there is here presented the promise of the pouring out of

the Spirit and of blessing; and in contrast with the *gidduphm*, the promise of general eagerness to come and honour Israel and its God (ver. 5). The epithets by which Jehovah designates Himself, and those applied to Israel in vers. 1, 2, make the claim to love all the more urgent and emphatic. The accent which connects *וַיִּצְרֶךְ מִבְּטֵן*, so as to make *יִצְרֶךְ* by itself an attributive clause like *בְּתַרְתִּי בּוֹ*, is confirmed by ver. 24 and ch. xlix. 5: Israel as a nation and all the individuals within it are, as the chosen servant of Jehovah (ch. xlix. 1), the direct formation of Jehovah Himself from the remotest point of their history. In ver. 26, *Jeshurun* is used interchangeably with Jacob. This word occurs in three other passages (viz. Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26), and is always written with *kibbutz*, just as it is here. The rendering *Ἰσραελίσκος* in *Gr. Ven.* is founded upon the supposition that the word is equivalent to *יִשְׂרָאֵלִין*,—a strange contraction, which is inadmissible, if only on account of the substitution of *ש* for *ש*. The *ש* points back to *יֵשׁר*, to be straight or even; hence *A. S. Th.* *euθύς* (elsewhere *euθύτατος*), Jerome *rectissimus* (though in Deut. xxxii. 15 he renders it, after the LXX., *dilectus*). It is an offshoot of *יֵשׁר = יֵשׁר* (Ps. xxv. 21), like *יִרְחַן* from *יָרַח*; and *un* (= *ōn*) does not stamp it as a diminutive (for *אִישׁוֹן*, which Kamphausen adduces in opposition to Hengstenberg and Volck, does not stand in the same relation to *אִישׁ* as *mannikin* to man, but rather as the image of a man to a man himself; compare the Arabic *insān*). We must not render it therefore as an affectionate diminutive, as Gesenius does, the more especially as Jehovah, though speaking in loving terms, does not adopt the language of a lover. The relation of *Jeshurun* to *יֵשׁר* is rather the same as that of *שְׁלוֹם* to *שְׁלֹמֶה*, so that the real meaning is “gentleman,” or one of gentlemanly or honourable mind, though this need not appear in the translation, since the very nature of a proper name would obliterate it. In ver. 3, the blessings to be expected are assigned as the reason for the exhortation to be of good cheer. In ver. 3a water is promised in the midst of drought, and in ver. 3b the Spirit and blessing of God, just as in Joel the promise of rain is first of all placed in contrast with drought; and this is followed by the promise of the far surpassing antitype, namely, the outpouring of the Spirit. There is nothing at variance with

this in the fact that we have not the form צִמָּה in the place of צִמָּה (according to the analogy of צִמָּה, צִמָּה, Ps. lxxiii. 10). By צִמָּה we understand the inhabitants of the land who are thirsting for rain, and by *yabbâshâh* the parched land itself. Further on, however, an express distinction is made between the abundance of water in the land and the prosperous growth of the nation planted by the side of water-brooks (Ps. i. 3). We must not regard 3a, therefore, as a figure, and 3b as the explanation, or turn 3a into a simile introduced in the form of a protasis, although unquestionably water and mountain streams are made the symbol, or rather the anagogical type, of spiritual blessings coming down from above in the form of heavenly gifts, by a gradual ascent from מִיָּם and נוֹלִים (from נוֹל, to trickle downwards, Song of Sol. iv. 15, Jer. xviii. 14) to רִיחַ ה' and רִיחַת ה' (בְּרִיחַת). When these natural and spiritual waters flow down upon the people, once more restored to their home, they spring up among (בְּיָן only met with here, LXX. and Targum בְּיָן) the grass, like willows by water-brooks. The willows¹

¹ "The *garab*," says Wetzstein, "was only met with by me in one locality, or, at any rate, I only noticed it once, namely in the *Wady Sô'êb*, near to a ford of the river which is called the *Hôd* ford, from the *chirbet el-Hôd*, a miserable ruin not far off. It is half an hour to the west of *Nimrin* (*Nimrim*, ch. xv. 6), or, speaking more exactly, half an hour above (i.e. to the east of) *Zafât Nimrîn*, an antique road on the northern bank of the river, hewn in a precipitous wall of rock, like the ladder of Tyre. I travelled through the valley in June 1860, and find the following entry in my diary: 'At length the ravine opened up into a broader valley, so that we could get down to the clear, copious, and rapid stream, and were able to cross it. Being exhausted by the heat, we lay down near the ford among the oleanders, which the mass of flowers covered with a rosy glow. The reed grows here to an unusual height, as in the *Wady Yarmûk*, and willows (*zafzaf*) and *garab* are mingled together, and form many-branched trees of three or four fathoms in height. The vegetation, which is fresh and luxuriant by the water-side, is scorched up with the heat in the valley within as little as ten paces from the banks of the stream. The farthest off is the 'osar plant, with its thick, juicy, dark green stalks and leaves, and its apple-like fruit, which is of the same colour, and therefore not yet ripe. The *garab* tree has already done flowering. The leaves of this tree stand quite close around the stem, as in the case of the *Sindiana* (the Syrian oak), and, like the leaves of the latter, are fringed with little thorns; but, like the willow, it is a water plant, and our companions *Abdallah* and *Nasrallah* assured us that it was only met with near flowing water and in hot lowlands. Its bunches of flowers are at the points of the slender branches, and

are the nation, which has hitherto resembled withered plants in a barren soil, but is now restored to all the bloom of youth through the Spirit and blessing of God. The grass stands for the land, which resembles a green luxuriant plain; and the water-brooks represent the abundant supply of living waters, which promote the prosperity of the land and its inhabitants.

When Jehovah has thus acknowledged His people once more, the heathen, to whose *giddūphim* (blasphemies) Israel has hitherto been given up, will count it the greatest honour to belong to Jehovah and His people. Ver. 5. "*One will say, I belong to Jehovah; and a second will solemnly name the name of Jacob; and a third will inscribe himself to Jehovah, and name the name of Israel with honour.*" The threefold *zeh* refers to the heathen, as in Ps. lxxxvii. 4, 5. One will declare himself

assume an umbelliferous form. This is the ערב of the Bible.' Consequently the *garab* or (as *nom. unitatis*) the *garaba* cannot be regarded as a species of willow; and Winer's assumption (*Real-Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Weiden*), that the weeping willow is intended at any rate in Ps. cxxxvii. 2, is an error. In Arabic the weeping willow is always called *shafshaf mustachi* (the drooping tree). At the same time, we may render ערבים 'willows,' since the *garab* loves running water as well as the willow, and apparently they seek one another's society; it is quite enough that the difference should be clearly pointed out in the commentary. The reason why the *garab* did not find its way into my herbarium was the following. On my arrival in Salt, I received the first intelligence of the commencement of the slaughter of the Christians on Antilibanus, and heard the report, which was then commonly believed, that a command had been sent from Constantinople to exterminate Christianity from Syria. This alarming report compelled me to inquire into the actual state of affairs; therefore, leaving my luggage and some of my companions behind, I set off with all speed to Jerusalem, where I hoped to obtain reliable information, accompanied by Herr Dörger, my kavas, and two natives, viz. *Abdallah* the smith, from Salt, and *Nasrallah* the smith, from *Ain Genna*. For a ride like this, which did not form part of the original plan of my journey, everything but weapons, even a herbarium, would have been in the way. Still there are small caravans going every week between Salt and Jerusalem, and they must always cross the *Hôd* ford, so that it would be easy to get a twig of the *garab*. So far as I remember, the remains of the blossom were of a dirty white colour." (Compare vol. i. 328, where we have taken *nachal há'ârâbhim*, according to the meaning of the words, as a synonym of *Wady Sufsaf*, or, more correctly, *Safsâf*. From the description given above, the *garab* is a kind of *viburnum* with indented leaves. This tree, which is of moderate height, is found by the side of streams along with the willow. According to Sprengel (*Gesch. der Botanik*. i. 25), the *safsâf* is the *salix subserrata* of Willdenow).

to belong to Jehovah ; another will call with the name of Jacob, *i.e.* (according to the analogy of the phrase 'קרא בשם ה' make it the medium and object of solemn exclamation ; a third will write with his hand (ידו, an acc. of more precise definition, like חָתַם in ch. xlii. 25, and זָכַח in ch. xliii. 23), "To Jehovah," thereby attesting that he desires to belong to Jehovah, and Jehovah alone. This is the explanation given by Gesenius, Hahn, and others ; whereas Hitzig and Knobel follow the LXX. in the rendering, "he will write upon his hand 'lay'hōvāh,' *i.e.* mark the name of Jehovah upon it." But apart from the fact that *káthabbh*, with an accusative of the writing materials, would be unprecedented (the construction required would be על-ידו), this view is overthrown by the fact that tattooing was prohibited by the Israelitish law (Lev. xix. 28 ; compare the mark of the beast in Rev. xiii. 16). קרא בשם is interchanged with כָּנָה בשם, to surname, or entitle (the Syriac and Arabic are the same ; compare the Arabic *kunye*, the name given to a man as the father of such and such a person, *e.g.* *Abu-Muhammed*, rhetorically called metonymy). The name *Israel* becomes a name or title of honour among the heathen. This concludes the fourth prophecy, which opens out into three distinct fields. With וַעֲתָה in ch. xlv. 1 it began to approach the close, just as the third did in ch. xliii. 1,—a well-rounded whole, which leaves nothing wanting.

FIFTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLIV. 6-23.

THE RIDICULOUS GODS OF THE NATIONS ; AND THE GOD OF ISRAEL, WHO MAKES HIS PEOPLE TO REJOICE.

A new pledge of redemption is given, and a fresh exhortation to trust in Jehovah ; the wretchedness of the idols and their worshippers being pointed out, in contrast with Jehovah, the only speaking and acting God. Ver. 6. "*Thus saith Jehovah the King of Israel, and its Redeemer, Jehovah of hosts ; I am first, and I last ; and beside me there is no God.*" The fact that His deity, which rules over not only the natural world, but history as well, is thus without equal and above all time, is now proved by Him from the fact that He alone manifests Himself as God, and that by the utterance of pro-

phesy. Ver. 7. "*And who preaches as I do? Let him make it known, and show it to me; since I founded the people of ancient time! And future things, and what is approaching, let them only make known.*" Jehovah shows Himself as the God of prophecy since the time that He founded עַם-עוֹלָם (אֶרָא) refers to the continued preaching of prophecy). 'Am 'olām is the epithet applied in Ezek. xxvi. 20 to the people of the dead, who are sleeping the long sleep of the grave; and here it does not refer to Israel, which could neither be called an "eternal" nation, nor a people of the olden time, and which would have been more directly named; but according to ch. xl. 7 and xlii. 5, where 'am signifies the human race, and Job xxii. 15 sqq., where 'olām is the time of the old world before the flood, it signifies humanity as existing from the very earliest times. The prophecies of Jehovah reach back even to the history of paradise. The parenthetical clause, "Let him speak it out, and tell it me," is like the apodosis of a hypothetical protasis: "if any one thinks that he can stand by my side." The challenge points to earlier prophecies; with וְאַתִּיּוֹת it takes a turn to what is future, אֲחֵרִית itself denoting what is absolutely future, according to ch. xli. 23, and אֲשֶׁר תִּבְּאֵנָה what is about to be realized immediately; lāmō is an ethical dative.

Of course, none of the heathen gods could in any way answer to the challenge. So much the more confident might Israel be, seeing that it had quite another God. Ver. 8. "*Despair ye not, neither tremble: have not I told thee long ago, and made known, and ye are my witnesses: is there a God beside me? And nowhere a rock; I know of none.*" The Jewish lexicographers derive תִּרְהוּ (with the first syllable closed) from רָהָה (רה); whereas modern lexicographers prefer some of them to read תִּרְהוּ, *tir'hū*, from יָרָה (Ges., Knobel), and others תִּירָה (Ewald). But the possibility of there being a verb רָהָה, to tremble or fear, cannot for a moment be doubted when we think of such words as יָרַע, יָרָא, compare also אָסַף, (applied to water moving to and fro). It was not of the heathen deities that they were directed not to be afraid, as in Jer. x. 5, but rather the great catastrophe coming upon the nations, of which Cyrus was the instrument. In the midst of this, when one nation after another would be overthrown, and its tutelary gods would prove to be worthless, Israel

would have nothing to fear, since its God, who was no dumb idol, had foretold all this, and that indeed long ago (מֵאִז, cf. מֵרַאשׁ, ch. xli. 26), as they themselves must bear witness. Prophecies before the captivity had foretold the conquest of Babylon by Medes and Elamites, and the deliverance of Israel from the Babylonian bondage; and even these prophecies themselves were like a spirit's voice from the far distant past, consoling the people of the captivity beforehand, and serving to support their faith. On the ground of such well-known self-manifestations, Jehovah could well ask, "Is there a God beside me?"—a virtual denial in the form of an interrogation, to which the categorical denial, "There is no rock (*i.e.* no ground of trust, ch. xxvi. 4, xvii. 10), I know of none (beside me)," is attached.

The heathen gods are so far from being a ground of trust, that all who trust in them must discover with alarm how they have deceived themselves. Vers. 9-11. *"The makers of idols, they are all desolation, and their bosom-children worthless; and those who bear witness for them see nothing and know nothing, that they may be put to shame. Who hath formed the god, and cast the idol to no profit? Behold, all its followers will be put to shame; and the workmen are men: let them all assemble together, draw near, be alarmed, be all put to shame together."* The *chāmūdīm* (favourites) of the makers of idols are the false gods, for whose favour they sue with such earnestness. If we retain the word הִפְחֵהוּ, which is pointed as critically suspicious, and therefore is not accentuated, the explanation might possibly be, "Their witnesses (*i.e.* witnesses against themselves) are they (the idols): they see not, and are without consciousness, that they (those who trust in them) may be put to shame." In any case, the subject to *yēbhōshū* (shall be put to shame) is the worshippers of idols. If we erase הִפְחֵהוּ, עֲרִיכָם will be those who come forward as witnesses for the idols. This makes the words easier and less ambiguous. At the same time, the Septuagint retains the word (καὶ μάρτυρες αὐτῶν εἰσίν). As "not seeing" here signifies to be blind, so "not knowing" is also to be understood as a self-contained expression, meaning to be irrational, just as in ch. xlv. 20, lvi. 10 (in ch. i. 3, on the other hand, we have taken it in a different sense). לִמְעַן implies that the will of the sinner in his sin has also destruction for its object; and this is not something added to the sin, but growing out of it. The

question in ver. 10 summons the maker of idols for the purpose of announcing his fate, and in לְבִלְתִּי הוֹעִיל (to no profit) this announcement is already contained. Ver. 11 is simply a development of this expression, "to no profit." יֵצֵר, like נָטַע in ver. 14, is contrary to the rhythmical law *milra* which prevails elsewhere. חֲבֵרָיו (its followers) are not the fellow-workmen of the maker of idols (inasmuch as in that case the maker himself would be left without any share in the threat), but the associates (*i.e.* followers) of the idols (Hos. iv. 17; 1 Cor. x. 20). It is a pernicious work that they have thus had done for them. And what of the makers themselves? They are numbered among the men. So that they who ought to know that they are made by God, become makers of gods themselves. What an absurdity! Let them crowd together, the whole guild of god-makers, and draw near to speak to the works they have made. All their eyes will soon be opened with amazement and alarm.

The prophet now conducts us into the workshops. Vers. 12, 13. "*The iron-smith has a chisel, and works with red-hot coals, and shapes it with hammers, and works it with his powerful arm. He gets hungry thereby, and his strength fails; if he drink no water, he becomes exhausted. The carpenter draws the line, marks it with the pencil, carries it out with planes, and makes a drawing of it with the compass, and carries it out like the figure of a man, like the beauty of a man, which may dwell in the house.*" The two words *chârash barzel* are connected together in the sense of *faber ferrarius*, as we may see from the expression *chârash 'êtsim* (the carpenter, *faber lignarius*), which follows in ver. 13. *Chârash* is the construct of *chârâsh* (= *charrâsh*), as in Ex. xxviii. 11. The second *kametz* of this form of noun does indeed admit of contraction, but only to the extent of a full short vowel; consequently the construct of the plural is not חֲרָשִׁי, but חֲרָשִׁי (ch. xlv. 16, etc.). Hence ver. 12 describes how the smith constructs an idol of iron, ver. 13 how the carpenter makes one of wood. But the first clause, חֲרָשׁ בְּרֹזֶל מַעֲצָד, is enigmatical. In any case, מַעֲצָד is a smith's tool of some kind (from עָצַד, related to חָצַד). And consequently Gesenius, Umbreit, and others, adopt the rendering, "the smith an axe, that does he work, . . .;" but the further account of the origin of an idol says nothing at all about this axe, which the smith supplies to the carpenter, that he may hew out an idol with it.

Hitzig renders it, "The smith, a hatchet does he work, and forms it (viz. into an idol);" but what a roundabout way! first to make a hatchet and then make it into an idol, which would look very slim when made. Knobel translates it, "As for the cutting-smith, he works it;" but this guild of cutting-smiths certainly belongs to Utopia. The best way to render the sentence intelligible, would be to supply לו: "The smith has (uses) the *ma'ātsād*." But in all probability a word has dropped out; and the Septuagint rendering, *ὅτι ὠξυνεν τέκτων σίδηρον σκεπάρνῳ εἰργάσατο*, κ.τ.λ., shows that the original reading of the text was *חרר ברזל מעצר*, and that *חרר* got lost on account of its proximity to *יהר*. The meaning therefore is, "The smith has sharpened, or sharpens (*chiddēd*, syn. *shinnēn*) the *ma'ātsād*," possibly the chisel, to cut the iron upon the anvil; and works with red-hot coals, making the iron red-hot by blowing the fire. The piece of iron which he cuts off is the future idol, and this he shapes with hammers (*יִצְרִי*, the future of *יצר*). And what of the carpenter? He stretches the line upon the block of wood, to measure the length and breadth of the idol; he marks it upon the wood with red-stone (*sered*, *rubrica*, used by carpenters), and works it with planes (*maqtsu'ōth*, a feminine form of *מִקְצֵעַ*, from *קָצַע*, to cut off, pare off, plane; compare the Arabic *mikṭā'*), and with the compasses (*m^cchūgāl*, the tool used, *lāchūg*, i.e. for making a circle) he draws the outline of it, that is to say, in order that the different parts of the body may be in right proportion; and he constructs it in such a manner that it acquires the shape of a man, the beautiful appearance of a man, to be set up like a human inmate in either a temple or private house. The *piel* *פִּיֵּאֵר* (*פִּיֵּאֵר*), from which comes *y^tāārēhū*, is varied here (according to Isaiah's custom; cf. ch. xxix. 7, xxvi. 5) with the *poel* *פִּיֵּאֵר*, which is to be understood as denoting the more exact configuration. The preterites indicate the work for which both smith and carpenter have made their preparations; the futures, the work in which they are engaged.

The prophet now traces the origin of the idols still further back. Their existence or non-existence ultimately depends upon whether it rains or not. Vers. 14-17. "One prepares to cut down cedars, and takes holm and oak-tree, and chooses for himself among the trees of the forest. He has planted a fig, and

the rain draws it up. And it serves the man for firing: he takes thereof, and warms himself; he also heats, and bakes bread; he also works it into a god, and prostrates himself; makes an idol of it, and falls down before it. The half of it he has burned in the fire: over the half of it he eats flesh, roasts a roast, and is satisfied; he also warms himself, and says, Hurrah, I am getting warm, I feel the heat. And the rest of it he makes into a god, into his idol, and says, Save me, for thou art my god." The subject of the sentence is not the carpenter of the previous verse, but "any one." אֲרָזִים apparently stands first, as indicating the species; and in the Talmud and Midrash the trees named are really described as מִיני אֲרָזִים. But *tîrzâh* (from *târaz*, to be hard or firm) does not appear to be a coniferous tree; and the connection with *'allôn*, the oak, is favourable to the rendering ἀγριοβάλανος (LXX., A. Th.), *ilex* (Vulg.). On *'immēts*, to choose, see ch. xli. 10. אֲרָז (with *Nun minusculum*), plur. אֲרָזִים (b. *Ros-ha Sana* 23a) or אֲרָזִים (Para iii. 8), is explained by the Talmud as עֲרֵי, sing. עֲרֵא, i.e. according to Aruch and Rashi, *laurier*, the berries of which are called *baies*. We have rendered it "*fig*," according to the LXX. and Jerome, since it will not do to follow the seductive guidance of the similarity in sound to *ornus* (which is hardly equivalent to ὀρεινός).¹ The description is genealogical, and therefore moves retrogressively, from the felling to the planting. הָיָה in ver. 15a refers to the felled and planted tree, and primarily to the ash. מִהֶם (of such as these) is neuter, as in ch. xxx. 6; at the same time, the prophet had the עֵצִים (the wood, both as produce and material) in his mind. The repeated הָאֲרָז lays emphasis upon the fact, that such different things are done with the very same wood. It is used for warming, and for the preparation of food, as well as for making a god. On the verbs of adoration, *hishtachăvâh* (root *shach*, to sink, to settle down) and *sâgad*, which is only applied to idolatrous worship, and from which *mes'gid*, a mosque, is derived, see Holemann's *Bibelstudien*, i. 3. לָלוּ may no doubt be taken as a plural (= לָהֶם, as in ch. xxx. 5), "such things (*talia*) does he worship," as Stier supposes; but it is probably pathetic, and equivalent to

¹ The *αρία* of Theophrastus is probably *quercus ilex*, which is still called *αρία*; the *laurus nobilis* is now called *βαϊνά*, from the branches which serve instead of palm-branches.

לֵב, as in ch. liii. 8 (compare Ps. xi. 7 ; Ewald, § 247, a). According to the double application of the wood mentioned in ver. 15, a distinction is drawn in vers. 16, 17 between the one half of the wood and the other. The repeated *chetsyō* (the half of it) in ver. 16 refers to the first half, which furnishes not only fuel for burning, but shavings and coals for roasting and baking as well. And as a fire made for cooking warms quite as much as one made expressly for the purpose, the prophet dwells upon this benefit which the wood of the idol does confer. On the tone upon the last syllable of *chammōthi*, see at Job xix. 17 ; and on the use of the word חֵץ as a comprehensive term, embracing every kind of sensation and perception, see my *Psychologie*, p. 234. Diagoras of Melos, a pupil of Democritus, once threw a wooden standing figure of Hercules into the fire, and said jocularly, "Come now, Hercules, perform thy thirteenth labour, and help me to cook the turnips."

So irrational is idolatry ; but yet, through self-hardening, they have fallen under the judgment of hardness of heart (ch. vi. 9, 10, xix. 3, xxix. 10), and have been given up to a reprobate mind (Rom. i. 28). Vers. 18, 19. "*They perceive not, and do not understand : for their eyes are smeared over, so that they do not see ; their hearts, so that they do not understand. And men take it not to heart, no perception and no understanding, that men should say, The half of it I have burned in the fire, and also baked bread upon the coals thereof ; roasted flesh, and eaten : and ought I to make the rest of it an abomination, to fall down before the produce of a tree ?*" Instead of טָחַח, Lev. xiv. 42, the third person is written טָח (from *táchach*, Ges. § 72, Anm. 8) in a circumstantial sense : their eyes are, as it were, smeared over with plaster. The expression עָלַיִב הָשִׁיב אֶל־לֵב or עָלַיִב (ch. xlvi. 8), literally to carry back into the heart, which we find as well as שִׁים עַל־לֵב, to take to heart (ch. xlii. 25), answers exactly to the idea of reflection, here with reference to the immense contrast between a piece of wood and the Divine Being. The second and third לֵב in ver. 19 introduce substantive clauses, just as verbal clauses are introduced by וְאֵין לָאֵמֶר. וְאֵין is used in the same manner as in ch. ix. 8 : "perception and insight showing themselves in their saying." On *būl*, see Job xl. 20 ; the meaning "block" cannot be established : the talmudic *būl*, a lump or piece, which Ewald adduces, is the Greek βῶλος.

This exposure of the infatuation of idolatry closes with an epiphonem in the form of a gnome (cf. ch. xxvi. 7, 10). Ver. 20. "*He who striveth after ashes, a befooled heart has led him astray, and he does not deliver his soul, and does not think, Is there not a lie in my right hand?*" We have here a complete and self-contained sentence, which must not be broken up in the manner proposed by Knobel, "He hunts after ashes; his heart is deceived," etc. He who makes ashes, *i.e.* things easily scattered, perishable, and worthless, the object of his effort and striving (compare *rûäch* in Hos. xii. 2), has been led astray from the path of truth and salvation by a heart overpowered by delusion; he is so certain, that he does not think of saving his soul, and it never occurs to him to say, "Is there not a lie in my right hand?" All that belongs to idolatry is *sheger*—a fabrication and a lie. רָצָה means primarily to pasture or tend, hence to be concerned about, to strive after. הוֹחֵל is an attributive, from *tálal* = *hâthal*, *ludere*, *ludificare* (see at ch. xxx. 10).

The second half of the prophecy commences with ver. 21. It opens with an admonition. Ver. 21. "*Remember this, Jacob and Israel; for thou art my servant: I have formed thee; thou art servant to me, O Israel: thou art not forgotten by me.*" The thing to which the former were blind,—namely, that idolatry is a lie,—Jacob was to have firmly impressed upon its mind. The words "and Israel," which are attached, are a contraction for "and remember this, O Israel" (compare the vocatives after *Váv* in Prov. viii. 5 and Joel ii. 23). In the reason assigned, the tone rests upon *my* in the expression "my servant," and for this reason "servant to me" is used interchangeably with it. Israel is the servant of Jehovah, and as such it was formed by Jehovah; and therefore reverence was due to Him, and Him alone. The words which follow are rendered by the LXX., Targum, Jerome, and Luther as though they read לֹא הִנֵּשְׁנִי, though Hitzig regards the same rendering as admissible even with the reading הִנֵּשְׁנִי, inasmuch as the *niph'al* נִשְׁפָּה has the middle sense of *ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι*, *oblivisci*. But it cannot be shown that *nizkar* is ever used in the analogous sense of *μνησκεισθαι*, *recordari*. The *niph'al*, which was no doubt originally reflective, is always used in Hebrew to indicate simply the passive endurance of something which originated with the subject of the action referred to, so that

nisshâh could only signify "to forget one's self." We must indeed admit the possibility of the meaning "to forget one's self" having passed into the meaning "to be forgetful," and this into the meaning "to forget." The Aramæan אֶחָשִׁי also signifies to be forgotten and (with an accent following) to forget, and the connection with an objective suffix has a support in וְיִלְחֹמוּ in Ps. cix. 3. But the latter is really equivalent to וְיִלְחֹמוּ אִתִּי, so that it may be adduced with equal propriety in support of the other rendering, according to which תִּנְשֶׁנִּי is equivalent to תִּנְשֶׁנָּה לִּי (Ges., Umbr., Ewald, Stier). There are many examples of this brachyological use of the suffix (Ges. § 121, 4), so that this rendering is certainly the safer of the two. It also suits the context quite as well as the former, "Oh, forget me not;" the assurance "thou wilt not be forgotten by me" (compare ch. xlix. 15 and the lamentation of Israel in ch. xl. 27) being immediately followed by an announcement of the act of love, by which the declaration is most gloriously confirmed.—Ver. 22. *"I have blotted out thy transgressions as a mist, and thy sins as clouds: return to me; for I have redeemed thee."* We have adopted the rendering "mist" merely because we have no synonym to "cloud;" we have not translated it "thick cloud," because the idea of darkness, thickness, or opacity, which is the one immediately suggested by the word, had become almost entirely lost (see ch. xxv. 5). Moreover, עָבֹל is evidently intended here (see ch. xix. 1), inasmuch as the point of comparison is not the dark, heavy multitude of sins, but the facility and rapidity with which they are expunged. Whether we connect with מְהִיחֵ the idea of a stain, as in Ps. li. 3, 11, or that of a debt entered in a ledger, as in Col. ii. 14, and as we explained it in ch. xliii. 25 (cf. *mâchâh*, Ex. xxxii. 32, 33), in any case sin is regarded as something standing between God and man, and impeding or disturbing the intercourse between them. This Jehovah clears away, just as when His wind sweeps away the clouds, and restores the blue sky again (Job xxvi. 13). Thus does God's free grace now interpose at the very time when Israel thinks He has forgotten it, blotting out Israel's sin, and proving this by redeeming it from a state of punishment. What an evangelical sound the preaching of the Old Testament evangelist has in this passage also! Forgiveness and

redemption are not offered on condition of conversion, but the mercy of God comes to Israel in direct contrast to what its works deserve, and Israel is merely called upon to reciprocate this by conversion and renewed obedience. The perfects denote that which has essentially taken place. Jehovah has blotted out Israel's sin, inasmuch as He does not impute it any more, and thus has redeemed Israel. All that yet remains is the outward manifestation of this redemption, which is already accomplished in the counsel of God.

There is already good ground, therefore, for exuberant rejoicing; and the reply of the church to these words of divine consolation is as follows: Ver. 23. "*Exult, O heavens; for Jehovah hath accomplished it: shout, ye depths of the earth; break out, ye mountains, into exulting; thou forest, and all the wood therein: for Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob, and He showeth Himself glorious upon Israel.*" All creation is to rejoice in the fact that Jehovah has completed what He purposed, that He has redeemed His people, and henceforth will show Himself glorious in them. The heavens on high are to exult; also the depths of the earth, *i.e.* not Hades, which would be opposed to the prevailing view of the Old Testament (Ps. lxvi., cf. lxxxviii. 13), but the interior of the earth, with its caves, its pits, and its deep abysses (see Ps. cxxxix. 15); and the mountains and woods which rise up from the earth towards heaven—all are to unite in the exultation of the redeemed: for the redemption that is being accomplished in man will extend its effects in all directions, even to the utmost limits of the natural world.

This exulting finale is a safe boundary-stone of this fifth prophecy. It opened with "Thus saith the Lord," and the sixth opens with the same.

SIXTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLIV. 24—XLV.

CYRUS, THE ANOINTED OF JEHOVAH, AND DELIVERER OF ISRAEL.

The promise takes a new turn here, acquiring greater and greater speciality. It is introduced as the word of Jehovah, who first gave existence to Israel, and has not let it go to ruin.

Vers. 24-28. "Thus saith Jehovah, thy Redeemer, and He that formed thee from the womb, I Jehovah am He that accomplisheth all; who stretched out the heavens alone, spread out the earth by Himself; who bringeth to nought the signs of the prophets of lies, and exposeth the soothsayers as raging mad; who turneth back the wise men, and maketh their science folly; who realizeth the word of His servant, and accomplisheth the prediction of His messengers; who saith to Jerusalem, She shall be inhabited! and to the cities of Judah, They shall be built, and their ruins I raise up again! who saith to the whirlpool, Dry up; and I dry its streams! who saith to Koresb, My shepherd and he will perform all my will; and will say to Jerusalem, She shall be built, and the temple founded!" The prophecy which commences with ver. 24a is carried on through this group of verses in a series of participial predicates to **יְהוָה** (I). Jehovah is *'ōseh kōl*, accomplishing all (*perficiens omnia*), so that there is nothing that is not traceable to His might and wisdom as the first cause. It was He who alone, without the co-operation of any other being, stretched out the heavens, who made the earth into a wide plain by Himself, i.e. so that it proceeded from Himself alone: **יְהוָה**, as in Josh. xi. 20 (compare **יְהוָה**, ch. xxx. 1; and *mimmennū* in Hos. viii. 4), *chethib* **יְהוָה**, "who was with me," or "who is it beside me?" The Targum follows the *keri*; the Septuagint the *chethib*, attaching it to the following words, *τίς ἕτερος διασκεδάσει*. Ver. 25 passes on from Him whom creation proves to be God, to Him who is proving Himself to be so in history also, and that with obvious reference to the Chaldean soothsayers and wise men (ch. xlvii. 9, 10), who held out to proud Babylon the most splendid and hopeful prognostics. "Who brings to nought (*mēphēr*, opp. *mēqīm*) the signs," i.e. the marvellous proofs of their divine mission which the false prophets adduced by means of fraud and witchcraft. The LXX. render *baddim*, ἐγγαστριμύθων, Targ. *bidin* (in other passages = *'ōb*, Lev. xx. 27; *'ōbōth*, Lev. xix. 31; hence = *πύθων*, *πύθωνες*). At ch. xvi. 6 and Job xi. 3 we have derived it as a common noun from **יָדָב** = **סָבָב**, to speak at random; but it is possible that **יָדָב** may originally have signified to produce or bring forth, without any reference to *βαττολογεῖν*, then to invent, to fabricate, so that *baddim* as a personal name (as in Jer. i. 36) would be synonymous with

baddâ'im, mendaces. On *qôs'mîm*, see ch. iii. 2 (vol. i. 131); on *y'hôlêl*, Job xii. 17, where it occurs in connection with a similar predicative description of God according to His works. In ver. 26 a contrast is drawn between the heathen soothsayers and wise men, and the servant and messengers of Jehovah, whose word, whose '*êtsâh*, i.e. determination or disclosure concerning the future (cf. *yâ'ats*, ch. xli. 28), he realizes and perfectly fulfils. By "his servant" we are to understand Israel itself, according to ch. xlii. 19, but only relatively, namely, as the bearer of the prophetic word, and therefore as the kernel of Israel regarded from the standpoint of the prophetic mission which it performed; and consequently "his messengers" are the prophets of Jehovah who were called out of Israel. The singular "his servant" is expanded in "his messenger" into the plurality embraced in the one idea. This is far more probable than that the author of these prophetic words, who only speaks of himself in a roundabout manner even in ch. xl. 6, should here refer directly to himself (according to ch. xx. 3). In ver. 26b the predicates become special prophecies, and hence their outward limits are also defined. As we have *הַיִּשָּׁב* and not *הַיִּשָּׁבִי*, we must adopt the rendering *habitetur* and *œdificentur*, with which the continuation of the latter *et vastata ejus erigam* agrees. In ver. 27 the prophecy moves back from the restoration of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah to the conquest of Babylon. The expression calls to mind the drying up of the Red Sea (ch. li. 10, xliii. 16); but here it relates to something future, according to ch. xlii. 15, l. 2,—namely, to the drying up of the Euphrates, which Cyrus turned into the enlarged basin of Sepharvaim, so that the water sank to the depth of a single foot, and men could "go through on foot" (Herod. i. 191). But in the complex view of the prophet, the possibility of the conqueror's crossing involved the possibility of the exiles' departing from the prison of the imperial city, which was surrounded by a natural and artificial line of waters (ch. xi. 15). *צָלָה* (from *צָל* = *צָלַל*, to whiz or whirl) refers to the Euphrates, just as *m'tsûlâh* in Job xli. 23, Zech. x. 11, does to the Nile; *נַחֲרִיתִיָּה* is used in the same sense as the Homeric *Ῥαεάνοιο ῥέεθρα*. In ver. 28 the special character of the promise reaches its highest shoot. The deliverer of Israel is mentioned by name: "That saith to Koresh, My shepherd (i.e. a ποιμήν

λαὸν appointed by me), and he who performs all my will" (*chēphets*, θέλημα, not in the generalized sense of πᾶνμα), and that inasmuch as he (Cyrus) saith to (or of) Jerusalem, It shall be built (*tibbāneh*, not the second pers. *tibbānē*), and the foundation of the temple laid (*hēkhāl* a masculine elsewhere, here a feminine). This is the passage which is said by Josephus to have induced Cyrus to send back the Jews to their native land: "Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfil what was so written" (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2). According to Ctesias and others, the name of Cyrus signifies the sun. But all that can really be affirmed is, that it sounds like the name of the sun. For in Neo-Pers. the sun is called *chūr*, in Zendic *hvarē* (*karē*), and from this proper names are formed, such as *chār's'id* (Sunshine, also the Sun); but Cyrus is called *Kuru* or *Khuru* upon the monuments, and this cannot possibly be connected with our *chur*, which would be *uwara* in Old Persian (Rawlinson, Lassen, Spiegel), and *Kōresh* is simply the name of *Kuru* (Κῦρος) Hebraized after the manner of a segholate. There is a marble-block, for example, in the Murghab valley, not far from the mausoleum of Cyrus, which contained the golden coffin with the body of the king (see Strabo, xv. 3, 7); and on this we find an inscription that we also meet with elsewhere, viz. *adam. k'ur'us. khsāya | thiya. hakhāmanisiya*, i.e. I am Kuru the king of the Achæmenides.¹ This name is identical with the name of the river *Kur* (Κῦρος; see i. 393, note); and what Strabo says is worthy of notice,—namely, that "there is also a river called Cyrus, which flows through the so-called cave of Persis near Pasargadæ, and whence the king took his name, changing it from Agradates into Cyrus" (Strab. xv. 3, 6). It is possible also that there may be some connection between the name and the Indian princely title of *Kuru*.

The first strophe of the first half of this sixth prophecy

¹ See the engraving of this tomb of Cyrus, which is now called the "Tomb of Solomon's mother," in Vaux's *Nineveh and Persepolis* (p. 345). On the identity of *Murghāb* and *Pasargadæ*, see Spiegel, *Keil-inschriften*, pp. 71, 72; and with regard to the discovery of inscriptions that may still be expected around the tomb of Cyrus, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, x. 46, note 4 (also compare Spiegel's *Geschichte der Entzifferung der Keilschrift*, im "Ausland," 1865, p. 413).

(ch. xlv. 24 sqq.), the subject of which is Cyrus, the predicted restorer of Jerusalem, of the cities of Judah, and of the temple, is now followed by a second strophe (ch. xlv. 1-8), having for its subject Cyrus, the man through whose irresistible career of conquest the heathen would be brought to recognise the power of Jehovah, so that heavenly blessings would come down upon the earth. The naming of the great shepherd of the nations, and the address to him, are continued in ch. xlv. 1-3: "*Thus saith Jehovah to His anointed, to Koresh, whom I have taken by his right hand to subdue nations before him; and the loins of kings I ungird, to open before him doors and gates, that they may not continue shut. I shall go before thee, and level what is heaped up: gates of brass shall I break in pieces, and bolts of iron shall I smite to the ground. And I shall give thee treasures of darkness, and jewels of hidden places, that thou mayest know that I Jehovah am He who called out thy name, (even) the God of Israel.*" The words addressed to Cyrus by Jehovah commence in ver. 2, but promises applying to him force themselves into the introduction, being evoked by the mention of his name. He is the only king of the Gentiles whom Jehovah ever calls *m'shichî* (my anointed; LXX. *τῷ χριστῷ μου*). The fundamental principle of the politics of the empire of the world was all-absorbing selfishness. But the politics of Cyrus were pervaded by purer motives, and this brought him eternal honour. The very same thing which the spirit of Darius, the father of Xerxes, is represented as saying of him in the *Persæ* of Æschylus (v. 735), *Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθησεν, ὥς εὐφρων ἔφν* (for he was not hateful to God, because he was well-disposed), is here said by the Spirit of revelation, which by no means regards the virtues of the heathen as *splendida vitia*. Jehovah has taken him by his right hand, to accomplish great things through him while supporting him thus. (On the inf. *rad* for *rōd*, from *rādād*, to tread down, see Ges. § 67, Anm. 3.) The dual *d'lāthaim* has also a plural force: "double doors" (*fores*) in great number, viz. those of palaces. After the two infinitives, the verb passes into the finite tense: "loins of kings I ungird" (*discingo*; *pittēäch*, which refers primarily to the loosening of a fastened garment, is equivalent to depriving of strength). The gates—namely, those of the cities which he storms—will not be shut, *sc.* in

perpetuity, that is to say, they will have to open to him. Jerome refers here to the account given of the elder Cyrus in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. A general picture may no doubt be obtained from this of his success in war; but particular statements need support from other quarters, since it is only a historical romance. Instead of אֹשֶׁר (?) in ver. 2, the *keri* has אִישֶׁר; just as in Ps. v. 9 it has הִישֶׁר instead of הֹשֶׁר. A *hiphil* הִוְשִׁיר cannot really be shown to have existed, and the abbreviated future form אֹשֶׁר would be altogether without ground or object here. הִרְוִים (*tumida*; like נִעְיָמִים, *amœna*, and others) is meant to refer to the difficulties piled up in the conqueror's way. The "gates of brass" (*n'dhūshāh*, brazen, poetical for *n'chōsheth*, brass, as in the derivative passage, Ps. cvii. 16) and "bolts of iron" remind one more especially of Babylon with its hundred "brazen gates," the very posts and lintels of which were also of brass (Herod. i. 179); and the treasures laid up in deep darkness and jewels preserved in hiding-places, of the riches of Babylon (Jer. l. 37, li. 13), and especially of those of the Lydian Sardes, "the richest city of Asia after Babylon" (*Cyrop.* vii. 2, 11), which Cyrus conquered first. On the treasures which Cyrus acquired through his conquests, and to which allusion is made in the *Persæ* of Æschylus, v. 327 ("O Persian, land and harbour of many riches thou"), see Plin. *h. n.* xxxiii. 2. Brerewood estimates the quantity of gold and silver mentioned there as captured by him at no less than £126,224,000 sterling. And all this success is given to him by Jehovah, that he may know that it is Jehovah the God of Israel who has called out with his name, *i.e.* called out his name, or called him to be what he is, and as what he shows himself to be.

A second and third object are introduced by a second and third לָמַעַן. Vers. 4-7. "For the sake of my servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen, I called thee hither by name, surnamed thee when thou knewest me not. I Jehovah, and there is none else, beside me no God: I equipped thee when thou knewest me not; that they may know from the rising of the sun, and its going down, that there is none without me: I Jehovah, and there is none else, former of the light, and creator of the darkness; founder of peace, and creator of evil: I Jehovah am He who worketh all this." The וְאִקְרָא which follows the second reason

assigned like an apodosis, is construed doubly: "I called to thee, calling thee by name." The parallel *אֶבְרַךְ* refers to such titles of honour as "my shepherd" and "my anointed," which had been given to him by Jehovah. This calling, distinguishing, and girding, *i.e.* this equipment of Cyrus, took place at a time when Cyrus knew nothing as yet of Jehovah, and by this very fact Jehovah made known His sole Deity. The meaning is, not that it occurred while he was still worshipping false gods, but, as the *refrain*-like repetition of the words "though thou hast not known me" affirms with strong emphasis, before he had been brought into existence, or could know anything of Jehovah. The passage is to be explained in the same way as Jer. i. 5, "Before I formed thee in the womb, I knew thee" (see *Psychol.* pp. 36, 37, 39); and what the God of prophecy here claims for Himself, must not be questioned by false criticism, or weakened down by false apologetics (*i.e.* by giving up the proper name *Cyrus* as a gloss in ch. xlv. 28 and xlv. 1; or generalizing it into a king's name, such as Pharaoh, Abimelech, or Agag). The third and last object of this predicted and realized success of the oppressor of nations and deliverer of Israel is the acknowledgment of Jehovah, spreading over the heathen world from the rising and setting of the sun, *i.e.* in every direction. The *ah* of *וַיִּפְעֶרְכָּהּ* is not a feminine termination (LXX., Targ., Jer.), but a feminine suffix with *Heraphato pro mappic* (Kimchi); compare ch. xxiii. 17, 18, xxxiv. 17 (but not *נָצְהָ* in ch. xviii. 5, or *מוֹסְרָהּ* in ch. xxx. 32).

Shemesh (the sun) is a feminine here, as in Gen. xv. 17, Nah. iii. 17, Mal. iii. 20, and always in Arabic; for the west is invariably called *מַעְרֵב* (Arab. *magrib*). In ver. 7 we are led by the context to understand by darkness and evil the penal judgments, through which light and peace, or salvation, break forth for the people of God and the nations generally. But as the prophecy concerning Cyrus closes with this self-assertion of Jehovah, it is unquestionably a natural supposition that there is also a contrast implied to the dualistic system of Zarathustra, which divided the one nature of the Deity into two opposing powers (see Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 135). The declaration is so bold, that Marcion appealed to this passage as a proof that the God of the Old Testament was

a different being from the God of the New, and not the God of goodness only. The Valentinians and other gnostics also regarded the words "There is no God beside me" in Isaiah, as deceptive words of the Demiurgus. The early church met them with Tertullian's reply, "*de his creator profitetur malis quæ congruunt judici*," and also made use of this self-attestation of the God of revelation as a weapon with which to attack Manicheism. The meaning of the words is not exhausted by those who content themselves with the assertion, that by the *evil* (or *darkness*) we are not to understand the evil of guilt (*malum culpæ*), but the evil of punishment (*malum pœnæ*). Undoubtedly, evil as an act is not the direct working of God, but the spontaneous work of a creature endowed with freedom. At the same time, evil, as well as good, has in this sense its origin in God,—that He combines within Himself the first principles of love and wrath, the possibility of evil, the self-punishment of evil, and therefore the consciousness of guilt as well as the evil of punishment in the broadest sense. When the apostle celebrates the glory of free grace in Rom. ix. 11 sqq., he stands on that giddy height, to which few are able to follow him without falling headlong into the false conclusions of a *decretum absolutum*, and the denial of all creaturely freedom.

In the prospect of this ultimate and saving purpose of the mission of Cyrus, viz. the redemption of Israel and the conversion of the heathen, heaven and earth are now summoned to bring forth and pour down spiritual blessings in heavenly gifts, according to the will and in the power of Jehovah, who has in view a new spiritual creation. Ver. 8. "*Cause to trickle down, ye heavens above, and let the blue sky rain down righteousness; let the earth open, and let salvation blossom, and righteousness; let them sprout together: I Jehovah have created it.*" What the heavens are to cause to trickle down, follows as the object to יִשַׁל. And what is to flower when the earth opens (*pâthach* as in Ps. cvi. 17; compare *aprilis* and the Neo-Greek *anoiwis*, spring), is salvation and righteousness. But *tzedek* (righteousness) is immediately afterwards the object of a new verb; so that יִשַׁע וַיִּצְדָּקָה, which are thought of as combined, as the word יַחַד (together) shows, are uncoupled in the actual expression. Knobel expresses a different opinion, and assumes that יִשַׁע is

regarded as a collective noun, and therefore construed with a plural, like אֲמָרָה in Ps. cxix. 103, and הִמְרִיָּה in Hag. ii. 7. But the use of *yachad* (together) favours the other interpretation. The suffix of בְּרִאשֹׁתָי points to this fulness of righteousness and salvation. It is a creation of Jehovah Himself. Heaven and earth, when co-operating to effect this, are endowed with their capacity through Him from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, and obey now, as at the first, His creative fiat. This "*rorate cæli desuper et nubes pluant justum*," as the Vulgate renders it, is justly regarded as an old advent cry.

The promise is now continued in a third strophe (ch. xlv. 9-13), and increases more and more in the distinctness of its terms; but just as in ch. xxix. 15-21, it opens with a reproof of that pusillanimity (ch. xl. 27; cf. ch. li. 13, xlix. 24, lviii. 3), which goes so far to complain of the ways of Jehovah. Vers. 9, 10. "*Woe to him that quarrelleth with his Maker—a pot among the pots of earthenware? Can the clay indeed say to him that shapeth it, What makest thou? and thy work, He hath no hands? Woe to him that saith to his father, What begettest thou? and to the woman, What bringest thou forth?*" The comparison drawn between a man as the work of God and the clay-work of a potter suggested itself all the more naturally, inasmuch as the same word *yōtsēr* was applied to God as Creator, and also to a potter (*figulus*). The word *cheres* signifies either a sherd, or fragment of earthenware (ch. xxx. 14), or an earthenware vessel (Jer. xix. 1; Prov. xxvi. 23). In the passage before us, where the point of comparison is not the fragmentary condition, but the earthen character of the material (*ʿadāmāh*), the latter is intended: the man, who complains of God, is nothing but a vessel of clay, and, more than that, a perishable vessel among many others of the very same kind.¹ The questions which follow are meant to show the folly of this complaining. Can it possibly occur to the clay to raise a complaint against him who has it in hand, that he has formed it in such and such a manner, or for such and such a purpose (compare Rom. ix. 20, "Why hast thou made me thus")? To the words "or thy work" we must supply *num dicet* (shall it

¹ The Septuagint reads *shin* for *sin* in both instances, and introduces here the very unsuitable thought already contained in ch. xxviii. 24, "Shall the ploughman plough the land the whole day?"

say); *pō'al* is a manufacture, as in ch. i. 31. The question is addressed to the maker, as those in ch. vii. 25 are to the husbandman: Can the thing made by thee, O man, possibly say in a contemptuous tone, "He has no hands?"—a supposition the ridiculous absurdity of which condemns it at once; and yet it is a very suitable analogy to the conduct of the man who complains of God. In ver. 10, a woe is denounced upon those who resemble a man who should say to his own father, What children dost thou beget? or to a wife, What dost thou bring forth? (*ʿchilîn* an emphatic, and for the most part pausal, *fut. parag.*, as in Ruth ii. 8, iii. 18.) This would be the rudest and most revolting attack upon an inviolably tender and private relation; and yet Israel does this when it makes the hidden providential government of its God the object of expostulation.

After this double woe, which is expressed in general terms, but the application of which is easily made, the words of Jehovah are directly addressed to the presumptuous criticizers. Ver. 11. "*Thus saith Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, and its Maker, Ask me what is to come; let my sons and the work of my hands be committed to me!*" The names by which He calls Himself express His absolute blamelessness, and His absolute right of supremacy over Israel. *יְהוָה* is an imperative, like *שְׁמַעֲנִי* in Gen. xxiii. 8; the third person would be written *יִשְׁמָעֵלִי*. The meaning is: If ye would have any information or satisfaction concerning the future ("things to come," ch. xli. 23, xliv. 7), about which ye can neither know nor determine anything of yourselves, inquire of me. *צִוֵּה* with an accusative of the person, and *עַל* of the thing, signifies to commit anything to the care of another (1 Chron. xxii. 12). The fault-finders in Israel were to leave the people of whom Jehovah was the Maker (a retrospective allusion to vers. 10 and 9), in the hands of Him who has created everything, and on whom everything depends. Ver. 12. "*I, I have made the earth, and created men upon it; I, my hands have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I called forth.*" *אֲנִי יְדִי*, according to Ges. § 121, 3, is equivalent to my hands, and mine alone,—a similar arrangement of words to those in Gen. xxiv. 27, 2 Chron. xxviii. 10, Eccles. ii. 15. Hitzig is wrong in his rendering, "all their host do I command." That of Ewald is the correct one, "did I appoint;" for *tsivvâh*, followed by an

accusative of the person, means to give a definite order or command to any one, the command in this case being the order to come into actual existence (= *esse jussi*, cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9).

He who created all things, and called all things into existence, had also raised up this Cyrus, whose victorious career had increased the anxieties and fears of the exiles, instead of leading them to lift up their heads, because their redemption was drawing nigh. Ver. 13. "*I, I have raised him up in righteousness, and all his ways shall I make smooth: He will build my city, and release my banished ones, not for price nor for reward, saith Jehovah of hosts.*" All the anxieties of the exiles are calmed by the words "in righteousness," which trace back the revolutions that Cyrus was causing to the righteousness of Jehovah, *i.e.* to His interposition, which was determined by love alone, and tended directly to the salvation of His people, and in reality to that of all nations. And they are fully quieted by the promise, which is now expressed in the clearest and most unequivocal words, that Cyrus would build up Jerusalem again, and set the captivity free (*gálúth*, as in ch. xx. 4), and that without redemption with money (ch. lii. 3),—a clear proof that Jehovah had not only raised up Cyrus himself, but had put his spirit within him, *i.e.* had stirred up within him the resolution to do this (see the conclusion to the books of Chronicles, and the introduction to that of Ezra). This closes the first half of our sixth prophecy.

The second half is uttered in the prospect, that the judgment which Cyrus brings upon the nations will prepare the way for the overthrow of heathenism, and the universal acknowledgment of the God of Israel. The heathen submit, as the first strophe or group of verses (ch. xlv. 14–17) affirms, to the congregation and its God; the idolatrous are converted, whilst Israel is for ever redeemed. With the prospect of the release of the exiles, there is associated in the prophet's perspective the prospect of an expansion of the restored church, through the entrance of "the fulness of the Gentiles." Ver. 14. "*Thus saith Jehovah, The productions of Egypt, and gain of Ethiopia, and the Sabæans, men of tall stature, will come over to thee, and belong to thee: they will come after thee; in chains they will come over, and cast themselves down to thee; they pray to thee, Surely God is in thee, and there is none else; no Deity at all.*" Assuming

that יַעֲבְרִי has the same meaning in both cases, the prophet's meaning appears to be, that the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Meroites (see ch. xliii. 3), who had been enslaved by the imperial power of Persia, would enter the miraculously emancipated congregation of Israel (Ewald). But if they were thought of as in a state of subjugation to the imperial power of Asia, how could the promise be at the same time held out that their riches would pass over into the possession of the church? And yet, on the other hand, the chains in which they come over cannot be regarded, at least in this connection, where such emphasis is laid upon the voluntary character of the surrender, as placed upon them by Israel itself (as in ch. lx. 11 and Ps. cxlix. 8). We must therefore suppose that they put chains upon themselves voluntarily, and of their own accord, and thus offer themselves spontaneously to the church, to be henceforth its subjects and slaves. Egypt, Ethiopia, and Saba are the nations that we meet with in other passages, where the *hæreditas gentium* is promised to the church, and generally in connection with Tyre (*vid.* Ps. lxxviii. 32, lxxii. 10; compare ch. xviii. 7, xix. 16 sqq., xxiii. 18). Whilst the labour of Egypt (*i.e.* the productions of its labour) and the trade of Ethiopia (*i.e.* the riches acquired by trade) are mentioned; in the case of Saba the prophecy looks at the tall and handsome tribe itself, a tribe which Agatharchides describes as having σώματα ἀξιολογώτερα. These would place themselves at the service of the church with their invincible strength. The voluntary character of the surrender is pointed out, not only in the expression "they will come over," but also in the confession with which this is accompanied. In other cases the words *hithpallēl'el* are only used of prayer to God and idols; but here it is to the church that prayer is offered. In the prophet's view, Jehovah and His church are inseparably one (compare 1 Cor. xii. 12, where "Christ" stands for the church as one body, consisting of both head and members; also the use of the word "worship" in Rev. iii. 9, which has all the ring of a passage taken from Isaiah). ἦ is used here in its primary affirmative sense, as in Ps. lviii. 12. There can be no doubt that Paul had this passage of Isaiah in his mind when writing 1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ὄντως ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστί, or, according to a better arrangement of the words, ὅτι

δυνως (= 𐤁𐤍) ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν. 'Ephes does not signify *præter* (as a synonym of 𐤁𐤍, 𐤁𐤍) either here or anywhere else, but is a substantive used with a verbal force, which stands in the same relation to 𐤁𐤍 as "there is not at all (absolutely not)" to "there is not;" compare ch. v. 8, xlv. 6, xlvi. 9, also Deut. xxxii. 36 (derivative passage, 2 Kings xiv. 26), and Amos vi. 10, 2 Sam. ix. 3; *vid.* ch. xlvii. 8.

What follows in ver. 15 is not a continuation of the words of the Gentiles, but a response of the church to their confession. The nations that have been idolatrous till now, bend in humble spontaneous worship before the church and its God; and at the sight of this, the church, from whose soul the prophet is speaking, bursts out into an exclamation of reverential amazement. Ver. 15. "*Verily Thou art a mysterious God, Thou God of Israel, Thou Saviour.*" Literally, a God who hides Himself (*mistattēr*: the resemblance to *μυστηριώδης* is quite an accidental one; the *ē* is retained in the participle even in pause). The meaning is, a God who guides with marvellous strangeness the history of the nations of the earth, and by secret ways, which human eyes can never discern, conducts all to a glorious issue. The exclamation in Rom. xi. 33, "O the depth of the riches," etc., is a similar one.

The way in which this God who hides Himself is ultimately revealed as the God of salvation, is then pointed out in vers. 16, 17: "*They are put to shame, and also confounded, all of them; they go away into confusion together, the forgers of idols. Israel is redeemed by Jehovah with everlasting redemption: ye are not put to shame nor confounded to everlasting eternities.*" The perfects are expressive of the ideal past. Jehovah shows Himself as a Saviour by the fact, that whereas the makers of idols perish, Israel is redeemed an everlasting redemption (acc. obj. as in ch. xiv. 6, xxii. 17; Ges. § 138, 1, Anm. 1), *i.e.* so that its redemption is one that lasts for æons (*αιωνια λύτρωσις*, Heb. ix. 12):—observe that *t'shū'āh* does not literally signify redemption or rescue, but transfer into a state of wide expanse, *i.e.* of freedom and happiness. The plural *'olāmīm* (eternities = *αιωνες*, *æva*) belongs, according to Knobel, to the later period of the language; but it is met with as early as in old Asaphite psalms (Ps. lxxvii. 6). When the further promise is added, Ye shall not be put to shame, etc., this clearly shows,

what is also certain on other grounds,—namely, that the redemption is not thought of merely as an outward and bodily one, but also as inward and spiritual, and indeed (in accordance with the prophetic blending of the end of the captivity with the end of all things) as a final one. Israel will never bring upon itself again such a penal judgment as that of the captivity by falling away from God; that is to say, its state of sin will end with its state of punishment, even עַר-עוֹלָמִי עַר, i.e., since עַר has no plural, *eis aiōnas tōn aiōnwn*.

The second and last strophe of this prophecy commences with ver. 18. By the fulfilment of the promise thus openly proclaimed, those of the heathen who have been saved from the judgment will recognise Jehovah as the only God; and the irresistible will of Jehovah, that all mankind should worship Him, be carried out. The promise cannot remain unfulfilled. Vers. 18, 19. "*For thus saith Jehovah, the creator of the heavens (He is the Deity), the former of the earth, and its finisher; He has established it (He has not created it a desert, He has formed it to be inhabited): I am Jehovah, and there is none else. I have not spoken in secret, in a place of the land of darkness; I did not say to the seed of Jacob, Into the desert seek ye me! I Jehovah am speaking righteousness, proclaiming upright things.*" The *athnach* properly divides ver. 18 in half. Ver. 18*a* describes the speaker, and what He says commences in ver. 18*b*. The first parenthesis affirms that Jehovah is God in the fullest and most exclusive sense; the second that He has created the earth for man's sake, not "as a desert" (*tōhū*: the LXX., Targum, and Jerome render this with less accuracy, *non in vanum*), i.e. not to be and continue to be a desert, but to be inhabited. Even in Gen. i. 2, *chaos* is not described as of God's creation, because (whatever may be men's opinions concerning it in other respects) the creative activity of God merely made use of this as a starting-point, and because, although it did not come into existence without God, it was at any rate not desired by God for its own sake. The words of Jehovah commence, then, with the assertion that Jehovah is the absolute One; and from this two thoughts branch off: (1.) The first is, that the prophecy which emanates from Him is an affair of light, no black art, but essentially different from heathen sooth-saying. By "a dark place of the earth" we are to understand,

according to Ps. cxxxix. 15, the interior of the earth, and according to Job x. 21, Hades; the intention being to point out the contrast between the prophecies of Jehovah and the heathen cave-oracles and spirit-voices of the necromancists, which seemed to rise up from the interior of the earth (see ch. lxxv. 4, viii. 19, xxix. 4). (2.) The second thought is, that the very same love of Jehovah, which has already been displayed in the creation, attests itself in His relation to Israel, which He has not directed to Himself "into the desert" (*tōhū*), just as He did not create the earth a *tōhū*. Meier and Knobel suppose that *baqshūnī*, which is written here, according to a well-supported reading, with *Koph raphatum* (whereas in other cases the *dagesh* is generally retained, particularly in the imperative of *biqqēsh*), refers to seeking for disclosures as to the future; but the word *דַּרְשׁוּנִי* would be used for this, as in ch. viii. 19. He has not said, "Seek ye me (as in Zeph. ii. 3) into the desert," i.e. without the prospect of meeting with any return for your pains. On the contrary, He has attached promises to the seeking of Himself, which cannot remain unfulfilled, for He is "one speaking righteousness, declaring things that are right;" i.e. when He promises, He follows out the rule of His purpose and of His plan of salvation, and the impulse of sincere desire for their good, and love which is ever true to itself. The present word of prophecy points to the fulfilment of these promises.

The salvation of Israel, foretold and realized by Jehovah, becomes at the same time the salvation of the heathen world. Vers. 20, 21. "*Assemble yourselves and come; draw near together, ye escaped of the heathen! Irrational are they who burden themselves with the wood of their idol, and pray to a god that bringeth no salvation. Make known, and cause to draw near; yea, let them take counsel together: Who has made such things known from the olden time, proclaimed it long ago? have not I, Jehovah? and there is no Deity beside me; a God just, and bringing salvation: there is not without me!*" The fulness of the Gentiles, which enters into the kingdom of God, is a remnant of the whole mass of the heathen: for salvation comes through judgment; and it is in the midst of great calamities that the work of that heathen mission is accomplished, which is represented in these prophecies on the one hand as the mission of Cyrus, and on the other hand as the mission of Jehovah and His servant.

Hence this summons to listen to the self-assertion of the God of revelation, is addressed to the escaped of the heathen, who are not therefore the converted, but those who are susceptible of salvation, and therefore spared. By "the heathen" (*haggōyīm*) Knobel understands the allies and auxiliaries of the Babylonians, whom Cyrus put to flight (according to the *Cyropædia*) before his Lydian campaign. But this is only an example of that exaggerated desire to turn everything into history, which not only prevented his seeing the poetry of the form, but obscured the fact that prophecy is both human and divine. For the future was foreshortened to the telescopic glance of the prophet, so that he could not see it in all its length and breadth. He saw in one mass what history afterwards unrolled; and then behind the present he could just see as it were the summit of the end, although a long eventful way still lay between the two. Accordingly, our prophet here takes his stand not at the close of any particular victory of Cyrus, but at the close of all his victories; and, in his view, these terminate the whole series of catastrophes, which are outlived by a remnant of the heathen, who are converted to Jehovah, and thus complete the final glory of the restored people of God. Throughout the whole of these prophecies we see immediately behind the historical foreground this eschatological background lifting up its head. The heathen who have been preserved will assemble together; and from the fact that Jehovah proves Himself the sole foreteller of the events that are now unfolding themselves, they will be brought to the conviction that He is the only God. The *hithpael hithnaggēsh* does not occur anywhere else. On the absolute *לֹא יִרָע*, see at ch. xlv. 9 (cf. i. 3). To the verb *haggīshū* we must supply, as in ch. xli. 22, according to the same expression in ver. 21, *עֲצֻמְתְּכֶם* (your proofs). "This" refers to the fall of Babylon and redemption of Israel—salvation breaking through judgment. On *mē'āz*, from the olden time, compare ch. xlv. 8. God is "a just God and a Saviour," as a being who acts most stringently according to the demands of His holiness, and wherever His wrath is not wickedly provoked, sets in motion His loving will, which is ever concerned to secure the salvation of men.

It is in accordance with this holy loving will that the cry is

published in ver. 22: "*Turn unto me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth; for I am God, and none else.*" The first imperative is hortatory, the second promising (cf. ch. xxxvi. 16 and viii. 9): Jehovah desires both, viz. the conversion of all men to Himself; and through this their salvation, and this His gracious will, which extends to all mankind, will not rest till its object has been fully accomplished. Ver. 23. "*By myself have I sworn, a word has gone out of a mouth of righteousness, and will not return, That to me every knee shall bend, every tongue swear.*" Swearing by Himself (see Gen. xxii. 16), God pledges what He swears with His own life (compare Rom. xiv. 11, "as I live"). Parallel to בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי is the clause יֵצֵא מִפִּי צְדָקָה דְּבָרָא וְלֹא יָשׁוּב. Here Rosenmüller connects צְדָקָה דְּבָרָא together as if with a hyphen, in the sense of a truth-word (Jerome, *justitiæ verbum*). But this is grammatically impossible, since it would require דְּבָרָא צְדָקָה; moreover, it is opposed both to the accents, and to the *dagesh* in the *Daleth*. Hitzig's rendering is a better one: "Truth (LXX. *δικαιοσύνη*), a word that does not return,"—the latter being taken as an explanatory permutative; but in that case we should require לֹא for וְלֹא, and *ts'dâqâh* is not used in the sense of truth anywhere else (compare *tsaddîq*, however, in ch. xli. 26). On the other hand, צְדָקָה might be equivalent to בְּצִדְקָה ("in righteousness;" cf. ch. xlii. 25, הָמָּה = בְּחֵמָה), if it were not incomparably more natural to connect together מִפִּי צְדָקָה as a genitive construction; though not in the sense in which מִפִּי הַגְּבוּרָה is used in post-biblical writings,—namely, as equivalent to "out of the mouth of God" (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. Col.* 385),—but rather in this way, that the mouth of God is described attributively as regulated in its words by His holy will (as "speaking righteousness," ver. 19b). A word has gone forth from this mouth of righteousness; and after it has once gone forth, it does not return without accomplishing its object (ch. lv. 11). What follows is not so much a promising prediction (that every knee will bend to me), as a definitive declaration of will (that it shall or must bend to me). According to ch. xix. 18, xliv. 5, "to me" is to be regarded as carried forward, and so to be supplied after "shall swear" (the Septuagint rendering, *ὁμείται . . . τὸν Θεόν*, is false; that of Paul in Rom. xiv. 11, *ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ Θεῷ*, is correct; and in this case, as in

others also, the *Cod. Al.* of the Sept. has been corrected from the New Testament quotations).

This bending of the knee, this confession as an oath of homage, will be no forced one. Ver. 24. "*Only in Jehovah, do men say of me, is fulness of righteousness and strength; they come to Him, and all that were incensed against Him are put to shame.*" The parenthetical insertion of לִי אֱמֹר (לִי, with reference to, as in ch. xli. 7, xliv. 26, 28) is the same as in Ps. cxix. 57. אֵל has a restrictive sense here, which springs out of the affirmative (cf. Ps. xxxix. 7, lxxiii. 1), just as, in the case of *raq*, the affirmative grows out of the primary restrictive sense. The "righteousness" is abounding (superabundant) righteousness (Rom. v. 15 sqq.). נִצַּח is the strength of sanctification, and of the conquest of the world. The subject to יְבוֹא (which is not to be changed, according to the Masora, into the more natural יָבֹא, as it is by the LXX., Syr., and Vulg.) is, whoever has seen what man has in Jehovah, and made confession of this; such a man does not rest till he has altogether come over to Jehovah, whereas all His enemies are put to shame. They separate themselves irretrievably from the men who serve Him, the restoration of whom is His direct will, and the goal of the history of salvation. Ver. 25. "*In Jehovah all the seed of Israel shall become righteous, and shall glory.*" Ruetschi has very properly observed on this verse, that the reference is to the Israel of God out of all the human race, *i.e.* the church of the believers in Israel expanded by the addition of the heathen; which church is now righteous, *i.e.* reconciled and renewed by Jehovah, and glories in Him, because by grace it is what it is.

This brings the sixth prophecy to a close. Its five strophes commence with "Thus saith the Lord;" at the same time, the fifth strophe has two "woes" (*hoi*) before this, as the ground upon which it rests.

SEVENTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLVI.

FALL OF THE GODS OF BABEL.

There follows now a trilogy of prophecies referring to Babylon. After the prophet has shown what Israel has to

expect of Cyrus, he turns to what awaits Babylon at the hands of Cyrus. Vers. 1, 2. "*Bel sinketh down, Nebo stoopeth; its images come to the beast of burden and draught cattle: your litters are laden, a burden for the panting. They stooped, sank down all at once, and could not get rid of the burden; and their own self went into captivity.*" The reference to Babylon comes out at once in the names of the gods. *Bēl* was the Jupiter of the Babylonians and, as *Bel-Merodach*, the tutelar deity of Babylon; *Nebo* was Mercury, the tutelar deity of the later Chaldean royal family, as the many kings' names in which it appears clearly show (*e.g.* *Nabonassar*, *Nabo-polassar*, etc.). The pyramidal heap of ruins on the right bank of the Euphrates, which is now called *Birs Nimrud*, is the ruin of the temple of Bel, of which Herodotus gives a description in i. 181-183, and probably also of the tower mentioned in Gen. xi., which was dedicated to Bel, if not to *El* = Saturn. Herodotus describes two golden statues of Bel which were found there (cf. Diodorus, ii. 9, 5), but the way in which Nebo was represented is still unknown. The judgment of Jehovah falls upon these gods through Cyrus. Bel suddenly falls headlong, and Nebo stoops till he also falls. Their images come to (fall to the lot of) the *chayyāh*, *i.e.* the camels, dromedaries, and elephants; and *b'hēmāh*, *i.e.* horses, oxen, and asses. Your נִשְׁתָּנִים, *gestamina*, the prophet exclaims to the Babylonians, *i.e.* the images hitherto carried by you in solemn procession (ch. xlv. 20; Amos v. 26; Jer. x. 5), are now packed up, a burden for that which is wearied out, *i.e.* for cattle that has become weary with carrying them. In ver. 1, as the two participial clauses show, the prophet still takes his stand in the midst of the catastrophe; but in ver. 2 it undoubtedly lies behind him as a completed act. In ver. 2*a* he continues, as in ver. 1, to enter into the delusion of the heathen, and distinguish between the *numina* and *simulacra*. The gods of Babylon have all stooped at once, have sunken down, and have been unable to save their images which were packed upon the cattle, out of the hands of the conquerors. In ver. 2*b* he destroys this delusion: they are going into captivity (Hos. x. 5; Jer. xlviii. 7, xlix. 3), even "their ownself" (*naphshām*), since the self or personality of the beingless beings consists of nothing more than the wood and metal of which their images are composed.

From this approaching reduction of the gods of Babylon to their original nothingness, several admonitions are now derived. The first admonition is addressed to all Israel. Vers. 3-5. "*Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel: ye, lifted up from the womb; ye, carried from the mother's lap! And till old age it is I, and to grey hair I shall bear you on my shoulder: I have done it, and I shall carry; and I put upon my shoulder, and deliver. To whom can ye compare me, and liken, and place side by side, that we should be equal?*" The house of Jacob is Judah here, as in Obad. 18 (see Caspari on the passage), Nah. ii. 3, and the house of Israel the same as the house of Joseph in Obadiah; whereas in Amos iii. 13, vi. 8, vii. 2, Jacob stands for Israel, in distinction from Judah. The Assyrian exile was earlier than the Babylonian, and had already naturalized the greater part of the exiles in a heathen land, and robbed them of their natural character, so that there was only a remnant left by whom there was any hope that the prophet's message would be received. What the exiles of both houses were to hear was the question in ver. 5, which called upon them to consider the incomparable nature of their God, as deduced from what Jehovah could say of Himself in relation to all Israel, and what He does say from **הַעַמִּים** onwards. Babylon carried its idols, but all in vain: they were carried forth, without being able to save themselves; but Jehovah carried His people, and saved them. The expressions, "from the womb, and from the mother's lap," point back to the time when the nation which had been in process of formation from the time of Abraham onwards came out of Egypt, and was born, as it were, into the light of the world. From this time forward it had lain upon Jehovah like a willingly adopted burden, and He had carried it as a nurse carries a suckling (Num. xi. 12), and an eagle its young (Deut. xxxii. 11). In ver. 4 the attributes of the people are carried on in direct (not relative) self-assertions on the part of Jehovah. The *senectus* and *canities* are obviously those of the people,—not, however, as though it was already in a state of dotage (as Hitzig maintains, appealing erroneously to ch. xlvii. 6), but as denoting the future and latest periods of its history. Even till then Jehovah is He, *i.e.* the Absolute, and always the same (see ch. xli. 4). As He has acted in the past, so will He act

at all times—supporting and saving His people. Hence He could properly ask, Whom could you place by the side of me, so that we should be equal? (*Vav consec.* as in ch. xl. 25.)

The negative answer to this question is the direct result of what precedes, but a still further proof is given in vers. 6, 7. “*They who pour gold out of the bag, and weigh silver with the balance, hire a goldsmith to make it into a god, that they may fall down, yea, throw themselves down. They lift it up, carry it away upon their shoulder, and set it down in its place: there it stands; from its place it does not move: men also cry to it, but it does not answer; it saves no one out of distress.*” There is no necessity for assuming that *הָיָה* is used in the place of the finite verb, as Hitzig imagines, or as equivalent to *הָיָה*, as Rosenmüller and Gesenius suppose; but up to *וַיִּשָּׂאוּ* the whole is subject, and therefore *וַיִּשְׁקֹל* is the point at which the change into the finite verb occurs (Ges. § 131, 2). The point in *haz-zâlim* is not the extravagant expenditure, as Ewald thinks, but the mean origin of the god, which commences with the pouring out of gold from a purse (*zûl* = *zâlal*, to shake, to pour out). *Qâneh* is the lever of the scales (*κανών*). The metal weighed out is given to a goldsmith, who plates the idol with the gold, and makes the ornaments for it of silver. When it is finished, they lift it up, or shoulder it (*וַיִּשָּׂאוּ* with a distinctive Great Telisha), carry it home, and set it down in the place which it is to have *under it* (*תַּחֲתָיָהּ*). There it stands firm, immovable, and also deaf and dumb, hearing no one, answering no one, and helping no one. The subject to *וַיַּעַן* is any *וַיַּעַן*. The first admonition closes here. The gods who are carried fall without being able to save themselves, whereas Israel’s God carries and saves His people; He, the Incomparable, more especially in contrast with the lifeless puppets of idols.

The second admonition is addressed to those who would imitate the heathen. Vers. 8–11. “*Remember this, and become firm; take it to heart, ye rebellious ones! Remember the beginning from the olden time, that I am God, and none else: Deity, and absolutely none like me; proclaiming the issue from the beginning, and from ancient times what has not yet taken place, saying, My counsel shall stand, and all my good pleasure I carry out: calling a bird of prey from the east, the man of my counsel from a distant land: not only have I spoken, I also*

bring it; I have purposed it, I also execute it." The object to which "this" points back is the nothingness of idols and idolatry. The persons addressed are the פִּשְׁעִים (those apostatizing), but, as הִתְאַשְׁשׁוּ shows, whether it mean ἀνδρίζεσθε or κραταιοῦσθε (1 Cor. xvi. 13), such as have not yet actually carried out their rebellion or apostasy, but waver between Jehovahism and heathenism, and are inclined to the latter. הִתְאַשְׁשׁוּ is hardly a denom. *hithpalel* of אָשׁ in the sense of "man yourselves," since אָשׁ, whether it signifies a husband or a social being, or like אָנֹכִי, a frail or mortal being, is at any rate equivalent to אָנֹכִי, and therefore never shows the modification *u. u.* אָשׁ (אָשָׁה) signifies to be firm, strong, compact; in the *piel* (rabb.), to be well-grounded; *nithpaël*, to be fortified, established; here *hithpoel*, "show yourselves firm" (Targ., Jer. : *fundamini ne rursum subitus idololatriæ vos turbo subvertat*). That they may strengthen themselves in faith and fidelity, they are referred to the history of their nation; רִאשֹׁנוֹת are not prophecies given at an earlier time,—a meaning which the *priora* only acquire in such a connection as ch. xliii. 9, —but former occurrences. They are to pass before their minds the earlier history, and indeed "from the olden time." "Remember : " *zikhru* is connected with the accusative of the object of remembrance, and זֵכַר points to its result. An earnest and thoughtful study of history would show them that Jehovah alone was *El*, the absolutely Mighty One, and 'Elohim, the Being who united in Himself all divine majesty by which reverence was evoked. The participles in vers. 10, 11 are attached to the "I" of כִּמּוֹנִי. It is Jehovah, the Incomparable, who has now, as at other times from the very commencement of the new turn in history, predicted the issue to which it would lead, and *miggedem*, i.e. long before, predicted things that have not yet occurred, and which therefore lie outside the sphere of human combination,—another passage like ch. xli. 26, xlv. 21, etc., in which what is predicted in these prophecies lays claim to the character of a prediction of long standing, and not of one merely uttered a few years before. The רִאשִׁית, in which the רִאשֹׁנוֹת are already in progress (ch. xlii. 9), is to be regarded as the prophet's ideal present; for Jehovah not only foretells before the appearance of Cyrus what is to be expected of him, but declares that His determi-

nation must be realized, that He will bring to pass everything upon which His will is set, and summons the man upon the stage of history as the instrument of its accomplishment, so that He knew Cyrus before he himself had either consciousness or being (ch. xlv. 4, 5). The east is Persis (ch. xli. 2); and the distant land, the northern part of Media (as in ch. xiii. 5). Cyrus is called an eagle, or, strictly speaking, a bird of prey (*ayit*¹), just as in Jer. xlix. 22 and Ezek. xvii. 3 Nebuchadnezzar is called a *nesher*. According to *Cyrop.* vii. 1, 4, the campaign of Cyrus was ἀετός χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. Instead of עֶשֶׂת עֶשֶׂת, the *keri* reads more clearly, though quite unnecessarily, עֶשֶׂת עֶשֶׂת (see e.g. ch. xlv. 26). The correlate הָא (ver. 11b), which is only attached to the second verb the second time, affirms that Jehovah does not only the one, but the other also. His word is made by Him into a deed, His idea into a reality. יָצַר is a word used particularly by Isaiah, to denote the ideal preformation of the future in the mind of God (cf. ch. xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26). The feminine suffixes refer in a neuter sense to the theme of the prophecy—the overthrow of idolatrous Babel, upon which Cyrus comes down like an eagle, in the strength of Jehovah. So far we have the *nota bene* for those who are inclined to apostasy. They are to lay to heart the nothingness of the heathen gods, and, on the other hand, the self-manifestation of Jehovah from the olden time, that is to say, of the One God who is now foretelling and carrying out the destruction of the imperial city through the eagle from the east.

A third admonition is addressed to the *forts esprits* in vers. 12, 13. "*Hearken to me, ye strong-hearted, that are far from righteousness! I have brought my righteousness near; it is not far off, and my salvation tarrieth not: and I give salvation in Zion, my glory to Israel.*" All that is called in Hellenic and Hellenistic νοῦς, λόγος συνειδήσις, θυμός, is comprehended in καρδιά; and everything by which *bāsār* and *nephesh* are affected comes into the light of consciousness in the heart (*Psychol.* p. 251).

¹ The resemblance to ἀετός (*aierōs*) is merely accidental. This name for the eagle is traceable, like *avis*, to a root *vā*, to move with the swiftness of the wind. This was shown by Passow, compare Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, i. 29, where we also find at 10, 126 another but less probable derivation from a root *i*, to go (compare *eva*, a course).

According to this biblico-psychological idea, אֲבִירֵי לֵב may signify either the courageous (Ps. lxxvi. 6), or, as in this instance, the strong-minded; but as a synonym of חֲזָקֵי לֵב (Ezek. ii. 4) and קִשְׁי לֵב (Ezek. iii. 7), viz. in the sense of those who resist the impressions of the work and grace of God in their consciousness of mental superiority to anything of the kind, and not in the sense of those who have great mental endowments. These are "far from righteousness" (*ts'êdâqâh*), that is to say, they have despaired of the true, loving fidelity of Jehovah, and have no wish for any further knowledge of it. Therefore they shall hear, and possibly not without impression, that this loving fidelity is about to manifest itself, and salvation is about to be realized. Jehovah has given salvation in Zion, that is to say, is giving it even now, so that it will become once more the centre of the renovated nation, and impart its glory to this, so that it may shine in the splendour bestowed upon it by its God. We have here the side of light and love, turned towards us by the two-faced *ts'êdâqâh*, as a parallel word to *th'shû'âh*, or salvation. With this admonition to the indifferent and careless, to whom the salvation of which they have given up all hope is proclaimed as at the door, this prophecy is brought to a close. In three distinct stages, commencing with "hearken," "remember," "hearken," it has unfolded the spiritual influences which the fact declared in vers. 1, 2 ought to have upon Israel, and resembles a pastoral sermon in its tone.

EIGHTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLVII.

FALL OF BABEL; THE CAPITAL OF THE EMPIRE OF THE WORLD.

From the gods of Babylon the proclamation of judgment passes on to Babylon itself. Vers. 1-4. *"Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter Babel; sit on the ground without a throne, O Chaldeans-daughter! For men no longer call thee delicate and voluptuous. Take the mill, and grind meal: throw back thy veil, lift up the train, uncover the thigh, wade through streams. Let thy nakedness be uncovered, even let thy shame be seen; I shall take vengeance, and not spare men. Our Redeemer, Jehovah of hosts is His name, Holy One of Israel."* This is the first strophe in the prophecy. As ver. 36 clearly shows, what

precedes is a penal sentence from Jehovah. Both בַּת in relation to בְּתוּלָה (ch. xxiii. 12, xxxvii. 22), and בָּבֶל and כַּשְׁדִּים in relation to בַּת, are appositional genitives; Babel and Chaldeans (כַּשְׁדִּים as in ch. xlviii. 20) are regarded as a woman, and that as one not yet dishonoured. The unconquered oppressor is threatened with degradation from her proud eminence into shameful humiliation; sitting on the ground is used in the same sense as in ch. iii. 26. Hitherto men have called her, with envious admiration, *rakkāh va'ānuggāh* (from Deut. xxviii. 56), *mollis et delicata*, as having carefully kept everything disagreeable at a distance, and revelled in nothing but luxury (compare 'ōneg, ch. xiii. 22). Debauchery with its attendant rioting (ch. xiv. 11, xxv. 5), and the Mylitta worship with its licensed prostitution (Herod. i. 199), were current there; but now all this was at an end. חֲסִידָה, according to the Masora, has only one *pashṭa* both here and in ver. 5, and so has the tone upon the last syllable, and accordingly *metheg* in the *antepenult.* Isaiah's artistic style may be readily perceived both in the three clauses of ver. 1 that are comparable to a long trumpet-blast (compare ch. xl. 9 and xvi. 1), and also in the short, rugged, involuntarily excited clauses that follow (compare vol. i. 427). The mistress becomes the maid, and has to perform the low, menial service of those who, as Homer says in *Od.* vii. 104, ἀλετρεύουσι μύλης ἐπὶ μύλοπα καρπὸν (grind at the mill the quince-coloured fruit; compare at Job xxxi. 10). She has to leave her palace as a prisoner of war, and, laying aside all feminine modesty, to wade through the rivers upon which she borders. *Chespi* has *ē* instead of *z*, and, as in other cases where a sibilant precedes, the mute *p* instead of *f* (compare 'ispi, Jer. x. 17). Both the *prosopopeia* and the parallel, "thy shame shall be seen," require that the expression "thy nakedness shall be uncovered" should not be understood literally. The shame of Babel is her shameful conduct, which is not to be exhibited in its true colours, inasmuch as a stronger one is coming upon it to rob it of its might and honour. This stronger one, apart from the instrument employed, is Jehovah: *vindictam sumam, non parcam homini*. Stier gives a different rendering here, namely, "I will run upon no man, i.e. so as to make him give way;" Hahn, "I will not meet with a man," so destitute of population will Babylon be; and Ruetschi, "I will not step in as a man."

Gesenius and Rosenmüller are nearer to the mark when they suggest *non pangam* (*paciscar*) *cum homine*; but this would require at any rate **אֶת-אָדָם**, even if the verb **פָּגַע** really had the meaning to strike a treaty. It means rather to strike against a person, to assault any one, then to meet or come in an opposite direction, and that not only in a hostile sense, but, as in this instance, and also in ch. lxiv. 4, in a friendly sense as well. Hence, "I shall not receive any man, or pardon any man" (Hitzig, Ewald, etc.). According to an old method of writing the passage, there is a pause here. But ver. 4 is still connected with what goes before. As Jehovah is speaking in ver. 5, but Israel in ver. 4, and as ver. 4 is unsuitable to form the basis of the words of Jehovah, it must be regarded as the antiphone to vers. 1-3 (cf. ch. xlv. 15). Our Redeemer, exclaims the church in joyfully exalted self-consciousness, He is Jehovah of hosts, the Holy One of Israel! The one name affirms that He possesses the all-conquering might; the other that He possesses the will to carry on the work of redemption,—a will influenced and constrained by both love and wrath.

In the second strophe the penal sentence of Jehovah is continued. Vers. 5-7. "*Sit silent, and creep into the darkness, O Chaldeans-daughter! for men no longer call thee lady of kingdoms. I was wroth with my people; I polluted mine inheritance, and gave them into thy hand: thou hast shown them no mercy; upon old men thou laidst thy yoke very heavily. And thou saidst, I shall be lady for ever; so that thou didst not take these things to heart: thou didst not consider the latter end thereof.*" Babylon shall sit down in silent, brooding sorrow, and take herself away into darkness, just as those who have fallen into disgrace shrink from the eyes of men. She is looked upon as an empress (ch. xiii. 9; the king of Babylon called himself the king of kings, Ezek. xxvi. 7), who has been reduced to the condition of a slave, and durst not show herself for shame. This would happen to her, because at the time when Jehovah made use of her as His instrument for punishing His people, she went beyond the bounds of her authority, showing no pity, and ill-treating even defenceless old men. According to Koppe, Gesenius, and Hitzig, Israel is here called *zâqên*, as a decayed nation awakening sympathy; but according to the Scripture, the people of God is always young, and never

decays; on the contrary, its *zignâh*, i.e. the latest period of its history (ch. xlvi. 4), is to be like its youth. The words are to be understood literally, like Lam. iv. 16, v. 12: even upon old men, Babylon had placed the heavy yoke of prisoners and slaves. But in spite of this inhumanity, it flattered itself that it would last for ever. Hitzig adopts the reading עַרְבֵּי, and renders it, "To all future times shall I continue, mistress to all eternity." This may possibly be correct, but it is by no means necessary, inasmuch as it can be shown from 1 Sam. xx. 41, and Job xiv. 6, that עַר is used as equivalent to עַר אֶשֶׁר, in the sense of "till the time that;" and *gêlhereth*, as the feminine of *gâbher* = *gebher*, may be the absolute quite as well as the construct. The meaning therefore is, that the confidence of Babylon in the eternal continuance of its power was such, that "these things," i.e. such punishments as those which were now about to fall upon it according to the prophecy, had never come into its mind; such, indeed, that it had not called to remembrance as even possible "the latter end of it," i.e. the inevitably evil termination of its tyranny and presumption.

A third strophe of this proclamation of punishment is opened here with וַעֲתִידָהּ, on the ground of the conduct censured. Vers. 8-11. "*And now hear this, thou voluptuous one, she who sitteth so securely, who sayeth in her heart, I am it, and none else: I shall not sit a widow, nor experience bereavement of children. And these two will come upon thee suddenly in one day: bereavement of children and widowhood; they come upon thee in fullest measure, in spite of the multitude of thy sorceries, in spite of the great abundance of thy witchcrafts. Thou trustedst in thy wickedness, saidst, No one seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, they led thee astray; so that thou saidst in thy heart, I am it, and none else. And misfortune cometh upon thee, which thou dost not understand how to charm away: and destruction will fall upon thee, which thou canst not atone for; there will come suddenly upon thee ruin which thou suspectest not.*" In the surnames given to Babylon here, a new reason is assigned for the judgment,—namely, extravagance, security, and self-exaltation. עַרְבֵּי is an intensive form of עַר (LXX. *τροφερά*). The *i* of עַרְבֵּי is regarded by Hahn as the same as we meet with in אֶתְּ = אֶת; but this is impossible here with the first person. Rosenmüller, Ewald, Gesenius, and others, take it as *chirek*

compaginis, and equivalent to עִין אֵין, which would only occur in this particular formula. Hitzig supposes it to be the suffix of the word, which is meant as a preposition in the sense of *et præter me ultra* (*nemo*); but this *nemo* would be omitted, which is improbable. The more probable explanation is, that דַּעַן signifies absolute non-existence, and when used as an adverb, “exclusively, nothing but,” e.g. דַּעַן קִצְרוֹ, nothing, the utmost extremity thereof, i.e. only the utmost extremity of it (Num. xxiii. 13; cf. xxii. 35). But it is mostly used with a verbal force, like אֵין (אֵין), (*utique*) *non est* (see ch. xlv. 14); hence דַּעַן, like אֵין, (*utique*) *non sum*. The form in which the presumption of Babylon expresses itself, viz. “I (am it), and I am absolutely nothing further,” sounds like self-deification, by the side of similar self-assertion on the part of Jehovah (ch. xlv. 5, 6, xviii. 22; cf. vers. xxi. 14 and ch. xlvi. 9). Nineveh speaks in just the same way in Zeph. ii. 15 (on the secondary character of this passage, see p. 67); compare Martial: “*Terrarum Dea gentiumque Roma cui par est nihil et nihil secundum.*” Babylon also says still further (like the Babylon of the last days in Rev. xviii. 7): “I shall not sit as a widow (viz. mourning thus in solitude, Lam. i. 1, iii. 28; and secluded from the world, Gen. xxxviii. 11), nor experience the loss of children” (*orbitatem*). She would become a widow, if she should lose the different nations, and “the kings of the earth who committed fornication with her” (Rev. xviii. 9); for her relation to her own king cannot possibly be thought of, inasmuch as the relation in which a nation stands to its temporal king is never thought of as marriage, like that of Jehovah to Israel. She would also be a mother bereaved of her children, if war and captivity robbed her of her population. But both of these would happen to her suddenly in one day, so that she would succumb to the weight of the double sorrow. Both of them would come upon her *kêthummâm* (*secundum integritatem eorum*), i.e. so that she would come to learn what the loss of men and the loss of children signified in all its extent and in all its depth, and that in spite of אַ, with, equivalent to “notwithstanding,” as in ch. v. 25; not “through = on account of,” since this tone is adopted for the first time in ver. 10) the multitude of its incantations, and the very great mass (*ôtsmâh*, an inf. noun, as in ch. xxx. 19, iv. 2, used here, not as in ch. xl. 29, in an intensive sense, but,

like 'ātsūm, as a parallel word to *rabh* in a numerical sense) of its witchcrafts (*chebher*, binding by means of incantations, *κατάδεσμος*). Babylonia was the birth-place of astrology, from which sprang the twelve-fold division of the day, the horoscope and sun-dial (Herod. ii. 109); but it was also the home of magic, which pretended to bind the course of events, and even the power of the gods, and to direct them in whatever way it pleased (Diodorus, ii. 29). Thus had Babylon trusted in her wickedness (ch. xiii. 11), viz. in the tyranny and cunning by which she hoped to ensure perpetual duration, with the notion that she was exalted above the reach of any earthly calamity. She thought, "None seeth me" (*non est videns me*), thus suppressing the voice of conscience, and practically denying the omnipotence and omnipresence of God. רָאִי (with a verbal suffix, *videns me*, whereas רָאִי in Gen. xvi. 13 signifies *videns mei* = *meus*), also written רָאִי, is a pausal form in half pause for רָאִי (ch. xxix. 15). *Tzere* passes in pause both into *pathach* (e.g. ch. xlii. 22), and also, apart from such *hithpael* forms as ch. xli. 16, into *kametz*, as in קִמְצִי (Job xxii. 20, which see). By the "wisdom and knowledge" of Babylon, which had turned her aside from the right way, we are to understand her policy, strategy, and more especially her magical arts, i.e. the mysteries of the Chaldeans, their ἐπιχῶριοι φιλόσοφοι (Strabo, xxi. 1, 6). On *hōvāh* (used here and in Ezek. vii. 26, written *hāvāh* elsewhere), according to its primary meaning, "yawning," *χαῖνον*, then a yawning depth, *χάσμα*, utter destruction, see at Job xxxvii. 6. שָׁמָּה signifies primarily a desert, or desolate place, here destruction; and hence the derivative meaning, waste noise, a dull groan. The perfect consec. of the first clause precedes its predicate רָעָה in the radical form רָעָה (Ges, § 147, a). With the parallelism of בְּפֶרֶה, it is not probable that שְׁתִּירָה, which rhymes with it, is a substantive, in the sense of "from which thou wilt experience no morning dawn" (i.e. after the night of calamity), as Umbreit supposes. The suffix also causes some difficulty (hence the Vulgate rendering, *ortum ejus, sc. mali*); and instead of תִּרְעִי, we should expect תִּרְאִי. In any case, *shachrāh* is a verb, and Hitzig renders it, "which thou wilt not know how to unblacken;" but this privative use of *shichēr* as a word of colour would be without example. It would be better to translate it, "which thou wilt not know how

to spy out" (as in ch. xxvi. 9), but better still, "which thou wilt not know how to conjure away" (*shichêr* = *ساحر*, as it were *incantitare*, and here *incantando averruncare*). The last relative clause affirms what *shachráh* would state, if understood according to ch. xxvi. 9: destruction which thou wilt not know, *i.e.* which will come suddenly and unexpectedly.

Then follows the concluding strophe, which, like the first, announces to the imperial city in a triumphantly sarcastic tone its inevitable fate; whereas the intermediate strophes refer rather to the sins by which this fate has been brought upon it. Vers. 12-15. "*Come near, then, with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy witchcrafts, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth: perhaps thou canst profit, perhaps thou wilt inspire terror. Thou art wearied through the multitude of thy consultations; let the dissectors of the heavens come near, then, and save thee, the star-gazers, they who with every new moon bring things to light that will come upon thee. Behold, they have become like stubble: fire has consumed them: there is not a red-hot coal to warm themselves, a hearth-fire to sit before. So is it with thy people, for whom thou hast laboured: thy partners in trade from thy youth, they wander away every one in his own direction; no one who brings salvation to thee.*" Hitzig and others adopt the simple rendering, "Persevere, then, with thine enchantments." It is indeed true, that in Lev. xiii. 5 *עָמַד* signifies "to remain standing by anything," *i.e.* to persevere with it, just as in Ezek. xiii. 5 it signifies to keep one's standing in anything; in 2 Kings xxiii. 3, to enter upon anything; and in Eccles. viii. 3, to engage in anything; but there is no reason for taking it here in any other sense than in ver. 13. Babylon is to draw near with all the processes of the black art, wherein *בְּאֲשֵׁר*, according to our western mode of expression, equivalent to *בְּאֲשֵׁר בָּהֶם*, Ges. 123, 2*) it had been addicted to abundance of routine from its youth upwards (*יָגַעְתָּ* with an auxiliary *pathach* for *יָגַעְתָּ*); possibly it may be of some use, possibly it will terrify, *i.e.* make itself so terrible to the approaching calamity, as to cause it to keep off. The prophet now sees in spirit how Babylon draws near, and how it also harasses itself to no purpose; he therefore follows up the *עָמַדְתָּ*, addressed *in pleno* to Babylon, with a second challenge commencing with *עָמַדְתָּ*.

Their astrologers are to draw near, and try that power over the future to which they lay claim, by bringing it to bear at once upon the approaching destruction for the benefit of Babylon. עֲצָתֶיךָ is a singular form connected with a feminine plural suffix, such as we find in Ps. ix. 15, Ezek. xxxv. 11, Ezra ix. 15, connected with a masculine plural suffix. Assuming the correctness of the vowel-pointing, the singular appears in such cases as these to have a collective meaning, like the Arabic *pl. fractus*; for there is no ground to suppose that the Aramæan plural form 'etsâth is used here in the place of the Hebrew. Instead of הָבְרוּ שָׁמַיִם (which would be equivalent to אֲשֶׁר הָבְרוּ), the *keri* reads הִכְבִּי שָׁמַיִם, cutters up of the heavens, i.e. planners or dissectors of them, from *hâbhar*, *dissecare*, *resecare* (compare the rabbinical *hâbhârâh*, a syllable, i.e. *segmentum vocabuli*, and possibly also the talmudic 'ēbhârîm, limbs of a body). The correction proposed by Knobel, viz. *chôbhl'rē*, from *châbhâr*, to know, or be versed in, is unnecessary. *Châzâh* b' signifies here, as it generally does, to look with pleasure or with interest at anything; hence Luther has rendered it correctly, *die Sternkucker* (Eng. ver. star-gazers). They are described still further as those who make known with every new moon (*lechôdâshîm*, like *labb'qârîm*, every morning, ch. xxxiii. 2, etc.), things which, etc. כִּי אֲשֶׁר is used in a partitive sense: out of the great mass of events they select the most important, and prepare a calendar or almanack (*ἀλμεινχιακά* in Plutarch) for the state every month. But these very wise men cannot save themselves, to say nothing of others, out of the power of that flame, which is no comforting coal-fire to warm one's self by, no hearth-fire (ch. xlv. 16) to sit in front of, but a devouring, eternal, i.e. peremptory flame (ch. xxxiii. 14). The rendering adopted by Grotius, Vitringa, Lowth, Gesenius, and others, "*non supererit pruna ad calendum*," is a false one, if only because it is not in harmony with the figure. "Thus shall they be unto thee," he continues in ver. 15, i.e. such things shall be endured to thy disgrace by those about whom thou hast wearied thyself (אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם = אֲשֶׁר). The learned orders of the Chaldeans had their own quarter, and enjoyed all the distinction and privileges of a priestly caste. What follows cannot possibly be understood as relating to these masters of astrology and witchcraft, as Ewald supposes; for, according to the expression שְׁחָרָה in

ver. 11, they would be called שְׁחִירֵי. Moreover, if they became a prey of the flames, and therefore were unable to flee, we should have to assume that they were burned while taking flight (Umbreit). שְׂחִירֵי are those who carried on commercial intercourse with the great "trading city" (Ezek. xvii. 4), as Berossos says, "In Babylon there was a great multitude of men of other nations who had settled in Chaldea, and they lived in disorder, like the wild beasts;" compare Æschylus, *Pers.* 52-3, *Βαβυλῶν δ' ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον πέμπει*. All of these are scattered in the wildest flight, אִישׁ אֶל-עָרָו, every one on his own side, viz. in the direction of his own home, and do not trouble themselves about Babylon.

NINTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLVIII.

DELIVERANCE FROM BABYLON.

This third portion of the trilogy (ch. xlvi. xlvii. xlviii.) stands in the same relation to ch. xlvii., as ch. xlvi. 3 sqq. to ch. xlvi. 1, 2. The prophecy is addressed to the great body of the captives. Vers. 1, 2. "*Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, who are called by the name of Israel, and have flowed out of the waters of Judah, who swear by the name of Jehovah, and extol the God of Israel, not in truth, and not in righteousness! For they call themselves of the holy city, and stay themselves upon the God of Israel, Jehovah of hosts His name.*" The summons to hear is based upon the Israelitish nationality of those who are summoned, to which they still cling, and upon the relation in which they place themselves to the God of Israel. This gives to Jehovah the right to turn to them, and imposes upon them the duty to hearken to Him. The blame, inserted by the way, points at the same time to the reason for the address which follows, and to the form which it necessarily assumes. "The house of Jacob" is not all Israel, as the following words clearly show, but, as in ch. xlvi. 3, the house of Judah, which shared in the honourable name of Israel, but have flowed out of the waters, i.e. the source of Judah. The summons, therefore, is addressed to the Judæan exiles in Babylon, and that inasmuch as they swear by the name of Jehovah, and remember the God of Israel with praise (*hizkir b'* as in Ps. xx. 8), though not

in truth and not in righteousness (1 Kings iii. 6; Zech. viii. 8), *i.e.* without their state of mind (cf. ch. xxxviii. 3, Jer. xxxii. 41) or mode of action corresponding to their confession, so as to prove that it was sincerely and seriously meant. The praise bestowed upon the persons summoned, which is somewhat spoiled by this, is explained in ver. 2; they call themselves after the holy city (this title is applied to Jerusalem both here and in ch. lii. 1, as well as in the books of Daniel and Nehemiah). We may easily supply here, that the holiness of the city laid an obligation upon its citizens to be holy in their character and conduct. They also relied upon the God of Israel, whose name is Jehovah Zebaoth; and therefore He could require of them the fullest confidence and deepest reverence.

After this summons, and description of those who are summoned, the address of Jehovah begins. Vers. 3-5. "*The first I have long ago proclaimed, and it has gone forth out of my mouth, and I caused it to be heard. I carried it out suddenly, and it came to pass. Because I knew that thou art hard, and thy neck an iron clasp, and thy brow of brass; I proclaimed it to thee long ago; before it came to pass, I caused thee to hear it, that thou mightest not say, My idol has done it, and my graven image and molten image commanded it.*" The word *הִרְאֵשְׁנוֹת* in itself signifies simply *priora*; and then, according to the context, it signifies *prius facta* (ch. xlvi. 9), or *prius prædicta* (ch. xliii. 9), or *prius eventura* (ch. xli. 22, xlii. 9). In the present passage it refers to earlier occurrences, which Jehovah had foretold, and, when the time fixed for their accomplishment arrived, which He had immediately brought to pass. With a retrospective glance at this, we find plural masc. suffixes (cf. ch. xli. 27) used interchangeably with plural fem. (cf. ver. 7 and ch. xxxviii. 16); the prophet more frequently uses the sing. fem. in this neuter sense (ch. xli. 20, xlii. 23, etc.), and also, though very rarely, the sing. masc. (ch. xlv. 8). On *gîd*, a band, a sinew, but here a clasp (cf. Arab. *kaid*, a fetter), see *Psychology*, p. 233. *N^cchûshâh* is a poetical equivalent for *n^cchôsheth*, as in ch. xlv. 2. The heathen cravings of Israel, which reached into the captivity, are here presupposed. Hengstenberg is mistaken in his supposition, that the prophet's standpoint is always anterior to the captivity when he speaks in condemnation of

idolatry. We cannot draw any conclusion from the character of the community that returned, with regard to that of the people of the captivity generally. The great mass even of Judah, and still more of Israel, remained behind, and became absorbed into the heathen, to whom they became more and more assimilated. And does not Ezekiel expressly state in ch. xx. 30 sqq., that the *golah* by the Chaboras defiled themselves with the same abominations of idolatry as their fathers, and that the prevailing disposition was to combine the worship of Jehovah with heathenism, or else to exchange the former altogether for the latter? And we know that it was just the same with the exiles in Egypt, among whom the life and labours of Jeremiah terminated. Wherever the prophet speaks of *פִּשְׁעִים* and *רָשָׁעִים*, these names invariably include a tendency or falling away to Babylonian idolatry, to which he describes the exiles as having been addicted, both in ch. lxvi. 17 and elsewhere.

But in order to determine exactly what "the former things" were, which Jehovah had foretold in order that Israel might not ascribe them to this idol or the other, we must add vers. 6-8: "*Thou hast heard it, look then at it all; and ye, must ye not confess it? I give thee new things to hear from this time forth, and hidden things, and what thou didst not know. It is created now, and not long ago; and thou hast not heard it before, that thou mightest not say, Behold, I knew it. Thou hast neither heard it, nor known it, nor did thine ear open itself to it long ago: for I knew thou art altogether faithless, and thou art called rebellious from the womb.*" The meaning of the question in ver. 6a is very obvious: they must acknowledge and attest, even though against their will (ch. xliii. 10, xliv. 8), that Jehovah has foretold all that is now confirmed by the evident fulfilment. Consequently the "former things" are the events experienced by the people from the very earliest times (ch. xlvi. 9) down to the present times of Cyrus, and more especially the first half or epoch of this period itself, which expired at the time that formed the prophet's standpoint. And as the object of the prediction was to guard Israel against ascribing to its idols that which had taken place (which can only be understood of events that had occurred in favour of Israel), the "former things" must include the preparation for the redemption of Israel from

the Babylonian captivity through the revolution brought to pass by Cyrus. Hence the "new things" will embrace the redemption of Israel with its attendant circumstances, and that not merely on its outward side, but on its spiritual side as well; also the glorification of the redeemed people in the midst of a world of nations converted to the God of Israel, and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth; in short, the New Testament *æon* (compare לְבָרִית עִם, LXX. εἰς διαθήκην γενους, ch. xlii. 6), with the facts which contribute to its ultimate completion (cf. ch. xlii. 9). The announcement and realization of these absolutely new and hitherto secret things (cf. Rom. xvi. 25) take place from this time forward; Israel has not heard of them "before to-day" (compare מִיּוֹם, "from this day forward," ch. xliii. 13), that it may not lay claim to the knowledge conveyed to it by prophecy, as something drawn from itself. This thought is carried to a climax in ver. 8 in three correlated sentences commencing with "yea" (*gam*). נִפְתָּח signifies *patescere* here, as in ch. lx. 11 (Ewald, § 120, a). Jehovah had said nothing to them of this before, because it was to be feared that, with their faithlessness and tendency to idolatry, which had run through their entire history, they would only abuse it. This is strange! On the one hand, the rise of Cyrus is spoken of here as predicted from of old, because it belonged to the "former things," and as knowable through prophecy,—a statement which favours the opinion that these addresses were written before the captivity; and, on the other hand, a distinction is drawn between these "former things" and certain "new things" that were intentionally not predicted before the expiration of these "former things," which certainly seems to preclude the possibility of their having been composed before the captivity; since, as Ruetschi observes, if "the older Isaiah had predicted this, he would have acted in direct opposition to Jehovah's design." But in actual fact, the dilemma in which the opponents of the authenticity of these prophecies find themselves, is comparatively worse than this. For the principal objection—namely, that a prophet before the captivity could not possibly have known or predicted anything concerning Cyrus—cannot be satisfactorily removed by attributing these prophecies to a prophet of the time of the captivity, since they expressly and repeatedly affirm that the rise of Cyrus was an event fore-

known and predicted by the God of prophecy. Now, if it is Isaiah who thus takes his stand directly in the midst of the captivity, we can understand both of these: viz. the retrospective glance at previous prophecies, which issued in the rise of Cyrus that prepared the way for the redemption from Babylon, since, so far as the prophet was concerned, such prophecies as ch. xiii.-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, and also ch. xi. 10-12 (Mic. iv. 10), are fused into one with his present predictions; and also the prospective glance at prophecies which are now first to be uttered, and events which are now for the first time about to be accomplished; inasmuch as the revelations contained in these prophecies concerning Israel's pathway through suffering to glory, more especially so far as they grew out of the idea of the "servant of Jehovah," might really be set down as absolutely new to the prophet himself, and never heard of before. Meanwhile our exposition is not affected by the critical question; for even we most firmly maintain, that the prophet who is speaking here has his standpoint in the midst of the captivity, on the boundary line of the condition of suffering and punishment and its approaching termination.

The people now expiating its offences in exile has been from time immemorial faithless and inclined to apostasy; nevertheless Jehovah will save it, and its salvation is therefore an unmerited work of His compassion. Vers. 9-11. "*For my name's sake I lengthen out my wrath, and for my praise I hold back towards thee, that I may not cut thee off. Behold, I have refined thee, and not in the manner of silver: I have proved thee in the furnace of affliction. For mine own sake, for mine own sake I accomplish it (for how is it profaned!), and my glory I give not to another.*" The futures in ver. 9 affirm what Jehovah continually does. He lengthens out His wrath, i.e. He retards its outbreak, and thus shows Himself long-suffering.

He tames or chains it (עָנָה, like عَظَم, root עָנ, compare *domare*, root Sanscr. *dam*, possibly also to dam or damp) for the sake of Israel, that He may not exterminate it utterly by letting it loose, and that for the sake of His name and His praise, which require the carrying out of His plan of salvation, on which the existence of Israel depends. What Israel has

hitherto experienced has been a melting, the object of which was not destruction, but testing and refinement. The *Beth* of וְלֹא בְכֶסֶף is not *Beth pretii* in the sense of “not to gain silver,” or “not so that I should have gained silver as *operæ pretium*,” as Umbreit and Ewald maintain (and even Knobel, who explains it however as meaning “in the accompaniment of silver,” though in the same sense). Such a thought would be out of place and purposeless here. Nor is Rosenmüller’s explanation admissible, viz. “not with silver, *i.e.* with that force of fire which is necessary for the smelting out of silver.” This is altogether unsuitable, because the sufferings inflicted upon Israel did resemble the smelting out of the precious metal (see ch. i. 25). The *Beth* is rather the *Beth essentiae*, which may be rendered by *tanquam*, and introduces the accusative predicate in this instance, just as it introduces the nominative predicate in the substantive clause of Job xxiii. 13, and the verbal clause of Ps. xxxix. 7. Jehovah melted Israel, but not like silver (not as men melt silver); the meaning of which is, not that He melted it more severely, *i.e.* even more thoroughly, than silver, as Stier explains it, but, as the thought is positively expressed in ver. 10*b*, that the afflictions which fell upon Israel served as a smelting furnace (*kūr* as in Deut. iv. 20). It was, however, a smelting of a superior kind, a spiritual refining and testing (*bāchar* is Aramaic in form, and equivalent to *bāchan*). The manifestation of wrath, therefore, as these expressions affirm, had a salutary object; and in this very object the intention was involved from the very first, that it should only last for a time. He therefore puts an end to it now for His own sake, *i.e.* not because He is induced to do so by the merits of Israel, but purely as an act of grace, to satisfy a demand made upon Him by His own holiness, inasmuch as, if it continued any longer, it would encourage the heathen to blaspheme His name, and would make it appear as though He cared nothing for His own honour, which was inseparably bound up with the existence of Israel. The expression here is curt and harsh throughout. In ver. 9*b*, לְמַעַן and וְאֵינִי are to be supplied in thought from ver. 9*a*; and in the parenthetical exclamation, יְהוָה יֵחַלֵּן (*niphal* of חָלַן, as in Ezek. xxii. 26), the distant word שְׁמִי (my name), also from ver. 9*a*. “I will do it” refers to the carrying out of their redemption (cf. ch. xlv. 23).

In Ezek. xxxvi. 19-23 we have, as it were, a commentary upon ver. 11.

The prophecy opened with "Hear ye;" and now the second half commences with "Hear." Three times is the appeal made to Israel: Hear ye; Jehovah alone is God, Creator, shaper of history, God of prophecy and of fulfilment. Vers. 12-16. *"Hearken to me, O Jacob, and Israel my called! I am it, I first, also I last. My hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens: I call to them, and they stand there together. All ye, assemble yourselves, and hear: Who among them hath proclaimed this? He whom Jehovah loveth will accomplish his will upon Babel, and his arm upon the Chaldeans. I, I have spoken, have also called him, have brought him here, and his way prospers. Come ye near to me! Hear ye this! I have not spoken in secret, from the beginning: from the time that it takes place, there am I: and now the Lord Jehovah hath sent me and His Spirit."* Israel is to hearken to the call of Jehovah. The obligation to this exists, on the one hand, in the fact that it is the nation called to be the servant of Jehovah (ch. xli. 9), the people of sacred history; and on the other hand, in the fact that Jehovah is **יהוה** (ever since Deut. xxxii. 39, the fundamental clause of the Old Testament *credo*), i.e. the absolute and eternally unchangeable One, the Alpha and Omega of all history, more especially of that of Israel, the Creator of the earth and heavens (*tippach*, like *nâtâh* elsewhere, equivalent to the Syriac *t^hphach*, to spread out), at whose almighty call they stand ready to obey, with all the beings they contain. **קִרְאָה אֲנִי** is virtually a conditional sentence (Ewald, § 357, *b*). So far everything has explained the reason for the exhortation to listen to Jehovah. A further reason is now given, by His summoning the members of His nation to assemble together, to hear His own self-attestation, and to confirm it: Who among them (the gods of the heathen) has proclaimed this, or anything of the kind? That which no one but Jehovah has ever predicted follows immediately, in the form of an independent sentence, the subject of which is **יְהוה אֱהוֶה** (cf. ch. xli. 24): He whom Jehovah loveth will accomplish his will upon Babylon, and his arm (accomplish it) upon the Chaldeans. **וְיִרְעוּ** is not an accusative (as Hitzig, Ewald, Stier, and others maintain); for the expression "accom-

plish his arm" (? Jehovah's or his own) is a phrase that is quite unintelligible, even if taken as zeugmatic; it is rather the nominative of the subject, whilst בְּשִׁרְיָם = בְּבִשְׂרָיִם, like למֶעַן תְּהִלָּתִי = תְּהִלָּתִי in ver. 9. Jehovah, He alone, is He who has proclaimed such things; He also has raised up in Cyrus the predicted conqueror of Babylon. The prosperity of his career is Jehovah's work. As certainly now as הִקְבָּצוּ in ver. 14 is the word of Jehovah, so certain is it that קִרְבִּי אֵלַי is the same. He summons to Himself the members of His nation, that they may hear still further His own testimony concerning Himself. From the beginning He has not spoken in secret (see ch. xlv. 19); but from the time that all which now lies before their eyes—namely, the victorious career of Cyrus—has unfolded itself, He has been there, or has been by (*shām*, there, as in Prov. viii. 27), to regulate what was coming to pass, and to cause it to result in the redemption of Israel. Hofmann gives a different explanation, viz.: "I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; not from the time when it came to pass (not then for the first time, but long before); I was then (when it occurred)." But the arrangement of the words is opposed to this continued force of the אֵלַי, and the accents are opposed to this breaking off of the שָׁם אֲנִי, which affirms that, at the time when the revolution caused by Cyrus was preparing in the distance, He caused it to be publicly foretold, and thereby proclaimed Himself the present Author and Lord of what was then occurring. Up to this point Jehovah is speaking; but who is it that now proceeds to say, "And now—namely, now that the redemption of Israel is about to appear (וְעַתָּה) being here, as in many other instances, e.g. ch. xxxiii. 10, the turning-point of salvation)—now hath the Lord Jehovah sent me and His Spirit?" The majority of the commentators assume that the prophet comes forward here in his own person, behind Him whom he has introduced, and interrupts Him. But although it is perfectly true, that in all prophecy, from Deuteronomy onwards, words of Jehovah through the prophet and words of the prophet of Jehovah alternate in constant, and often harsh transitions, and that our prophet has this mark of divine inspiration in common with all the other prophets (cf. ch. lxii. 5, 6), it must also be borne in mind, that hitherto he has not spoken once objectively of himself, except quite

indirectly (*vid.* ch. xl. 6, xliv. 26), to say nothing of actually coming forward in his own person. Whether this takes place further on, more especially in ch. lxi., we will leave for the present; but here, since the prophet has not spoken in his own person before, whereas, on the other hand, these words are followed in ch. xlix. 1 sqq. by an address concerning himself from that servant of Jehovah who announces himself as the restorer of Israel and light of the Gentiles, and who cannot therefore be either Israel as a nation or the author of these prophecies, nothing is more natural than to suppose that the words, "And now hath the Lord," etc., form a prelude to the words of the One unequalled servant of Jehovah concerning Himself which occur in ch. xlix. The surprisingly mysterious way in which the words of Jehovah suddenly pass into those of His messenger, which is only comparable to Zech. ii. 12 sqq., iv. 9 (where the speaker is also not the prophet, but a divine messenger exalted above him), can only be explained in this manner. And in no other way can we explain the וַעֲתָה, which means that, after Jehovah has prepared the way for the redemption of Israel by the raising up of Cyrus, in accordance with prophecy, and by his success in arms, He has sent him, the speaker in this case, to carry out, in a mediatorial capacity, the redemption thus prepared, and that not by force of arms, but in the power of the Spirit of God (ch. xlii. 1; cf. Zech. iv. 6). Consequently the Spirit is not spoken of here as joining in the sending (as Umbreit and Stier suppose, after Jerome and the Targum: the Septuagint is indefinite, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ); nor do we ever find the Spirit mentioned in such co-ordination as this (see, on the other hand, Zech. vii. 12, *per spiritum suum*). The meaning is, that it is also sent, *i.e.* sent in and with the servant of Jehovah, who is speaking here. To convey this meaning, there was no necessity to write either וְשָׁלַח אֹתִי וְרָחֵם or שְׁלַחֲנִי וְאֶת־רָחֵמוֹ, since the expression is just the same as that in ch. xxix. 7, צִבְיָהּ וּמִצְדָּתָהּ; and the *Vav* may be regarded as the *Vav* of companionship (*Mitschaft*, lit. with-ship, as the Arabs call it; see at ch. xlii. 5).

The exhortation is now continued. Israel is to learn the incomparable nature of Jehovah from the work of redemption thus prepared in word and deed. The whole future depends upon the attitude which it henceforth assumes to His command-

ments. Vers. 17-19. "Thus saith Jehovah, thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; I, Jehovah thy God, am He that teacheth thee to do that which profiteth, and leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldst go. O that thou hearkenedst to my commandments! then thy peace becomes like the river, and thy righteousness like waves of the sea; and thy seed becomes like the sand, and the children of thy body like the grains thereof: its name will not be cut off nor destroyed away from my countenance." Jehovah is Israel's rightful and right teacher and leader. לְהוֹדִיעַ is used in the same sense as in ch. xxx. 5 and xlv. 10, to furnish what is useful, to produce what is beneficial or profitable. The optative לֵאמֹר is followed, as in ch. lxiii. 19, by the preterite *utinam attenderis*, the idea of reality being mixed up with the wish. Instead of וְיִהְיֶה in the apodosis, we should expect וְיִהְיֶה (so would), as in Deut. xxxii. 29. The former points out the consequence of the wish regarded as already realized. *Shālôm*, prosperity or health, will thereby come upon Israel in such abundance, that it will, as it were, bathe therein; and *ts'dāqâh*, rectitude acceptable to God, so abundantly, that it, the sinful one, will be covered by it over and over again. Both of these, *shālôm* and *ts'dāqâh*, are introduced here as a divine gift, not merited by Israel, but only conditional upon that faith which gives heed to the word of God, especially to the word which promises redemption, and appropriates it to itself. Another consequence of the obedience of faith is, that Israel thereby becomes a numerous and eternally enduring nation. The play upon the words in מַעֲדֵי בְּמַעֲוֹתָיו is very conspicuous. Many expositors (*e.g.* Rashi, Gesenius, Hitzig, and Knobel) regard מַעֲוֹת as synonymous with מַעֲיָם, and therefore as signifying the *viscera*, *i.e.* the beings that fill the heart of the sea; but it is much more natural to suppose that the suffix points back to *chōl*. Moreover, no such metaphorical use of *viscera* can be pointed out; and since in other instances the feminine plural (such as *k'nâphōth*, *q'rânōth*) denotes that which is artificial as distinguished from what is natural, it is impossible to see why the interior of the sea, which is elsewhere called *lēbh* (*l'bhahb*, the heart), and indirectly also *beten*, should be called מַעֲוֹת instead of מַעֲיָם. To all appearance מַעֲוֹתָיו signifies the grains of sand (LXX., Jerome, Targ.); and this is confirmed by the fact that מַעֲזָא (Neo-Heb. מַעֲזָא *numulus*) is the Targum word for גִּרְיָה, and

the Semitic root מַע , related to מָנ ; מָס , melted, dissolved, signifies to be soft or tender. The conditional character of the concluding promise has its truth in the word $\text{מִלְפָּנֶי$. Israel remains a nation even in its apostasy, but fallen under the punishment of *kareth* (of cutting off), under which individuals perish when they wickedly transgress the commandment of circumcision, and others of a similar kind. It is still a people, but rooted out and swept away from the gracious countenance of God, who no more acknowledges it as His own people.

So far the address is hortatory. In the face of the approaching redemption, it demands fidelity and faith. But in the certainty that such a faithful and believing people will not be wanting within the outer Israel, the prophecy of redemption clothes itself in the form of a summons. Vers. 20-22. "*Go out of Babel, flee from Chaldæa with voice of shouting: declare ye, preach ye this, carry it out to the end of the earth! Say ye, Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob His servant. And they thirsted not: He led them through dry places; He caused water to trickle out of rocks for them; He split rocks, and waters gushed out. There is no peace, saith Jehovah, for the wicked.*" They are to go out of Babylon, and with speed and joy to leave the land of slavery and idolatry far behind. *Bārach* does not mean literally to flee in this instance, but to depart with all the rapidity of flight (compare Ex. xiv. 5). And what Jehovah has done to them, is to be published by them over the whole earth; the redemption experienced by Israel is to become a gospel to all mankind. The tidings which are to be sent forth (הוֹצִיא as in ch. xlii. 1), extend from נָא to the second נָא , which is repeated palindromically. Jehovah has redeemed the nation that He chose to be the bearer of His salvation, amidst displays of love, in which the miracles of the Egyptian redemption have been renewed. This is what Israel has to experience, and to preach, so far as it has remained true to its God. But there is no peace, saith Jehovah, to the *r^eshā'im*: this is the name given to loose men (for the primary meaning of the verbal root is laxity and looseness), *i.e.* to those whose inward moral nature is loosened, without firm hold, and therefore in a state of chaotic confusion, because they are without God. The reference is to the godless in Israel. The words express the same thought negatively which is expressed positively in Gal. vi. 16, "Peace

upon the Israel of God." *Shālôm* is the significant and comprehensive name given to the coming salvation. From this the godless exclude themselves; they have no part in the future inheritance; the sabbatical rest reserved for the people of God does not belong to them. With this divine utterance, which pierces the conscience like the point of an arrow, this ninth prophecy is brought to a close; and not that only, but also the trilogy concerning "Babel" in ch. xlv.–xlix., and the whole of the first third of these 3×9 addresses to the exiles. From this time forth the name *Kōresh* (Cyrus), and also the name *Babel*, never occur again; the relation of the people of Jehovah to heathenism, and the redemption from Babylon, so far as it was foretold and accomplished by Jehovah, not only proving His sole deity, but leading to the overthrow of the idols and the destruction of their worshippers. This theme is now exhausted, and comes into the foreground no more. The expression שְׁמֵי אֱלֹהִים, in its connection with נִחְמֵי עַמִּי, points at once to the diversity in character of the second section, which commences here.

PART II.

FIRST PROPHECY.—CHAP. XLIX.

SELF-ATTESTATION OF THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH. THE DESPONDENCY OF ZION REPROVED.

THE very same person who was introduced by Jehovah in ch. xlii. 1 sqq. here speaks for himself, commencing thus in vers. 1–3: "*Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye nations afar off: Jehovah hath called me from the womb; from my mother's lap hath He remembered my name. And He made my mouth like a sharp sword; in the shadow of His hand hath He hid me, and made me into a polished shaft; in His quiver hath He concealed me. And He said to me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, thou in whom I glorify myself.*" Although the speaker is called Israel in ver. 3b, he must not be regarded as either a collective person representing all Israel, or as the collective personality

of the kernel of Israel, which answered to its true idea. It is not the former, because in ver. 5 he is expressly distinguished from the nation itself, which is the immediate object of his special work as restorer and (according to ver. 8 and ch. xlii. 6) covenant-mediator also; not the latter, because the nation, whose restoration he effects, according to ver. 5, was not something distinct from the collective personality of the "servant of Jehovah" in a national sense, but rather the entire body of the "servants of Jehovah" or remnant of Israel (see, for example, ch. lxv. 8-16). Moreover, it cannot be either of these, because what he affirms of himself is expressed in such terms of individuality, that they cannot be understood as employed in a collective sense at all, more especially where he speaks of his mother's womb. In every other case in which Israel is spoken of in this way, we find only "from the womb" (*mibbeten*, ch. xliv. 2, 24; xlv. 3, along with *minnî-racham*; also ch. xlviii. 8), without the addition of מִן (mother), which is quite unsuitable to the collective body of the nation (except in such allegorical connections as ch. li. 1, 2, and Ezek. xvi. 3). Is it then possibly the prophet, who is here speaking of himself and refers in ver. 1b to his own mother (compare מִן in Jer. xv. 10, xx. 14, 17)? This is very improbable, if only because the prophet, who is the medium of the word of God in these prophecies, has never placed himself in the foreground before. In ch. xl. 6 he merely speaks of himself indirectly; in ch. xlv. 26, even if he refer to himself at all (which we greatly doubt), it is only objectively; and in ch. xlviii. 16, the other person, into whose words the words of Jehovah pass, cannot be the prophet, for the simple reason that the transition of the words of Jehovah into those of His messenger is essentially different in this instance from the otherwise frequent interchange of the words of Jehovah and those of His prophet, and also because the messenger of Jehovah speaks of himself there, after the "former things" have come to pass, as the mediator (either in word or deed) of the "new things" which were never heard of before, but are to be expected now; whereas the author of these addresses was also the prophet of the "former things," and therefore the messenger referred to rises up within the course of sacred history predicted by the author of these prophecies. Moreover, what the speaker in this case (ch. xlix. 1, 2) says of

himself is so unique, so glorious, that it reaches far beyond the vocation and performance of any single prophet, or, in fact, of any individual man subject to the limitations of human life and human strength. There is nothing else left, therefore, than to suppose that the idea implied in the expression "servant of Jehovah" is condensed in this instance, as in ch. xlii. 1 sqq., into that of a single person. When it is expanded to its widest circumference, the "servant of Jehovah" is all Israel; when it only covers its smaller and inner circle, it is the true people of Jehovah contained within the entire nation, like the kernel in the shell (see the definition of this at ch. li. 7, lxv. 10; Ps. xxiv. 6, lxxiii. 15); but here it goes back to its very centre. The "servant of Jehovah," in this central sense, is the heart of Israel. From this heart of Israel the stream of salvation flows out, first of all through the veins of the people of God, and thence through the veins of the nations generally. Just as Cyrus is the world-power in person, as made subservient to the people of God, so the servant of Jehovah, who is speaking here, is Israel in person, as promoting the glorification of Jehovah in all Israel, and in all the world of nations: in other words, it is He in whom the true nature of Israel is concentrated like a sun, in whom the history of Israel is coiled up as into a knot for a further and final development, in whom Israel's world-wide calling to be the Saviour of mankind, including Israel itself, is fully carried out; the very same who took up the word of Jehovah in ch. xlviii. 16b, in the full consciousness of His fellowship with Him, declaring Himself to be His messenger who had now appeared. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that throughout these prophecies the breaking forth of salvation, not for Israel only, but for all mankind, is regarded as bound up with the termination of the captivity; and from this its basis, the restoration of the people who were then in exile, it is never separated. This fact is of great importance in relation to the question of authorship, and favours the conclusion that they emanated from a prophet who lived before the captivity, and not in the midst of it. Just as in ch. vii. Isaiah sees the son of the virgin grow up in the time of the Assyrian oppressions, and then sees his kingdom rising up on the ruins of the Assyrian (cf. vol. i. p. 227); so does he here behold the servant of Jehovah rising up in the second half of the captivity,

as if born in exile, in the midst of the punishment borne by his people, to effect the restoration of Israel. At the present time, when he begins to speak, coming forward without any further introduction, and speaking in his own name (a unique instance of dramatic style, which goes beyond even Ps. ii.), he has already left behind him the commencement of his work, which was directed towards the salvation of mankind. His appeal is addressed to the "isles," which had been frequently mentioned already when the evangelization of the heathen was spoken of (ch. xlii. 4, 10, 12; cf. ch. xxiv. 15), and to the "nations from afar," *i.e.* the distant nations (as in ch. v. 26; compare, on the other hand, Jer. xxiii. 23). They are to hear what he says, not merely what he says in the words that follow, but what he says generally. What follows is rather a vindication of his right to demand a hearing and obedience, than the discourse itself, which is to be received with the obedience of faith; at the same time, the two are most intimately connected. Jehovah has called him *ab utero*, has thought of his name from the bowels of his mother (עַל־כִּנּוּי as in Ps. lxxi. 6), *i.e.* even before he was born; ever since his conception has Jehovah assigned to him his calling, viz. his saving calling, and solemnly announced his name in relation to this calling. We call to mind here Jer. i. 5, Luke i. 41, Gal. i. 15, but above all the name Immanuel, which is given by anticipation to the Coming One in ch. vii. 14, and the name Jesus, which God appointed through the mouth of angels, when the human life of Him who was to bear that name was still ripening in the womb of the Virgin (Matt. i. 20-23). It is worthy of notice, however, that the great Coming One, though he is described in the Old Testament as one who is to be looked for "from the seed of David," is also spoken of as "born of a woman," whenever his entrance into the world is directly referred to. In the Protevangelium he is called, though not in an individual sense, "the seed of the woman;" Isaiah, in the time of Ahaz, mentions "the virgin" as his mother; Micah (v. 2) speaks of his יוֹלְדָה; even the typical psalms, as in Ps. xxii. 10, 11, give prominence to the mother. And is not this a sign that prophecy is a work of the Spirit, who searches out the deep things of the counsel of God? In ver. 2 the speaker says still further, that Jehovah has made his mouth *k'cherebh*

chaddâh (like a sharp sword), namely, that he may overcome everything that resists him as if with a sharp sword, and sever asunder things that are bound up together in a pernicious bond (ch. xi. 4; Rev. i. 16; Heb. iv. 12); also that He has made him into *chêts bârûr* (not βέλος ἐκλεκτόν, LXX., but, as in Jer. li. 11, cleaned,¹ polished, sharpened, pointed), namely, to pierce the hearts (Ps. xlv. 6), and inflict upon them the most wholesome wounds; and again, that Jehovah has hidden him under the shadow of His almighty hand, and kept him concealed in the quiver of His loving counsel, just girt as men keep their swords and arrows in sheaths and quivers ready for the time when they want to use them, in order that in the fulness of time He might draw out this His sword, and put this His arrow to the bow. The question whether the allusion here is to the time preceding the foreknown period of his coming, or whether it is to eternity that the words refer, does not present any great dilemma; at the same time, the prophecy in this instance only traces back the being of the person, who now appears, to the remotest point of his historical coming. Ver. 3 describes, without any figure, what Jehovah has made him. He has said to him (cf. Ps. ii. 7b): Thou art my servant; thou art Israel, in whom (*in quo*, as in ch. xlv. 23) I glorify myself. Schenkel's exposition is grammatically impossible: "(It is) in Israel that I will glorify myself through thee." The servant himself is called Israel. We call to mind here the expression in Matt. xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter;" and the use of the name "Israel," as the individuation of a generic name, reminds us of the fact that the kings of a nation are sometimes called by the name of the nation itself (*e.g.* Asshur, ch. x. 5 sqq.). But Israel was from the very first the God-given name of an individual. Just as the name Israel was first of all given to a man, and then after that to a nation, so the name which sprang from a personal root has also a personal crown. The servant of Jehovah is Israel in person, inasmuch as the purpose of mercy, upon the basis of which and for the accomplishment of which Jehovah made Jacob the father of the twelve-tribed nation, is brought by him into full and final realization. We have already seen that Israel, as an entire nation, formed the basis of the idea

¹ The comparison to *purus* is one that naturally suggests itself; but this, like *putus*, is derived from a root *pû*.

contained in the term "servant of Jehovah;" Israel, regarded as a people faithful to its calling, the centre; and the personal servant of Jehovah its apex. In the present instance, where he is called distinctly "Israel," the fact is clearly expressed, that the servant of Jehovah in these prophecies is regarded as the kernel of the kernel of Israel, as Israel's inmost centre, as Israel's highest head. He it is in whom (*i.e.* on whom and through whom) Jehovah glorifies Himself, inasmuch as He carries out through him the counsels of His love, which are the self-glorification of His holy love, its glory and its triumph.

In the next verse the speaker meets the words of divine calling and promise with a complaint, which immediately silences itself, however. Ver. 4. "*And I, I said, I have wearied myself in vain, and thrown away my strength for nothing and to no purpose; yet my right is with Jehovah, and my reward with my God.*" The *Vav* with which the verse opens introduces the apparent discrepancy between the calling he had received, and the apparent failure of his work. וָנִסִּי, however, denies the conclusion which might be drawn from this, that there was neither reality nor truth in his call. The relation between the clauses is exactly the same as that in Ps. xxxi. 23 and Jonah ii. 5 (where we find וָנִסִּי, which is more rarely used in this adversative sense); compare also Ps. xxx. 7 (but I said), and the psalm of Hezekiah in ch. xxxviii. 10 with the antithesis in Ps. xxxviii. 15. In the midst of his activity no fruit was to be seen, and the thought came upon him, that it was a failure; but this disturbance of his rejoicing in his calling was soon quieted in the confident assurance that his *mishpât* (*i.e.* his good right in opposition to all contradiction and resistance) and his "work" (*i.e.* the result and fruit of the work, which is apparently in vain) are with Jehovah, and laid up with Him until the time when He will vindicate His servant's right, and crown his labour with success. We must not allow ourselves to be led astray by such parallels as ch. xl. 10, lxii. 11. The words are not spoken in a collective capacity any more than in the former part of the verse; the lamentation of Israel as a people, in ch. xl. 27, is expressed very differently.

The expression "and now" (וְעַתָּה), which follows, evidently indicates a fresh turn in the official life of the person speaking here. At the same time, it is evident that it is the failure of

his labours within his own people, which has forced out the lamentation in ver. 4a. For his reason for addressing his summons in ch. xlix. 1 to the world of nations, is that Jehovah has not guaranteed to him, the undaunted one, success to his labours among his own people, but has assigned him a mission extending far beyond and reaching to all mankind. Vers. 5, 6. "And now, saith Jehovah, that formed me from the womb to be His servant, to bring back Jacob to Him, and that Israel may be gathered together to Him; and I am honoured in the eyes of Jehovah, and my God has become my strength. He saith, It is only a small thing that thou becomest my servant, to set up the tribes of Jacob, and to bring back the preserved of Israel. I have set thee for the light of the Gentiles, to become my salvation to the end of the earth." Both *shōbhēbh* and *hāshīb* unite within themselves the meanings *reducere* (Jer. l. 19) and *restituere*. On $\text{לָּ} = \text{לֵּ}$ generally, see at ch. ix. 2, lxiii. 9. Jerome is wrong in his rendering, *et Israel qui non congregabitur* (what could a prophecy of the rejection of the Jews do here?); so also is Hitzig's rendering, "since Israel is not swept away;" and Hofmann's, "Israel, which is not swept away." In the present instance, where the restoration of Israel is the event referred to, קָם must signify "the gathering together of Israel," as in ch. xi. 12. לֵּ (parallel לֵּי) points to Jehovah as the author of the gathering, and as the object of it also. The transition from the infinitive of design to the finite verb of desire, is the same as in ch. xiii. 9, xiv. 25. The attributive clause, added to the name Jehovah, expresses the lofty mission of the servant of God with regard to Israel. The parenthesis, "I have honour in the eyes of Jehovah, and my God has become my strength, *i.e.* has become mighty in me, the apparently weak one," looks beyond to the still loftier mission, by which the former lofty one is far surpassed. On account of this parenthetically inserted praise of Jehovah, the אָמַר is resumed in וַיֹּאמֶר . Instead of $\text{נִקְלָהּ הַיּוֹתֵר}$ (compare 1 Kings xvi. 31), *i.e.* it is a small thing that thou shouldst be, we have it here, as in Ezek. viii. 17, with a comparative *min*, which must not, however, be logically pressed: "It is smaller than that," *i.e.* it is too small a thing that thou shouldst be. The *n^{ts}ūrē* (*Kerī*, *n^{ts}ūrē*) of Israel are those who have been preserved in exile (Ezek. vi. 12); in other cases, we find שָׁאָר , שְׁאָרִית , or

פְּלִמָּה. Not only is the restoration of the remnant of Israel the work of the servant of Jehovah; but Jehovah has appointed him for something higher than this. He has given or set him for the light of the heathen ("a light to lighten the Gentiles," Luke ii. 32), to become His salvation to the end of the earth (LXX.: τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς). Those who regard Israel as a nation as speaking here (e.g. Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, etc.) go right away from this, which is the most natural sense of the words, and explain them as meaning, "that my salvation may be, reach, or penetrate to the end of the earth." But inasmuch as the servant of Jehovah is the light of the world, he is through that very fact the salvation of the world; and he is both of these through Jehovah, whose counsels of יְשׁוּעָה are brought by him into historical realization and visible manifestation.

The words of the servant of God, in which he enforces his claim upon the nations, are now lost in words of Jehovah to him, which are no longer reported by him, but are appended as an independent address. His present condition is one of the deepest humiliation. Ver. 7. *"Thus saith Jehovah, the Redeemer of Israel, His Holy One, to him of contemptible soul, to the abhorrence of the people, to the servant of tyrants: kings shall see and arise; princes, and prostrate themselves for the sake of Jehovah, who is faithful, the Holy One of Israel, that He hath chosen thee."* As *bāzōh* with a changeable *kametz* (cf. *chāmōts*, ch. i. 17) has, if not exactly a passive force, yet something very like a passive circumstantial meaning, בָּזוּי־נַפְשׁוֹ must mean the man who is contemptible as regards his soul, i.e. held in contempt, or, as Hofmann explains it, whom men do not think worthy to live (though he follows Ewald, and takes *bēzōh* as an infinitive treated as a substantive). Accordingly מְהַעֵב is also to be taken personally. The meaning *abhorring* is unsuitable; but הָעֵב is also used in a causative sense, to cause to abhor, i.e. to make a thing an abomination (Ezek. xvi. 25), or to excite abhorrence: hence, "to him who excites the people's abhorrence," which is the same, so far as the sense is concerned, as "to the object of their abhorrence." But even as a participial substantive מְהַעֵב would literally mean the thing exciting abhorrence, i.e. the abhorrence, just as *m'khasseh* in ch. xxiii. 18 signifies the thing covering, i.e. the covering. All these participial substantives

of the *piel* indicate the thing, place, or instrument accomplishing that which the *piel* affirms. We need not raise the question whether *gōi* refers to Israel or to the heathen. It signifies the mass of men, the people, like *‘ām* in Ps. lxii. 9, and in those passages in which it is used by our prophet for the human race generally. The *mōshēlīm*, of whom the person here addressed is the servant or enslaved one, are obviously heathen tyrants. What is here affirmed of the “one servant of Jehovah” was no doubt also applicable to the nation generally, and more especially to that portion of the nation which was true to its calling and confession. He in whom Israel’s relation of servant to Jehovah was fully realized, did indeed spring out of His own nation, when it was under the oppression of the powers of this world; and all the shame and persecution which those who remained faithful among His people had to endure from the heathen oppressors, and also from the ungodly among their own countrymen (see, for example, ch. lxvi. 5), discharge their force like a violent storm upon Him as an individual. When, therefore, we find the sufferings of the people and the glory of which they became partakers described in other passages in just the same terms, we must not infer from this that “servant of Jehovah” is a collective epithet in the passage before us. The person addressed here is the Restorer of Israel, the Light of the Gentiles, the Salvation of Jehovah for all mankind. When kings and princes shall behold Him who was once brought so low, delivered from His humiliation, and exalted to the glorious height of the work to which He has been called, they will rise up with reverence from their thrones, and prostrate themselves upon the ground in worship for the sake of Jehovah, as before Him who (עֲשֵׂה *emphatic, utpote quī*) is faithful, showing Himself sincere in His promises, and for the sake of the Holy One of Israel, in that, as is now made manifest, “He hath chosen thee.” The *fut. consec.* particularizes the general motive assigned, and carries it still further.

The next two verses describe (though only with reference to Israel, the immediate circle) what is the glory of the vocation to which Jehovah, in accordance with His promise, exalts His chosen One. Vers. 8, 9a. “*Thus saith Jehovah, In a time of favour have I heard thee, and in the day of salvation have I helped thee : and I form thee, and set thee for a covenant of the*

people, to raise up the land, to apportion again desolate inheritances, saying to prisoners, Go ye out : to those who are in darkness, Come ye to the light." Jehovah heard His servant, and came to his help when he prayed to Him out of the condition of bondage to the world, which he shared with his people. He did it at the time for the active display of His good pleasure, and for the realizing of salvation, which had been foreseen by Him, and had now arrived. The futures which follow are to be taken as such. The fact that Jehovah makes His servant "a covenant of the people," i.e. the personal bond which unites Israel and its God in a new fellowship (see ch. xlii. 6), is the fruit of his being heard and helped. The infinitives with *Lamed* affirm in what way the new covenant relation will be made manifest. The land that has fallen into decay rises into prosperity again, and the desolate possessions return to their former owners. This manifestation of the covenant grace, that has been restored to the nation again, is effected through the medium of the servant of Jehovah. The rendering of the LXX. is quite correct: τοῦ καταστῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ κληρονομήσαι κληρονομίας ἐρήμους, λέγοντα. רַב־יְהוָה is a *dicendo* governed by both infinitives. The prisoners in the darkness of the prison and of affliction are the exiles (ch. xlii. 22). The mighty word of the servant of Jehovah brings to them the light of liberty, in connection with which (as has been already more than once observed) the fact should be noticed, that the redemption is viewed in connection with the termination of the captivity, and, in accordance with the peculiar character of the Old Testament, is regarded as possessing a national character, and therefore is purely external.

The person of the servant of Jehovah now falls into the background again, and the prophecy proceeds with a description of the return of the redeemed. Vers. 9b-12. "*They shall feed by the ways, and there is pasture for them upon all field-hills. They shall not hunger nor thirst, and the mirage and sun shall not blind them : for He that hath mercy on them shall lead them, and guide them by bubbling water-springs. And I make all my mountains ways, and my roads are exalted. Behold these, they come from afar; and, behold, these from the north and from the sea; and these from the land of the Sinese.*" The people returning home are represented as a flock. By the roads that

they take to their homes, they are able to obtain sufficient pasture, without being obliged to go a long way round in order to find a sufficient supply; and even upon bare sandy hills (ch. xli. 18) there is pasture found for them. Nothing is wanting; even the *shârâbh* (see ch. xxxv. 7, p. 79) and the sun do not hurt them, the former by deceiving and leading astray, the latter by wearying them with its oppressive heat: for He whose compassion has been excited by their long pining misery (ch. xli. 17–20) is leading them, and bringing them along in comfort by bubbling springs of real and refreshing water (כִּנֹּרִים, as Petrarch once says of shepherds, *Move la schiêra sua soavemente*). Jehovah also makes all the mountains into roads for those who are returning home, and the paths of the desert are lifted up, as it were, into well-made roads (*yêrumûn*, Ges. § 47, Anm. 4). They are called *my* mountains and *my* highways (differently from ch. xiv. 25), because they are His creation; and therefore He is also able to change them, and now really does change them for the good of His people, who are returning to the land of their forefathers out of every quarter of the globe. Although in Ps. cvii. 3 *yâm* (the sea) appears to stand for the south, as referring to the southern part of the Mediterranean, which washes the coast of Egypt; there is no ground at all in the present instance for regarding it as employed in any other than its usual sense, namely the *west*; *mêrâchôq* (from far) is therefore either the south (cf. ch. xliii. 6) or the east, according to the interpretation that we give to *'erets Sînîm*, as signifying a land to the east or to the south. The Phœnician *Sinim* (Gen. x. 17), the inhabitants of a fortified town in the neighbourhood of Arca, which has now disappeared, but which was seen not only by Jerome, but also by Marino Sanuto (*de castro Arachas ad dimidiam leucam est oppidum Sin*), cannot be thought of, for the simple reason that this Sin was too near, and was situated to the west of Babylon and to the north of Jerusalem; whilst Sin (=Pelusium) in Egypt, to which Ewald refers, did not give its name to either a tribe or a land. Arias Montanus was among the first to suggest that the *Sinim* are the Sinese (Chinese); and since the question has been so thoroughly discussed by Gesenius (in his *Commentary* and *Thesaurus*), most of the commentators, and also such Orientalists as Langles (in his *Recherches asiatiques*), Movers (in his *Phœnicians*), Lassen

(in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. 856-7), have decided in favour of this opinion. The objection brought against the supposition, that the name of the Chinese was known to the nations of the west at so early a period as this, viz. that this could not have been the case till after the reign of the emperor *Shi-hoang-ti*, of the dynasty of *Thsin*, who restored the empire that had been broken up into seven smaller kingdoms (in the year 247 B.C.), and through whose celebrated reign the name of his dynasty came to be employed in the western nations as the name of China generally, is met by Lassen with the simple fact that the name occurs at a much earlier period than this, and in many different forms, as the name of smaller states into which the empire was broken up after the reign of *Wu-wang* (1122-1115 B.C.). "The name *Θῑναι* (Strabo), *Σῑναι* (Ptol.), *Τζῑνριζα* (Kosmas), says the Sinologist Neumann, did not obtain currency for the first time from the founder of the great dynasty of *Tsin*; but long before this, *Tsin* was the name of a feudal kingdom of some importance in *Shen-si*, one of the western provinces of the Sinese land, and *Fei-tse*, the first feudal king of *Tsin*, began to reign as early as 897 B.C." It is quite possible, therefore, that the prophet, whether he were Isaiah or any other, may have heard of the land of the Sinese in the far east, and this is all that we need assume; not that Sinese merchants visited the market of the world on the Euphrates (Movers and Lassen), but only that information concerning the strange people who were so wealthy in rare productions, had reached the remote parts of the East through the medium of commerce, possibly from Ophir, and through the Phœnicians. But Egli replies: "The seer on the streams of Babel certainly could not have described any exiles as returning home from China, if he had not known that some of his countrymen were pining there in misery, and I most positively affirm that this was not the case." What is here assumed—namely, that there must have been a Chinese *diaspora* in the prophet's own time—is overthrown by what has been already observed in ch. xi. 11; and we may also see that it is not purely by accident that the land of the Sinese is given as the farthest point to the east, from my communications concerning the Jews of China in the *History of the Post-biblical Poetry of the Jews* (1836, pp. 58-62, cf. p. 21). I have not yet seen Sionnet's work, which

has appeared since, viz. *Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine et sur l'influence, qu'ils ont eue sur la littérature de ce vaste empire, avant l'ère chrétienne*; but I have read the *Mission of Enquiry to the Jews in China* in the *Jewish Intelligence*, May 1851, where a fac-simile of their *thorah* is given. The immigration took place from Persia (cf. 'Elâm, ch. xi. 11), at the latest, under the *Han* dynasty (205 B.C.—220 A.D.), and certainly before the Christian era.

In this return of the exiles from every quarter of the globe to their fatherland, and for this mighty work of God on behalf of His church, which has been scattered in all directions, the whole creation is to praise Him. Ver. 13. "*Sing, O heavens; and shout, O earth; and break out into singing, O mountains! for Jehovah hath comforted His people, and He hath compassion upon His afflicted ones.*" The phrase פָּצַח רִנָּה, like פָּצַח וְרִנָּה (which occurs in Ps. xcvi. 4 as well as in Isaiah), is peculiarly Isaiah's (ch. xiv. 7, and several times in ch. xl.—lxvi.). "The afflicted ones" (*ʿaniyyim*) is the usual Old Testament name for the *ecclesia militans*. The future alternates with the perfect: the act of consolation takes place once for all, but the compassion lasts for ever. Here again the glorious liberty of the children of God appears as the focus from which the whole world is glorified. The joy of the Israel of God becomes the joy of heaven and earth. With the summons to this joy the first half of the prophecy closes; for the word תָּאמַר, which follows, shows clearly enough that the prophecy has merely reached a resting-point here, since this word is unsuitable for commencing a fresh prophecy.

The prophet, looking back at the period of suffering from the standpoint of the deliverance, exclaims from the midst of this train of thought: Ver. 14. "*Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the Lord hath forgotten me.*" The period of suffering which forces out this lamentation still continues. What follows, therefore, applies to the church of the present, i.e. of the captivity. Vers. 15, 16. "*Does a woman forget her sucking child, so as not to have compassion upon the child of her womb? Even though mothers should forget, I will not forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls stand continually before me.*" In reply to the complaining church, which knows that her home is in Zion—

Jerusalem, and which has been kept so long away from her home, Jehovah sets forth His love, which is as inalienable as a mother's love, yea, far greater than even maternal love. On לָו, see vol. i. p. 139; the *min* in *mērachēm* is equivalent to ὥστε μή, as in ch. xxiii. 1, xxiv. 10, xxxiii. 15, etc. מִן, so far as the actual sense is concerned, is equivalent to מִן-מִן (Ewald, § 362, b): "granted that such (mothers) should forget, i.e. disown, their love." The picture of Zion (not merely the name, as ver. 16b clearly shows) is drawn in the inside of Jehovah's hands, just as men are accustomed to burn or puncture ornamental figures and mementoes upon the hand, the arm, and the forehead, and to colour the punctures with alhenna or indigo (see Tafel, xii., in vol. ii. pp. 33-35 of Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*). There is the figure of Zion, unapproachable to every creature, as close to Him as He is to Himself, and facing Him amidst all the emotions of His divine life. There has He the walls of Zion constantly before Him (on *neged*, see at ch. i. 16, xxiv. 23); and even if for a time they are broken down here below, with Him they have an eternal ideal existence, which must be realized again and again in an increasingly glorious form.

It is this fact of a renewed glorification which presents itself afresh to the prophet's mind. Vers. 17, 18. "*Thy children make haste, thy destroyers and wasters draw out from thee. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all these assemble themselves together, and come to thee. As truly as I live, saith Jehovah, thou wilt put them all on like jewellery, and gird them round thee like a bride.*" The pointing adopted by the LXX., Targ., Jer., and Saad., is מִן-מִן. The antithesis favours this reading; but מִן-מִן suits vers. 18, 19 better; and the thought that Zion's children come and restore her fallen walls, follows of itself from the very antithesis: her children come; and those who destroyed their maternal home, and made it a desolate ruin, have to depart from both city and land. Zion is to lift up her eyes, that have been cast down till now, yea, to lift them up round about; for on all sides those whom she thought she had lost are coming in dense crowds מִן (cf. מִן = מִן with מִן, ch. xlix. 5), to her, i.e. henceforth to belong to her again. Jehovah pledges His life (*chai 'ānī*, ζῶν ἐγώ, Ewald, § 329, a) that a time of glory is coming for Zion and her children. מִן in the

affirmative sense, springing out of the confirmative after an affirming oath, equivalent to אֵלֶּם elsewhere (*e.g.* ch. v. 9). The population which Zion recovers once more, will be to her like the ornaments which a woman puts on, like the ornamental girdle (ch. iii. 20) which a bride fastens round her wedding dress.

Thus will Zion shine forth once more with the multitude of her children as with a festal adorning. Vers. 19, 20. "*For thy ruins and thy waste places and thy land full of ruin,—yea, now thou wilt be too narrow for the inhabitants, and thy devourers are far away. Thy children, that were formerly taken from thee, shall say in thine ears, The space is too narrow for me; give way for me, that I may have room.*" The word "for" (כִּי) introduces the explanatory reason for the figures just employed of jewellery and a bridal girdle. Instead of the three subjects, "thy ruins," etc., the comprehensive "thou" is employed permutatively, and the sentence commenced afresh. עַתָּה is repeated emphatically in עַתָּה עַתָּה (for now, or yea now); this has essentially the same meaning as in the apodosis of hypothetical protasis (*e.g.* Gen. xxxi. 42, xliii. 10), except that the sense is more decidedly affirmative than in the present instance, where one sees it spring out of the confirmative. Zion, that has been hitherto desolate, now becomes too small to hold her inhabitants; and her devourers are far away, *i.e.* those who took forcible possession of the land and cities, and made them untenable. עוֹרֵר is to be understood in accordance with Ps. xlii. 6, and בְּאֵזְנֶיךָ in accordance with Ps. xliv. 2 (see at ch. v. 9). It will even come to this, that the children of which Zion was formerly robbed will call to one another, so that she becomes a witness with her ears to that which they have so clearly seen: the space is too narrow, give way (*g'shâh*, from *nâgash*, to advance, then to move generally, also to move in an opposite direction, *i.e.* to fall back, as in Gen. xix. 9) for me, that I may be able to settle down.

The words that sound in the ears of Zion are now followed by the thought of astonishment and surprise, that rises up in her heart. Ver. 21. "*And thou wilt say in thy heart, Who hath borne me these, seeing I was robbed of children, and barren, banished, and thrust away; and these, who hath brought them up? Behold, I was left alone; these, where were they?*" She sees herself suddenly surrounded by a great multitude of

children, and yet she was robbed of children, and *galmūdāh* (lit. hard, stony, Arab. 'galmad, 'gulmūd, e.g. *es-sachr el 'gulmūd*, the hardest stone, mostly as a substantive, stone or rock, from *gālam*, from which comes the Syriac *g'lomo*, stony ground, related to *chālam*, whence *challāmish*, gravel, root *gal*, *gam*, to press together, or heap up in a lump or mass), i.e. one who seemed utterly incapacitated for bearing children any more. She therefore asks, Who hath borne me these (not, who hath begotten, which is an absurd question)? She cannot believe that they are the children of her body, and her children's children. As a tree, whose foliage is all faded away, is called *nōbheleth* itself in ch. i. 30, so she calls herself *gōlāh v'sūrāh*, *extorris et remota* (*sūr* = *mūsār*, like *sūg* in Prov. xiv. 14 = *nāsōg* or *mussāg*), because her children have been carried away into exile. In the second question, the thought has dawned upon her mind, that those by whom she finds herself surrounded are her own children; but as she was left alone, whilst they went forth, as she thought to die in a foreign land, she cannot comprehend where they have been hitherto concealed, or where they have grown up into so numerous a people.

The prophecy now takes a step backward in the domain of the future, and describes the manner in which the children of Zion get back to their home. Ver. 22. "*Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I lift up my hand to nations, and set up my standard to peoples: and they bring thy sons in their bosom; and thy daughters, upon shoulders are they carried.*" The setting up of a standard (ch. v. 26, xi. 12, xviii. 3, cf. lxii. 10) is a favourite figure with Isaiah, as well as swaying the hand. Jehovah gives a sign to the heathen nations with His hand, and points out to them the mark that they are to keep in view, with a signal pole which is set up. They understand it, and carry out His instructions, and bring Zion's sons and daughters thither, and that as a foster-father (*ōmēn*) carries an infant in the bosom of his dress (*chōtsen*, as in Neh. v. 13; Arabic as in Ps. cxxix. 7, *hidn*, from *hadana*, to embrace, to press tenderly to one's self; vid. Num. xi. 12), or upon his arms, so that it reclines upon his shoulder (*al-kāthēph*; cf. *al-tsad*, ch. lx. 4, lxvi. 12).

Such affectionate treatment does the church receive, which is assembling once more upon its native soil, whilst kings and their consorts hasten to serve the re-assembled community.

Ver. 23. "And kings become thy foster-fathers, and their princesses thy nurses: they bow down their face to thee to the earth, and they lick the dust of thy feet; and thou learnest that I am Jehovah, He whose hoping ones are not put to shame." As foster-fathers devote all their strength and care to those entrusted to them, and nurses nourish children from the very marrow of their own life, so will kings become the shelterers of Zion, and princesses the sustainers of her growth. All that is true in the regal headship of the church will be realized, and all that is false in regal territorialism will condemn itself: "*vultu in terram demisso adorabunt te et pulverem pedum tuorum lingent*" (Jerome). They do homage to the church, and kiss the ground upon which she stands and walks. According to ch. xlv. 14, this adoration belongs to the God who is present in the church, and points the church itself away from all thought of her own merits to Jehovah, the God of salvation, *cui qui confidunt non pudefient* (יִרְעוּתָּה) with an auxiliary *pathach*, like יִנְעוּתָּה in ch. xlvii. 15; Ges. § 65, 2: אֲשֶׁר with the first person made into a relative as in ch. xli. 8; Ges. § 123, 1, Anm. 1). Observe, however, that the state will not be swallowed up by the church,—a thing which never will occur, and is never meant to occur; but by the state becoming serviceable to the church, there is realized a prelude of the perfected kingdom of God, in which the dualism of the state and the church is entirely abolished.

There follows now a sceptical question prompted by weakness of faith; and the divine reply. The question, ver. 24: "Can the booty indeed be wrested from a giant, or will the captive host of the righteous escape?" The question is logically one, and only divided rhetorically into two (Ges. § 153, 2). The giant, or gigantically strong one, is the Chaldean. Knobel, in opposition to Hitzig, who supposes the Persian to be referred to, points very properly to ch. li. 12, 13, and lii. 5. He is mistaken, however, in thinking that we must read שְׂבִי עֲרִיץ in ver. 24b, as Ewald does after the Syriac and Jerome, on account of the parallelism. The exiles are called *sh'bhî tsaddîq*, not, however, as captives wrested from the righteous (the congregation of the righteous), as Meier thinks, taking *tsaddîq* as the *gen. obj.*; still less as captives carried off by the righteous one, i.e. the Chaldean, for the Chaldean, even regarded as the accomplisher of the righteous judgment of God, is not *tsaddîq*,

but "wicked" (Hab. i. 13); but merely as a host of captives consisting of righteous men (Hitzig). The divine answer, vers. 25, 26: "*Yea, thus saith Jehovah, Even the captive hosts of a giant are wrested from him, and the booty of a tyrant escapes: and I will make war upon him that warreth with thee, and I will bring salvation to thy children. And I feed them that pain thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as if with new wine; and all flesh sees that I Jehovah am thy Saviour, and that thy Redeemer is the Mighty One of Jacob.*" We might take the *kī* in ver. 25a as a simple affirmative, but it is really to be taken as preceded by a tacit intermediate thought. Rosenmüller's explanation is the correct one: "that which is hardly credible shall take place, for thus hath Jehovah said." He has also given the true interpretation of *gam*: "although this really seems incredible, yet I will give it effect." Ewald, on the contrary, has quite missed the sense of vers. 24, 25, which he gives as follows: "The booty in men which a hero has taken in war, may indeed be taken from him again; but Jehovah will never let the booty that He takes from the Chaldean (viz. Israel) be wrested from Him again." This is inadmissible, for the simple reason that it presupposes the emendation שְׂבִי עִרְיָן; and this 'ārīts is quite unsuitable, partly because it would be Jehovah to whom the case supposed referred, and still more, because the correspondence in character between ver. 24 and ver. 14 is thereby destroyed. The *gibbōr* and 'ārīts is called גִּבּוֹרָה in ver. 25b, with direct reference to Zion. This is a noun formed from the future, like *Jareb* in Hos. v. 13 and x. 6,—a name chosen as the distinctive epithet of the Asiatic emperor (probably a name signifying "king Fighting-cock"). The self-laceration threatened against the Chaldean empire recalls to mind ch. ix. 19, 20, and Zech. xi. 9, and has as revolting a sound as Num. xxiii. 24 and Zech. ix. 15,—passages which Daumer and Ghillany understand in the cannibal sense which they appear to have, whereas what they understand literally is merely a hyperbolic figure. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Old Testament church was a nation, and that the spirit of revelation in the Old Testament assumed the national form, which it afterwards shattered to pieces. Knobel points to the revolt of the Hircanians and several satraps, who fought on the side of Cyrus

against their former rulers (*Cyrop.* iv. 2, 6, v. 1-3) All this will be subservient to that salvation and redemption, which form the historical aim of Jehovah and the irresistible work of the Mighty One of Jacob. The name of God which we meet with here, viz. the Mighty One of Jacob, only occurs again in ch. i. 24, and shows who is the author of the prophecy which is concluded here. The first half set forth, in the servant of Jehovah, the mediator of Israel's restoration and of the conversion of the heathen, and closed with an appeal to the heaven and the earth to rejoice with the ransomed church. The second half (vers. 14-26) rebukes the despondency of Zion, which fancies itself forgotten of Jehovah, by pointing to Jehovah's more than maternal love, and the superabundant blessing to be expected from Him. It also rebukes the doubts of Zion as to the possibility of such a redemption, by pointing to the faithfulness and omnipotence of the God of Israel, who will cause the exiles to be wrested from the Chaldean, and their tormentors to devour one another. The following chapter commences a fresh train of ideas.

SECOND PROPHECY.—CHAP. I.

ISRAEL'S SELF-REJECTION; AND THE STEDFASTNESS OF THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

The words are no longer addressed to Zion, but to her children. Ver. 1. "*Thus saith Jehovah, Where is your mother's bill of divorce, with which I put her away? Or where is one of my creditors, to whom I sold you? Behold, for your iniquities are ye sold, and for your transgressions is your mother put away.*" It was not He who had broken off the relation in which He stood to Zion; for the mother of Israel, whom Jehovah had betrothed to Himself, had no bill of divorce to show, with which Jehovah had put her away and thus renounced for ever the possibility of receiving her again (according to Deut. xxiv. 1-4), provided she should in the meantime have married another. Moreover, He had not yielded to outward constraint, and therefore given her up to a foreign power; for where was there one of His creditors (there is not any one) to whom He would have been obliged to relinquish His sons, because

unable to pay His debts, and in this way to discharge them? —a harsh demand, which was frequently made by unfeeling creditors of insolvent debtors (Ex. xxi. 7; 2 Kings iv. 1; Matt. xviii. 25). On *nōsheh*, a creditor, see at ch. xxiv. 2. Their present condition was indeed that of being sold and put away; but this was not the effect of despotic caprice, or the result of compulsion on the part of Jehovah. It was Israel itself that had broken off the relation in which it stood to Jehovah; they had been sold through their own faults, and “for your transgressions is your mother put away.” Instead of *וַיִּבְשְׁעֶיהָ* we have *וַיִּבְשְׁעֶיכֶם*. This may be because the church, although on the one hand standing higher and being older than her children (*i.e.* her members at any particular time), is yet, on the other hand, morally affected by those to whom she has given birth, who have been trained by her, and recognised by her as her own.

The radical sin, however, which has lasted from the time of the captivity down to the present time, is disobedience to the word of God. This sin brought upon Zion and her children the judgment of banishment, and it was this which made it last so long. Vers. 2, 3. “*Why did I come, and there was no one there? Why did I call, and there was no one who answered? Is my hand too short to redeem? or is there no strength in me to deliver? Behold, through my threatening I dry up the sea; turn streams into a plain: their fish rot, because there is no water, and die for thirst. I clothe the heavens in mourning, and make sackcloth their covering.*” Jehovah has come, and with what? It follows, from the fact of His bidding them consider, that His hand is not too short to set Israel loose and at liberty, that He is not so powerless as to be unable to draw it out; that He is the Almighty, who by His mere threatening word (Ps. cvi. 9, civ. 7) can dry up the sea, and turn streams into a hard and barren soil, so that the fishes putrefy for want of water (Ex. vii. 18, etc.), and die from thirst (*thāmōth* a voluntative used as an indicative, as in ch. xii. 1, and very frequently in poetical composition); who can clothe the heavens in mourning, and make sackcloth their (dull, dark) covering (for the expression itself, compare ch. xxxvii. 1, 2); who therefore, *fiat applicatio*, can annihilate the girdle of waters behind which Babylon fancies herself concealed (see ch. xlii. 15, xliv. 27), and cover the empire, which is now enslaving and torturing Israël, with

a sunless and starless night of destruction (ch. xiii. 10). It follows from all this, that He has come with a gospel of deliverance from sin and punishment; but Israel has given no answer, has not received this message of salvation with faith, since faith is assent to the word of God. And in whom did Jehovah come? Knobel and most of the commentators reply, "in His prophets." This answer is not wrong, but it does not suffice to show the connection between what follows and what goes before. For there it is one person who speaks; and who is that, but the servant of Jehovah, who is introduced in these prophecies with dramatic directness, as speaking in his own name? Jehovah has come to His people in His servant. We know who was the servant of Jehovah in the historical fulfilment. It was He whom even the New Testament Scriptures describe as *τὸν παῖδα τοῦ κυρίου*, especially in the Acts (iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30). It was not indeed during the Babylonian captivity that the servant of Jehovah appeared in Israel with the gospel of redemption; but, as we shall never be tired of repeating, this is the human element in these prophecies, that they regard the appearance of the "servant of Jehovah," the Saviour of Israel and the heathen, as connected with the captivity: the punishment of Israel terminating, according to the law of the perspective foreshortening of prophetic vision, with the termination of the captivity; and the final glory of Israel and the final salvation of all mankind beginning to dawn on the border of the captivity,—a connection which we regard as one of the strongest confirmations of the composition of these addresses before the captivity, as well as of Isaiah's authorship. But this *ἀνθρώπινον* does not destroy the *θεῖον* in them, inasmuch as the time at which Jesus appeared was not only similar to that of the Babylonian captivity, but stood in a causal connection with it, since the Roman empire was the continuation of the Babylonian, and the moral state of the people under the iron arm of the Roman rule resembled that of the Babylonian exiles (Ezek. ii. 6, 7). At the same time, whatever our opinion on this point may be, it is perfectly certain that it is to the servant of Jehovah, who was seen by the prophet in connection with the Babylonian captivity, that the words "wherefore did I come" refer.

He in whom Jehovah came to His nation, and proclaimed

to it, in the midst of its self-induced misery, the way and work of salvation, is He who speaks in ver. 4: "*The Lord Jehovah hath given me a disciple's tongue, that I may know how to set up the wearied with words: He wakeneth every morning; wakeneth mine ear to attend in disciple's manner.*" The word *limmūdīm*, which is used in the middle of the verse, and which is the older word for the later *talmidīm*, μαθηταί, as in ch. viii. 16, liv. 13, is repeated at the close of the verse, according to the figure of palindromy, which is such a favourite figure in both parts of the book of Isaiah; and the train of thought, "He wakeneth morning by morning, wakeneth mine ear," recalls to mind the parallelism with reservation which is very common in the Psalms, and more especially the custom of a "triolet-like" spinning out of the thoughts, from which the songs of "degrees" (or ascending steps, *shūr hamma'ālōth*) have obtained their name. The servant of Jehovah affords us a deep insight here into His hidden life. The prophets received special revelations from God, for the most part in the night, either in dreams or else in visions, which were shown them in a waking condition, but yet in the more susceptible state of nocturnal quiet and rest. Here, however, the servant of Jehovah receives the divine revelations neither in dreams nor visions of the night; but every morning (*babbōger babbōger* as in ch. xxviii. 19), i.e. when his sleep is over, Jehovah comes to him, awakens his ear, by making a sign to him to listen, and then takes him as it were into the school after the manner of a pupil, and teaches him what and how he is to preach. Nothing indicates a tongue befitting the disciples of God, so much as the gift of administering consolation; and such a gift is possessed by the speaker here. "To help with words him that is exhausted" (with suffering and self-torture): עזר, Arab. غاث

med. Var. related to עזש, עזש, signifies to spring to a person with words to help, Aq. ὑποστηρίσαι, Jer. *sustentare*. The

Arabic غاث *med. Je*, to rain upon or water (Ewald, Umbreit, etc.), cannot possibly be thought of, since this has no support in the Hebrew; still less, however, can we take עזת as a denom. from עזת, upon which Luther has founded his rendering, "to speak to the weary in due season" (also Eng. ver.). עזר is an

accusative of more precise definition, like וְשֵׁנִי in ver. 1 (cf. ch. xlii. 25, xliii. 23). Jerome has given the correct rendering: "that I may know how to sustain him that is weary with a word."

His calling is to save, not to destroy; and for this calling he has Jehovah as a teacher, and to Him he has submitted himself in docile susceptibility and immoveable obedience. Ver. 5. "*The Lord Jehovah hath opened mine ear; and I, I was not rebellious, and did not turn back.*" He put him into a position inwardly to discern His will, that he might become the mediator of divine revelation; and he did not set himself against this calling (*mārāh*, according to its radical meaning *stringere*, to make one's self rigid against any one, *ἀντιτείνειν*), and did not draw back from obeying the call, which, as he well knew, would not bring him earthly honour and gain, but rather shame and ill-treatment. Ever since he had taken the path of his calling, he had not drawn timidly back from the sufferings with which it was connected, but had rather cheerfully taken them upon him. Ver. 6. "*I offered my back to smiters, and my cheeks to them that pluck off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting.*" He offered his back to such as smote it, his cheeks to such as plucked out the hair of his beard (*mārat* as in Neh. xiii. 25). He did not hide his face, to cover it up from actual insults, or from being spit upon (on *k'limmōth* with *rōq*, smiting on the cheek, *κολαφίζειν*, strokes with rods, *ραπίζειν*, blows upon the head, *τύπτειν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν* with *ἐμπτύειν*, compare Matt. xxvi. 67, xxvii. 30, John xviii. 22). The way of his calling leads through a shameful condition of humiliation. What was typified in Job (see ch. xxx. 10, xvii. 6), and prefigured typically and prophetically in the Psalms of David (see Ps. xxii. 7, lxix. 8), finds in him its perfect antitypical fulfilment.

But no shame makes him faint-hearted; he trusts in Him who hath called him, and looks to the end. Ver. 7. "*But the Lord Jehovah will help me; therefore have I not suffered myself to be overcome by mockery: therefore did I make my face like the flint, and knew that I should not be put to shame.*" The וְיִשְׁעִי introduces the thought with which his soul was filled amidst all his sufferings. In $\text{לֹא נִכְלַמְתִּי לִי$ he affirms, that he did not suffer himself to be inwardly overcome and overpowered by *k'limmāh*. The consciousness of his high calling remained undisturbed;

he was never ashamed of that, nor did he turn away from it. The two עֲלֵי־פָנָיו stand side by side upon the same line. He made his face *kachallāmish* (from *chālam*, related to *gālam* in ch. xlix. 21, with the substantative termination *ish*: see *Jeshurun*, p. 229), *i.e.* he made it as unfeeling as a flint-stone to the attacks of his foes (cf. Ezek. iii. 8, 9). The LXX. renders this ἔθηκα τὸ πρόσωπον μου ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν; but ἐστήριξα τὸ πρόσωπον, which is the rendering given to פָּנָיו in Jer. xxi. 10, would have been just the proper rendering here (see Luke ix. 51). In "holy hardness of endurance," as Stier says, he turned his face to his antagonists, without being subdued or frightened away, and was well assured that He whose cause he represented would never leave him in the lurch.

In the midst of his continued sufferings he was still certain of victory, feeling himself exalted above every human accusation, and knowing that Jehovah would acknowledge him; whereas his opponents were on the way to that destruction, the germ of which they already carried within them. Vers. 8, 9. "*He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me?! We will draw near together! Who is my adversary in judgment?! Let him draw near to me! Behold, the Lord Jehovah will help me; who is he that could condemn me?! Behold, they all shall fall to pieces like a garment; the moth shall eat them up.*" הַצַּדִּיק and הַפֶּשֶׁע are forensic antitheses: the former signifies to set one forth, both practically and judicially, as righteous (2 Sam. xv. 4; Ps. lxxxii. 3); the latter as guilty, רָשָׁע (Deut. xxv. 1; Ps. cix. 7). נִעְמָדָה, which has lost the principal tone on account of the following יָחַד (יָחַד), has *munach* instead of *metheg* in the antepenultimate. *Ba'al mishpātī* means, "he who has a judicial cause or lawsuit against me," just as in Roman law the *dominus litis* is distinguished from the *procurator*, *i.e.* from the person who represents him in court (syn. *ba'al d'bhārīm*, Ex. xxiv. 14, and 'ish *ribhī* in Job xxxi. 35; compare ch. xli. 11). מִי־הוּא are connected, and form an emphatic τίς, Rom. viii. 34 (Ewald § 325, a). "All of them" (*kullām*): this refers to all who are hostile to him. They fall to pieces like a worn-out garment, and fall a prey to the moth which they already carry within them:—a figure which we meet with again in ch. li. 8 (cf. Job xiii. 28, Hos. v. 12), and one which, although apparently insignificant, is yet really a terrible one,

inasmuch as it points to a power of destruction working imperceptibly and slowly, but yet effecting the destruction of the object selected with all the greater certainty.

Thus far we have the words of the servant. The prophecy opened with words of Jehovah (vers. 1-3), and with such words it closes, as we may see from the expression, "this shall ye have at my hand," in ver. 11b. The first word of Jehovah is addressed to those who fear Him, and hearken to the voice of His servant. Ver. 10. *"Who among you is fearing Jehovah, hearkening to the voice of His servant? He that walketh in darkness, and without a ray of light, let him trust in the name of Jehovah, and stay himself upon his God."* The question is asked for the purpose of showing to any one who could reply, "I am one, or wish to be such an one," what his duty and his privileges are. In the midst of the apparent hopelessness of his situation (*chāshēkhim* the accusative of the object, and plural to *chāshēkhāh*, ch. viii. 22), and of his consequent despondency of mind, he is to trust in the name of Jehovah, that firmest and surest of all grounds of trust, and to stay himself upon his God, who cannot forsake or deceive him. He is to *believe* (ch. vii. 9, xxviii. 16; Hab. ii. 4) in God and the word of salvation, for *בטח* and *נשען* are terms applied to that *fiducia fidei* which is the essence of faith. The second word of Jehovah is addressed to the despisers of His word, of which His servant is the bearer. Ver. 11. *"Behold, all ye that kindle fire, that equip yourselves with burning darts, away into the glow of your fire, and into the burning darts that ye have kindled! This comes to you from my hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow."* The fire is not the fire of divine wrath (Jer. xvii. 4), but the fire of wickedness (*rish'āh*, ch. ix. 17), more especially that hellish fire with which an evil tongue is set on fire (Jas. iii. 6); for the *zīgōth* (equivalent to *ziqqōth*, from *zēg* = *zing*, from *zānaq*, to spring, to let fly, Syr. to shoot or hurl), *i.e.* shots, and indeed burning arrows (Ps. vii. 14), are figurative, and stand for the blasphemies and anathemas which they cast at the servant of Jehovah. It is quite unnecessary to read *מִאֲרִי* instead of *מִאֲוִי*, as Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel propose, or even, contrary to all usage of speech, *מִאֲוִי*. The former is the more pictorial: they gird burning darts, *accingunt malleolos*, *i.e.* they equip or arm themselves with them for the purpose of

attack (ch. xlv. 5). But the destruction which they prepare for the servant of Jehovah becomes their own. They themselves have to go into the midst of the burning fire and the burning darts, that they have set on fire. The hand of Jehovah suddenly inverts the position; the fire of wrath becomes the fire of divine judgment, and this fire becomes their bed of torment. The LXX. has it correctly, ἐν λύπῃ κοιμηθήσεσθε. The *Lamed* indicates the situation (Ewald, § 217, d). לָמַד with the tone upon the last syllable gives a dictatorial conclusion. It has a terrible sound, but still more terrible (apart from the future state) is the historical fulfilment that presents itself to the eye.

THIRD PROPHECY.—CHAP. LI.

THE BURSTING FORTH OF SALVATION, AND TURNING AWAY OF THE CUP OF WRATH.

The prophetic address now turns again from the despisers of the word, whom it has threatened with the torment of fire, to those who long for salvation. Vers. 1-3. "*Hearken to me, ye that are in pursuit of righteousness, ye that seek Jehovah. Look up to the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hollow of the pit whence ye are dug. Look up to Abraham your forefather, and to Sara who bare you, that he was one when I called him, and blessed him, and multiplied him. For Jehovah hath comforted Zion, comforted all her ruins, and turned her desert like Eden, and her steppe as into the garden of God; joy and gladness are found in her, thanksgiving and sounding music.*" The prophecy is addressed to those who are striving after the right kind of life and seeking Jehovah, and not turning from Him to make earthly things and themselves the object of their pursuit; for such only are in a condition by faith to regard that as possible, and in spirit to behold that as real, which seems impossible to human understanding, because the very opposite is lying before the eye of the senses. Abraham and Sarah they are mentally to set before them, for they are types of the salvation to be anticipated now. Abraham is the rock whence the stones were hewn, of which the house of Jacob is composed;

and Sarah with her maternal womb the hollow of the pit out of which Israel was brought to the light, just as peat is dug out of a pit, or copper out of a mine. The marriage of Abraham and Sarah was for a long time unfruitful; it was, as it were, out of hard stone that God raised up children to Himself in Abraham and Sarah. The rise of Israel was a miracle of divine power and grace. In antithesis to the masculine *tsūr*, *bōr* is made into a feminine through *maqgebheth*, which is chosen with reference to *nēqēbhāh*. To הַצִּבְתָּם we must supply אִשָּׁר . . . מִפְּנֵה, and to נִקְרָאתָם, אִשָּׁר . . . מִפְּנֵי. Ver. 2a informs them who the rock and the hollow of the pit are, viz. Abraham your forefather, and Sarah *t'chōlelkhem*, who bare you with all the pains of childbirth: "you," for the birth of Isaac, the son of promise, was the birth of the nation. The point to be specially looked at in relation to Abraham (in comparison with whom Sarah falls into the background) is given in the words *quod unum vocavi eum* (that he was one when I called him). The perfect קָרָאתִי relates the single call of divine grace, which removed Abraham from the midst of idolaters into the fellowship of Jehovah. The futures that follow (with *Vav cop.*) point out the blessing and multiplication that were connected with it (Gen. xii. 1, 2). He is called one (*'echād* as in Ezek. xxxiii. 24, Mal. ii. 15), because he was one at the time of his call, and yet through the might of the divine blessing became the root of the whole genealogical tree of Israel, and of a great multitude of people that branched off from it. This is what those who are now longing for salvation are to remember, strengthening themselves by means of the olden time in their faith in the future which so greatly resembles it. The corresponding blessing is expressed in preterites (*nicham, vayyâsem*), inasmuch as to the eye of faith and in prophetic vision the future has the reality of a present and the certainty of a completed fact. Zion, the mother of Israel (ch. l. 1), the counterpart of Sarah, the ancestress of the nation,—Zion, which is now mourning so bitterly, because she is lying waste and in ruins,—is comforted by Jehovah. The comforting word of promise (ch. xl. 1) becomes, in her case, the comforting fact of fulfilment (ch. xlix. 13). Jehovah makes her waste like Eden (LXX. ὡς παράδεισον), like a garden, as glorious as if it had been directly planted by Himself (Gen. xiii. 10; Num. xxiv. 6). And this

paradise is not without human occupants ; but when you enter it you find joy and gladness therein, and hear thanksgiving at the wondrous change that has taken place, as well as the voice of melody (*zîmrâh* as in Amos v. 23). The pleasant land is therefore full of men in the midst of festal enjoyment and activity. As Sarah gave birth to Isaac after a long period of barrenness, so Zion, a second Sarah, will be surrounded by a joyous multitude of children after a long period of desolation.

But the great work of the future extends far beyond the restoration of Israel, which becomes the source of salvation to all the world. Vers. 4, 5. "*Hearken unto me, my people, and give ear unto me, O my congregation ! for instruction will go forth from me, and I make a place for my right, to be a light of the nations. My righteousness is near, my salvation is drawn out, and my arms will judge nations : the hoping of the islands looks to me, and for mine arm is their waiting.*" It is Israel which is here summoned to hearken to the promise introduced with *kî*. מְשִׁיחִי is only used here of Israel, like מָשִׁיחַ in Zeph. ii. 9 ; and the LXX. (*καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς*) have quite misunderstood it. An address to the heathen would be quite out of harmony with the character of the whole prophecy, which is carried out quite consistently throughout. עַמִּי and אֲנֹכִי, therefore, are not plurals, as the Syriac supposes, although it cannot be disputed that it is a rare thing to meet with the plural form apocopated thus, after the form of the talmudic Aramæan (see, for example, p. 89 ; and see also at Ps. xlv. 9). What ch. xlii. 1 sqq. describes as the calling of the servant of Jehovah, viz. to carry out justice among the nations, and to plant it on the earth, appears here as the act of Jehovah ; but, as a comparison of מְשִׁיחִי with מַצִּיחִי (ch. ii. 3) clearly shows, as the act of the God who is present in Israel, and works from Israel outwards. Out of Israel sprang the Saviour ; out of Israel the apostleship ; and when God shall have mercy upon Israel again, it will become to the whole world of nations "life from the dead." The *thorâh* referred to here is that of Sion, as distinguished from that of Sinai, the gospel of redemption, and *mishpât* the new order of life in which Israel and the nations are united. Jehovah makes for this a place of rest, a firm standing-place, from which its light to lighten the nations

streams forth in all directions. הִרְיֵץ as in Jer. xxxi. 2, l. 34, from רָיַץ, in the sense of the Arabic رَجَعَ, to return, to procure return, entrance, and rest; a different word from רָיַץ in ch. li. 15, which signifies the very opposite, viz. to disturb, literally to throw into trembling. צָדַק and יָשַׁע, which occur in ver. 5a, are synonyms throughout these prophecies. The meaning of the former is determined by the character of the *thorah*, which gives "the knowledge of salvation" (Luke i. 77), and with that "the righteousness of God" (Rom. i. 17; cf. Isa. liii. 11). This righteousness is now upon the point of being revealed; this salvation has started on the way towards the fullest realization. The great mass of the nations fall under the judgment which the arms of Jehovah inflict, as they cast down to the ground on the right hand and on the left. When it is stated of the islands, therefore, that they hope for Jehovah, and wait for His arm, the reference is evidently to the remnant of the heathen nations which outlives the judgment, and not only desires salvation, and is susceptible of it, but which actually receives salvation (compare the view given in John xi. 52, which agrees with that of Isaiah, and which, in fact, is the biblical view generally, e.g. Joel iii. 5). To these the saving arm (the singular only was suitable here; cf. Ps. xvi. 11) now brings that salvation, towards which their longing was more or less consciously directed, and which satisfied their inmost need. Observe in ver. 5 the majestic and self-conscious movement of the rhythm, with the effective tone of *y'yachēlūn*.

The people of God are now summoned to turn their eyes upwards and downwards: the old world above their heads and under their feet is destined to destruction. Ver. 6. "*Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath: for the heavens will pass away like smoke, and the earth fall to pieces like a garment, and its inhabitants die out like a nonentity; and my salvation will last for ever, and my righteousness does not go to ruin.*" The reason for the summons follows with *kī*. The heavens will be resolved into atoms, like smoke: *nīmāchū* from *mālach*, related to *mārach*, root *mal*, from which comes *mālal* (see at Job xiv. 2), to rub to pieces, to crumble to pieces, or mangle; Aquila, ἡλοήθησαν, from ἀλοᾶν, to thresh. As *m'láchīm* signifies rags, the figure of a garment that has fallen

to pieces, which was then quite ready to hand (ch. l. 9), presented itself from the natural association of ideas. בְּמִדָּה, however, cannot mean "in like manner" (LXX., Targ., Jerome); for if we keep to the figure of a garment falling to pieces, the figure is a very insipid one; and if we refer it to the fate of the earth generally, the thought which it offers is a very tame one. The older expositors were not even acquainted with what is now the favourite explanation, viz. "as gnats perish" (Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel, Stier, etc.); since the singular of *kinnām* is no more *kēn* than the singular of בַּיִם is יֵם. The gnat (viz. a species of stinging gnat, probably the diminutive but yet very troublesome species which is called *akol uskut*, "eat and be silent," in Egyptian) is called *kinnāh*, as the talmudic usage shows, where the singular, which does not happen to be met with in the Old Testament, is found in the case of *kinnām* as well as in that of *bētsīm*.¹ We must explain the word in the same manner as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5, Num. xiii. 33, Job ix. 35. In all these passages *kēn* merely signifies "so" (*ita, sic*); but just as in the classical languages, these words often derive their meaning from the gesture with which they are accompanied (*e.g.* in Terence's *Eunuch*: *Cape hoc flabellum et ventulum sic facito*). This is probably Rückert's opinion, when he adopts the rendering: and its inhabitants "like so" (*so wie so*) do they die. But "like so" is here equivalent to "like nothing." That the heavens and the earth do not perish without rising again in a renewed form, is a thought which may naturally be supplied, and which is distinctly expressed in ver. 16, ch. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22. Righteousness (*ts'dāqāh*) and salvation (*y'shū'āh*) are the heavenly powers, which acquire dominion through the overthrow of the ancient world, and become the foundations of the new (2 Pet. iii. 13). That the *ts'dāqāh* will endure for ever, and the *y'shū'āh* will not be broken (*yēchath*, as in ch. vii. 8, *confringetur*, whereas in ver. 7 the meaning is *consternemini*), is a prospect that opens after the restoration of the new world, and which indirectly

¹ *Kinnām*, in Ex. viii. 13, 14, whether it be a collective plural or a singular, also proves nothing in support of *kēn*, any more than *middāh* in Job xi. 9 (which see) in favour of *mad*, in the sense of measure. It does not follow, that because a certain form lies at the foundation of a derivative, it must have been current in ordinary usage.

applies to men who survive the catastrophe, having become partakers of righteousness and salvation. For righteousness and salvation require beings in whom to exert their power.

Upon this magnificent promise of the final triumph of the counsel of God, an exhortation is founded to the persecuted church, not to be afraid of men. Vers. 7, 8. "*Hearken unto me, ye that know about righteousness, thou people with my law in the heart; fear ye not the reproach of mortals, and be ye not alarmed at their revilings. For the moth will devour them like a garment, and the worm devour them like woollen cloth; and my righteousness will stand for ever, and my salvation to distant generations.*" The idea of the "servant of Jehovah," in its middle sense, viz. as denoting the true Israel, is most clearly set forth in the address here. They that pursue after righteousness, and seek Jehovah (ch. li. 1), that is to say, the servants of Jehovah (ch. lxxv. 8, 9), are embraced in the unity of a "people," as in ch. lxxv. 10 (cf. ch. x. 24), i.e. of the true people of God in the people of His choice, and therefore of the kernel in the heart of the whole mass,—an integral intermediate link in the organism of the general idea, which Hävernicks and, to a certain extent, Hofmann eliminate from it,¹ but not without thereby destroying the typical mirror in which the prophet beholds the passion of the One. The words are addressed to those who know from their own experience what righteousness

¹ Hävernicks, in his *Lectures on the Theology of the Old Testament*, published by H. A. Hahn, 1848, and in a second edition by H. Schultz, 1863; Drechsler, in his article on the Servant of Jehovah, in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1852; v. Hofmann, in his *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, 147. The first two understand by the servant of Jehovah as an individual, the true Israel personified: the idea has simply Israel as a whole at its base, i.e. Israel which did not answer to its ideal, and the Messiah as the summit, in whom the ideal of Israel was fully realized. Drechsler goes so far as to call the central link, viz. an Israel true to its vocation, a modern abstraction that has no support in the Scriptures. Hofmann, however, says that he has no wish to exclude this central idea, and merely wishes to guard against the notion that a number of individuals, whether Israelites generally or pious Israelites, are ever intended by the epithet "servant of Jehovah." "The nation," he says himself at p. 145, "was called as a nation to be the servant of God, but it fulfilled its calling as a church of believers." And so say we; but we also add that this church is a kernel always existing within the outer *ecclesia mixta*, and therefore always a number of individuals, though they are only known to God.

is as a gift of grace, and as conduct in harmony with the plan of salvation, *i.e.* to the nation, which bears in its heart the law of God as the standard and impulse of its life, the church which not only has it as a letter outside itself, but as a vital power within (cf. Ps. xl. 9). None of these need to be afraid of men. Their despisers and blasphemers are men (*'ēnōsh*; cf. ver. 12, Ps. ix. 20, x. 18), whose pretended omnipotence, exaltation, and indestructibility, are an unnatural self-convicted lie. The double figure in ver. 8, which forms a play upon words that cannot well be reproduced, affirms that the smallest exertion of strength is quite sufficient to annihilate their sham greatness and sham power; and that long before they are actually destroyed, they carry the constantly increasing germ of it within themselves. The *sūs*, says a Jewish proverb, is brother to the *'āsh*. The latter (from *'āshēsh*, *collabi*, Arab. *'aththa*, trans. *corrodere*) signifies a moth; the former (like the Arabic *sūs*, *sūse*, Gr. *σῆς*) a moth, and also a weevil, *curculio*. The relative terms in Greek are *σῆς* (Armen. *tzetz*) and *κῖς*. But whilst the persecutors of the church succumb to these powers of destruction, the righteousness and salvation of God, which are even now the confidence and hope of His church, and the full and manifest realization of which it will hereafter enjoy, stand for ever, and from "generation to generation," *l'dōr dōrīm*, *i.e.* to an age which embraces endless ages within itself.

But just as such an exhortation as this followed very naturally from the grand promises with which the prophecy commenced, so does a longing for the promised salvation spring out of this exhortation, together with the assurance of its eventual realization. Vers. 9-11. "*Awake, awake, clothe thyself in might, O arm of Jehovah; awake, as in the days of ancient time, the ages of the olden world! Was it not thou that didst split Rahab in pieces, and pierced the dragon? Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea, the waters of the great billow; that didst turn the depths of the sea into a way for redeemed to pass through? And the emancipated of Jehovah will return, and come to Zion with shouting, and everlasting joy upon their head: they grasp at gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing flee away.*" The paradisaical restoration of Zion, the new world of righteousness and salvation, is a work of the arm of Jehovah, *i.e.* of the manifestation of His might. His arm is now in a sleeping

state. It is not lifeless, indeed, but motionless. Therefore the church calls out to it three times, "Awake" ('*urî*: to avoid monotony, the *milra* and *milel* tones are interchanged, as in Judg. v. 12).¹ It is to arise and put on strength out of the fulness of omnipotence (*lābhēsh* as in Ps. xciii. 1; cf. λαμβάνειν δύναμιν, Rev. xi. 17, and δύσεο ἀλκὴν, arm thyself with strength, in Il. xix. 36, ix. 231). The arm of Jehovah is able to accomplish what the prophecy affirms and the church hopes for; since it has already miraculously redeemed Israel once. *Rahab* is Egypt represented as a monster of the waters (see ch. xxx. 7), and *tannîn* is the same (cf. xxvii. 1), but with particular reference to Pharaoh (Ezek. xxix. 3). תַּנִּינִי, *tu illud*, is equivalent to "thou, yea thou" (see at ch. xxxvii. 16). The Red Sea is described as the "waters of the great deep" (*ʿhōm rabbāh*), because the great storehouse of waters that lie below the solid ground were partially manifested there (see *Genesis*, p. 259). הַשְּׂמֶת has double *pashta*; it is therefore *milel*, and therefore the third pr. = שְׂמֶת (Ges. § 109, Anf.). Ch. xxxv. 10 is repeated in ver. 11, being attached to אֲנִי of the previous verse, just as it is there. Instead of יִשְׁעֵי נְסִי, which we find here, we have there יִשְׁעֵי נְסִי; in everything else the two passages are word for word the same. Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel suppose that ver. 11 was not written by the author of these addresses, but was interpolated by some one else. But in ch. lxv. 25 we meet with just the same kind of repetition from ch. i.-xxxix.; and in the first part we find, at any rate, repetitions in the form of refrains and others of a smaller kind (like ch. xix. 15, cf. ch. ix. 13). And ver. 11 forms a conclusion here, just as it does in ch. xxxv. 10. An argument is founded upon the olden time with reference to the things to be expected now; the look into the future is cleared and strengthened by the look into the past. And thus will the emancipated of Jehovah return, being liberated from the present calamity as they were delivered from the Egyptian then. The first half of this prophecy is here brought to a close. It concludes with expressions of longing and of hope, the echo of promises that had gone before.

In the second half the promise commences again, but with more distinct reference to the oppression of the exiles and the

¹ See Norzi and Luzzatto's *Grammatica della Lingua Ebr.* § 513.

sufferings of Jerusalem. Jehovah Himself begins to speak now, setting His seal upon what is longed and hoped for. Vers. 12-15. "I, I am your comforter: who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a mortal who will die, and of a son of man who is made a blade of grass; that thou shouldst forget Jehovah thy Creator, who stretched out the heavens and founded the earth; that thou shouldst be afraid continually all the day of the fury of the tormentor, as he aims to destroy? and where is the fury of the tormentor left? He that is bowed down is quickly set loose, and does not die to the grave, and his bread does not fail him; as truly as I Jehovah am thy God, who frighteneth up the sea, so that its waves roar: Jehovah of hosts is His name." וְהוּא after אֲנִי אֲנִי is an emphatic repetition, and therefore a strengthening of the subject (*avtòs éγω*), as above, in ver. 10, in אֲנִי יְהוָה. From this major, that Jehovah is the comforter of His church, and by means of a minor, that whoever has Him for a comforter has no need to fear, the conclusion is drawn that the church has no cause to fear. Consequently we cannot adopt Knobel's explanation, "How small thou art, that thou art afraid." The meaning is rather, "Is it really the case with thee (*i.e.* art thou then so small, so forsaken), that thou hast any need to fear" (fut. consec., according to Ges. § 129, 1; cf. *ki*, Ex. iii. 11, Judg. ix. 28)? The attributive sentence *tāmūth* (who will die) brings out the meaning involved in the epithet applied to man, viz. *'ēnōsh* (compare in the Persian myth *Gayomard*, from the old Persian *gaya meretan*, mortal life); הָיִי = כְּהָיִי (Ps. xxxvii. 2, xc. 5, ciii. 15; compare above, ch. xl. 6-8) is an equation instead of a comparison. In ver. 12*b* the address is thrown into a feminine form, in ver. 13*a* into a masculine one; Zion being the object in the former, and (what is the same thing) Israel in the latter: that thou forgettest thy Creator, who is also the almighty Maker of the universe, and soarest about in constant endless alarm at the wrath of the tormentor, whilst he is aiming to destroy (*pichad*, *contremiscere*, as in Prov. xxviii. 14; *ka'āsher* as in Ps. lvi. 7, Num. xxvii. 14, lit. according as; *kōnēn*, viz. his arrows, or even his bow, as in Ps. xi. 2, vii. 13, cf. xxi. 13). We must not translate this *quasi disposuisset*, which is opposed to the actual fact, although syntactically possible (Job x. 19; Zech. x. 6). The question with which the fear is met, "And where is the fury of the

tormentor?" looks into the future: "There is not a trace of him to be seen, he is utterly swept away." If *hammētsiq* signifies the Chaldean, ver. 14, in which the warning passes into a promise, just as in the first half the promise passed into a warning, is not to be understood as referring to oppression by their own countrymen, who were more heathenish than Israelitish in their disposition, as Knobel supposes; but *tsō'eh* (from *tsā'āh*, to stoop or bend) is an individualizing description of the exiles, who were in captivity in Babylon, and some of them actually in prison (see ch. xlii. 7, 22). Those who were lying there in fetters, and were therefore obliged to bend, hastened to be loosed, *i.e.* would speedily be set at liberty (the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus may be referred to here); they would not die and fall into the pit (*constr. prægnaus*), nor would their bread fail; that is to say, if we regard the two clauses as the dissection of one thought (which is not necessary, however, though Hitzig supports it), "he will not die of starvation." The pledge of this is to be found in the all-sufficiency of Jehovah, who throws the sea into a state of trembling (even by a threatening word, *g'ārāh*; נִרְדָּם is the construct of the participle, with the tone upon the last syllable, as in Lev. xi. 7, Ps. xciv. 9: see Bär's *Psalter*, p. 132, from *rāgā'*, *tremefacere*), so that its waves roar (cf. Jer. xxxi. 35, and the original passage in Job xxvi. 12).

The promise, as the pledge of which Jehovah has staked His absolute power, to which everything must yield, now rises up to an eschatological height, from the historical point at which it began. Ver. 16. "*And I put my words into thy mouth, and in the shadow of my hand have I covered thee, to plant heavens, and to found an earth, and to say to Zion, Thou art my people.*" It is a lofty calling, a glorious future, for the preparation and introduction of which Israel, although fallen as low as ver. 7 describes, has been equipped and kept in the shadow of unapproachable omnipotence. Jehovah has put His words into the mouth of this Israel—His words, the force and certainty of which are measured by His all-determining absoluteness. And what is the exalted calling which it is to subserve through the medium of these words, and for which it is preserved, without previously, or indeed at any time, passing away? We must not render it, "that thou mayest plant,"

etc., with which the conclusion does not harmonize, viz. "that thou mayest say," etc.; for it is not Israel who says this to Israel, but Jehovah says it to Israel. The planter, founder, speaker, is therefore Jehovah. It is God's own work, to which Israel is merely instrumentally subservient, by means of the words of God placed in its mouth, viz. the new creation of the world, and the restoration of Israel to favour; both of them, the former as well as the latter, *regalia* of God. The reference is to the last times. The Targum explains it thus: "to restore the people of whom it is said, They will be as numerous as the stars of heaven; and to perfect the church, of which it is said, They will be as numerous as the dust of the earth." Knobel understands by this a completion of the theocracy, and a new arrangement of the condition of the world; Ewald, a new spiritual creation, of which the liberation of Israel is the first corner-stone. But the prophecy speaks of a new heaven and a new earth, in something more than a figurative sense, as a new creation of God (ch. lxxv. 17). Jehovah intends to create a new world of righteousness and salvation, and practically to acknowledge Zion as His people. The preparation for this great and all-renewing work of the future is aided by the true Israel, which is now enslaved by the heathen, and disowned and persecuted by its own countrymen. A future of salvation, embracing Israel and the heaven and the earth, is implied in the words placed by Jehovah in the mouth of His church, which was faithful to its calling. These words in their mouth are the seed-corns of a new world in the midst of the old. The fact that the very same thing is said here of the true spiritual Israel, as in ch. xlix. 2 of the one servant of Jehovah, may be explained in the same manner as when the apostles apply to themselves, in Acts xiii. 47, a word of God relating to the one Servant of Jehovah, by saying, "So hath the Lord commanded us." The One is, in fact, one with this Israel; He is this Israel in its highest potency; He towers above it, but only as the head rises above the members of the body, with which it forms a living whole. There is no necessity, therefore, to assume, as Hengstenberg and Philippi do, that ver. 13 contains an address from the One who then stood before the mind of the prophet. "There is no proof," as Vitranga affirms, "of any change in the object in this passage, nor any

solid reason for assuming it." The circumference of the idea is always the same. Here, however, it merely takes the direction towards the centre, and penetrates its smaller inner circle, but does not go back to the centre itself.

Just as we found above, that the exclamation "awake" (*ûri*), which the church addresses to the arm of Jehovah, grew out of the preceding great promises; so here there grows out of the same another "awake" (*hith' ôrîrî*), which the prophet addresses to Jerusalem in the name of his God, and the reason for which is given in the form of new promises. Vers. 17-23. "*Wake thyself up, wake thyself up, stand up, O Jerusalem, thou that hast drunk out of the hand of Jehovah the goblet of His fury: the goblet cup of reeling hast thou drunk, sipped out. There was none who guided her of all the children that she had brought forth; and none who took her by the hand of all the children that she had brought up. There were two things that happened to thee; who should console thee? Devastation, and ruin, and famine, and the sword: how should I comfort thee? Thy children were benighted, lay at the corners of all the streets like a snared antelope: as those who were full of the fury of Jehovah, the rebuke of thy God. Therefore hearken to this, O wretched and drunken, but not with wine: Thus saith thy Lord, Jehovah, and thy God that defendeth His people, Behold, I take out of thine hand the goblet of reeling, the goblet cup of my fury: thou shalt not continue to drink it any more. And I put it into the hand of thy tormentors; who said to thy soul, Bow down, that we may go over; and thou madest thy back like the ground, and like a public way for those who go over it.*" In ver. 17, Jerusalem is regarded as a woman lying on the ground in the sleep of faintness and stupefaction. She has been obliged to drink, for her punishment, the goblet filled with the fury of the wrath of God, the goblet which throws those who drink it into unconscious reeling; and this goblet, which is called *qubba'ath kôs* (κύπελλον ποτηρίου, a genitive construction, though appositional in sense), for the purpose of giving greater prominence to its swelling sides, she has not only had to drink, but to drain quite clean (cf. Ps. lxxv. 9, and more especially Ezek. xxiii. 32-34). Observe the plaintive falling of the tone in *shâthith mâtsith*. In this state of unconscious stupefaction was Jerusalem lying, without any help on the part of her children; there was not one who came to guide the

stupefied one, or took her by the hand to lift her up. The consciousness of the punishment that their sins had deserved, and the greatness of the sufferings that the punishment had brought, pressed so heavily upon all the members of the congregation, that not one of them showed the requisite cheerfulness and strength to rise up on her behalf, so as to make her fate at any rate tolerable to her, and ward off the worst calamities. What elegiac music we have here in the deep cadences: *mikkol-bânîm yâlâdâh, mikkol-bânîm giddêlâh!* So terrible was her calamity, that no one ventured to break the silence of the terror, or give expression to their sympathy. Even the prophet, humanly speaking, is obliged to exclaim, "How (*mî*, literally as who, as in Amos vii. 2, 5) should I comfort thee!" He knew of no equal or greater calamity, to which he could point Jerusalem, according to the principle which experience confirms, *solamen miseris socios habuisse malorum*. This is the real explanation, according to Lam. ii. 13, though we must not therefore take *mî* as an accusative = *b'mî*, as Hitzig does. The whole of the group is in the tone of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. There were two kinds of things (*i.e.* two kinds of evils: *mishpâchôth*, as in Jer. xv. 3) that had happened to her (קָרָה = קָרָה, with which it is used interchangeably even in the Pentateuch),—namely, the devastation and ruin of their city and their land, famine and the sword to her children, their inhabitants. In ver. 20 this is depicted with special reference to the famine. Her children were veiled (*'ullaph, deliquium pati, lit. obvelari*), and lay in a state of unconsciousness like corpses at the corner of every street, where this horrible spectacle presented itself on every hand. They lay *kêtho' miklmâr* (rendered strangely and with very bad taste in the LXX., viz. like a half-cooked turnip; but given correctly by Jerome, *sicut oryx*, as in the LXX. at Deut. xiv. 5, *illaqueatus*), *i.e.* like a netted antelope (see at Job xxxix. 9), *i.e.* one that has been taken in a hunter's net and lies there exhausted, after having almost strangled itself by ineffectual attempts to release itself. The appositional הַמַּלְאִים וְנִי, which refers to נִי, gives as a *quippe qui* the reason for all this suffering. It is the punishment decreed by God, which has pierced their very heart, and got them completely in its power. This clause assigning the reason, shows that the expression "thy children"

(*bānayikh*) is not to be taken here in the same manner as in Lam. ii. 11, 12, iv. 3, 4, viz. as referring to children in distinction from adults; the subject is a general one, as in ch. v. 25. With *lākhēn* (therefore, ver. 21) the address turns from the picture of sufferings to the promise, in the view of which the cry was uttered, in ver. 17, to awake and arise. Therefore, viz. because she had endured the full measure of God's wrath, she is to hear what His mercy, that has now begun to move, purposes to do. The connecting form *sh^hkhurath* stands here, according to Ges. § 116, 1, notwithstanding the (epexegetical) *Vav* which comes between. We may see from ch. xxix. 9 how thoroughly this "drunk, but not with wine," is in Isaiah's own style (from this distinction between a higher and lower sphere of related facts, compare ch. xlvii. 14, xlviii. 10). The intensive plural *'ādōnīm* is only applied to human lords in other places in the book of Isaiah; but in this passage, in which Jerusalem is described as a woman, it is used once of Jehovah. *Yārībh 'ammō* is an attributive clause, signifying "who conducts the cause of His people," i.e. their advocate or defender. He takes the goblet of reeling and wrath, which Jerusalem has emptied, for ever out of her hand, and forces it newly filled upon her tormentors. There is no ground whatever for reading מוֹנִיָּה (from מָנָה, to throw down, related to מָן, whence comes מָן, a precipitate or sediment) in the place of מוֹנִיָּה (*pret. hi.* of מָנָה, (*laborare, dolere*), that favourite word of the Lamentations of Jeremiah (ch. i. 5, 12, iii. 32, cf. i. 4), the tone of which we recognise here throughout, as Lowth, Ewald, and Umbreit propose after the Targum מוֹנִיָּה לִי. The words attributed to the enemies, *sh^hchī v'na' ābhorāh* (from *shāchāh*, the *kal* of which only occurs here), are to be understood figuratively, as in Ps. cxxix. 3. Jerusalem has been obliged to let her children be degraded into the defenceless objects of despotic tyranny and caprice, both at home in their own conquered country, and abroad in exile. But the relation is reversed now. Jerusalem is delivered, after having been punished, and the instruments of her punishment are given up to the punishment which their pride deserved.

FOURTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LII. 1-12.

JERUSALEM EXCHANGES SERVITUDE FOR DOMINION, AND
IMPRISONMENT FOR LIBERTY.

The same call, which was addressed in ch. li. 9 to the arm of Jehovah that was then represented as sleeping, is here addressed to Jerusalem, which is represented as a sleeping woman. Vers. 1, 2. *“Awake, awake; clothe thyself in thy might, O Zion; clothe thyself in thy state dresses, O Jerusalem, thou holy city: for henceforth there will no more enter into thee one uncircumcised and unclean! Shake thyself from the dust; arise, sit down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the chains of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion!”* Jerusalem is lying upon the ground stupefied with the wrath of God, and exhausted with grief; but this shameful prostration and degradation will now come to an end. She is to rise up and put on her might, which has long been broken down, and apparently has altogether disappeared, but which can and must be constantly renewed, because it rests upon the foundation of an inviolable promise. She is to wake up and recover her ancient power, and put on her state robes, *i.e.* her priestly and royal ornaments, which belong to her as a “royal city,” *i.e.* as the city of Jehovah and His anointed one. For henceforth she will be what she was always intended to be, and that without any further desecration. Heathen, uncircumcised, and those who were unclean in heart and flesh (Ezek. xlv. 9), had entered her by force, and desecrated her: heathen, who had no right to enter the congregation of Jehovah as they were (Lam. i. 10). But she should no longer be defiled, not to say conquered, by such invaders as these (Joel iv. 17; Nahum ii. 1b; compare ver. 7 with Nahum ii. 1a). On the construction *non perget intrabit* = *intrare*, see Ges. § 142, 3, c. In ver. 2 the idea of the city falls into the background, and that of the nation takes its place. שְׁבִי יְרוּשָׁלַם does not mean “captive people of Jerusalem,” however, as Hitzig supposes, for this would require שְׁבִיָּה in accordance with the personification, as in ver. 2b. The rendering supported by the LXX. is the true one, “Sit down, O Jerusalem;” and this is also the way in which it is accentuated.

The exhortation is the counterpart of ch. xlvii. 1. Jerusalem is sitting upon the ground as a prisoner, having no seat to sit upon; but this is only that she may be the more highly exalted;—whereas the daughter of Babylon is seated as a queen upon a throne, but only to be the more deeply degraded. The former is now to shake herself free from the dust, and to rise up and sit down (viz. upon a throne, Targum). The captive daughter of Zion (*sh'bhuyyâh, αἰχμάλωτος*, Ex. xii. 29, an adjective written first for the sake of emphasis, as in ch. x. 30, liii. 11) is to undo for herself (*sibi laxare* according to vol. i. p. 94 note, like *hithnachêl*, ch. xiv. 2, *sibi possidendo capere*) the chains of her neck (the *chethib* חתכה, they loosen themselves, is opposed to the beautiful parallelism); for she who was mourning in her humiliation is to be restored to honour once more, and she who was so shamefully laden with fetters to liberty.

The reason for the address is now given in a well-sustained promise. Vers. 3-6. "*For thus saith Jehovah, Ye have been sold for nothing, and ye shall not be redeemed with silver. For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, My people went down to Egypt in the beginning to dwell there as guests; and Asshur has oppressed it for nothing. And now, what have I to do here? saith Jehovah: for my people are taken away for nothing; their oppressors shriek, saith Jehovah, and my name is continually blasphemed all the day. Therefore my people shall learn my name; therefore, in that day, that I am He who saith, There am I.*" Ye have been sold (this is the meaning of ver. 3); but this selling is merely a giving over to a foreign power, without the slightest advantage accruing to Him who had no other object in view than to cause them to atone for their sins (ch. l. 1), and without any other people taking their place, and serving Him in their stead as an equivalent for the loss He sustained. And there would be no need of silver to purchase the favour of Him who had given them up, since a manifestation of divine power would be all that would be required (ch. xlv. 13). For whether Jehovah show Himself to Israel as the Righteous One or as the Gracious One, as a Judge or as a Redeemer, He always acts as the Absolute One, exalted above all earthly affairs, having no need to receive anything, but able to give everything. He receives no recompense, and gives none. Whether punishing or redeeming, He always guards His people's honour,

proving Himself in the one case to be all-sufficient, and in the other almighty, but acting in both cases freely from Himself. In the train of thought in vers. 4-6 the reason is given for the general statement in ver. 3. Israel went down to Egypt, the country of the Nile valley, with the innocent intention of sojourning, *i.e.* living as a guest (*gūr*) there in a foreign land; and yet (as we may supply from the next clause, according to the law of a self-completing parallelism) there it fell into the bondage of the Pharaohs, who, whilst they did not fear Jehovah, but rather despised Him, were merely the blind instruments of His will. Asshur then oppressed it *bēphes*, *i.e.* not "at last" (*ultimo tempore*, as Hävernicks renders it), but (as *דַּעַן* is the synonym of *יָדַעַן* in ch. xl. 17, xli. 12) "for nothing," *i.e.* without having acquired any right to it, but rather serving in its unrighteousness simply as the blind instrument of the righteousness of Jehovah, who through the instrumentality of Asshur put an end first of all to the kingdom of Israel, and then to the kingdom of Judah. The two references to the Egyptian and Assyrian oppressions are expressed in as brief terms as possible. But with the words "now therefore" the prophecy passes on in a much more copious strain to the present oppression in Babylon. Jehovah inquires, *Quid mihi hic* (What have I to do here)? Hitzig supposes *pōh* (here) to refer to heaven, in the sense of, "What pressing occupation have I here, that all this can take place without my interfering?" But such a question as this would be far more appropriate to the Zeus of the Greek comedy than to the Jehovah of prophecy. Knobel, who takes *pōh* as referring to the captivity, in accordance with the context, gives a ridiculous turn to the question, viz., "What do I get here in Babylonia, from the fact that my people are carried off for nothing? Only loss." He observes himself that there is a certain wit in the question. But it would be silly rather than witty, if, after Jehovah had just stated that He had given up His people for nothing, the prophet represented Him as preparing to redeem it by asking, "What have I gained by it?" The question can have no other meaning, according to ch. xxii. 16, than "What have I to do here?" Jehovah is thought of as present with His people (cf. Gen. xli. 4), and means to inquire whether He shall continue this penal condition of exile any

longer (Targum, Rashi, Rosenmüller, Ewald, Stier, etc.). The question implies an intention to redeem Israel, and the reason for this intention is introduced with *kî*. Israel is taken away (*ablatus*), viz. from its own native home, *chinnâm*, i.e. without the Chaldeans having any human claim upon them whatever. The words מְשִׁלֵּי יִהְיִלְיוּ (משלו) are not to be rendered, "its singers lament," as Ruetschi and Rosenmüller maintain, since the singers of Israel are called *m'shōr'rim*; nor "its (Israel's) princes lament," as Vittinga and Hitzig supposed, since the people of the captivity, although they had still their national *sârîm*, had no other *mōsh'êlîm* than the Chaldean oppressors (ch. xlix. 7, xiv. 5). It is the intolerable tyranny of the oppressors of His people, that Jehovah assigns in this sentence as the reason for His interposition, which cannot any longer be deferred. It is true that we do meet with *hēlîl* (of which we have the future here without any syncope of the first syllable) in other passages in the sense of *ululare*, as a cry of pain; but just as הִרְעָה, הִרְעָה, הִרְעָה signify a yelling utterance of either joy or pain, so *hēlîl* may also be applied to the harsh shrieking of the capricious tyrants, like Lucan's *lætis ululare triumphis*, and the Syriac *ailēl*, which is used to denote a war-cry and other noises as well. In connection with this proud and haughty bluster, there is also the practice of making Jehovah's name the butt of their incessant blasphemy: מְנַאֵץ is a *part. hithpoel* with an assimilated ה and a pausal *ā* for *ē*, although it might also be a passive *hithpoel* (for the *ō* in the middle syllable, compare מְנַאֵץ, Mal. i. 7; מְנַאֵץ, Esth. viii. 14). In ver. 6 there follows the closing sentence of the whole train of thought: therefore His people are to get to learn His name, i.e. the self-manifestation of its God, who is so despised by the heathen; therefore (*lākhēn* repeated with emphasis, like פָּעַל in ch. lix. 18, and possibly *min* in Ps. xlv. 9) in that day, the day of redemption, (supply "it shall get to learn") that "I am he who saith, Here am I," i.e. that He who has promised redemption is now present as the True and Omnipotent One to carry it into effect.

The first two turns in the prophecy (vers. 1-2, 3-6) close here. The third turn (vers. 7-10) exults at the salvation which is being carried into effect. The prophet sees in spirit, how the tidings of the redemption, to which the fall of Babylon, which is equivalent to the dismissal of the prisoners, gives the

finishing stroke, are carried over the mountains of Judah to Jerusalem. Ver. 7. "*How lovely upon the mountains are the feet of them that bring good tidings, that publish peace, that bring tidings of good, that publish salvation, that say unto Zion, Thy God reigneth royally!*" The words are addressed to Jerusalem, consequently the mountains are those of the Holy Land, and especially those to the north of Jerusalem: *m'bhassēr* is collective (as in the primary passage, Nahum ii. 1; cf. xli. 27, Ps. lxxviii. 12), "whoever brings the glad tidings to Jerusalem." The exclamation "how lovely" does not refer to the lovely sound of their footsteps, but to the lovely appearance presented by their feet, which spring over the mountains with all the swiftness of gazelles (Song of Sol. ii. 17, viii. 14). Their feet look as if they had wings, because they are the messengers of good tidings of joy. The joyful tidings that are left indefinite in *m'bhassēr*, are afterwards more particularly described as a proclamation of *peace, good, salvation*, and also as containing the announcement "thy God reigneth," i.e. has risen to a right royal sway, or seized upon the government (מִלְכָּה in an inchoative historical sense, as in the theocratic psalms which commence with the same watchword, or like ἐβασίλευσε in Rev. xix. 6, cf. xi. 17). Up to this time, when His people were in bondage, He appeared to have lost His dominion (ch. lxiii. 19); but now He has ascended the throne as a Redeemer with greater glory than ever before (ch. xxiv. 23). The gospel of the swift-footed messengers, therefore, is the gospel of the kingdom of God that is at hand; and the application which the apostle makes of this passage of Isaiah in Rom. x. 15, is justified by the fact that the prophet saw the final and universal redemption as though in combination with the close of the captivity.

How will the prophets rejoice, when they see bodily before them what they have already seen from afar! Ver. 8. "*Hark, thy watchers! They lift up the voice together; they rejoice: for they see eye to eye, how Jehovah bringeth Zion home.*" הִיפ followed by a genitive formed an interjectional clause, and had almost become an interjection itself (see Gen. iv. 10). The prophets are here called *tsōphīm*, spies, as persons who looked into the distance as if from a watch-tower (*specula*, ch. xxi. 6, Hab. ii. 1), just as in ch. lvi. 10. It is assumed that

the people of the captivity would still have prophets among them: in fact, the very first word in these prophecies (ch. xl. 1) is addressed to them. They who saw the redemption from afar, and comforted the church therewith (different from *m^ebhassēr*, the evangelist of the fulfilment), lift up their voice together with rejoicing; for they see Jehovah bringing back Zion, as closely as one man is to another when he looks directly into his eyes (Num. xiv. 14). בָּ is the same as in the construction בָּרָאָה; and שׁוּב has the transitive meaning *reducere, restituere* (as in Ps. xiv. 7, cxxvi. 1, etc.), which is placed beyond all doubt by שׁוּבִי in Ps. lxxxv. 5.

Zion is restored, inasmuch as Jehovah turns away her misery, brings back her exiles, and causes the holy city to rise again from her ruins. Ver. 9. "*Break out into exultation, sing together, ye ruins of Jerusalem: for Jehovah hath comforted His people, He hath redeemed Jerusalem.*" Because the word of consolation has become an act of consolation, *i.e.* of redemption, the ruins of Jerusalem are to break out into jubilant shouting as they rise again from the ground.

Jehovah has wrought out salvation through judgment in the sight of all the world. Ver. 10. "*Jehovah hath made bare His holy arm before the eyes of all nations, and all the ends of the earth see the salvation of our God.*" As a warrior is accustomed to make bare his right arm up to the shoulder, that he may fight without encumbrance (*exsertare humeros nudamque lacerare pugnan*, as Statius says in *Theb.* i. 413), so has Jehovah made bare His holy arm, that arm in which holiness dwells, which shines with holiness, and which acts in holiness, that arm which has been hitherto concealed and therefore has appeared to be powerless, and that in the sight of the whole world of nations; so that all the ends of the earth come to see the reality of the work, which this arm has already accomplished by showing itself in its unveiled glory—in other words, "the salvation of our God."

This salvation in its immediate manifestation is the liberation of the exiles; and on the ground of what the prophet sees in spirit, he exclaims to them (as in ch. xlviii. 20), in vers. 11, 12: "*Go ye forth, go ye forth, go out from thence, lay hold of no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her, cleanse yourselves, ye that bear the vessels of Jehovah. For ye shall not go*

out in confusion, and ye shall not go forth in flight: for Jehovah goeth before you, and the God of Israel is your rear-guard." When they go out from thence, *i.e.* from Babylon, they are not to touch anything unclean, *i.e.* they are not to enrich themselves with the property of their now subjugated oppressors, as was the case at the exodus from Egypt (Ex. xii. 36). It is to be a holy procession, at which they are to appear morally as well as corporeally unstained. But those who bear the vessels of Jehovah, *i.e.* the vessels of the temple, are not only not to defile themselves, but are to purify themselves (*hibbārū* with the tone upon the last syllable, a regular imperative *niphal* of *bārar*). This is an indirect prophecy, and was fulfilled in the fact that Cyrus directed the golden and silver vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought to Babylon, to be restored to the returning exiles as their rightful property (Ezra i. 7-11). It would thus be possible for them to put themselves into the right attitude for their departure, since it would not take place in precipitous haste (*b'chippāzon*), as the departure from Egypt did (Deut. xvi. 3, cf. Ex. xii. 39), nor like a flight, but they would go forth under the guidance of Jehovah. מַצְפֵּיָם (with the *ē* changed into the original *ī*) does not mean, "He bringeth you, the scattered ones, together," but according to Num. x. 25, Josh. vi. 9, 13, "He closes your procession,"—He not only goes before you to lead you, but also behind you, to protect you (as in Ex. xiv. 19). For the *m'assēph*, or the rear-guard of an army, is its keystone, and has to preserve the compactness of the whole.

The division of the chapters generally coincides with the several prophetic addresses. But here it needs emendation. Most of the commentators are agreed that the words "Behold my servant," etc. (*hinnēh yaskīl 'abhdī*) commence a new section, like *hēn 'abhdī* (behold my servant) in ch. xlii. 1.

FIFTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LII. 13-LIII.

GOLGOTHA AND SHEBLIMINI,¹ OR THE EXALTATION OF THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH OUT OF DEEP DEGRADATION.

Victor F. Oehler has recently attempted to establish an opinion, to which no one had given expression before, viz. that

¹ יָשַׁב לְיָמִינִי: "sit thou at my right hand."—TR.

the transition from the collective idea of the servant of God to the "Servant of God" as an individual takes place in ver. 14, where Israel is addressed in the first clause, and the Messiah referred to in the second. But our view is a totally different one. In every case, thus far, in which another than Jehovah has spoken, it has been the one "Servant of Jehovah" who was the centre of the circle, the heart and head of the body of Israel. And after having heard him speaking himself in ch. l. 4-9, xlix. 1-6, xlviii. 16*b*, and Jehovah speaking concerning him in ch. l. 10, 11, xlix. 7-9, xlii. 1-7, it does not come upon us at all unexpectedly, that Jehovah begins to speak of him again here. Nor does it surprise us, that the prophet should pass in so abrupt a manner, from the exaltation of the church to the exaltation of the servant of Jehovah. If we look back, we find that he has not omitted anything, that could preclude the possibility of our confounding this servant of Jehovah with Israel itself. For although Israel itself, in its relation to Jehovah, is spoken of frequently enough as "my servant" and "his servant;" yet the passage before us is preceded by the same representation of Israel the community as a female, which has been sustained from ch. li. 17 onwards; and although in ch. li. 1-16 the national idea of the "servant of Jehovah" is expressed in the most definite manner possible (more especially in ch. li. 7), the name employed is not that which the personal "Servant," whom no one can possibly mistake in ch. l. 4-9, already bears in ch. l. 10. It is this personal Servant who is spoken of here. It is his portrait that is here filled out and completed, and that as a side-piece to the liberation and restoration of Zion-Jerusalem as depicted just before. It is the servant of Jehovah who conducts His people through suffering to glory. It is in his heart, as we now most clearly discern, that the changing of Jehovah's wrath into love takes place. He suffers with his people, suffers for them, suffers in their stead; because he has not brought the suffering upon himself, like the great mass of the people, through sin, but has voluntarily submitted to it as the guiltless and righteous one, in order that he might entirely remove it, even to its roots, *i.e.* the guilt and the sin which occasioned it, by his own sacrifice of himself. Thus is Israel's glory concentrated in him like a sun. The glory of Israel has his glory for a focus. He is the

seed-corn, which is buried in the earth, to bring forth much fruit; and this "much fruit" is the glory of Israel and the salvation of the nations.

"Christian scholars," says Abravanel, "interpret this prophecy as referring to that man who was crucified in Jerusalem about the end of the second temple, and who, according to their view, was the Son of God, who became man in the womb of the Virgin. But Jonathan ben Uziel explains it as relating to the Messiah who has yet to come; and this is the opinion of the ancients in many of their Midrashim." So that even the synagogue could not help acknowledging that the passage of the Messiah through death to glory is predicted here.¹ And what interest could we have in understanding by the "servant of Jehovah," in this section, the nation of Israel generally, as many Rabbis, both circumcised and uncircumcised, have done; whereas he is that One Israelite in whom Jehovah has effected the redemption of both Israel and the heathen, even through the medium of Israel itself? Or what interest could we have in persuading ourselves that Jeremiah, or some unknown martyr-prophet, is intended, as Grotius, Bunsen, and Ewald suppose; whereas it is rather the great unknown and misinterpreted One, whom Jewish and Judaizing exegesis still continues to misinterpret in its exposition of the figure before us, just as His contemporaries misinterpreted Him when He actually appeared among them. How many are there whose eyes have been opened when reading this "golden *passional* of the Old Testament evangelist," as Polycarp the Lysian calls it! In how many an Israelite has it melted the crust of his heart! It looks as if it had been written beneath the cross upon Golgotha, and was illuminated by the heavenly brightness of the full לְמִינִי. It is the unravelling of Ps. xxii. and Ps. cx. It forms the outer centre of this wonderful book of consolation (ch. xl.-lxvi.), and is the most central, the deepest, and the loftiest thing that the Old Testament prophecy, outstripping itself, has ever achieved.

And yet it does not belie its Old Testament origin. For the prophet sees the advent of "the servant of Jehovah," and

¹ See A. M. M'Caul's tract on Isa. liii., and the "Old Jewish Midrash of the Suffering Redeemer" in our Mag. *Saat auf Hoffnung*, i. 3, pp. 37-39.

His rejection by His own people, bound up as it were with the duration of the captivity. It is at the close of the captivity that he beholds the exaltation of the Servant of Jehovah, who has died and been buried, and yet lives for ever; and with His exaltation the inward and outward return of Israel, and the restoration of Jerusalem in its renewed and final glory; and with this restoration of the people of God, the conversion of the nations and the salvation of mankind.¹

In this sense there follows here, immediately after the cry, "Go ye out from Babylon," an index pointing from the suffering of the Servant to His reward in glory. Ch. lii. 13. "*Behold, my servant will act wisely; he will come forth, and arise, and be very high.*" Even apart from ch. xlii. 1, *hinnēh* (*hēn*) is a favourite commencement with Isaiah; and this very first verse contains, according to Isaiah's custom, a brief, condensed explanation of the theme. The exaltation of the Servant of Jehovah is the theme of the prophecy which follows. In ver. 13a the way is shown, by which He reaches His greatness; in ver. 13b the increasing greatness itself. הִשְׁגִּיל by itself means simply to gain, prove, or act with intelligence (LXX. *συνήσει*);

¹ I cannot refrain from repeating here a passage taken from my closing remarks on Drechsler (iii. 376), simply because I cannot find any better way of expressing what I have to say upon this point: "When Isaiah sang his dying song on the border line of the reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh, all the coming sufferings of his people appeared to be concentrated in the one view of the captivity in Babylon. And it was in the midst of this period of suffering, which formed the extreme limit of his range of vision, that he saw the redemption of Israel beginning to appear. He saw the servant of Jehovah working among the captives, just as at His coming He actually did appear in the midst of His people, when they were in bondage to the imperial power of the world; he also saw the Servant of Jehovah passing through death to glory, and Israel ascending with Him, as in fact the ascension of Jesus was the completion of the redemption of Israel; and it was only the unbelief of the great mass of Israel which occasioned the fact, that this redemption was at first merely the spiritual redemption of believers out of the nation, and not the spiritual and physical redemption of the nation as a whole. So far, therefore, a broad gap was made in point of time between the exaltation of the servant of Jehovah and the glorious restoration of Israel which is still in the future; and this gap was hidden from the prophet's view. It is only the coming of Christ in glory which will fully realize what was not yet realized when He entered into glory after the sufferings of death, on account of Israel's unbelief."

and then, since intelligent action, as a rule, is also effective, it is used as synonymous with הַכָּשִׁיר, הַצִּלִּיחַ, to act with result, *i.e.* so as to be successful. Hence it is only by way of sequence that the idea of "prosperously" is connected with that of "prudently" (*e.g.* Josh. i. 8; Jer. x. 21). The word is never applied to such prosperity as a man enjoys without any effort of his own, but only to such as he attains by successful action, *i.e.* by such action as is appropriate to the desired and desirable result. In Jer. xxiii. 2, where *hiskil* is one feature in the picture of the dominion exercised by the Messiah, the idea of intelligent action is quite sufficient, without any further subordinate meaning. But here, where the exaltation is derived from יִשְׁכַּל as the immediate consequence, without any intervening עֲלִיבָן, there is naturally associated with the idea of wise action, *i.e.* of action suited to the great object of his call, that of effective execution or abundant success, which has as its natural sequel an ever-increasing exaltation. Rosenmüller observes, in ver. 13b, "There is no need to discuss, or even to inquire, what precise difference there is in the meaning of the separate words;" but this is a very superficial remark. If we consider that *rûm* signifies not only to be high, but to rise up (Prov. xi. 11) and become exalted, and also to become manifest as exalted (Ps. xxi. 14), and that נָשָׂא, according to the immediate and original reflective meaning of the *niphal*, signifies to raise one's self, whereas *gâbhah* expresses merely the condition, without the subordinate idea of activity, we obtain this chain of thought: he will rise up, he will raise himself still higher, he will stand on high. The three verbs (of which the two perfects are defined by the previous future) consequently denote the commencement, the continuation, and the result or climax of the exaltation; and Stier is not wrong in recalling to mind the three principal steps of the *exaltatio* in the historical fulfilment, *viz.* the resurrection, the ascension, and the sitting down at the right hand of God. The addition of the word מָאֵר shows very clearly that וְנִבְרָא is intended to be taken as the final result: the servant of Jehovah, rising from stage to stage, reaches at last an immeasurable height, that towers above everything besides (*comp.* ὑπερύψωσε in Phil. ii. 9, with ὑψωθείς in Acts ii. 33, and for the nature of the ὑπερύψωσε, Eph. i. 20-23).

The prophecy concerning him passes now into an address to him, as in ch. xlix. 8 (cf. ver. 7), which sinks again immediately into an objective tone. Vers. 14, 15. "*Just as many were astonished at thee: so disfigured, his appearance was not human, and his form not like that of the children of men: so will he make many nations to tremble; kings will shut their mouth at him: for they see what has not been told them, and discover what they have not heard.*" Both Oehler and Hahn suppose that the first clause is addressed to Israel, and that it is here pointed away from its own degradation, which excited such astonishment, to the depth of suffering endured by the One man. Hahn's principal reason, which Oehler adopts, is the sudden leap that we should otherwise have to assume from the second person to the third,—an example of "negligence" which we can hardly impute to the prophet. But a single glance at ch. xlii. 20 and i. 29 is sufficient to show how little force there is in this principal argument. We should no doubt expect עֲלֵיכֶם or עָלַי after what has gone before, if the nation were addressed; but it is difficult to see what end a comparison between the sufferings of the nation and those of the One man, which merely places the sufferings of the two in an external relation to one another, could be intended to answer; whilst the second *kēn* (so), which evidently introduces an antithesis, is altogether unexplained. The words are certainly addressed to the servant of Jehovah; and the meaning of the *sicut* (just as) in ver. 14, and of the *sic* (so) which introduces the principal sentence in ver. 15, is, that just as His degradation was the deepest degradation possible, so His glorification would be of the loftiest kind. The height of the exaltation is held up as presenting a perfect contrast to the depth of the degradation. The words, "so distorted was his face, more than that of a man," form, as has been almost unanimously admitted since the time of Vitringa, a parenthesis, containing the reason for the astonishment excited by the servant of Jehovah. Stier is wrong in supposing that this first "so" (*kēn*) refers to *ka'āsher* (just as), in the sense of "If men were astonished at thee, there was ground for the astonishment." Ver. 15 would not stand out as an antithesis, if we adopted this explanation; moreover, the thought that the fact corresponded to the impression which men received, is a very tame and unnecessary

one; and the change of persons in sentences related to one another in this manner is intolerably harsh; whereas, with our view of the relation in which the sentences stand to one another, the parenthesis prepares the way for the sudden change from a direct address to a declaration. Hitherto many had been astonished at the servant of Jehovah: *shâmēm*, to be desolate or waste, to be thrown by anything into a desolate or benumbed condition, to be startled, confused, as it were petrified, by paralyzing astonishment (Lev. xxvi. 32; Ezek. xxvi. 16). To such a degree (*kēn*, *adeo*) was his appearance *mishchath mē'ish*, and his form *mibb'nē 'ādām* (sc. *mishchath*). We might take *mishchath* as the construct of *mishchāth*, as Hitzig does, since this connecting form is sometimes used (e.g. xxxiii. 6) even without any genitive relation; but it may also be the absolute, syncopated from מִשְׁחָתָהּ = מִשְׁחָתָהּ (Hävernick and Stier), like *moshchath* in Mal. i. 14, or, what we prefer, after the form *mirmas* (ch. x. 6), with the original *ā*, without the usual lengthening (Ewald, § 160, c, Anm. 4). His appearance and his form were altogether distortion (stronger than *moshchāth*, distorted), away from men, out beyond men, i.e. a distortion that destroys all likeness to a man;¹ *'ish* does not signify man as distinguished from woman here, but a human being generally. The antithesis follows in ver. 15: viz. the state of glory in which this form of wretchedness has passed away. As a parallel to the "many" in ver. 14, we have here "many nations," indicating the excess of the glory by the greater fulness of the expression; and as a parallel to "were astonished at thee," "he shall make to tremble" (*yazzeḥ*), in other words, the effect which He produces by what He does to the effect produced by what He suffers. The *hiphil hizzāh* generally means to spirt or sprinkle (*adspergere*), and is applied to the sprinkling of the

¹ The church before the time of Constantine pictured to itself the Lord, as He walked on earth, as repulsive in His appearance; whereas the church after Constantine pictured Him as having quite an ideal beauty (see my tract, *Jesus and Hillel*, 1865, p. 4). They were both right: unattractive in appearance, though not deformed, He no doubt was in the days of His flesh; but He is ideally beautiful in His glorification. The body in which He was born of Mary was no royal form, though faith could see the *doxa* shining through. It was no royal form, for the suffering of death was the portion of the Lamb of God, even from His mother's womb; but the glorified One is infinitely exalted above all the ideal of art.

blood with the finger, more especially upon the capporeth and altar of incense on the day of atonement (differing in this respect from *zâraq*, the swinging of the blood out of a bowl), also to the sprinkling of the water of purification upon a leper with the bunch of hyssop (Lev. xiv. 7), and of the ashes of the red heifer upon those defiled through touching a corpse (Num. xix. 18); in fact, generally, to sprinkling for the purpose of expiation and sanctification. And Vitringa, Hengstenberg, and others, accordingly follow the Syriac and Vulgate in adopting the rendering *adsperset* (he will sprinkle). They have the usage of the language in their favour; and this explanation also commends itself from a reference to נָפַץ in ch. liii. 4, and נִפְץ in ch. liii. 8 (words which are generally used of leprosy, and on account of which the suffering Messiah is called in *b. Sanhedrin* 98*b* by an emblematical name adopted from the old synagogue, "the leper of Rabbi's school"), since it yields the significant antithesis, that he who was himself regarded as unclean, even as a second Job, would sprinkle and sanctify whole nations, and thus abolish the wall of partition between Israel and the heathen, and gather together into one holy church with Israel those who had hitherto been pronounced "unclean" (ch. lii. 1). But, on the other hand, this explanation has so far the usage of the language against it, that *hizzâh* is never construed with the accusative of the person or thing sprinkled (like *adspargere aliquam re aliquem*; since 'eth in Lev. iv. 6, 17 is a preposition like 'al, 'el elsewhere); moreover, there would be something very abrupt in this sudden representation of the servant as a priest. Such explanations as "he will scatter asunder" (*disperget*, Targum, etc.), or "he will spill" (*sc.* their blood), are altogether out of the question; such thoughts as these would be quite out of place in a spiritual picture of salvation and glory, painted upon the dark ground we have here. The verb *nâzâh* signified primarily to *leap* or *spring*; hence *hizzâh*, with the causative meaning to *sprinkle*. The *kal* combines the intransitive and transitive meanings of the word "spirt," and is used in the former sense in ch. lxiii. 3, to signify the springing up or sprouting up of any liquid scattered about in drops. The Arabic *nazâ* (see Ges. *Thes.*) shows that this verb may also be applied to the springing or leaping of living beings, caused by excess of emotion. And accordingly

we follow the majority of the commentators in adopting the rendering *exsilire faciet*. The fact that whole nations are the object, and not merely individuals, proves nothing to the contrary, as Hab. iii. 6 clearly shows. The reference is to their leaping up in amazement (LXX. θαυμάσονται); and the verb denotes less an external than an internal movement. They will tremble with astonishment within themselves (cf. *pāchādū v'rágēzū* in Jer. xxxiii. 9), being electrified, as it were, by the surprising change that has taken place in the servant of Jehovah. The reason why kings "shut their mouths at him" is expressly stated, viz. what was never related they see, and what was never heard of they perceive; i.e. it was something going far beyond all that had ever been reported to them outside the world of nations, or come to their knowledge within it. Hitzig's explanation, that they do not trust themselves to begin to speak before him or along with him, gives too feeble a sense, and would lead us rather to expect *וְיִשְׁכְּחוּ* than *וְיִשְׁכְּחוּ*. The shutting of the mouth is the involuntary effect of the overpowering impression, or the manifestation of their extreme amazement at one so suddenly brought out of the depths, and lifted up to so great a height. The strongest emotion is that which remains shut up within ourselves, because, from its very intensity, it throws the whole nature into a suffering state, and drowns all reflection in emotion (cf. *yachārish* in Zeph. iii. 17). The parallel in ch. xlix. 7 is not opposed to this; the speechless astonishment, at what is unheard and inconceivable, changes into adoring homage, as soon as they have become to some extent familiar with it. The first turn in the prophecy closes here: The servant of Jehovah, whose inhuman sufferings excite such astonishment, is exalted on high; so that from utter amazement the nations tremble, and their kings are struck dumb.

But, says the second turn in ch. liii. 1-3, the man of sorrows was despised among us, and the prophecy as to his future was not believed. We hear the first lamentation (the question is, From whose mouth does it come?) in ver. 1: "*Who hath believed our preaching; and the arm of Jehovah, over whom has it been revealed?*" "I was formerly mistaken," says Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, 159, 160), "as to the connection between ch. liii. 1 and ch. lii. 13-15, and thought that the Gentiles were the speakers in the former, simply because it was to them

that the latter referred. But I see now that I was in error. It is affirmed of the heathen, that they have never heard before the things which they now see with their eyes. Consequently it cannot be they who exclaim, or in whose name the inquiry is made, Who hath believed our preaching?" Moreover, it cannot be they, both because the redemption itself and the exaltation of the Mediator of the redemption are made known to them from the midst of Israel as already accomplished facts, and also because according to ch. lii. 15 (cf. ch. xlix. 7, xlii. 4, li. 5) they hear the things unheard of before, with amazement which passes into reverent awe, as the satisfaction of their own desires, in other words, with the glad obedience of faith. And we may also add, that the expression in ch. liii. 8, "for the transgression of my people," would be quite out of place in the mouths of Gentiles, and that, as a general rule, words attributed to Gentiles ought to be expressly introduced as theirs. Whenever we find a "we" introduced abruptly in the midst of a prophecy, it is always Israel that speaks, including the prophet himself (ch. xlii. 24, lxiv. 5, xvi. 6, xxiv. 16, etc.). Hofmann therefore very properly rejects the view advocated by many, from Calvin down to Stier and Oehler, who suppose that it is the prophet himself who is speaking here in connection with the other heralds of salvation; "for," as he says, "how does all the rest which is expressed in the 1st pers. plural tally with such a supposition?" If it is really Israel, which confesses in vers. 2 sqq. how blind it has been to the calling of the servant of Jehovah, which was formerly hidden in humiliation but is now manifested in glory; the mournful inquiry in ver. 1 must also proceed from the mouth of Israel. The references to this passage in John xii. 37, 38, and Rom. x. 16, do not compel us to assign ver. 1 to the prophet and his comrades in office. It is Israel that speaks even in ver. 1. The nation, which acknowledges with penitence how shamefully it has mistaken its own Saviour, laments that it has put no faith in the tidings of the lofty and glorious calling of the servant of God. We need not assume, therefore, that there is any change of subject in ver. 2; and (what is still more decisive) it is necessary that we should not, if we would keep up any close connection between ch. liii. 1 and ch. lii. 15. The heathen receive with faith tidings of things which had never been heard

of before; whereas Israel has to lament that it put no faith in the tidings which it had heard long, long before, not only with reference to the person and work of the servant of God, but with regard to his lowly origin and glorious end. שְׂמוּעָה (a noun after the form שְׂבוּעָה, שְׂמוּעָה, a different form from that of שְׂמוּעָה, which is derived from the adjective שְׂמוּעָה) signifies the hearsay (*ἀκοή*), i.e. the tidings, more especially the prophetic announcement in ch. xxviii. 9; and שְׂמִיעָתִי, according to the primary subjective force of the suffix, is equivalent to אֲשֶׁר שְׂמִיעָתִי (cf. Jer. xlix. 14), i.e. the hearsay which we have heard. There were some, indeed, who did not refuse to believe the tidings which Israel heard: ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (Rom. x. 16); the number of the believers was vanishingly small, when compared with the unbelieving mass of the nation. And it is the latter, or rather its remnant which had eventually come to its senses, that here inquires, Who hath believed *our* preaching, i.e. the preaching that was common among us? The substance of the preaching, which had not been believed, was the exaltation of the servant of God from a state of deep degradation. This is a work performed by the "arm of Jehovah," namely, His holy arm that has been made bare, and that now effects the salvation of His people, and of the nations generally, according to His own counsel (ch. lii. 10, li. 5). This arm works down from on high, exalted far above all created things; men have it above them, and it is made manifest to those who recognise it in what is passing around them. Who, asks Israel, has had any faith in the coming exaltation of the servant of God? who has recognised the omnipotence of Jehovah, which has set itself to effect his exaltation? All that follows is the confession of the Israel of the last times, to which this question is the introduction. We must not overlook the fact that this golden "passional" is also one of the greatest prophecies of the future conversion of the nation, which has rejected the servant of God, and allowed the Gentiles to be the first to recognise him. At last, though very late, it will feel remorse. And when this shall once take place, then and not till then will this chapter—which, to use an old epithet, will ever be *carnificina Rabbīnorum*—receive its complete historical fulfilment.

The confession, which follows, grows out of the great

lamentation depicted by Zechariah in Zech. xii. 11 sqq. Ver. 2. “*And he sprang up like a layer-shoot before Him, and like a root-sprout out of dry ground: he had no form, and no beauty; and we looked, and there was no look, such that we could have found pleasure in him.*” Ver. 2, as a sequel to ver. 1b, looks back to the past, and describes how the arm of Jehovah manifested itself in the servant’s course of life from the very beginning, though imperceptibly at first, and unobserved by those who merely noticed the outside. The suffix of וַיִּצְמַח cannot refer to the subject of the interrogative sentence, as Hahn and Hofmann suppose, for the answer to the *quis* there is *nemo*; it relates to Jehovah, by which it is immediately preceded. Before Jehovah, namely, so that He, whose counsel thus began to be fulfilled, fixed His eye upon him with watchfulness and protecting care, he grew up וַיִּצְמַח, like the suckling, *i.e.* (in a horticultural sense) the tender twig which sucks up its nourishment from the root and stem (not as Hitzig supposes, according to Ezek. xxxi. 16, from the moisture in the soil); for the tender twig upon a tree, or trunk, or stalk, is called עֵצָה (for which we have וַיִּצְמַח here): *vid.* Ezek. xvii. 22, the twig of a cedar; Ps. lxxx. 12 (11), of a vine; Job viii. 16, of a liana. It is thought of here as a layer, as in Ezek. xvii. 22; and, indeed, as the second figure shows when taken in connection with ch. xi. 1, as having been laid down after the proud cedar of the Davidic monarchy from which it sprang had been felled; for elsewhere it is compared to a shoot which springs from the root left in the ground after the tree has been felled. Both figures depict the lowly and unattractive character of the small though vigorous beginning. The expression “out of dry ground,” which belongs to both figures, brings out, in addition, the miserable character of the external circumstances in the midst of which the birth and growth of the servant had taken place. The “dry ground” is the existing state of the enslaved and degraded nation; *i.e.* he was subject to all the conditions inseparable from a nation that had been given up to the power of the world, and was not only enduring all the consequent misery, but was in utter ignorance as to its cause; in a word, the dry ground is the corrupt character of the age. In what follows, the majority of the commentators have departed from the accents, and adopted the rendering, “he had no form and no beauty,

that we should look at Him" (should have looked at Him), viz. with fixed looks that loved to dwell upon Him. This rendering was adopted by Symmachus and Vitranga (*ὅνα εἶδωμεν αὐτόν; ut ipsum respiceremus*). But Luther, Stier, and others, very properly adhere to the existing punctuation; since the other would lead us to expect *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ* instead of *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ*, and the close reciprocal relation of *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ וְלֹא מִרְאָה*, which resembles a play upon the words, is entirely expunged. The meaning therefore is, "We saw Him, and there was nothing in His appearance to make us desire Him, or feel attracted by Him." The literal rendering of the Hebrew, with its lively method of transferring you into the precise situation, is *ut concupisceremus eum (delectaremur eo)*; whereas, in our oriental style, we should rather have written *ut concupivissemus*, using the pluperfect instead of the imperfect, or the tense of the associated past. Even in this sense *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ* is very far from being unmeaning: He dwelt in Israel, so that they had Him bodily before their eyes, but in His outward appearance there was nothing to attract or delight the senses.

On the contrary, the impression produced by His appearance was rather repulsive, and, to those who measured the great and noble by a merely worldly standard, contemptible. Ver. 3. "*He was despised and forsaken by men; a man of griefs, and well acquainted with disease; and like one from whom men hide their face: despised, and we esteemed Him not.*" All these different features are predicates of the *erat* that is latent in *non species ei neque decor* and *non adspectus*. *Nibhzeh* is introduced again palindromically at the close in Isaiah's peculiar style; consequently Martini's conjecture *לֹא וְגו'* is to be rejected. This *nibhzeh* (cf. *bāzōh*, ch. xlix. 7) is the keynote of the description which looks back in this plaintive tone. The predicate *chādāl 'ishīm* is misunderstood by nearly all the commentators, inasmuch as they take *אִישִׁים* as synonymous with *בְּנֵי-אָדָם*, whereas it is rather used in the sense of *בְּנֵי-אֱלֹהִים* (lords), as distinguished from *bēnē 'ādām*, or people generally (see ch. ii. 9, 11, 17). The only other passages in which it occurs are Prov. viii. 4 and Ps. cxli. 4; and in both instances it signifies persons of rank. Hence Cocceius explains it thus: "wanting in men, i.e. having no respectable men with Him, to support Him with their authority." It might also be understood as

meaning the ending one among men, *i.e.* the one who takes the last place (S. ἐλάχιστος, Jer. *novissimus*); but in this case He Himself would be described as עֲשֵׂי, whereas it is absolutely affirmed that He had not the appearance or distinction of such an one. But the rendering *deficiens* (wanting) is quite correct; compare Job xix. 14, "my kinsfolk have failed" (*defecerunt, chād'lu, cognati mei*). The Arabic *chadhlahu* or *chadhala 'anhu* (he left him in the lurch, kept back from him, forsook him) also points to the true meaning; and from this we have the derivatives *chādhil*, refusing assistance, leaving without help; and *machdhul*, helpless, forsaken (see Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*). In Hebrew, *chādal* has not only the transitive meaning to discontinue or leave off a thing, but the intransitive, to cease or be in want, so that *chādal 'ishim* may mean one in want of men of rank, *i.e.* finding no sympathy from such men. The chief men of His nation who towered above the multitude, the great men of this world, withdrew their hands from Him, drew back from Him: He had none of the men of any distinction at His side. Moreover, He was אִישׁ מְאֻכָּח, a man of sorrow of heart in all its forms, *i.e.* a man whose chief distinction was, that His life was one of constant painful endurance. And He was also יָדַע חָלִי, that is to say, not one known through His sickness (according to Dent. i. 13, 15), which is hardly sufficient to express the genitive construction; nor an acquaintance of disease (S. γνωστὸς νόσῳ, *familiaris morbo*), which would be expressed by יָדַע מִיָּדָע or מִיָּדָע; but *scitus morbi*, *i.e.* one who was placed in a state to make the acquaintance of disease. The deponent passive יָדַע, acquainted (like *bātuäch, confisus; zākhūr*, mindful; *peritus*, pervaded, experienced), is supported by יָדַע = מִיָּדָע; Gr. τί μαθών. The meaning is not, that He had by nature a sickly body, falling out of one disease into another; but that the wrath instigated by sin, and the zeal of self-sacrifice (Ps. lxi. 10), burnt like the fire of a fever in His soul and body, so that even if He had not died a violent death, He would have succumbed to the force of the powers of destruction that were innate in humanity in consequence of sin, and of His own self-consuming conflict with them. Moreover, He was *k'mastēr pânim mimmennû*. This cannot mean, "like one hiding his face from us," as Hengstenberg supposes (with an allusion to Lev. xiii. 45); or, what is comparatively better,

“like one causing the hiding of the face from him:” for although the feminine of the participle is written מַסְתִּירָה, and in the plural מַסְתִּירִים for מַסְתִּירִים is quite possible, we never meet with *mastēr* for *mastir*, like *hastēr* for *hastir* in the infinitive (ch. xxix. 15, cf. Deut. xxvi. 12). Hence *mastēr* must be a noun (of the form *marbēts*, *marbēq*, *mashchēth*); and the words mean either “like the hiding of the face on our part,” or like one who met with this from us, or (what is more natural) like the hiding of the face before his presence (according to ch. viii. 17, l. 6, liv. 8, lix. 2, and many other passages), *i.e.* like one whose repulsive face it is impossible to endure, so that men turn away their face or cover it with their dress (compare ch. l. 6 with Job xxx. 10). And lastly, all the predicates are summed up in the expressive word *nibhzeh*: He was despised, and we did not think Him dear and worthy, but rather “esteemed Him not,” or rather did not estimate Him at all, or as Luther expresses it, “estimated Him at nothing” (*chāshabh*, to reckon, value, esteem, as in ch. xiii. 17, xxxiii. 8, Mal. iii. 16).

The second turn closes here. The preaching concerning His calling and His future was not believed; but the Man of sorrows was greatly despised among us.

Those who formerly mistook and despised the Servant of Jehovah on account of His miserable condition, now confess that His sufferings were altogether of a different character from what they had supposed. Ver. 4. “*Verily He hath borne our diseases and our pains: He hath laden them upon Himself; but we regarded Him as one stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.*” It might appear doubtful whether וְנִסֵּן (the fuller form of וְנִסֵּן) is affirmative here, as in ch. xl. 7, xlv. 15, or adversative, as in ch. xlix. 4. The latter meaning grows out of the former, inasmuch as it is the opposite which is strongly affirmed. We have rendered it affirmatively (*Jer. vere*), not adversatively (*verum, ut vero*), because ver. 4 itself consists of two antithetical halves,—a relation which is expressed in the independent pronouns הוּא and אֲנִי, that answer to one another. The penitents contrast themselves and their false notion with Him and His real achievement. In Matthew (viii. 17) the words are rendered freely and faithfully thus: αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν. Even the fact that the relief which Jesus afforded to all kinds

of bodily diseases is regarded as a fulfilment of what is here affirmed of the Servant of Jehovah, is an exegetical index worth noticing. [In 4a it is not really sin that is spoken of, but the evil which is consequent upon human sin, although not always the direct consequence of the sins of individuals (John ix. 3). But in the fact that He was concerned to relieve this evil in all its forms, whenever it came in His way in the exercise of His calling, the relief implied as a consequence in ver. 4a was brought distinctly into view, though not the bearing and lading that are primarily noticed here.] Matthew has very aptly rendered נשָׂ by ἔλαβε, and לָבַד by ἐβάστασε. For whilst לָבַד denotes the toilsome bearing of a burden that has been taken up, נשָׂ combines in itself the ideas of *tollere* and *ferre*. When construed with the accusative of the sin, it signifies to take the debt of sin upon one's self, and carry it as one's own, *i.e.* to look at it and feel it as one's own (*e.g.* Lev. v. 1, 17), or more frequently to bear the punishment occasioned by sin, *i.e.* to make expiation for it (Lev. xvii. 16, xx. 19, 20, xxiv. 15), and in any case in which the person bearing it is not himself the guilty person, to bear sin in a mediatorial capacity, for the purpose of making expiation for it (Lev. x. 17). The LXX. render this נשָׂ both in the Pentateuch and Ezekiel λαβεῖν ἁμαρτίαν, once ἀναφέρειν; and it is evident that both of these are to be understood in the sense of an expiatory bearing, and not merely of taking away, as has been recently maintained in opposition to the *satisfactio vicaria*, as we may see clearly enough from Ezek. iv. 4-8, where the נֶפֶשׁ הָאָדָם is represented by the prophet in a symbolical action. But in the case before us, where it is not the sins, but "our diseases" (נֶפֶשׁ הָאָדָם is a defective plural, as the singular would be written נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם) and "our pains" that are the object, this mediatorial sense remains essentially the same. [The meaning is not merely that the Servant of God entered into the fellowship of our sufferings, but that He took upon Himself the sufferings which we had to bear and deserved to bear, and therefore not only took them away (as Matt. viii. 17 might make it appear), but bore them in His own person, that He might deliver us from them.] But when one person takes upon himself suffering which another would have had to bear, and therefore not only endures it with him, but in his stead, this is called *substitution* or representation,

—an idea which, however unintelligible to the understanding, belongs to the actual substance of the common consciousness of man, and the realities of the divine government of the world as brought within the range of our experience, and one which has continued even down to the present time to have much greater vigour in the Jewish nation, where it has found its true expression in sacrifice and the kindred institutions, than in any other, at least so far as its nationality has not been entirely annulled.¹ Here again it is Israel, which, having been at length better instructed, and now bearing witness against itself, laments its former blindness to the mediatorially vicarious character of the deep agonies, both of soul and body, that were endured by the great Sufferer. They looked upon them as the punishment of His own sins, and indeed—inasmuch as, like the friends of Job, they measured the sin of the Sufferer by the sufferings that He endured—of peculiarly great sins. They saw in Him נָגַע, “one stricken,” i.e. afflicted with a hateful, shocking disease (Gen. xii. 17; 1 Sam. vi. 9),—such, for example, as leprosy, which was called נָגַע קַט’ עֵץ. (2 Kings xv. 5, A. ἀφήμενον, S. ἐν ἀφῆ ὄντα = *leprosum*, Th. μεμαστιγωμένον, cf. μάστιγες, Mark iii. 10, scourges, i.e. bad attacks); also מַכָּה אֱלֹהִים, “one smitten of God” (from *nākhāh*, root נָך, נָג; see *Job*, vol. ii. p. 146), and מַעֲנֶה, bowed down (by God), i.e. afflicted with sufferings. The name Jehovah would have been out of place here, where the evident intention is to point to the all-determining divine power generally, whose vengeance appeared to have fallen upon this particular sufferer. The construction *mukkēh ’Elōhīm* signifies, like the Arabic *muqātal rabbūh*, one who has been defeated in conflict with God his Lord (see *Job*, vol. i. p. 267); and *’Elōhīm* has the syntactic position between the two adjectives, which it necessarily must have in order to be logically connected with them both.

In ver. 5, וְהוּא, as contrasted with וְאֵנִי, continues the true state of the case as contrasted with their false judgment. Ver. 5. “Whereas He was pierced for our sins, bruised for our iniquities; the punishment was laid upon Him for our peace; and through His stripes we were healed.” The question is, whether ver. 5a describes what He was during His life, or what He was

¹ See my *Jesus und IIittel*, pp. 26, 27.

in His death. The words decide in favour of the latter. For although *chálal* is applied to a person mortally wounded but not yet dead (Jer. li. 52; Ps. lxix. 27), and *chálal* to a heart wounded to death (Ps. cix. 22); the pure passives used here, which denote a calamity inflicted by violence from without, more especially *m'chólál*, which is not the participle *polal* of *chil* (made to twist one's self with pain), but the participle *peal* of *chálal* (pierced, *transfossus*, the passive of *m'chólél*, ch. li. 9), and the substantive clauses, which express a fact that has become complete in all its circumstances, can hardly be understood in any other way than as denoting, that "the servant of God" floated before the mind of the speaker in all the sufferings of death, just as was the case with Zechariah in Zech. xii. 10. There were no stronger expressions to be found in the language, to denote a violent and painful death. As *min*, with the passive, does not answer to the Greek *ὑπό*, but to *ἀπό*, the meaning is not that it was our sins and iniquities that had pierced Him through like swords, and crushed Him like heavy burdens, but that He was pierced and crushed on account of our sins and iniquities. It was not His own sins and iniquities, but *ours*, which He had taken upon Himself, that He might make atonement for them in our stead, that were the cause of His having to suffer so cruel and painful a death. The ultimate cause is not mentioned; but מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמִינוּ עָלָיו which follows points to it. His suffering was a *mūsár*, which is an indirect affirmation that it was God who had inflicted it upon Him, for who else could the *yōsēr* (*m'yassēr*) be? We have rendered *mūsár* "punishment;" and there was no other word in the language for this idea; for though נָקַם and פָּקְדָה (to which Hofmann refers) have indeed the idea of punishment associated with them, the former signifies ἐκδίκησις, the latter ἐπίσκεψις, whereas *mūsár* not only denotes παιδεία, as the chastisement of love (Prov. iii. 11), but also as the infliction of punishment (= τιμωρία, κόλασις, Prov. vii. 22, Jer. xxx. 14), just as David, when he prayed that God might not punish him in His anger and hot displeasure (Ps. vi. 2), could not find a more suitable expression for punishment, regarded as the execution of judgment, than יָסַר (הוֹכִיחַ). The word itself, which follows the form of *mūsád* (ch. xxviii. 16), signified primarily being chastised (from *yásar* = *vásar*, *constringere*, *coercere*), and

included from the very outset the idea of practical chastisement, which then passed over into that of admonition in words, of warning by example, and of chastity as a moral quality. In the case before us, in which the reference is to a sufferer, and to a *mūsār* resting upon him, this can only mean actual chastisement. If the expression had been מוֹסְרִי עָלָי, it would merely mean that God had caused Him, who had taken upon Himself our sins and iniquities and thus made Himself representatively or vicariously guilty, to endure the chastisement which those sins deserved. But it is מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמִי. The connection of the words is the same as that of תּוֹכַחַת חַיִּים in Prov. xv. 31. As the latter signifies "reproof leading to life," so the former signifies "the chastisement which leads to our peace." It is true that the suffix belongs to the one idea, that that has grown up through this combination of the words, like *b'rith sh'loāmī*, "my peace-covenant" (ch. liv. 10); but what else could our "peace-chastisement" be, than the chastisement that brings us peace, or puts us into a state of salvation? This is the idea involved in Stier's rendering, "restoring chastisement," and Hofmann's, "the chastisement wholesome for us." The difference in the exposition simply lies in the view entertained of the *mūsār*, in which neither of these commentators will allow that there is any idea of a visitation of justice here. But according to our interpretation, the genitive שְׁלוֹמִי, which defines the *mūsār* so far as its object and results are concerned, clearly shows that this manifestation of the justice of God, this satisfaction procured by His holiness, had His love for its foundation and end. It was our peace, or, what is more in accordance with the full idea of the word, our general well-being, our blessedness, which these sufferings arrived at and secured (the synonyms of *shālōm* are *tōbh* and *y'shū'āh*, ch. lii. 7). In what follows, "and by His stripes (*chābhūrāh* = *chabbūrāh*, ch. i. 6) we have been healed," *shālōm* is defined as a condition of salvation brought about by healing. "*Venustissimum* ὀξύμωρον," exclaims Vitringa here. He means the same as Jerome when he says, *suo vulnere vulnera nostra curavit*. The stripes and weals that were inflicted upon Him have made us sound and well (the LXX. keeps the collective singular, and renders it very aptly τῷ μόλωπι αὐτοῦ; cf. 1 Pet. ii. 24). We were sick unto death because of our sins; but He,

the sinless one, took upon Himself a suffering unto death, which was, as it were, the concentration and essence of the woes that we had deserved; and this voluntary endurance, this submission to the justice of the Holy One, in accordance with the counsels of divine love, became the source of our healing.

Thus does the whole body of the restored Israel confess with penitence, that it has so long mistaken Him whom Jehovah, as is now distinctly affirmed, had made a curse for their good, when they had gone astray to their own ruin. Ver. 6. "*All we like sheep went astray; we had turned every one to his own way; and Jehovah caused the iniquity of us all to fall on Him.*" It is the state of exile, upon which the penitent Israel is here looking back; but exile as being, in the prophet's view, the final state of punishment before the final deliverance. Israel in its exile resembled a scattered flock without a shepherd; it had lost the way of Jehovah (ch. lxiii. 17), and every one had turned to his own way, in utter selfishness and estrangement from God (ch. lvi. 11). But whereas Israel thus heaped up guilt upon guilt, the Servant of Jehovah was He upon whom Jehovah Himself caused the punishment of their guilt to fall, that He might make atonement for it through His own suffering. Many of the more modern expositors endeavour to set aside the *pœna vicaria* here, by giving to עָוֹן a meaning which it never has. Thus Stier renders it, "Jehovah caused the iniquity of all to strike or break upon Him." Others, again, give a meaning to the statement which is directly at variance with the words themselves. Thus Hahn renders it: Jehovah took the guilt of the whole into His service, causing Him to die a violent death through their crime. Hofmann very properly rejects both explanations, and holds fast to the fact that עָוֹן, regarded as a causative of עָוָה, signifies "to cause anything to strike or fall upon a person," which is the rendering adopted by Symmachus: κύριος καταντῆσαι ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀνομίαν πάντων ἡμῶν. "Just as the blood of a murdered man comes upon the murderer, when the bloody deed committed comes back upon him in the form of blood-guiltiness inflicting vengeance; so does sin come upon, overtake (Ps. xl. 13), or meet with the sinner. It went forth from him as his own act; it returns with destructive effect, as a fact by which he is condemned. But in this case God does not suffer those who have

sinned to be overtaken by the sin they have committed ; but it falls upon His servant, the righteous One." These are Hofmann's words. But if the sin turns back upon the sinner in the shape of punishment, why should the sin of all men, which the Servant of God has taken upon Himself as His own, overtake Him in the form of an evil, which, even if it be a punishment, is not punishment inflicted upon Him ? For this is just the characteristic of Hofmann's doctrine of the atonement, that it altogether eliminates from the atoning work the reconciliation of the purposes of love with the demands of righteousness. Now it is indeed perfectly true, that the Servant of God cannot become the object of punishment, either as a servant of God or as an atoning Saviour ; for as servant of God He is the beloved of God, and as atoning Saviour He undertakes a work which is well pleasing to God, and ordained in God's eternal counsel. So that the wrath which pours out upon Him is not meant for Him as the righteous One who voluntarily offers up Himself ; but indirectly it relates to Him, so far as He has vicariously identified Himself with sinners, who are deserving of wrath. How could He have made expiation for sin, if He had simply subjected Himself to its cosmical effects, and not directly subjected Himself to that wrath which is the invariable divine correlative of human sin ? And what other reason could there be for God's not rescuing Him from this the bitterest cup of death, than the ethical impossibility of acknowledging the atonement as really made, without having left the representative of the guilty, who had presented Himself to Him as though guilty Himself, to taste of the punishment which they had deserved ? It is true that vicarious expiation and *pœna vicaria* are not coincident ideas. The punishment is but one element in the expiation, and it derives a peculiar character from the fact that one innocent person voluntarily submits to it in His own person. It does not stand in a thoroughly external relation of identity to that deserved by the many who are guilty ; but the latter cannot be set aside without the atoning individual enduring an intensive equivalent to it, and that in such a manner, that this endurance is no less a self-cancelling of wrath on the part of God, than an absorption of wrath on the part of the Mediator ; and in this central point of the atoning work, the voluntarily forgiving love of God and the voluntarily

self-sacrificing love of the Mediator meet together, like hands stretched out to grasp one another from the midst of a dark cloud. Hermann Schultz also maintains that the suffering, which was the consequence of sin and therefore punishment to the guilty, is borne by the Redeemer as suffering, without being punishment. But in this way the true mystery is wiped out of the heart of the atoning work; and this explanation is also at variance with the expression "the chastisement of our peace" in ver. 5*b*, and the equally distinct statement in ver. 6*b*, "He hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all." It was the sin of all Israel, as the palindromically repeated *kullânû* emphatically declares, which pressed upon Him with such force when His atoning work was about to be decided. But חַטָּאת is used to denote not only the transgression itself, but also the guilt incurred thereby, and the punishment to which it gives rise. All this great multitude of sins, and mass of guilt, and weight of punishment, came upon the Servant of Jehovah according to the appointment of the God of salvation, who is gracious in holiness. The third turn ends here. It was our sins that He bore, and for our salvation that God caused Him to suffer on our account.

The fourth turn describes how He suffered and died and was buried. Ver. 7. "*He was ill treated; whilst He suffered willingly, and opened not His mouth, like the sheep that is led to the slaughter-bench, and like a lamb that is dumb before its shearers, and opened not His mouth.*" The third pers. *niphal* stands first in a passive sense: He has been hard pressed (1 Sam. xiii. 6): He is driven, or hunted (1 Sam. xiv. 24), treated tyrannically and unsparingly; in a word, plagued (*vexatus*; compare the *niphal* in a reciprocal sense in ch. iii. 5, and according to the reading נִשָּׂא in ch. xxix. 13 in a reflective sense, to torment one's self). Hitzig renders the next clause, "and although tormented, He opened not His mouth." But although an explanatory subordinate clause may precede the principal clause which it more fully explains, no example can be found of such a clause with (a retrospective) הָיָה explaining what follows; for in Job ii. 8 the circumstantial clause, "sitting down among the ashes," belongs to the principal fact which stands before. And so here, where נִשָּׂא (from which comes the participle נִשְׂאָה, usually met with in circum-

stantial clauses) has not a passive, but a reflective meaning, as in Ex. x. 3: "He was ill treated, whilst He bowed Himself (= suffered voluntarily), and opened not His mouth" (the regular leap from the participle to the finite). The voluntary endurance is then explained by the simile "like a sheep that is led to the slaughter" (an attributive clause, like Jer. xi. 19); and the submissive quiet bearing, by the simile "like a lamb that is dumb before its shearers." The commentators regard נִלְמָה as a participle; but this would have the tone upon the last syllable (see ch. i. 21, 26, Nah. iii. 11; cf. *Job*, vol. i. p. 393, note). The tone shows it to be the pausal form for נִלְמָה, and so we have rendered it; and, indeed, as the interchange of the perfect with the future in the attributive clause must be intentional, not *quæ obmutescit*, but *obmutuit*. The following words, וְלֹא יִפְתָּח פִּי, do not form part of the simile, which would require *tiphtach*, for nothing but absolute necessity would warrant us in assuming that it points back beyond רָחֵל to שָׁה, as Rashi and others suppose. The palindromical repetition also favours the unity of the subject with that of the previous יִפְתָּח and the correctness of the delicate accentuation, with which the rendering in the LXX. and Acts viii. 32 coincides. [All the references in the New Testament to the Lamb of God (with which the corresponding allusions to the passover are interwoven) spring from this passage in the book of Isaiah.]

The description of the closing portion of the life of the Servant of Jehovah is continued in ver. 8. "*He has been taken away from prison and from judgment; and of His generation who considered: 'He was snatched away out of the land of the living; for the wickedness of my people punishment fell upon Him'?*" [The principal emphasis is not laid upon the fact that He was *taken away* from suffering, but that it was out of the midst of suffering that He was carried off.] The idea that is most prominent in *luqqâch* (with *â* in half pause) is not that of being translated (as in the accounts of Enoch and Elijah), but of being snatched or hurried away (*abreptus est*, ch. lii. 5, Ezek. xxxiii. 4, etc.). The parallel is *abscissus* (cf. *nikhrath*, Jer. xi. 19) *a terra viventium*, for which בָּיִת by itself is supposed to be used in the sense of carried away (*i.e.* out of the sphere of the living into that of the dead, Lam. iii. 54; cf. Ezek.

xxxvii. 11, "It is all over with us"). עָצַר (from עָצַר, *compescere*) is a violent constraint; here, as in Ps. cvii. 39, it signifies a persecuting treatment which restrains by outward force, such as that of prison or bonds; and *mishpāt* refers to the judicial proceedings, in which He was put upon His trial, accused and convicted as worthy of death,—in other words, to His unjust judgment. The *min* might indeed be understood, as in ver. 5a, not as referring to the persons who swept Him away (= ὑπὸ), but, as in Ps. cvii. 39, as relating to the ground and cause of the sweeping away. But the local sense, which is the one most naturally suggested by *luqqach* (e.g. ch. xlix. 24), is to be preferred: hostile oppression and judicial persecution were the circumstances out of which He was carried away by death. With regard to what follows, we must in any case adhere to the ordinary usage, according to which *dōr* (= Arab. *daur*, *dahr*, a revolution or period of time) signifies an age, or the men living in a particular age; also, in an ethical sense, the entire body of those who are connected together by similarity of disposition (see, for example, Ps. xiv. 5); or again (= Arab. *dār*) a dwelling, as in ch. xxxviii. 12, and possibly also (of the grave) in Ps. xlix. 20. Such meanings as length of life (Luther and Grotius), course of life (Vitranga), or fate (Hitzig), it is impossible to sustain. Hence the Sept. rendering, τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται, which Jerome also adopts, can only mean, so far as the usage of the language is concerned, "who can declare the number of His generation" (i.e. of those inspired by His spirit, or filled with His life); but in this connection such a thought would be premature. Moreover, the generation intended would be called יְרֵעוּ rather than יִרְיֵה, as springing from Him. Still less can we adopt the meaning "dwelling," as Knobel does, who explains the passage thus: "who considers how little the grave becomes Him, which He has received as His dwelling-place." The words do not admit of this explanation. Hofmann formerly explained the passage as meaning, "No one takes His dwelling-place into his mind or mouth, so as even to think of it, or inquire what had become of Him;" but in His *Schriftbeweis* he has decided in favour of the meaning, His contemporaries, or the men of His generation. It is only with this rendering that we obtain a thought at all suitable to the picture of suffering given here, or to the words

which follow (compare Jer. ii. 31, O ye men of this generation). וְאֶת־דִּרְוֹ in that case is not the object to יִשְׁחָק, the real object to which is rather the clause introduced by כִּי, but an adverbial accusative, which may serve to give emphatic prominence to the subject, as we may see from ch. lvii. 12, Ezek. xvii. 21, Neh. ix. 34 (Ges. § 117, Anm.); for אֶת cannot be a preposition, since *inter æquales ejus* would not be expressed in Hebrew by אֶת־דִּרְוֹ, but by בְּדִרְוֹ. The *pilel sōchēāch* with *b^e* signifies in Ps. cxliii. 5 a thoughtful consideration or deliberation, in a word, *meditationem alicujus rei* (compare the *kal* with the accusative, Ps. cxlv. 5). The following *kī* is an explanatory *quod*: with regard to His contemporaries, who considered that, etc. The words introduced with *kī* are spoken, as it were, out of the heart of His contemporaries, who ought to have considered, but did not. We may see from עִמִּי that it is intended to introduce a direct address; and again, if we leave *kī* untranslated, like *ὅτι recitativum* (see, for example, Josh. ii. 24; compare *dī*, Dan. ii. 25), we can understand why the address, which has been carried on thus far in such general terms, assumes all at once an individual form. It cannot be denied, indeed, that we obtain a suitable object for the missing consideration, if we adopt this rendering: "He was torn away (*3d præt.*) out of the land of the living, through (*min* denoting the mediating cause) the wicked conduct of my people (in bringing Him to death), to their own punishment; *i.e.* none of the men of His age (like *mī* in ver. 1, no one = only a very few) discerned what had befallen them on account of their sin, in ridding themselves of Him by a violent death." Hofmann and V. F. Oehler both adopt this explanation, saying, "Can the prophet have had the person of the *Ecce Homo* before his eye, without intimating that his people called down judgment upon themselves, by laying violent hands upon the Servant of God?" We cannot, however, decide in favour of this explanation; since the impression produced by this מִפְשַׁע עִמִּי נָנַע לָמוֹ is, that it is intended to be taken as a rectification of וְאִנְחָנוּ חֲשַׁבְנָהּ נָנַע in ver. 4b, to which it stands in a reciprocal relation. This reciprocal relation is brought out more fully, if we regard the force of the *min* as still continued (*ob plagam quæ illis debebatur*, Seb. Schmid, Kleinert, etc.); though not in the sense of "through the stroke proceeding from them my people" (Hahn), which

would be opposed to the general usage of נָנֶה; or taking לָמוֹ as a relative clause, *populi mei quibus plaga debebatur* (Hengstenberg, Hävernicks). But the most natural course is to take *lāmō* as referring to the Servant of God, more especially as our prophet uses *lāmō* pathetically for *lō*, as ch. xlv. 15 unquestionably shows (notwithstanding the remonstrance of Stier, who renders the passage, "He was all plague, or smiting, for them"). נָנֶה always signifies suffering as a calamity proceeding from God (*e.g.* Ex. xi. 1, Ps. xxxix. 11, and in every other passage in which it does not occur in the special sense of leprosy, which also points back, however, to the generic idea of a plague divinely sent); hence Jerome renders it, "for the sin of my people have I smitten Him." The text does not read so; but the smiter is really Jehovah. Men looked upon His Servant as a נָנֶה; and so He really was, but not in the sense in which men regarded Him as such. Yet, even if they had been mistaken concerning Him during His lifetime; now that He no longer dwelt among the living, they ought to see, as they looked back upon His actions and His sufferings, that it was not for His own wickedness, but for that of Israel, viz. to make atonement for it, that such a visitation from God had fallen upon Him (as in ch. xxiv. 16 and ch. xxvi. 16, where the sentence is in the same logical subordination to the previous one as it is here, where Dachselt gives this interpretation, which is logically quite correct: *propter prævaricationem populi mei plaga ei contingente*).

After this description in ver. 7 of the patience with which He suffered, and in ver. 8 of the manner in which He died, there follows a retrospective glance at His burial. Ver. 9. "And they assigned Him His grave with sinners, and with a rich man in His martyrdom, because He had done no wrong, and there was no deceit in His mouth." The subject to יָצָא (assigned) is not Jehovah, although this would not be impossible, since נָנֶה has Jehovah as the latent subject; but it would be irreconcilable with ver. 10, where Jehovah is introduced as the subject with antithetical prominence. It would be better to assume that "my people" is the subject; but as this would make it appear as if the statement introduced in ver. 8*b* with *kī* (for) were continued here, we seem compelled to refer it to *dōrō* (His generation), which occurs in the principal clause. No objection could be offered

to our regarding "His own generation" as the subject; but *dōrō* is somewhat too far removed for this; and if the prophet had had the contemporaries of the sufferer in his mind, he would most likely have used a plural verb (*vayyitt'nū*). Some, therefore, supply a personal subject of the most general kind to *yittēn* (which occurs even with a neuter subject, like the German *es gibt*, Fr. *il y a*, Eng. "there is;" cf. Prov. xiii. 10): "they (*on*) gave;" and looking at the history of the fulfilment, we confess that this is the rendering we prefer. In fact, without the commentary supplied by the fulfilment, it would be impossible to understand ver. 9a at all. The earlier translators did great violence to the text, and yet failed to bring out any admissible thought. And the explanation which is most generally adopted now, viz. that עָשִׂיר is the synonymous parallel to רָשָׁעִים (as even Luther rendered it, "and died like a rich man," with the marginal gloss, "a rich man who sets all his heart upon riches, i.e. a wicked man"), is also untenable; for even granting that 'āshūr could be proved by examples to be sometimes used as synonymous with רָשָׁע, as עָשִׂי and אֲשִׁיר are as synonyms of צַדִּיק, this would be just the passage in which it would be least possible to sustain any such use of the word; since he who finds his grave with rich men, whether with the godly or the ungodly, would thereby have received a decent, and even honourable burial. This is so thoroughly sustained by experience, as to need no confirmation from such passages as Job xxi. 32. Hitzig has very good ground, therefore, for opposing this "synonymous" explanation; but when he adopts the rendering *lapsator*, after the Arabic عَثُور, this is quite as much in opposition to Arabic usage (according to which this word merely signifies a person who falls into error, and makes a mistake in speaking), as it is to the Hebrew. Ewald changes עָשִׂיר into עֲשִׂיק (a word which has no existence); and Böttcher alters it into עֲשִׂי רָע, which is comparatively the best suggestion of all. Hofmann connects the two words עָשִׂיר בְּמוֹתָיו, "men who have become rich through the murders that they have treacherously caused" (though without being able to adduce any proof that *mōth* is ever applied to the death which one person inflicts upon another). At any rate, all these attempts spring from the indisputable assumption, that to be rich is not

in itself a sin which deserves a dishonourable burial, to say nothing of its receiving one. If, therefore, עשיר and רשעים are not kindred ideas, they must be antithetical; but it is no easier to establish a purely ethical antithesis than an ethical coincidence. If, however, we take the word רשעים as suggesting the idea of persons found guilty, or criminals (an explanation which the juridical context of the passage well sustains; see at ch. l. 9), we get a contrast which our own usage of speech also draws between a rich man who is living in the enjoyment of his own possessions, and a delinquent who has become impoverished to the utmost, through hatred, condemnation, ruin. And if we reflect that the Jewish rulers would have given to Jesus the same dishonourable burial as to the two thieves, but that the Roman authorities handed over the body to Joseph the Arimathæan, a "rich man" (Matt. xxvii. 57), who placed it in the sepulchre in his own garden, we see an agreement at once between the gospel history and the prophetic words, which could only be the work of the God of both the prophecy and its fulfilment, inasmuch as no suspicion could possibly arise of there having been any human design of bringing the former into conformity with the latter. But if it be objected, that according to the parallel the 'āshūr must be regarded as dead, quite as much as the r'shā'im, we admit the force of this objection, and should explain it in this way: "They assigned Him His grave with criminals, and after He had actually died a martyr's death, with a rich man;" i.e. He was to have lain where the bodies of criminals lie, but He was really laid in a grave that was intended for the corpse of a rich man.¹ The rendering adopted by Vitringa and others, "and He was with a rich man in his death," is open to this objection, that such a clause, to be quite free from ambiguity, would require ואת עשיר הוא במותו. Hengstenberg and Stier very properly refer both קברו and ויתן, which must be repeated in thought, to the second clause as well as the first. The rendering *tumulum ejus* must be rejected, since *bāmāl* never has this meaning; and בְּמִתֵּי, which is the pointing sustained by three *Codd.*, would not be *mausolea*, but a lofty burial-hill, after the fashion of the *Hünengräber* (certain "giants' graves," or barrows, in Holstein

¹ A clairvoyant once said of the Lord: "Died like a criminal; buried like a prince of the earth" (*vid. Psychol.* pp. 262, 364).

and Saxony).¹ מוֹתֵי is a *plur. exaggerativus* here, as in Ezek. xxviii. 10 (compare *m'mōthē* in Ezek. xxviii. 8 and Jer. xvi. 4); it is applied to a violent death, the very pain of which makes it like dying again and again. The first clause states with whom they at first assigned Him His grave; the second with whom it was assigned Him, after He had really died a painful death. "Of course," as F. Philippi observes, "this was not a thorough compensation for the ignominy of having died the death of a criminal; but the honourable burial, granted to one who had been ignominiously put to death, showed that there must be something very remarkable about Him. It was the beginning of the glorification which commenced with His death." If we have correctly interpreted the second clause, there can be no doubt in our minds, since we cannot shake the word of God like a kaleidoscope, and multiply the *sensus complex*, as Stier does, that עַל לֹא (= עַל-אִשֶּׁר לֹא) does not mean "notwithstanding that not," as in Job xvi. 17, but "because not," like עַל-בָּלִי in Gen. xxxi. 20. The reason why the Servant of God received such honourable treatment immediately after His ignominious martyrdom, was to be found in His freedom from sin, in the fact that He had done no wrong, and there was no deceit in His mouth (LXX. and 1 Pet. ii. 22, where the clause is correctly rendered οὐδὲ εὗρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ). His actions were invariably prompted by pure love, and His speech consisted of unclouded sincerity and truth.

The last turn in the prophecy, which commences here, carries out ver. 6b still further, and opens up the background of His fate. The gracious counsel of God for our salvation was accomplished thus. Ver. 10. "*And it pleased Jehovah to bruise Him, to afflict Him with disease; if His soul would pay a trespass-offering, He should see posterity, should live long days, and*

¹ The usage of the language shows clearly that *bāmāh* had originally the meaning of "height" (e.g. 2 Sam. i. 19). The primary meaning suggested by Böttcher, of *locus clausus, septus* (from בָּהֶם = בהם, אֵם), cannot be sustained. We still hold that בָּם is the expanded בָּה, and בָּמָה an ascent, steep place, or stair. In the Talmud, *bāmāh* is equivalent to βωμός, an altar, and בֵּימָה (Syr. *bim*) equivalent to the βῆμα of the orator and judge; βωμός, root βα, like the Hebrew *bāmāh*, signifies literally an elevation, and actually occurs in the sense of a sepulchral hill, which this never has, not even in Ezek. xliii. 7.

the purpose of Jehovah should prosper through His hand.' הָחֵלִי cannot possibly be equivalent to הָחֵלִי, as Hitzig supposes. An article appended to a noun never obliterates the fundamental character of its form (not even in הָאֶרֶץ). Nor does Böttcher's suggestion, that we should read הָחֵלִי as an accusative of more precise definition, commend itself; for what would the article do in that case? It is the *hiphil* of חָלָה, like the Syriac *agli* from *g'lo*; or rather, as even in Syriac this אָגַלִּי is equivalent to אָגַלְתִּי, of חָלָה, 2 Chron. xvi. 12 (cf. תַּחֲלִיטִים), like הִחֲטִי in 2 Kings xiii. 6 and Jer. xxxii. 35, from חָטָא. רָכָא is placed under דָּכָא (= דָּכָא with *Dag. dirimens*) in Gesenius' *Lexicon*; but this substantive is a needless fiction. רָכָא is an inf. *piel*: *conterere um* (Jerome), not καθαρίσαι αὐτόν (LXX. from רָכָא = זָכָה). According to Mic. vi. 13 (הָחֵלִיתִי הַפֹּתֶךָ, I hurt to smite thee, *i.e.* I smite thee with a painful blow), הָחֵלִי רָכָא are apparently connected, in the sense of "And it pleased Jehovah to bruise Him painfully." But both logically and syntactically this would require the opposite construction, viz. החלי רכאו. רָכָא must therefore be an infinitive, depending upon חָפַץ, according to Job xxxiii. 32 (= εὐδόκησε; the LXX. thoughtlessly renders it βούλεται). The infinitive construction is then changed into the finite; for even חָלִי is subordinate to חָפַץ, as in Hos. v. 11 (cf. ch. xlii. 21; Ges. § 142, 3); "he would, made ill," being equivalent to "he would make ill," *i.e.* he would plunge into distress. There is no necessity to repeat רָכָא after חָלִי, in the sense of "he caused sore evil therewith," viz. with the רָכָא. It was men who inflicted upon the Servant of God such crushing suffering, such deep sorrow; but the supreme *causa efficiens* in the whole was God, who made the sin of men subservient to His pleasure, His will, and predetermined counsel. The suffering of His Servant was to be to Him the way to glory, and this way of His through suffering to glory was to lead to the establishment of a church of the redeemed, which would spring from Him; in other words, it would become the commencement of that fulfilment of the divine plan of salvation which He, the ever-living, ever-working One, would carry out to completion. We give up the idea that תַּשִּׁים is to be taken as addressed by Jehovah to "His Servant." The person acting is the Servant, and it is to Jehovah that the action refers. But Hofmann's present view, viz. that *tásim* is addressed to the people, is still

less admissible. It is the people who are speaking here; and although the confession of the penitent Israel runs on from ver. 11 (where the confessing retrospective view of the past becomes a prospective and prophetic glance at the future) in a direct prophetic tone, and ver. 10 might form the transition to this; yet, if the people were addressed in this word *tâsim*, it would be absolutely necessary that it should be distinctly mentioned in this connection. And is it really Israel which makes the soul of the Servant an '*âshâm*, and not rather the Servant Himself? No doubt it is true, that if nothing further were stated here than that "the people made the life of the Servant of God an '*âshâm*, inasmuch as it treated Him just as if it had a pricking in its conscience so long as it suffered Him to live,"—which is a natural sequel in Hofmann's case to his false assumption, that the passion described in ch. liii. was merely the culminating point in the sufferings which the Servant was called to endure *as a prophet*, whereas the prophet falls into the background here behind the sacrifice and the priest,—we should no doubt have one scriptural testimony less to support the *satisfactio vicaria*.¹ But if we adopt the following rendering, which is the simplest, and the one least open to exception: if His soul offered (placed, *i.e.* should have placed; cf. Job xiv. 14, *si mortuus fuerit*) an '*âshâm*,—it is evident that '*âshâm* has here a sacrificial meaning, and indeed a very definite one, inasmuch as the '*âshâm* (the trespass-offering) was a sacrifice, the character of which was very sharply defined. It is self-evident, however, that the '*âshâm* paid by the soul of the Servant must consist in the sacrifice of itself, since He pays it by submitting to a violent death; and a sacrifice presented by the *nephesh* (the soul, the life, the very self) must be not only one which pro-

¹ In the first edition of Hofmann's *Schriftbeweis* (i. 2, 137), in which he regarded *tâsim* as addressed to God, he set aside the orthodox view with the remark, that God Himself makes good the injury that men have done to Him by giving up the life of His Servant. In the second edition (i. 2, 208) he supposes the people to be addressed, and it is therefore the people who make the Servant's life an '*âshâm*. The first edition contained the following correct definition of '*âshâm*: "In general, it denotes what one person pays to make good an injury done by him to another." The exposition which follows above will show how we are forced to adopt the orthodox view, if we adhere to this definition and regard the Servant Himself as presenting the '*âshâm*.

ceeds from itself, but one which consists in itself. If, then, we would understand the point of view in which the self-sacrifice of the Servant of God is placed when it is called an *'âshâm*, we must notice very clearly the characteristic distinction between this kind of sacrifice and every other. Many of the ritual distinctions, however, may be indicated superficially, inasmuch as they have no bearing upon the present subject, where we have to do with an antitypical and personal sacrifice, and not with a typical and animal one. The *'âshâm* was a *sanctissimum*, like that of the sin-offering (Lev. vi. 10, 17, and xiv. 13), and according to Lev. vii. 7 there was "one law" for them both. This similarity in the treatment was restricted simply to the fact, that the fat portions of the trespass-offering, as well as of the sin-offering, were placed upon the altar, and that the remainder, as in the case of those sin-offerings the blood of which was not taken into the interior of the holy place, was assigned to the priests and to the male members of the priestly families (see Lev. vi. 22, vii. 6). There were the following points of contrast, however, between these two kinds of sacrifice: (1.) The material of the *sin-offerings* varied considerably, consisting sometimes of a bullock, sometimes of a pair of doves, and even of meal without oil or incense; whereas the *trespass-offering* always consisted of a ram, or at any rate of a male sheep. (2.) The choice of the victim, and the course adopted with its blood, was regulated in the case of the *sin-offering* according to the condition of the offerer; but in the case of the *trespass-offering* they were neither of them affected by this in the slightest degree. (3.) *Sin-offerings* were presented by the congregation, and upon holy days, whereas *trespass-offerings* were only presented by individuals, and never upon holy days. (4.) In connection with the *trespass-offering* there was none of the smearing of the blood (*n'ṭhînâh*) or of the sprinkling of the blood (*hazzâ'âh*) connected with the *sin-offering*, and the pouring out of the blood at the foot of the altar (*sh'phîkhâh*) is never mentioned. The ritual for the blood consisted purely in the swinging out of the blood (*z'riqâh*), as in the case of the whole offering and of the peace-offerings. There is only one instance in which the blood of the trespass-offering is ordered to be smeared, viz. upon certain portions of the body of the leper (Lev. xiv. 14), for which the blood of the sin-offering that was to be applied

exclusively to the altar could not be used. And in general we find that, in the case of the trespass-offering, instead of the altar-ritual, concerning which the law is very brief (Lev. vii. 1-7), other acts that are altogether peculiar to it are brought prominently into the foreground (Lev. v. 14 sqq.; Num. v. 5-8). These are all to be accounted for from the fact that a trespass-offering was to be presented by the man who had unintentionally laid hands upon anything holy, *e.g.* the tithes or first-fruits, or who had broken any commandment of God "in ignorance" (if indeed this is to be taken as the meaning of the expression "and wist it not" in Lev. v. 17-19); also by the man who had in any way defrauded his neighbour (which was regarded as unfaithfulness towards Jehovah), provided he anticipated it by a voluntary confession,—this included the violation of another's conjugal rights in the case of a bondmaid (Lev. xix. 20-22); also by a leper or a Nazarite defiled by contact with a corpse, at the time of their purification, because their uncleanness involved the neglect and interruption of the duties of worship which they were bound to observe. Wherever a material restitution was possible, it was to be made with the addition of a fifth; and in the one case mentioned in Lev. xix. 20-22, the trespass-offering was admissible even after a judicial punishment had been inflicted. But in every case the guilty person had to present the animal of the trespass-offering "according to thy valuation, O priest, in silver shekels," *i.e.* according to the priest's taxation, and in holy coin. Such was the prominence given to the person of the priest in the ritual of the trespass-offering. In the sin-offering the priest is always the representative of the offerer; but in the trespass-offering he is generally the representative of God. The trespass-offering was a restitution or compensation made to God in the person of the priest, a payment or penance which made amends for the wrong done, a *satisfactio* in a disciplinary sense. And this is implied in the name; for just as חַטָּאת denotes first the sin, then the punishment of the sin and the expiation of the sin, and hence the sacrifice which cancels the sin; so 'āshām signifies first the guilt or debt, then the compensation or penance, and hence (cf. Lev. v. 15) the sacrifice which discharges the debt or guilt, and sets the man free. Every species of sacrifice had its own primary idea. The fundamental idea

of the *'ôlâh* (burnt-offering) was *oblatio*, or the offering of worship; that of the *sh'êlâmîm* (peace-offerings), *conciliatio*, or the knitting of fellowship; that of the *minchâh* (meat-offering), *donatio*, or sanctifying consecration; that of the *chattâ'th* (sin-offering), *expiatio*, or atonement; that of the *'âshâm* (trespass-offering), *multa* (*satisfactio*), or a compensatory payment. The self-sacrifice of the Servant of Jehovah may be presented under all these points of view. It is the complete antitype, the truth, the object, and the end of all the sacrifices. So far as it is the antitype of the "whole offering," the central point in its antitypical character is to be found in the offering of His entire personality (*προσφορά τοῦ σώματος*, Heb. x. 10) to God for a sweet smelling savour (Eph. v. 2); so far as it is the antitype of the sin-offering, in the shedding of His blood (Heb. ix. 13, 14), the "blood of sprinkling" (Heb. xii. 24; 1 Pet. i. 2); so far as it is the antitype of the *sh'êlâmîm*, and especially of the passover, in the sacramental participation in His one self-sacrifice, which He grants to us in His courts, thus applying to us His own redeeming work, and confirming our fellowship of peace with God (Heb. xiii. 10; 1 Cor. v. 7), since the *sh'êlâmîm* derive their name from *shâlôm*, *pax*, *communio*; so far as it is the antitype of the trespass-offering, in the equivalent rendered to the justice of God for the sacrileges of our sins. The idea of compensatory payment, which Hofmann extends to the whole sacrifice, understanding by *kipper* the covering of the guilt in the sense of a debt (*debitum*), is peculiar to the *'âshâm*; and at the same time an idea, which Hofmann cannot find in the sacrifices, is expressed here in the most specific manner, viz. that of *satisfaction* demanded by the justice of God, and of *pœna* outweighing the guilt contracted (cf. *nirtsâh*, ch. xl. 2); in other words, the idea of *satisfactio vicaria* in the sense of Anselm is brought out most distinctly here, where the soul of the Servant of God is said to present such an atoning sacrifice for the whole, that is to say, where He offers Himself as such a sacrifice by laying down the life so highly valued by God (ch. xlii. 1, xlix. 5). As the verb most suitable to the idea of the *'âshâm* the writer selects the verb *sîm*, which is generally used to denote the giving of a pledge (Job xvii. 3), and is therefore the most suitable word for every kind of *satisfactio* that represents a direct *solutio*. The apodosis to "if His

soul shall have paid the penalty (*pœnam* or *multam*)” are expressed in the future, and therefore state what would take place when the former should have been done. He should see posterity (*vid.* Gen. i. 23; Job xlii. 16), *i.e.* should become possessed of a large family of descendants stretching far and wide. The reference here is to the new “seed of Israel,” the people redeemed by Him, the church of the redeemed out of Israel and all nations, of which He would lay the foundation. Again, He should live long days, as He says in Rev. i. 18, “I was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore.”¹ Thirdly, the pleasure of Jehovah should prosper “in His hand,” *i.e.* through the service of His mediation, or (according to the primary meaning of *tsalach*) should go on advancing incessantly, and pressing on to the final goal. His self-sacrifice, therefore, merely lays the foundation for a progressively self-realizing “pleasure of the Lord,” *i.e.* (cf. ch. xliv. 28) for the realization of the purpose of God according to His determinate counsel, the fuller description of which we had in ch. xlii. and xlix., where it was stated that He should be the mediator of a new covenant, and the restorer of Israel, the light of the Gentiles and salvation of Jehovah even to the ends of the earth.

This great work of salvation lies as the great object of His calling in the hand of the deceased and yet eternally living One, and goes on victoriously through His mediation. He now reaps the fruit of His self-sacrifice in a continuous priestly course. Ver. 11. “*Because of the travail of His soul, He will see, and be refreshed; through His knowledge will He procure justice, my righteous servant, for the many, and will take their iniquities upon Himself.*” The prophecy now leaves the standpoint of Israel’s retrospective acknowledgment of the long rejected Servant of God, and becomes once more the prophetic organ of God Himself, who acknowledges the servant as His own. The *min* of מִצִּיּוֹן might be used here in its primary local signification, “far away from the trouble” (as in Job xxi. 9, for example); or the temporal meaning which is derived from the

¹ Knobel observes here: “The statement that a person first offers himself as a trespass-offering, and then still lives for a long time, and still continues working, is a very striking one; but it may be explained on the ground that the offerer is a plurality.” But how are we to explain the striking expression in our creed, “rose again from the dead?”

local would be also admissible, viz. "from the time of the trouble," *i.e.* immediately after it (as in Ps. lxxiii. 20); but the causal sense is the most natural, viz. on account of, in consequence of (as in Ex. ii. 23), which not only separates locally and links together temporarily, but brings into intimate connection. The meaning therefore is, "In consequence of the trouble of His soul (*i.e.* trouble experienced not only in His body, but into the inmost recesses of His soul), He will see, satisfy Himself." Hitzig supplies בָּטוֹב (Jer. xxix. 32); Knobel connects בְּרָעָיו, in opposition to the accents (like A. S. Th. ἐμπλησθήσεται ἐν τῇ γνώσει αὐτοῦ), thus: "He looks at His prudent work, and has full satisfaction therewith." But there is nothing to supply, and no necessity to alter the existing punctuation. The second verb receives its colouring from the first; the expression "He will see, will satisfy Himself," being equivalent to "He will enjoy a satisfying or pleasing sight" (cf. Ps. xvii. 15), which will consist, as ver. 10b clearly shows, in the successful progress of the divine work of salvation, of which He is the Mediator. בְּרָעָיו belongs to יִצְדִּיק as the medium of setting right (cf. Prov. xi. 9). This is connected with ל in the sense of "procure justice," like ל רָפָא (ch. vi. 10); ל הֵנִיחַ in ch. xiv. 3, xxviii. 12 (cf. Dan. xi. 33, ל הֵבִין, to procure intelligence; Gen. xlv. 7, ל הִחִיָּה, to prolong life,—a usage which leads on to the Aramæan combination of the dative with the accusative, *e.g.* Job xxxvii. 18, compare v. 2). *Tsaddiq 'abhdî* do not stand to one another in the relation of a proper name and a noun in apposition, as Hofmann thinks, nor is this expression to be interpreted according to הַמֶּלֶךְ הַיָּד (Ges. § 113); but "a righteous man, my servant," with the emphatic prominence given to the attribute (cf. ch. x. 30, xxiii. 12, Ps. lxxxix. 51), is equivalent to "my righteous servant." But does בְּרָעָיו mean *per cognitionem sui*, or *per cognitionem suam*? The former gives a sense which is both doctrinally satisfying and practically correct: the Righteous One makes others partakers of righteousness, through their knowledge of Him, His person, and His work, and (as the biblical יָדַע, which has reference not only to the understanding, but to personal experience also, clearly signifies) through their entrance into living fellowship with Him. Nearly all the commentators, who understand by the servant of God the Divine Redeemer, give the preference

to this explanation (*e.g.* Vitranga, Hengstenberg, and Stier). But the meaning preferred is not always the correct one. The subjective rendering of the suffix (*cf.* Prov. xxii. 17) is favoured by Mal. ii. 7, where it is said that "the priest's lips should keep *da'ath* (knowledge)"; by Dan. xii. 3, where faithful teachers are called *matsdiqē hārabbīm* (they that turn many to righteousness); and by ch. xi. 2, according to which "the spirit of knowledge" (*rūāch da'ath*) is one of the seven spirits that descend upon the sprout of Jesse; so that "knowledge" (*da'ath*) is represented as equally the qualification for the priestly, the prophetic, and the regal calling. It is a very unseemly remark, therefore, on the part of a modern commentator, when he speaks of the subjective knowledge of the Servant as "halting weakly behind in the picture, after His sacrificial death has already been described." We need only recal to mind the words of the Lord in Matt. xi. 27, which are not only recorded both by the synoptists and by John, but supported by testimony outside the Gospels also: "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." Let us remember also, that the Servant of Jehovah, whose priestly mediatorial work is unfolded before us here in ch. liii., upon the ground of which He rises to more than regal glory (ch. lii. 15, compare liii. 12), is no other than He to whom His God has given the tongue of the learned, "to know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary, *i.e.* to raise up the weary and heavy laden" (ch. l. 4). He knows God, with whom He stands in loving fellowship; He knows the counsels of His love and the will of His grace, in the fulfilment of which His own life ascends, after having gone down into death and come forth from death; and by virtue of this knowledge, which rests upon His own truest and most direct experience, He, the righteous One, will help "the many," *i.e.* the great mass (*hārabbīm* as in Dan. ix. 27, xi. 33, 39, xii. 3; *cf.* Ex. xxiii. 2, where *rabbīm* is used in the same sense without the article), hence all His own nation, and beyond that, all mankind (so far as they were susceptible of salvation; = *τοῖς πολλοῖς*, Rom. v. 19, *cf.* *πολλῶν*, Matt. xxvi. 28), to a right state of life and conduct, and one that should be well-pleasing to God. The primary reference is to the righteousness of faith, which is the

consequence of justification on the ground of His atoning work, when this is believably appropriated; but the expression also includes that righteousness of life, which springs by an inward necessity out of those sanctifying powers, that are bound up with the atoning work which we have made our own (see Dan. ix. 24). The ancients recognised this connection between the *justitia fidei et vitæ* better than many of the moderns, who look askance at the Romish *justitia infusa*, and therewith boast of advancing knowledge. Because our righteousness has its roots in the forgiveness of sins, as an absolutely unmerited gift of grace without works, the prophecy returns once more from the justifying work of the Servant of God to His sin-expunging work as the basis of all righteousness: "He shall bear their iniquities." This *yisbōl* (He shall bear), which stands along with futures, and therefore, being also future itself, refers to something to be done after the completion of the work to which He is called in this life (with which Hofmann connects it), denotes the continued operation of His *s'bhālām* (ver. 4), through His own active mediation. His continued lading of our trespasses upon Himself is merely the constant presence and presentation of His atonement, which has been offered once for all. The dead yet living One, because of His one self-sacrifice, is an eternal Priest, who now lives to distribute the blessings that He has acquired.

The last reward of His thus working after this life for the salvation of sinners, and also of His work in this life upon which the former is founded, is victorious dominion. Ver. 12. "*Therefore I give Him a portion among the great, and with strong ones will He divide spoil; because He has poured out His soul into death: and He let Himself be reckoned among transgressors; whilst He bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.*" [The promise takes its stand between humiliation and exaltation, and rests partly upon the working of the exalted One, and partly upon the doing and suffering of One who was so ready to sacrifice Himself.] Luther follows the LXX. and Vulgate, and adopts the rendering, "Therefore will I give Him a great multitude for booty;" and Hävernicks, Stier, and others adopt essentially the same rendering, "Therefore will I apportion to Him the many." But, as Job xxxix. 17 clearly shows, this clause can only mean, "Therefore will I give Him

a portion in the many." If, however, *chillēq v'* means to have a portion in anything, and not to give the thing itself as a portion, it is evident that *hārabbīm* here are not the many, but the great; and this is favoured by the parallel clause. The ideas of greatness and force, both in multitude and might, are bound up together in *rabh* and *ātsūm* (see ch. viii. 7), and the context only can decide which rendering is to be adopted when these ideas are separated from one another. What is meant by "giving a portion *bārabbīm*," is clearly seen from such passages as ch. lii. 15, xlix. 7, according to which the great ones of the earth will be brought to do homage to Him, or at all events to submit to Him. The second clause is rendered by Luther, "and He shall 'have the strong for a prey.'" This is at any rate better than the rendering of the LXX. and Vulgate, "*et fortium dividet spolia*." But Prov. xvi. 19 shows that *אֶת* is a preposition. Strong ones surround Him, and fight along with Him. The reference here is to the people of which it is said in Ps. cx. 3, "Thy people are thorough devotion in the day of Thy power;" and this people, which goes with Him to battle, and joins with Him in the conquest of the hostile powers of the world (Rev. xix. 14), also participates in the enjoyment of the spoils of His victory. With this victorious sway is He rewarded, because He has poured out His soul unto death, having not only exposed His life to death, but "poured out" (*hē'ērāh*, to strip or empty, or pour clean out, even to the very last remnant) His life-blood into death (*lammāveth* like the *Lamed* in Ps. xxii. 16), and also because He has suffered Himself to be reckoned with transgressors, *i.e.* numbered among them (*niph. tolerativum*), namely, in the judgment of His countrymen, and in the unjust judgment (*mishpāt*) by which He was delivered up to death as a wicked apostate and transgressor of the law. With *וְהָיָה* there is attached to *וְהָיָה* *וְהָיָה* (He was numbered with the transgressors), if not in a subordinate connection (like *וְהָיָה* in ver. 5; compare ch. x. 7), the following antithesis: "He submitted cheerfully to the death of a sinner, and yet He was no sinner, but "bare the sin of many (cf. Heb. ix. 28), and made intercession for the transgressors." Many adopt the rendering, "and He takes away the sin of many, and intervenes on behalf of the transgressors." But in this connection the preterite *וַיַּעַשׂ* can only relate to some-

thing antecedent to the foregoing future, so that וְיָבִיֵּא denotes a connected past; and thus have the LXX. and Vulg. correctly rendered it. Just as וְיָבִיֵּא in ver. 6b signifies to cause to fall upon a person, so in Jer. xv. 11 it signifies to make one approach another (in supplication). Here, however, as in ch. lix. 16, the *hiphil* is not a causative, but has the intensive force of the *kal*, viz. to press forward with entreaty, hence to intercede (with a *Lâmed* of the person on whose behalf it occurs). According to the *cons. temporum*, the reference is not to the intercession (*ἐντευξις*) of the glorified One, but to that of the suffering One, on behalf of His foes. Every word stands here as if written beneath the cross on Golgotha. And this is the case with the clause before us, which was fulfilled (though not exclusively) in the prayer of the crucified Saviour: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do" (Luke xxiii. 34).

"The prophetic view," says Oehler, who agrees with us in the general opinion that the idea of the Servant of Jehovah has three distinct stages, "ascends in these discourses step by step, as it were, from the one broad space covered by the foundation-walls of a cathedral up to the very summit with its giddy height, on which the cross is planted; and the nearer it reaches the summit, the more conspicuous do the outlines of the cross itself become, until at last, when the summit is reached, it rests in peace, having attained what it desired when it set its foot upon the first steps of the temple tower." There is something very striking in this figure. Here, in the very centre of this book of consolation, we find the idea of the Servant of Jehovah at the very summit of its ascent. It has reached the goal. The Messianic idea, which was hidden in the general idea of the nation regarded as "the servant of Jehovah," has gradually risen up in the most magnificent metamorphosis from the depths in which it was thus concealed. And this fusion has generated what was hitherto altogether strange to the figure of the Messiah, viz. the *unio mystica capitis et corporis*. Hitherto Israel has appeared simply as the nation governed by the Messiah, the army which He conducted into battle, the commonwealth ordered by Him. But now, in the person of the Servant of Jehovah, we see Israel itself in personal self-manifestation: the idea of Israel is fully realized, and the true nature of Israel shines forth in all its brilliancy. Israel is

the body, and He the head, towering above it. Another element, with which we found the Messianic idea enriched even before ch. liii., was the *munus triplex*. As early as ch. vii.-xii. the figure of the Messiah stood forth as the figure of a King; but the Prophet like unto Moses, promised in Deut. xviii. 15, was still wanting. But, according to ch. xlii., xlix., l., the servant of Jehovah is first a prophet, and as the proclaimer of a new law, and the mediator of a new covenant, really a second Moses; at the close of the work appointed Him, however, He receives the homage of kings, whilst, as ch. liii. clearly shows, that self-sacrifice lies between, on the ground of which He rules above as a Priest after the order of Melchizedek,—in other words, a Priest and also a King. From this point onward there are added to the Messianic idea the further elements of the *status duplex* and the *satisfactio vicaria*. David was indeed the type of the twofold state of his antitype, inasmuch as it was through suffering that he reached the throne; but where have we found, in all the direct Messianic prophecies anterior to this, the suffering path of the *Ecce Homo* even to the grave? But the Servant of Jehovah goes through shame to glory, and through death to life. He conquers when He falls; He rules after being enslaved; He lives after He has died; He completes His work after He Himself has been apparently cut off. His glory streams upon the dark ground of the deepest humiliation, to set forth which the dark colours were supplied by the pictures of suffering contained in the Psalms and in the book of Job. And these sufferings of His are not merely the sufferings of a confessor or a martyr, like those of the *ecclesia pressa*, but a vicarious atoning suffering, a sacrifice for sin. To this the chapter before us returns again and again, being never tired of repeating it. "*Spiritus Sanctus*," says Brentius, "*non delectatur inani βαπτολογία, et tamen quum in hoc cap. videatur βαπτολόγος καὶ ταυτολόγος esse, dubium non est, quin tractet rem cognitu maxime necessariam.*" The banner of the cross is here set up. The curtain of the most holy is lifted higher and higher. The blood of the typical sacrifice, which has been hitherto dumb, begins to speak. Faith, which penetrates to the true meaning of the prophecy, hopes on not only for the Lion of the tribe of Judah, but also for the Lamb of God, which beareth the sin of the world. And in pro-

phesy itself we see the after-effect of this gigantic advance. Zechariah no longer prophesies of the Messiah merely as a king (ch. vi. 13); He not only rules upon His throne, but is also a priest upon His throne: sovereignty and priesthood go hand in hand, being peacefully united in Him. And in Zech. xii. 13 the same prophet predicts in Him the good Divine Shepherd, whom His people pierce, though not without thereby fulfilling the counsel of God, and whom they afterwards long for with bitter lamentation and weeping. The penitential and believing confession which would then be made by Israel is prophetically depicted by Isaiah's pen—"mourning in bitter sorrow the lateness of its love."

SIXTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LIV.

THE GLORY OF JERUSALEM, THE CHURCH OF THE SERVANTS OF JEHOVAH.

After the "Servant of God" has expiated the sin of His people by the sacrifice of Himself, and Israel has acknowledged its fault in connection with the rejected One, and entered into the possession and enjoyment of the salvation procured by Him, the glory of the church, which has thus become a partaker of salvation through repentance and faith, is quite ready to burst forth. Hence the prophet can now exclaim, ver. 1: "*Exult, O barren one, thou that didst not bear; break forth into exulting, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for there are more children of the solitary one than children of the married wife, saith Jehovah.*" The words are addressed to Jerusalem, which was a counterpart of Sarah in her barrenness at first, and her fruitfulness afterwards (ch. li. 1-3). She is not *עֲקָרָה לֹא תֵלֵד* (Job xxiv. 21), but *עֲקָרָה לֹא יֵלֵדָה* (Judg. xiii. 2); not indeed that she had never had any children, but during her captivity and exile she had been robbed of her children, and as a holy city had given birth to no more (ch. xlix. 21). She was *shōmēmāh*, rendered *solitary* (2 Sam. xiii. 20; the allusion is to her depopulation as a city), whereas formerly she was *בְּעֻלָּה*, *i.e.* enjoyed the fellowship of Jehovah her husband (*ba'al*). But this condition would not last (for Jehovah had not given her a divorce): she was therefore to exult and shout, since the

number of children which she would now have, as one desolate and solitary, would be greater than the number of those which she had as a married wife.

With this prospect before her, even her dwelling-place would need enlarging. Ver. 2. "*Enlarge the space of thy tent, and let them stretch out the curtains of thy habitations; forbid not! lengthen thy cords; and fasten thy plugs.*" She is to widen out the space inside her tent, and they (אִשָּׁה has no definite subject, which is often the case where some subordinate servant is to be thought of) are to spread out far and wide the coverings of the framework of her dwelling, which is called *mishk'ânôth* (in the plural) on account of its roominess and magnificence: she is not to forbid it, thinking in her weakness of faith, "It is good enough as it is; it would be too large." The cords which hold up the walls, she is to lengthen; and the plugs, to which the cords are fastened, she is to ram fast into the earth: the former because the tent (*i.e.* the holy city, Jer. xxxi. 38-40, and the dwelling-place of the church generally, ch. xxvi. 15) has to receive a large number of inhabitants; the latter because it will not be broken up so soon again (ch. xxxiii. 20).

The reason why the tent is to be so large and strong is given in ver. 3: "*For thou wilt break forth on the right and on the left; and thy seed will take possession of nations, and they will people desolate cities.*" "On the right and on the left" is equivalent to "on the south and north" (Ps. lxxxix. 13, the speaker being supposed to have his face turned towards the east: compare the Sanscrit *apân*, situated at the back, *i.e.* towards the west). We must supply both west and east, since the promises contained in such passages as Gen. xv. 18-21 remained unfulfilled even in the age of David and Solomon. Jerusalem will now spread out, and break through all her former bounds (*pârats* is used in the same sense in Gen. xxviii. 14); and her seed (*i.e.* the seed acquired by the Servant of Jehovah, the dead yet eternally living One, the σπέρμα, whose σπέρμα He Himself is) will take possession of nations (*yārash*, *yārēsh*, *capessere*, *occupare*; more especially κληρονομεῖν, syn. *nâchal*); and they (*i.e.* the children born to her) will people desolate cities (*hōshîbh*, the causative of *yâshabh*, to be inhabited, ch. xiii. 20). Thus will the promise be fulfilled, that "the meek shall inherit the earth,"—a promise not confined to

the Preacher on the mount, but found also in Ps. xxxvii. 9-11, and uttered by our own prophet in ch. lx. 21, lxxv. 9.

The encouraging promise is continued in ver. 4: "*Fear not, for thou wilt not be put to shame; and bid defiance to reproach, for thou wilt not blush: no, thou wilt forget the shame of thy youth, and wilt no more remember the reproach of thy widowhood.*" Now that redemption was before the door, Israel was not to fear any more, or to be overcome (as the *niphal nikkham* implies) by a feeling of the shame consequent upon her state of punishment, or so to behave herself as to leave no room for hope. For a state of things was about to commence, in which she would have no need to be ashamed (on *bōsh* and *chāphēr* or *hechpīr*, see vol. i. p. 108, note), but which, on the contrary ('2, *imo*, as in ch. x. 7, lv. 9), would be so glorious that she would forget the shame of her youth, *i.e.* of the Egyptian bondage, in which the national community of Israel was still but like a virgin ('*almāh*), who entered into a betrothal when redeemed by Jehovah, and became His youthful wife through a covenant of love (*ehe* = *b'rith*) when the law was given at Sinai (Jer. ii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 60); so glorious indeed, that she would never again remember the shame of her widowhood, *i.e.* of the Babylonian captivity, in which she, the wife whom Jehovah had taken to Himself, was like a widow whose husband had died.

It was no real widowhood, however, but only an apparent one (Jer. li. 5), for the husband of Jerusalem was living still. Ver. 5. "*For thy husband is thy Creator; Jehovah of hosts is His name; and thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel; God of the whole earth is He called.*" The plurals בְּעֲלֵיךְ and עֲשִׂיךְ (see at ch. xxii. 11) are to be explained from the plural 'Elohim, which is connected with plural attributes in Josh. xxiv. 19, 1 Sam. xvii. 26, Ps. lviii. 12 (compare מְרִימֵי in ch. x. 15), and with plural predicates in Gen. xx. 13, xxxv. 7, and 2 Sam. vii. 23. By such expressions as these, which represent all the plurality of the divine nature as inherent in the One, the religion of revelation, both Israelitish and Christian, exhibits itself as embodying all that is true in polytheism. He who has entered into the relation of husband to Jerusalem (בְּעֲלֵךְ, not בְּעָלֶיךָ, ch. i. 3) is the very same through whom she first came into existence, the God whose bidding the heavenly

hosts obey; and the Redeemer of Jerusalem, the Holy One of Israel, is called the God of the whole earth, and therefore has both the power and the means to help her, as prompted by the relation of love which exists between them.

And this relation He now renews. Ver. 6. "*For Jehovah calleth thee as a wife forsaken and burdened with sorrow, and as a wife of youth, when once she is despised, saith thy God.*" The verb קָרָא, which is the one commonly used in these prophecies to denote the call of grace, on the ground of the election of grace, is used here to signify the call into that relation, which did indeed exist before, but had apparently been dissolved. קָרָא is used here out of pause (cf. ch. lx. 9); it stands, however, quite irregularly for the form in *ekh*, which is the one commonly employed (Judg. iv. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 26). "And as a wife:" וְכַדְּמָה is equivalent to וְכַדְּמָה. The hypothetical וְכַדְּמָה belongs to the figure. Jehovah calls His church back to Himself, as a husband takes back the wife he loved in his youth, even though he may once have been angry with her. It is with intention that the word וְכַדְּמָה is not used. The future (imperfect) indicates what partially happens, but does not become an accomplished or completed fact: He is displeased with her, but He has not cherished aversion or hatred towards her.

Thus does Jehovah's displeasure towards Jerusalem pass quickly away; and all the more intense is the manifestation of love which follows His merely momentary anger. Vers. 7, 8. "*For a small moment have I forsaken thee, and with great mercy will I gather thee. In an effusion of anger I hid my face from thee for a moment, and with everlasting grace I have compassion upon thee, saith Jehovah thy Redeemer.*" "For a small moment" carries us to the time of the captivity, which was a small moment in comparison with the duration of the tender and merciful love, with which Jehovah once more received the church into His fellowship in the person of its members. רַגַע in ver. 8a is not an adverb, meaning momentarily, as in ch. xlvii. 9, but an accusative of duration, signifying a single moment long. *Ketseph* signifies wrath regarded as an outburst (*fragor*), like the violence of a storm or a clap of thunder; *shetseph*, which rhymes with it, is explained by A. Schultens, after the Arabic, as signifying *durum et asperum esse*: and hence the rendering

adopted by Hitzig, "in hard harshness." But this yields no antithesis to "everlasting kindness," which requires that *shetseph* should be rendered in some way that expresses the idea of something transitory or of short duration. The earlier translators felt this, when, like the LXX. for example, they adopted the rendering ἐν θυμῷ μικρῷ, and others of a similar kind; and Ibn Labrât, in his writing against Menahem b. Zerûk, who gives *chôrî*, burning heat, as a gloss to *shetseph*, explains it by מַעֲרִי (as Kimchi and others did afterwards). But, as Jakob Tam correctly observes, "this makes the sense purely tautological." In all probability, *shâtsaph* is a form allied to *shâtaph*, as *nâshabh* (ch. xl. 7) is to *nâshaph* (ch. xl. 24), and *qâmat* (Job xvi. 8) to *qâmats*, which stand in the same relation to one another, so far as the sense is concerned, as bubbling over to flowing over: so that the proper rendering would not be "in the overflowing of glowing heat," as Umbreit thinks, which would require מַעֲרִי מִשֶּׁפֶּה (Prov. xxvii. 4), but in the gushing up of displeasure, the overflowing of indignation (Meier). The *ketseph* is only a *shetseph*, a vanishing moment (Jer. *in momento indignationis*), when compared with the true feeling of Jehovah towards Jerusalem, which is *chesed 'ôlâm*, everlasting kindness.

The ground of this "everlasting kindness" is given in ver. 9: "*For it is now as at the waters of Noah, when I swore that the waters of Noah should not overflow the earth any more; so have I sworn not to be wroth with thee, and not to threaten thee.*" The commencement of this verse has been a fluctuating one from the earliest times. The Sept. reading is מַיִי; that of the Targ., S., Jerome, Syriac, and Saad., בְּיָמַי; and even the Codd. read sometimes בְּיָמַי, sometimes בְּיָמִי (compare Matt. xxiv. 37, ὥσπερ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νῶε, οὕτως, κ.τ.λ.,—a passage which appears to derive its shape from the one before us, with the reading בְּיָמִי, and which is expounded in Luke xvii. 26). If we read בְּיָמִי, the word וְנָא must refer to the present, as the turning-point between wrath and mercy; but if we read בְּיָמִי, וְנָא denotes the pouring out of wrath in connection with the captivity. Both readings are admissible; and as even the Septuagint, with its ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος (from the water), gives an indirect support to the reading בְּיָמִי as one word, this may probably merit the preference, as the one best sustained. אֲבִי is *ubi, quum*, as in Num. xx. 13, Ps. xcv. 9, etc., although it

might also be taken as the correlate of the *kēn* which follows, as in Jer. xxxiii. 22 (cf. xlvi. 8); and in accordance with the accents, we prefer the former. The present turning-point resembles, in Jehovah's esteem, the days of Noah,—those days in which He swore that a flood should not any more come upon the earth (*min* as in ch. v. 6 and many other passages): for so does He now confirm with an oath His fixed purpose that no such judgment of wrath as that which has just been endured shall ever fall upon Jerusalem again (נִפְּלֹא denotes threatening with a judicial word, which passes at once into effect, as in ch. li. 20). Hendewerk has the following quibbling remark here: "What the comparison with the flood is worth, we may gather from the later history, which shows how soon the new Jerusalem and the renovated state succumbed to the judicial wrath of God again." To this we reply: (1.) That the prophecy refers to the converted Israel of the last days, whose Jerusalem will never be destroyed again. These last days appear to the prophet, according to the general character of all prophecy, as though linked on to the close of the captivity. For throughout all prophecy, along with the far-sightedness imparted by the Spirit, there was also a short-sightedness which the Spirit did not remove; that is to say, the directly divine element of *insight* into the future was associated with a human element of *hope*, which was nevertheless also indirectly divine, inasmuch as it subserved the divine plan of salvation; and this hope brought, as it were, the far distant future into the closest proximity with the troubled present. If, then, we keep this in mind, we shall see that it was quite in order for the prophet to behold the final future on the very edge of the present, and not to see the long and undulating way between. (2.) The Israel which has been plunged by the Romans into the present exile of a thousand years is that part of the nation (Rom. xi. 25), which has thrust away the eternal mercy and the unchangeable covenant of peace; but this rejection has simply postponed, and not prevented, the full realization of the salvation promised to Israel as a people. The *covenant* still exists, primarily indeed as an offer on the part of Jehovah, so that it rests with Israel whether it shall continue one-sided or not; but all that is wanted on the part of Israel is faith, to enable it to exchange the shifting soil of its present exile for the rocky foundation of that covenant

of peace which has encircled the ages since the captivity (see Hag. ii. 9), as the covenant with Noah encircled those after the flood with the covenant sign of the rainbow in the cloud.

Ver. 10. "*For the mountains may depart, and the hills may shake; my grace will not depart from thee, and my covenant of peace will not shake, saith Jehovah who hath compassion on thee.*" Jehovah's grace and covenant of peace (cf. Num. xxv. 12) stand as firm as the mountains of God (Ps. xxxvi. 7), without departing from Jerusalem (יְרוּשָׁלַם instead of the usual יְרוּשָׁלַם) and without shaking; and they will be fulfilled. This fulfilment will not take place either by force or by enchantment; but the church which is to be glorified must pass through sufferings, until it has attained the form which answers to the glory promised to it on oath. And this will also take place; for the old Jerusalem will come forth as a new one out of the furnace of affliction. Vers. 11, 12. "*O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, not comforted, behold, I lay thy stones in stibium, and lay thy foundations with sapphires; and make thy minarets of ruby, and thy gates into carbuncles, and all thy boundary into jewels.*" At the present time the church, of which Jerusalem is the metropolis, is sunk in misery, driven with tempest like chaff of the threshing-floor (Hos. xiii. 3), without comfort; because till now it has waited in vain for any act of consolation on the part of God, and has been scorned rather than comforted by man (סַעֲרָה is a *part. kal*, not *pual*; and נִחְמָה 3d pers. *præt.* like נִעְוָה, ch. lxii. 12, and רָחֵם, Hos. i. 6, ii. 3). But this will be altered; Jerusalem will rise again from the dust, like a glorious building of God. Jerome makes the following apt remark on ver. 11b: "*in stibio, i.e. in the likeness of an elegant woman, who paints her eyes with stibium; referring to the beauty of the city.*" *Pukh* is eye-black (*kohl*, cf. *káchal*, Ezek. xxiii. 40), *i.e.* a sooty compound, the chief component of which was powdered antimony, or else manganese or lead, and with which oriental women coloured their eyebrows, and more particularly the eyelids both above and below the eyes, that the beauty of the latter might be all the more conspicuous (2 Kings ix. 30). The classic *φύκος*, *fucus*, has a meaning foreign to the Hebrew word, viz. that of rouge for the cheeks. If, then, *stibium* (antimony), or any blackening collyrium generally, served the purpose of mortar in the rebuilding of Jerusalem,

the stones of its walls (not its foundation-stones, אֲבָנֵי יְהוּדָה, which is the reading adopted by Ewald, but, on the contrary, the visible stones of its towering walls) would look like the eyes of a woman shining forth from the black framework of their painted lids, *i.e.* they would stand out in splendour from their dark ground. The *Beth* in *bassappīrim* indicates the means employed. Sapphires serve as foundation-stones, for the foundation of Jerusalem stands as immoveably firm as the covenant of God. The sapphire blue is the colour of the heaven, of revelation, and of the covenant. The *sh'māshōth*, however, *i.e.* the minarets which stand out like rays of the sun, and also the gates, have a red appearance. Red is the colour of blood, and hence of life and of imperishableness; also the colour of fire and of lightning, and hence of wrath and victory. Jehovah makes the minarets of "ruby." The Sept. and Jerome adopt the rendering *iaspidem* (a jasper); at any rate, כָּרְכָר (which is the proper way of writing the word: Ewald, § 48, c¹) is a red sparkling jewel (from *kidkēd*; cf. *kidōd*, *scintilla*). The arches of the gates He forms of אֲבָנֵי אֶקְדָּח, stones of fiery splendour (from *qādach*, to burn: hence *qaddachath*, πυρρός), that is to say, of carbuncle stones (from *carbunculus*, a small red-hot coal), like ruby, garnet, etc. Jerome has adopted the false rendering *lapides sculptos*, after Symm. λίθοι γλυφῆς (from קדח = קדר, *findere*?). The accusative of the predicate כרכר is interchanged with אֲבָנֵי אֶקְדָּח, and then with אֲבָנֵי אֶקְדָּח, to denote the *materia ex qua*. The whole territory (precinct) of Jerusalem is turned by Jehovah into precious stones, that is to say, it appears to be paved with such stones, just as in Tobit xiii. 17 the streets are said to be "paved with beryl, and carbuncle, and stones of Ophir," *i.e.* to be covered with a mosaic formed of precious stones. It is upon the passage before us that Tobit xiii. 16, 17, and Rev. xxi. 18–21, are founded. The motley colours of the precious stones, with which the new Jerusalem is adorned, are something more than

¹ The first כ is *dagessatum*, the second *raphatum*: see Norzi. The word forms one of the eighteen which have a *dagesh* after a word ending with a vowel sound (רִנְשֵׁן בְּתֵר יִהְיֶה בְּלֹא מְבַטֵּל): see *Masora Magna* on Dan. v. 11, and Heidenheim's *משפטי הטעמים*, 41a. The object is to secure greater euphony, as in כְּבָרְכֵמִישׁ (הלא), ch. x. 9, which is one of the eighteen words.

a mere childish fancy. Whence, then, do the precious stones derive their charm? The ultimate ground of this charm is the fact, that in universal nature everything presses to the light, and that in the mineral world the jewels represent the highest stage of this ascending process. It is the self-unfolding process of the divine glory itself, which is reflected typologically in the several gradations of the manifold play of colours and the transparency of the precious stones. For this reason, the high priest wore a breastplate with twelve precious stones, upon which were the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; and for this same reason, the author of the Apocalypse carries out into detail in ch. xxi. the picture of the new Jerusalem, which is here sketched by the prophet of the Old Testament (without distinguishing time from eternity), adding crystals and pearls to the precious stones which he there mentions one by one. How can all this be explained, except on the ground that even the mineral world reflects the glory of those eternal lights from which God is called the "Father of lights," or except on the assumption that the saints in light will one day be able to translate these stony types into the words of God, out of which they have their being?

The outward glory of the city is only the manifestation, which strikes the senses, of the spiritual glory of the church dwelling therein. Ver. 13. "*And all thy children will be the learned of Jehovah; and great the peace of thy children.*" We translate both halves of the verse as substantive clauses, although they might be accusatives of both the object and predicate, dependent upon שְׂמֵחִי לְפִנֵּי ה' are disciples of Jehovah, but, as in ch. l. 4, with the subordinate idea of both docility and learning. The children of Jerusalem will need no instruction from man, but carry within them the teaching of heaven, as those who are "taught of God" (διδασκτοὶ Θεοῦ, John vi. 45; θεοδιδασκτοί, 1 Thess. iv. 9). Essentially the same promise is given in Joel iii. 1, 2, and Jer. xxxi. 34; and represented in 1 John ii. 20 ("Ye have the anointing of the Holy One, and know all things") as already fulfilled. In the place of the former inward and outward distress, there has now entered *shâlôm*, perfect inward and outward peace, complete salvation, and blessedness as its result. רַב is an adjective, for this form cannot be shown to have existed as a syncopated

third pers. *præt.*, like חַי , יֵי (= יָי). The verse closes palindromically.

In perfect keeping with this grace through righteousness, Jerusalem will then stand firm and impregnable. Vers. 14, 15. "*Through righteousness wilt thou be fortified: be far from anxiety, for thou hast nothing to fear; and from terror, for it will not come near thee. Behold, men crowd together in crowds; my will is not there. Who crowd together against thee?—he shall fall by thee.*" Both the thought and action of Jerusalem will be righteousness then, and it will thereby acquire strength; תְּבִינִי is a pausal future *hithpalel*, with the ן of the reflective opening syllable assimilated (Ges. § 53, 2, *b*). With this reciprocal influence of its moral character and imparted glory, it can, and is to keep far away from all thought of oppression and terror; for, through divine grace and a corresponding divine nature, it has nothing to fear. וְיֵי (ver. 15*a*), when pointing to any transaction as possible (as, for example, in Job xii. 14, xxiii. 8), acquires almost the significance of a conditional particle (Ewald, § 103, *g*). The equally hypothetical parallel clause is clothed in the form of an interrogative. For the verb *gūr*, the meaning "to gather together" (related to אָנַר), more especially to join together with hostile intention (cf. *συνάγεσθαι*, Rev. xix. 19, xx. 8), is sustained by Ps. lvi. 7, lix. 4; and with $\text{לַעֲשֶׂה$, *laccessere*, it has nothing to do (Hitzig and Ewald). וְיֵי has the force of *contra te*, as in the case of verbs of combat. The first apodosis is this: "but it takes place entirely away from me," *i.e.* without and against my will; $\text{מֵאִתִּי} = \text{מֵאִתִּי}$ (as in ch. lix. 21), and $\text{אִתִּי} = \text{אִתִּי}$, are no sure signs of a later usage; for this alternation of the two forms of אִתִּי is met with as early as Josh. xiv. 12. The second apodosis is, "he will fall upon (or against) thee," or, as we should say, "founder," or "be wrecked." It is far more likely that this is the meaning of the words, than that they mean "he will fall to thy lot" (נָפַל עָלַי , like נָפַל לְ elsewhere, to fall to a person); for the context here is a totally different one from ch. xlv. 14, and we look for nothing more than a declaration of the utter failure and ruin of the undertaking.

Jerusalem will be thus invincible, because Jehovah, the Almighty One, is its protector. Vers. 16, 17. "*Behold, I have created the smith who bloweth the coal-fire, and brings to the light a weapon according to his trade; and I have created the destroyer*

to destroy. Every weapon formed against thee has no success, and every tongue that cometh before the judgment with thee thou wilt condemn. This the inheritance of the servants of Jehovah; and their righteousness from me, saith Jehovah." If Jehovah has created the armourer, who forges a weapon לְמַעַן (i.e. according to his trade, or according to the thing he has to finish, whether an arrow, or a sword, or a spear; not "for his own use," as Kimchi supposes), to be used in the hostile army against Jerusalem, He has also created a destroyer (לְהַחֲלֹ) to destroy. The very same creative might, to which the origin of the weapon is to be traced as its primary cause, has opposed to it beforehand a defender of Jerusalem. And as every hostile weapon fails, Jerusalem, in the consciousness of its divine right, will convict every accusing tongue as guilty and deserving of utter condemnation (הַרְשָׁעַ as in ch. l. 9, cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 47, where it denotes the punishment of the guilty). The epiphonem in ver. 17b, with the retrospective זאת and the words "saith the Lord," which confirm the certainty of the fulfilment, forms an unmistakeable close to the prophecy. This is the position in which Jehovah has placed His servants as heirs of the future salvation; and this the righteousness which they have received as His gift, and which makes them strong within and victorious without. The individual idea of the church, which we find elsewhere personified as "the servant of Jehovah," equivalent to "the people in whose heart is my law" (ch. li. 7), or "my people that have sought me" (ch. lxxv. 10), is here expanded into "the servants of Jehovah" (as in ch. lxxv. 8, 9; compare ch. lix. 21 with ch. li. 16). But totally different colours are employed in ch. lii. 13—ch. liii. to depict the exaltation of the one "Servant of Jehovah," from those used here to paint the glory of the church of the "servants of Jehovah,"—a proof that the ideas do not cover one another. That which is the reward of suffering in the case of the former, is the experience of divine mercy in that of the latter: it becomes a partaker of the salvation purchased by the other. The one "Servant of Jehovah" is the heart of the church, in which the crisis which bursts forth into life is passing; the righteousness of the "servants of Jehovah" is the fruit of the sufferings of this one "Servant of Jehovah," who is Himself צַדִּיק and מְצַדִּיק. He is the Mediator of all the salvation of the

church. He is not only its "head," but its "fulness" (πλήρωμα) also.

SEVENTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LV.

COME AND TAKE THE SURE SALVATION OF JEHOVAH.

All things are ready; the guests are invited; and nothing is required of them except to come. Vers. 1, 2. *"Alas, all ye thirsty ones, come ye to the water; and ye that have no silver, come ye, buy, and eat! Yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without payment! Wherefore do ye weigh silver for that which is not bread, and the result of your labour for that which satisfieth not? O hearken ye to me, and eat the good, and let your soul delight itself in fat."* Hitzig and Knobel understand by water, wine, and milk, the rich material blessings which awaited the exiles on their return to their fatherland, whereas they were now paying tribute and performing service in Babylon without receiving anything in return. But the prophet was acquainted with something higher than either natural water (ch. xliv. 3, cf. xli. 17) or natural wine (ch. xxv. 6). He knew of an eating and drinking which reached beyond the mere material enjoyment (ch. lxv. 13); and the expression *טוב ה'*, whilst it includes material blessings (Jer. xxxi. 12), is not exhausted by them (ch. lxiii. 7, cf. Ps. xxvii. 13), just as *התענג* in ch. lviii. 14 (cf. Ps. xxxvii. 4, 11) does not denote a feeling of worldly, but of spiritual joy. Water, wine, and milk, as the fact that water is placed first clearly shows, are not the produce of the Holy Land, but figurative representations of spiritual revival, recreation, and nourishment (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 2, "the sincere milk of the word"). The whole appeal is framed accordingly. When Jehovah summons the thirsty ones of His people to come to the water, the summons must have reference to something more than the water to which a shepherd leads his flock. And as buying without money or any other medium of exchange is an idea which neutralizes itself in the sphere of natural objects, wine and milk are here blessings and gifts of divine grace, which are obtained by grace (*χάριτι*, *gratis*), their reception being dependent upon nothing but a sense of need, and a readiness to accept the blessings offered. Again,

the use of the verb שָׁכַר, which is confined in other passages to the purchase of cereals, is a sufficient proof that the reference is not to natural objects, but to such objects as could properly be compared to cereals. The bread and other provisions, which Israel obtained in its present state of punishment, are called "not bread," and "not serving to satisfy," because that which truly satisfies the soul comes from above, and being of no earthly nature, is to be obtained by those who are the most destitute of earthly supplies. Can any Christian reader fail to recal, when reading the invitation in ver. 1, the words of the parable in Matt. xxii. 4, "All things are now ready?" And does not ver. 2 equally suggest the words of Paul in Rom. xi. 6, "If by grace, then is it no more of works?" Even the exclamation *hoi* (alas! see ch. xviii. 1), with which the passage commences, expresses deep sorrow on account of the unsatisfied thirst, and the toilsome labour which affords nothing but seeming satisfaction. The way to true satisfaction is indicated in the words, "Hearken unto me:" it is the way of the obedience of faith. In this way alone can the satisfaction of the soul be obtained.

And in this way it is possible to obtain not only the satisfaction of absolute need, but a superabundant enjoyment, and an overflowing fulfilment of the promise. Vers. 3-5. "*Incline your ear, and come to me: hear, and let your soul revive; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, the true mercies of David. Behold, I have set him as a witness for nations, a prince and commander of nations. Behold, thou wilt call a mass of people that thou knowest not; and a mass of people that knoweth thee not will hasten to thee, for the sake of Jehovah thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, that He hath made thee glorious.*" The expression "make a covenant" (*kārath b'rith*) is not always applied to a superior in relation to an inferior (compare, on the contrary, Ezra x. 3); but here the double-sided idea implied in *pactio* is confined to one side alone, in the sense of a spontaneous *sponsio* having all the force of a covenant (ch. lxi. 8; compare 2 Chron. vii. 18, where *kārath* by itself signifies "to promise with the force of a covenant"), and also of the offer of a covenant or anticipated conclusion of a covenant, as in Ezek. xxxiv. 25, and in the case before us, where "the true mercies of David" are attached to the idea of offering or grant-

ing involved in the expression, "I will make an everlasting covenant with you," as a more precise definition of the object. All that is required on the part of Israel is hearing, and coming, and taking: let it do this, and it will be pervaded by new life; and Jehovah will meet it with an everlasting covenant, viz. the unchangeable mercies of David. Our interpretation of this must be dependent chiefly upon whether ver. 4 is regarded as looking back to the history of David, or looking forward to something future. In the latter case we are either to understand by "David" the second David (according to Hos. iii. 5, Jer. xxx. 9, Ezek. xxxiv. 24), so that the allusion is to the mercies granted in the Messiah, and according to ch. ix. 7, enduring "from henceforth even for ever;" or else David is the son of Jesse, and "the mercies of David" are the mercies bestowed upon him, which are called "the true mercies" as mercies promised and running into the future (Ps. lxxxix. 50; 2 Chron. vi. 42), in which case ver. 4 explains what David will become in the person of his antitype the second David. The directly Messianic application of the name "David" is to be objected to, on the ground that the Messiah is never so called without further remark; whilst the following objections may be adduced to the indirectly Messianic interpretation of ver. 4 (David in the Messiah): (1.) The change of the tense in vers. 4, 5, which requires that we should assume that ver. 4 points backwards into the past, and ver. 5 forwards into the future:¹ (2.) That the choice of the expression in vers. 4, 5 is designed to represent what Israel has to look for in the future as going beyond what was historically realized in David; for in ver. 5 the mass of the heathen world, which has hitherto stood

¹ F. Philippi observes that הָיָה, which refers to the future in ver. 5 at any rate, must be taken as referring to the same sphere of time as that which immediately precedes. But *hēn* in Isaiah points sometimes backwards (ch. l. 1, lxiv. 4), sometimes forwards; and where two follow one another, of which the one points backwards and the other forwards, the former is followed by the perfect, the latter by the future (ch. l. 1, 2). But if they both point to the future, the future tense is used in both instances (ch. l. 9). A better argument in favour of the prophetic interpretation of ver. 4 might be drawn from the fact that הָיָה אֲנִי may mean "I give (set, lay, or make) even now" (e.g. Jer. i. 9). But what we have said above is sufficient proof that this is not the meaning here (if this were the meaning, we should rather expect אֲנִי הָיָה).

out of all relation to Israel, answers to the **לְאֶמְנִים**: (3.) That the juxtaposition of the Messiah and Israel would be altogether without parallel in these prophecies (ch. xl.-lxvi.), and contrary to their peculiar character; for the earlier stereotype idea of the Messiah is here resolved into the idea of the "servant of Jehovah," from which it returns again to its primary use, *i.e.* from the national basis to the individual, by means of the ascending variations through which this expression passes, and thus reaches a more comprehensive, spiritual, and glorified form. The personal "servant of Jehovah" is undoubtedly no other than the "Son of David" of the earlier prophecy; but the premises, from which we arrive at this conclusion in connection with our prophet, are not that the "servant of Jehovah" is of the seed of David and the final personal realization of the promise of a future king, but that he is of the nation of Israel, and the final personal realization of the idea of Israel, both in its inward nature, and in its calling in relation to the whole world of nations. Consequently vers. 4 and 5 stand to one another in the relation of type and antitype, and the "mercies of David" are called "the true mercies" (probably with an allusion to 2 Sam. vii. 16; cf. Ps. lxxxix. 29, 30), as being inviolable,—mercies which had both been realized in the case of David himself, and would be realized still further, inasmuch as they must endure for an everlasting future, and therefore be further and further fulfilled, until they have reached that lofty height, on the summit of which they will remain unchangeable for ever. It is of David the son of Jesse that Jehovah says in ver. 4, "I have given him for a witness to peoples, a leader and commander to the peoples." So far as the sense is concerned, **נָבִיא** is as much a construct as **כְּצִדִּיק**. In the application to David of the term **עֵד**, which never means anything but *testis*, witness, in these prophecies, we may clearly see the bent of the prophet's mind towards what is spiritual. David had subdued nations by the force of arms, but his true and loftiest greatness consisted in the fact that he was a witness of the nations,—a witness by the victorious power of his word, the conquering might of his Psalms, the attractive force of his typical life. What he expresses so frequently in the Psalms as a resolution and a vow, *viz.* that he will proclaim the name of Jehovah among the nations (Ps. xviii. 50, lvii. 10),

he has really fulfilled : he has not only overcome them by bloody warfare, but by the might of his testimony, more especially as "the sweet psalmist of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1). What David himself was able to say in Ps. xviii. 43, "People that I did not know served me," will be fulfilled to a still wider extent in the experience of Israel. Having been presented with the promised "inviolable mercies of David," it will effect a spiritual conquest over the heathen world, even over that portion which has hitherto stood in no reciprocal relation to it, and gain possession of it for itself for the sake of Jehovah, whom it has for its God, and to the Holy One of Israel (יְהוָה of the object, in relation to which, or at the instigation of which, anything is done), because He hath glorified it (His people : פְּאִירָה is not a pausal form for פְּאִירָה, cf. ch. liv. 6, but for פְּאִירָה, פְּאִירָה, hence = פְּאִירָה, cf. עֵנֶךָ, ch. xxx. 19) ; so that joining themselves to Israel is the same as joining themselves to God and to the church of the God of revelation (cf. ch. lx. 9, where ver. 5b is repeated almost word for word).

So gracious is the offer which Jehovah now makes to His people, so great are the promises that He makes to it, viz. the regal glory of David, and the government of the world by virtue of the religion of Jehovah. Hence the exhortation is addressed to it in vers. 6 and 7 : "*Seek ye Jehovah while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts : and let him return to Jehovah, and He will have compassion upon him ; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon.*" They are to seek to press into the fellowship of Jehovah (*dārash* with the radical meaning *terere*, to acquire experimental knowledge or confidential acquaintance with anything) now that He is to be found (ch. lrv. 1, compare the parallelism of words and things in Jer. xxix. 14), and to call upon Him, viz. for a share in that superabundant grace, now that He is near, *i.e.* now that He approaches Israel, and offers it. In the admonition to repentance introduced in ver. 7, both sides of the *μετάνοια* find expression, viz. turning away from sinful self-will, and turning to the God of salvation. The apodosis with its promises commences with וִירְחֵמֵנִי—then will He have compassion upon such a man ; and consequently בִּיִּירְחֵמֶהָ לְסֻלּוֹה (with בִּי because the fragmentary sentence וְאֵלֹהֵינוּ did not admit of the

continuation with י) has not a general, but an individual meaning (*vid.* Ps. cxxx. 4, 7), and is to be translated as a future (for the expression, compare ch. xxvi. 17).

The appeal, to leave their own way and their own thoughts, and yield themselves to God the Redeemer, and to His word, is now urged on the ground of the heaven-wide difference between the ways and thoughts of this God and the despairing thoughts of men (ch. xl. 27, xlix. 24), and their aimless labyrinthine ways. Vers. 8, 9. "*For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith Jehovah: no, heaven is high above the earth; so high are my ways above your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts.*" The *kî* (imo) introduces the undeniable statement of a fact patent to the senses, for the purpose of clearly setting forth, by way of comparison, the relation in which the ways and thoughts of God stand to those of man. There is no necessity to supply *בְּאִשֵּׁר* after י, as Hitzig and Knobel do. It is simply omitted, as in ch. lxii. 5 and Jer. iii. 20, or like יֵן in Prov. xxvi. 11, etc. On what side the heaven-wide elevation is to be seen, is shown in what follows. They are not so fickle, so unreliable, or so powerless.

This is set forth under a figure drawn from the rain and the snow. Vers. 10, 11. "*For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, till it has moistened the earth, and fertilized it, and made it green, and offered seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so will my word be which goeth forth out of my mouth: it will not return to me fruitless, till it has accomplished that which I willed, and prosperously carried out that for which I sent it.*" The rain and snow come down from the sky, and return not thither till they have . . . The perfects after *אֵם יֵ* are all to be understood as such (Ewald, § 356, a). Rain and snow return as vapour to the sky, but not without having first of all accomplished the purpose of their descent. And so with the word of Jehovah, which goeth forth out of His mouth (*אֵם*, not *אֵי*, ch. xlv. 23, because it is thought of as still going on in the preaching of the prophet): it will not return without having effected its object, *i.e.* without having accomplished what was Jehovah's counsel, or "good pleasure"—without having attained the end for which it was sent by Jehovah (constr. as in 2 Sam. xi. 22, 1 Kings xiv. 6). The word is represented in other places as the messenger of God (ch. ix. 8; Ps. cvii. 20.

cxlvii. 15 sqq.). The personification presupposes that it is not a mere sound or letter. As it goeth forth out of the mouth of God it acquires shape, and in this shape is hidden a divine life, because of its divine origin; and so it runs, with life from God, endowed with divine power, supplied with divine commissions, like a swift messenger through nature and the world of man, there to melt the ice, as it were, and here to heal and to save; and does not return from its course till it has given effect to the will of the sender. This return of the word to God also presupposes its divine nature. The will of God, which becomes concrete and audible in the word, is the utterance of His nature, and is resolved into that nature again as soon as it is fulfilled. The figures chosen are rich in analogies. As snow and rain are the mediating causes of growth, and therefore the enjoyment of what is reaped; so is the soil of the human heart softened, refreshed, and rendered productive or prolific by the word out of the mouth of Jehovah; and this word furnishes the prophet, who resembles the sower, with the seed which he scatters, and brings with it bread which feeds the souls: for every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God is bread (Deut. viii. 3).

The true point of comparison, however, is the energy with which the word is realized. Assuredly and irresistibly will the word of redemption be fulfilled. Vers. 12, 13. *"For ye will go out with joy, and be led forth in peace: the mountains and the hills will break out before you into shouting, and all the trees of the field will clap their hands. Instead of the thorn will cypresses shoot up, and instead of the fleabane will myrtles shoot up: and it will be to Jehovah for a name, for an everlasting memorial that will not be swept away."* "With joy," i.e. without the hurry of fear (ch. lii. 12); "in peace," i.e. without having to fight their way through or flee. The idea of the sufferer falls back in הִיבֵל behind that of a festal procession (Ps. xlv. 15, 16). In applying the term *kaph* (hand) to the trees, the prophet had in his mind their *kippōth*, or branches. The psalmist in Ps. xcvi. 8 transfers the figure created by our prophet to the waves of the streams. *Nā'āts* (from *nā'ats*, to sting) is probably no particular kind of thorn, such, for example, as the fuller's thistle, but, as in ch. vii. 19, briars and thorns generally. On *sirpad*, see Ges. *Thes.*; we have

followed the rendering, *κόνυζα*, of the LXX. That this transformation of the vegetation of the desert is not to be taken literally, any more than in ch. xli. 17–20, is evident from the shouting of the mountains, and the clapping of hands on the part of the trees. On the other hand, however, the prophet says something more than that Israel will return home with such feelings of joy as will cause everything to appear transformed. Such promises as those which we find here and in ch. xli. 19 and xxxv. 1, 2, and such exhortations as those which we find in ch. xliv. 23, xlix. 13, and lii. 9, arise from the consciousness, which was common to both prophets and apostles, that the whole creation will one day share in the liberty and glory of the children of God (Rom. viii. 21). This thought is dressed up sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another. The psalmists after the captivity borrowed the colours in which they painted it from our prophet (see at Ps. xcvi. and xcvi.). *יְהִי* is construed as a neuter (cf. *בְּרֵאשִׁית*, ch. xlv. 8), referring to this festal transformation of the outer world on the festive return of the redeemed. *אֵס* is treated in the attributive clause as a masculine, as if it came from *אָס*, to make an incision, to crimp, as we have already indicated in vol. i. p. 213; but the Arabic *أَيَّ*, *āyat*, shows that it comes from *אָס*, to point out, and is contracted from *āwāyat*, and therefore was originally a feminine.

EIGHTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LVI. 1–8.

SABBATICAL ADMONITIONS, AND CONSOLATION FOR PROSELYTES AND EUNUCHS.

The note of admonition struck in the foregoing prophecy is continued here, the sabbatical duties being enforced with especial emphasis as part of the general righteousness of life. Vers. 1, 2. "*Thus saith Jehovah, Keep ye right, and do righteousness: for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to reveal itself. Blessed is the mortal that doeth this, and the son of man that layeth fast hold thereon; who keepeth the Sabbath, that he doth not desecrate it, and keepeth his hand from doing any kind of evil.*" Jehovah and Israel have both an objective standard in the covenant relation into which they have entered: *מִשְׁפָּט*

(right) is practice answering to this; יְשׁוּעָה (salvation) the performance promised by God; צְדִיקָה (righteousness) on both sides such personal activity as is in accordance with the covenant relation, or what is the same thing, with the purpose and plan of salvation. The nearer the full realization on the part of Jehovah of what He has promised, the more faithful ought Israel to be in everything to which it is bound by its relation to Jehovah. זֶאת (this) points, as in Ps. vii. 4, to what follows; and so also does בָּהּ, which points back to זֶאת. Instead of שְׂמוֹר or לְשָׂמוֹר we have here שְׁמֵר, the זֶאת being described personally instead of objectively. שֹׁבֵת is used as a masculine in vers. 2 and 6 (cf. ch. lviii. 13), although the word is not formed after the same manner as קִטָּל, but is rather contracted from שֹׁבֶתֶת (a festive time, possibly with עֵת = עֵרֶת understood), and therefore was originally a feminine; and it is so personified in the language employed in the worship of the synagogue.¹ The prophet here thinks of שֹׁבֵת as הַשֹּׁבֶתֶת, and gives it the gender of יוֹם.

The אֲשֵׁרִי (blessed) of ver. 2 is now extended to those who might imagine that they had no right to console themselves with the promises which it contained. Ver. 3. "*And let not the foreigner, who hath not joined himself to Jehovah, speak thus: Assuredly Jehovah will cut me off from His people; and let not the eunuch say, I am only a dry tree.*" As נֹלֵחַ is not pointed as a participle (נֹלֵחַ), but as a 3d pers. pres., the ה of הַנֹּלֵחַ is equivalent to אֲשֵׁר, as in Josh. x. 24, Gen. xviii. 21, xxi. 3, xlv. 27, 1 Kings xi. 9 (Ges. § 109). By the eunuchs we are to understand those of Israelitish descent, as the attributive clause is not repeated in their case. Heathen, who professed the religion of Jehovah, and had attached themselves to Israel, might be afraid lest, when Israel should be restored to its native land, according to the promise, as a holy and glorious community with a thoroughly priestly character, Jehovah would no longer tolerate them, *i.e.* would forbid their receiving full citizenship. יִבְרִילִי has the connecting vowel *á*, as in Gen. xix. 19, xxix. 32, instead of the usual *ē*. And the Israelitish

¹ According to *b. Sabbath* 119a, R. Chanina dressed himself on Friday evening in his sabbath-clothes, and said, "Come, and let us go to meet Queen Sabbath." And so did also Jannai, saying, "Come, O bride; come, O bride." Hence the customary song with which the Sabbath was greeted had לָבָה דְּרוּרִי לְקִרְאָתָהּ בִּלְהָ פָנֶי שֹׁבֶת נִקְבְּלָה as its commencement and refrain.

eunuchs, who had been mutilated against their will, that they might serve at heathen courts or in the houses of foreign lords, and therefore had not been unfaithful to Jehovah, might be afraid lest, as unfruitful trees, they should be pronounced unworthy of standing in the congregation of Jehovah. There was more ground for the anxiety of the latter than for that of the former. For the law in Deut. xxiii. 4-7 merely prohibits Ammonites and Moabites for all time to come from reception into the congregation, on account of their unbrotherly conduct towards the Israelites as they came out of Egypt, whilst that in Deut. xxiii. 8, 9 prohibits the reception of Edomites and Egyptians to the third generation; so that there was no prohibition as to other allies—such, for example, as the Babylonians. On the other hand, the law in Deut. xxiii. 2 expressly declares, as an expression of the horror of God at any such mutilation of nature, and for the purpose of precluding it, that no kind of emasculated person is to enter the congregation of Jehovah. But prophecy breaks through these limits of the law. Vers. 4, 5. *“For thus saith Jehovah to the circumcised, Those who keep my Sabbaths, and decide for that in which I take pleasure, and take fast hold of my covenant; I give to them in my house and within my walls a memorial and a name better than sons and daughters: I give such a man an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off.”* The second condition after the sanctification of the Sabbath has reference to the regulation of life according to the revealed will of God; the third to fidelity with regard to the covenant of circumcision. יָד also means a side, and hence a place (Deut. xxiii. 13); but in the passage before us, where יָד וְיֵשׁ form a closely connected pair of words, to which מִצֵּבָה וּמִצְבֹּת is appended, it signifies the memorial, equivalent to מִצְבָּה (2 Sam. xviii. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 12), as an index lifted up on high (Ezek. xxi. 24), which strikes the eye and arrests attention, pointing like a signpost to the person upon whom it is placed, like *monumentum a monendo*. They are assured that they will not be excluded from close fellowship with the church (“in my house and within my walls”), and also promised, as a superabundant compensation for the want of posterity, long life in the memory of future ages, by whom their long tried attachment to Jehovah and His people in circumstances of great temptation will not be forgotten.

The fears of proselytes from among the heathen are also removed. Vers. 6, 7. "*And the foreigners, who have joined themselves to Jehovah, to serve Him, and to love the name of Jehovah, to be His servants, whoever keepeth the Sabbath from desecrating it, and those who hold fast to my covenant, I bring them to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their whole-offerings and their slain-offerings are well-pleasing upon mine altar: for my house, a house of prayer shall it be called for all nations.*" The proselytes, who have attached themselves to Jehovah (עֲלֵה),¹ the God of Israel, with the pure intention of serving Him with love, are not to be left behind in the strange land. Jehovah will bring them along with His people to the holy mountain, upon which His temple rises once more; there will He cause them to rejoice, and all that they place upon His altar will find a most gracious acceptance. It is impossible that the prophet should be thinking here of the worship of the future without sacrifice, although in ch. liii. he predicts the self-sacrifice of the "Servant of Jehovah," which puts an end to all animal sacrifices. But here the temple is called "the house of prayer," from the prayer which is the soul of all worship. It will be called a house of prayer for all nations; and therefore its nature will correspond to its name. This ultimate intention is already indicated in Solomon's dedicatory prayer (1 Kings viii. 41-43); but our prophet was the first to give it this definite universal expression. Throughout this passage the spirit of the law is striving to liberate itself from its bondage. Nor is there anything to surprise us in the breaking down of the party wall, built up so absolutely between the eunuchs on the one hand and the congregation on the other, or the one partially erected between the heathen and the congregation of Israel; as we may see from ch. lxvi. 21, where it is affirmed that Jehovah will even take priests and Levites out of the midst of the heathen whom Israel will bring back with it into its own land.

The expression "*saying of the Lord*" (*N'e'um Jehovah*), which is so solemn an expression in itself, and which stands

¹ The oriental reading, not in ver. 3, but here in ver. 6, is עֲלֵה; the western, אֵלֵה. The Masora follows the western (מַעֲרֵבִי), i.e. the Palestinian, and reckons this passage as one of the 31 עֲלֵה in the Old Testament Scriptures.

here at the head of the following declaration, is a proof that it contains not only something great, but something which needs a solemn confirmation because of its strangeness. Not only is there no ground for supposing that Gentiles who love Jehovah will be excluded from the congregation; but it is really Jehovah's intention to gather some out of the heathen, and add them to the assembled *diaspora* of Israel. Ver. 8. "*Word of the Lord, Jehovah: gathering the outcasts of Israel, I will also gather beyond itself to its gathered ones.*" We only find נָאם at the commencement of a sentence, in this passage and Zech. xii. 1. The double name of God, *Adonai Jehovah*, also indicates something great. עָלָיו (to it) refers to Israel, and לְיִשְׂרָאֵל is an explanatory permutative, equivalent to עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל; or else עַל denotes the fact that the gathering will exceed the limits of Israel (cf. Gen. xlviii. 22), and הַ the addition that will be made to the gathered ones of Israel. The meaning in either case remains the same. Jehovah here declares what Jesus says in John x. 16: "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold and one Shepherd;" "Jehovah one, and His name one," as it is expressed in Zech. xiv. 9. Such are the views and hopes that have grown up out of the chastisement inflicted by their captivity. God has made it a preparatory school for New Testament times. It has been made subservient to the bursting of the fetters of the law, the liberation of the spirit of the law, and the establishment of friendship between Israel and the Gentile world as called to one common salvation.

NINTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LVI. 9—LVII. 21.

NEGLECT OF DUTY BY THE LEADERS OF ISRAEL; AND ERRORS OF THE PEOPLE.

It is a question whether ch. lvi. 9 forms the commencement of a fresh prophecy, or merely the second half of the prophecy contained in ch. lvi. 1–8. We decide, for our part, in favour of the former. If ch. lvi. 9 sqq. formed an antithetical second half to the promising first half in ch. lvi. 1–8, we should expect to find the prophets and leaders of Israel, whose licentiousness

and want of principle are here so severely condemned, threatened with destruction in the heathen land, whilst true proselytes and even eunuchs were brought to the holy mountain. But we meet with this antithesis for the first time in ch. lvii. 13, where we evidently find ourselves in the midst of another prophetic address. And where can that address commence, if not at ch. lvi. 9, from which point onwards we have that hard, dull, sharp, and concise language of strong indignation (see p. 130), which recalls to mind psalms written "in a thundering style" (*Psalter*, i. 80) and the reproachful addresses of Jeremiah, and which passes again in ch. lvii. 11 sqq. into the lofty crystalline language peculiar to our prophet's "book of consolation?" The new prophetic address commences, like ch. lv. 1, with a summons. Ver. 9. "*All ye beasts of the field, come near! To devour, all ye beasts in the forest!*" According to the accentuation before us (לֹאכַל mercha, בְּלִיחִיו tiphchah), the beasts of the field are summoned to devour the beasts in the forest. This accentuation, however, is false, and must be exchanged for another which is supported by some MSS., viz. לֹאכַל tiphchah, בְּלִיחִיו mercha, and בֵּיעַר Beth raphatum. It is true that even with these accents we might still adhere to the view favoured by Jewish commentators, viz. that the beasts of the field are to be devoured by the beasts of the forest, if this view yielded any admissible sense (compare, for example, that supported by Meyer, "Ye enemies, devour the scattered ones of my congregation"), and had not against it the synonymous parallelism of חֵיתוֹ שָׂדֵי and חֵיתוֹ בֵּיעַר (ch. xliii. 20; Ps. civ. 11, 20; cf. Gen. iii. 14). But there remains another view, according to which בְּלִיחִיו בֵּיעַר is a second vocative answering to בְּלִיחִיו שָׂדֵי. According to the Targum, what is to be devoured is the great body of heathen kings attacking Jerusalem; according to Jerome, Cyril, Stier, etc., the pasture and food provided by the grace of God. But what follows teaches us something different from this. Israel has prophets and shepherds, who are blind to every coming danger, and therefore fail to give warning of its approach, because they are sunken in selfishness and debauchery. It resembles a flock without a keeper, and therefore an easy prey (Ezek. xxxiv. 5); and the meaning of the appeal, which is certainly addressed to the nations of the world, the enemies of the people of God, is this:

“Ye have only to draw near; ye can feed undisturbed, and devour as much as ye please.” This is the explanation adopted by most of the more modern commentators. In Jer. xii. 9, which is founded upon this (“Assemble all ye beasts of the field, bring them hither to devour”), it is also Jerusalem which is assigned as food to the heathen. The parallel in ver. 9 is both synonymous and progressive. The writer seeks for rare forms, because he is about to depict a rare inversion of the proper state of things. הִיתָּ (with the first syllable loosely closed) is the antiquated form of connection, which was admissible even with בִּיעַר following (cf. ch. v. 11, ix. 1, 2; 2 Sam. i. 21). On אָתָּי (= אָתָּו), see at ch. xxi. 12 (cf. ver. 14).

The prophet now proceeds with צָפוּ (צָפִיו): the suffix refers to Israel, which was also the object to לֹאֲבָלָם. Vers. 10, 11. “*His watchmen are blind: they (are) all ignorant, they (are) all dumb dogs that cannot bark; raving, lying down, loving to slumber. And the dogs are mightily greedy, they know no satiety; and such are shepherds! They know no understanding; they have all turned to their own ways, every one for his own gain throughout his border.*” The “watchmen” are the prophets here, as everywhere else (ch. lii. 8, cf. ch. xxi. 6, Hab. ii. 1, Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17). The prophet is like a watchman (*tsōphēh*) stationed upon his watch-tower (*specula*), whose duty it is, when he sees the sword come upon the land, to blow the *shōphār*, and warn the people (Ezek. xxxiii. 1–9). But just as Jeremiah speaks of bad prophets among the captives (Jer. xxix. 1–32), and the book of Ezekiel is full of reproaches at the existing neglect of the office of watchman and shepherd; so does the prophet here complain that the watchmen of the nation are blind, in direct opposition to both their title and their calling; they are all without either knowledge or the capacity for knowledge (*vid.* ch. xlv. 9, xlv. 20). They ought to resemble watchful sheep-dogs (Job xxx. 1), which bark when the flock is threatened; but they are dumb, and cannot bark (*nābhach*, root *nab*), and leave the flock to all its danger. Instead of being “seers” (*chōzīm*), they are ravers (*hōzīm*; cf. ch. xix. 18, where we have a play upon הִתְרַם in הִתְרַם). הִתְרַם, from הָרָה, to rave in sickness, *n. act. hadhajan* (which Kimchi compares to *parlare in sōnno*); hence the Targum גִּימִין, LXX.

ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι, Ἀ φανταζόμενοι, Σ ὁραματισταί, Jer. *videntes vana*. The predicates which follow are attached to the leading word *hōzīm* (raving), if not precisely as adjectives, yet as more minutely descriptive. Instead of watching, praying, wrestling, to render themselves susceptible of visions of divine revelations for the good of their people, and to keep themselves in readiness to receive them, they are idle, loving comfortable ease, talkers in their sleep. And the dogs, viz. those prophets who resemble the worst of them (see at ch. xl. 8, p. 144), are עֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ, of violent, unrestrained soul, insatiable. Their soul lives and moves in the lowest parts of their nature; it is nothing but selfish avarice, self-indulgent greediness, violent restlessness of passion, that revolves perpetually around itself. With the words "and these are shepherds," the range of the prophet's vision is extended to the leaders of the nation generally; for when the prophet adds as an exclamation, "And such (*hi* = *tales*) are shepherds!" he applies the glaring contrast between calling and conduct to the holders of both offices, that of teacher and that of ruler alike. For, apart from the accents, it would be quite at variance with the general use of the personal pronoun הֵמָּה, to apply it to any other persons than those just described (viz. in any such sense as this: "And those, who ought to be shepherds, do not know"). Nor is it admissible to commence an adversative minor clause with הוּמָה, as Knobel does, "whereas they are shepherds;" for, since the principal clause has הכלבים (dogs) as the subject, this would introduce a heterogeneous mixture of the two figures, shepherds' dogs and shepherds. We therefore take הוּמָה רְעִים as an independent clause: "And it is upon men of such a kind, that the duty of watching and tending the nation devolves!" These רְעִים (for which the Targum reads רְעִים) are then still further described: they know not to understand, i.e. they are without spiritual capacity to pass an intelligible judgment (compare the opposite combination of the two verbs in ch. xxxii. 4); instead of caring for the general good, they have all turned to their own way (*l'darkām*), i.e. to their own selfish interests, every one bent upon his own advantage (בָּצַע from בָּצַע, *abscindere*, as we say, *seinen Schnitt zu machen*, to reap an advantage, lit. to make an incision). מִקְצָהוּ, from his utmost extremity (i.e. from that of his own station, including all its members), in other words,

“throughout the length and breadth of his own circle;” *qátsek*, the end, being regarded not as the terminal point, but as the circumference (as in Gen. xix. 4, xlvii. 21, and Jer. li. 31).

An office-bearer of the kind described is now introduced *per mimesin* as speaking. Ver. 12. “Come here, I will fetch wine, and let us drink meth; and to-morrow shall be like to-day, great, excessively abundant.” He gives a banquet, and promises the guests that the revelry shall be as great to-morrow as to-day, or rather much more glorious. יוֹם מָחָר is the day of to-morrow, τὸ ἐπαύριον, for *máchâr* is always without an article; hence *et fiet uti hic (dies) dies crastinus*, viz. *magnus supra modum valde*. יִתֵּר, or יִתֵּר (as it is to be pointed here according to Kimchi, *Michlol* 167*b*, and *Wörterbuch*), signifies superabundance; it is used here adverbially in the sense of extraordinarily, beyond all bounds (differing therefore from יִתֵּר, “more,” or “singularly,” in the book of Ecclesiastes).

Whilst watchmen and shepherds, prophets and rulers, without troubling themselves about the flock which they have to watch and feed, are thus indulging their own selfish desires, and living in debauchery, the righteous man is saved by early death from the judgment, which cannot fail to come with such corruption as this. Ch. lvii. 1, 2. “The righteous perisheth, and no man taketh it to heart; and pious men are swept away, without any one considering that the righteous is swept away from misfortune. He entereth into peace: they rest upon their beds, whoever has walked straight before him.” With “the righteous” the prophet introduces, in glaring contrast to this luxurious living on the part of the leading men of the nation, the standing figure used to denote the fate of its best men. With this prevailing demoralization and worldliness, the righteous succumbs to the violence of both external and internal sufferings. אָבָר, he dies before his time (Eccles. vii. 15); from the midst of the men of his generation he is carried away from this world (Ps. xii. 2; Mic. vii. 2), and no one lays it to heart, viz. the divine accusation and threat involved in this early death. Men of piety (*chesed*, the love of God and man) are swept away, without there being any one to understand or consider that (*kî* unfolds the object to be considered and laid to heart, viz. what is involved in this carrying away when regarded as a providential event) the righteous is swept away “from the

evil," *i.e.* that he may be saved from the approaching punishment (compare 2 Kings xxii. 20). For the prevailing corruption calls for punishment from God; and what is first of all to be expected is severe judgment, through which the coming salvation will force its way. In ver. 2 it is intimated that the righteous man and the pious do not lose the blessings of this salvation because they lose this life: for whereas, according to the prophet's watchword, there is no peace to the wicked, it is true, on the other hand, of the departing righteous man, that "he enters into peace" (*shālôm*, *acc. loci s. status*; Ges. 118, 1); "they rest upon their beds," viz. the bottom of the grave, which has become their *mishkâb* (Job xvii. 13, xxi. 26), "whoever has walked in that which lay straight before him," *i.e.* the one straight plain path which he had set before him (נִכְחַו *acc. obj.* as in ch. xxxiii. 15, l. 10, Ewald, § 172, *b*, from נִכְחַ, that which lies straight before a person; whereas נִכְחַ with נִכְחַו, signifying probably fixedness, steadiness of look, related to נָכַח, to pierce, נָכַח, *percutere*, is used as a preposi-

tion: compare Prov. iv. 25, לְנִכְחַ, straight or exactly before him). The grave, when compared with the restlessness of this life, is therefore "peace." He who has died in faith rests in God, to whom he has committed himself and entrusted his future. We have here the glimmering light of the New Testament consolation, that the death of the righteous is better than life in this world, because it is the entrance into peace.

The reproachful language of the prophet is now directed against the mass of the nation, who have occasioned the "evil" from which the righteous is swept away, *i.e.* the generation that is hostile to the servants of Jehovah, and by whom those sins of idolatry are still so shamelessly carried on, which first led to the captivity. Vers. 3, 4. "And ye, draw nearer hither, children of the sorceress, seed of the adulterer, and of her that committed whoredom! Over whom do ye make yourselves merry? Over whom do ye open the mouth wide, and put the tongue out long? Are ye not the brood of apostasy, seed of lying?" They are to draw nearer hither (*hēnnâh* as in Gen. xv. 16), to the place where God is speaking through His prophet, to have themselves painted, and to hear their sentence. Just as elsewhere the moral character of a man is frequently indicated by the men-

tion of his father (2 Kings vi. 32), or his mother (1 Sam. xx. 30), or both parents (Job xxx. 8), so here the generation of the captivity, so far as it continued to practise the idolatry by which its ancestors had brought upon themselves the Chaldean catastrophe, is called *first* בְּנֵי עֲנָנָה (or more correctly עֲנָנָה), sons of the sorceress (possibly the maker of clouds or storm, ch. ii. 6, vol. i. 118: Jer. *auguratrice*), one who made heathen and superstitious customs her means of livelihood, viz. the community as it existed before the captivity, which really deserved no better name, on account of the crying contradiction between its calling and its conduct; and *secondly*, with regard to both the male and female members of the community, זֶרַע מְנַאֵף וְהוֹנֶה, *semen adulteri et fornicariæ* (Jer.), though Stier, Hahn, and others adopt the rendering *semen adulterum et quod (qui) scortaris*. A better rendering than this would be, "Seed of an adulterer, and one who committest adultery thyself," viz. (what would be indicated with this explanation by the *fut. consec.*) in consequence of this descent from an adulterer. But as זֶרַע (seed, posterity), wherever it is more minutely defined, is connected with a genitive, and not with an adjective, the presumption is that מְנַאֵף וְהוֹנֶה denotes the father and mother. וְהוֹנֶה is an attributive clause regarded as a genitive (Ges. § 123, 3, Anm. 1), and more closely connected with מְנַאֵף than if it was written וְהוֹנֶה (= הוֹנֶה, ch. i. 21): Seed of an adulterer, and consequently (Ewald, § 351, *b*), or similarly, of one who gave herself up to whoredom. Idolatry, prostitution, and magic are most closely allied. The prophet now asks, "Over whom do ye find your pleasure? For whom are your common contemptuous actions intended?" הִתְעַנֵּג is only used here, and denotes the feeling which finds pleasure in the sufferings of another. The objects of this malicious contemptuous pleasure (Ps. xxii. 8 sqq., xxxv. 21) are the servants of Jehovah; and the question, as in ch. xxxvii. 23, is one of amazement at their impudence, since the men over whom they make merry are really deserving of esteem, whereas they themselves are the refuse of Israel: Are ye not a brood of apostasy, seed of lying? As apostasy and lying, when regarded as parents, can only produce something resembling themselves; the character of those from whom they are descended is here imputed to the men themselves, even more clearly than before. The genitives of origin

are also genitives of attribute. Instead of יְלִירִי (*e.g.* ch. ii. 6) we have here יְלִירִי before *makkeph*, with the shortening of *a* into *i*.

The participles which follow in the next verse are in apposition to אֲנִי, and confirm the predicates already applied to them. They soon give place, however, to independent sentences. Vers. 5, 6. "*Ye that inflame yourselves by the terebinths, under every green tree, ye slayers of children in the valleys under the clefts of the rocks. By the smooth ones of the brook was thy portion; they, they were thy lot: thou also pouredst out libations to them, thou laidst meat-offerings upon them. Shall I be contented with this?*" The people of the captivity are addressed, and the idolatry handed down to them from their ancestors depicted. The prophet looks back from the standpoint of the captivity, and takes his colours from the time in which he himself lived, possibly from the commencement of Manasseh's reign, when the heathenism that had for a long time been suppressed burst forth again in all its force, and the measure of iniquity became full. The *part. niph'al* הִנְחִלִים is formed like נִחַן in Jer. xxii. 23, if the latter signifies *miserandum esse*. The primary form is נָחַם, which is doubled like נִנַּח from נָרַר in Job xx. 28, and from which נָחַם is formed by the resolution of the latent reduplication. Stier derives it from נָחַם; but even if formed from this, נָחַם would still have to be explained from נָחַם, after the form נִנַּח. 'Elim signifies either gods or terebinths (see vol. i. 108, note 1). But although it might certainly mean idols, according to Ex. xv. 11, Dan. xi. 36 (LXX., Targ., and Jerome), it is never used directly in this sense, and Isaiah always uses the word as the name of a tree (ch. i. 29, lxi. 3). The terebinths are introduced here, exactly as in ch. i. 29, as an object of idolatrous lust: "who inflame themselves with the terebinths;" כִּי denotes the object with which the lust is excited and inflamed. The terebinth ('*elâh*') held the chief place in tree-worship (hence אֱלֹהִים, lit. oak-trees, together with אֱלֹהִים, is the name of one of the Phœnician gods¹), possibly as being the tree sacred to Astarte; just as the *Samura Acacia* among the heathen Arabs was the tree sacred to the goddess 'Uzza.² The following expression, "under

¹ See Levy, *Phönizische Studien*, i. 19.

² Krehl, *Religion der vorisl. Araber*, p. 74 sqq.

every green tree," is simply a permutative of the words "with the terebinths" in the sense of "with the terebinths, yea, under every green tree" (a standing expression from Deut. xii. 2 downwards),—one tree being regarded as the abode and favourite of this deity, and another of that, and all alluring you to your carnal worship. From the tree-worship with its orgies, which was so widely spread in antiquity generally, the prophet passes to the leading Canaanitish abomination, viz. human sacrifices, which had been adopted by the Israelites (along with שֶׁחָטִי we find the false reading שֶׁחָטִי, which is interpreted as signifying self-abuse). Judging from the locality named, "under the clefts of the rocks," the reference is not to the slaying of children sacrificed to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, but to those offered to Baal upon his *bāmōth* or high places (Jer. xix. 5; Ezek. xvi. 20, 21; Hos. xiii. 2; Ps. cvi. 37, 38). As we learn from the *chronique scandaleuse* many things connected with the religious history of Israel, which cannot be found in its historical books, there is nothing to surprise us in the stone-worship condemned in ver. 6. The *dagesh* of חֶלֶקִי is in any case *dagesh dirimens*. The singular is either חֶלֶק after the form חֶכְמִי (cf. עֲצָבִי, ch. lviii. 3), or חֶלֶק after the form יִלְדִי. But חֶלֶק, smoothness, never occurs; and the explanation, "in the smoothnesses, i.e. the smooth places of the valley, is thy portion," has this also against it, that it does not do justice to the connection בְּ חֶלֶק, in which the preposition is not used in a local sense, and that it leaves the emphatic הֵם הֵם quite unexplained. The latter does not point to places, but to objects of worship for which they had exchanged Jehovah, of whom the true Israelite could say ה' חֶלֶקִי ה', Ps. cxix. 57, etc., or חֶלֶק לִי בָהּ, Josh. xxii. 25, and אֲתָהּ תוֹמִיךָ נֹרְאִי (Thou art He that maintaineth my lot), Ps. xvi. 5. The prophet had such expressions as these in his mind, and possibly also the primary meaning of גֹּרֵל = *agallos*, which may be gathered from the rare Arabic word '*garal*, gravel, stones worn smooth by rolling, when he said, "In the smooth ones of the valley is thy portion; they, they are thy lot." In the Arabic also, *achlaq* (equivalent to *chālāq*, smooth, which forms here a play upon the word with חֶלֶק, *chālāq*) is a favourite word for stones and rocks. חֶלֶקִי-בָהֶל, however, according to 1 Sam. xvii. 40 (where the intensive form חֶלֶקִי, like שֶׁבֶל, is used), are stones which the stream in the valley

has washed smooth with time, and rounded into a pleasing shape. The mode of the worship, the pouring out of libations,¹ and the laying of meat-offerings upon them, confirm this view. In Carthage such stones were called *abbadires* (= אבן, אדיר); and among the ancient Arabs, the *asnâm* or idols consisted for the most part of rude blocks of stone of this description. Herodotus (iii. 8) speaks of seven stones which the Arabs anointed, calling upon the god Orotal. Suidas (s.v. Θεὸς Ὀρος) states that the idol of Ares in Petra was a black square stone; and the black stone of the Ka'aba was, according to a very inconvenient tradition for the Mohammedans, an idol of Saturn (*zuhal*).² Stone-worship of this kind had been practised by the Israelites before the captivity, and their heathenish practices had been transmitted to the exiles in Babylon. The meaning of the question, Shall I comfort myself concerning such things?—i.e. Shall I be contented with them (נִפְחַל *niphal*, not *hitkpael*)?—is, that it was impossible that descendants who so resembled their fathers should remain unpunished.

The prophet now proceeds with perfects, like שִׁפְכָהּ and הָעֵלִית (addressed to the national community generally, the congregation regarded as a woman). The description is mostly retrospective. Vers. 7, 8. "Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou set up thy bed; thou also ascendedst thither to offer slain offerings.

¹ Compare the remarks made in the *Comm. on the Pentateuch*, vol. i. p. 283, on the heathen worship of anointed stones, and the Bætulian worship.

² See Krehl, p. 72. In the East Indies also we find stone-worship not only among the Vindya tribes (Lassen, *A.K.* i. 376), but also among the Vaishnavas, who worship Vishnu in the form of a stone, viz. the *sâlagrâma*, a kind of stone from the river Gandak (see Wilson's *Sanscrit Lexicon s.h.v.* and *Vishnu-Purâna*, p. 163). The fact of the great antiquity of stone and tree worship has been used in the most ridiculous manner by Dozy in his work on the Israelites at Mecca (1864). He draws the following conclusion from Deut. xxxii. 18: "Thus the Israelites sprang from a divine block of stone; and this is, in reality, the true old version of the origin of the nation." From Isa. li. 1, 2, he infers that Abraham and Sara were not historical persons at all, but that the former was a block of stone, and the latter a hollow; and that the two together were a block of stone in a hollow, to which divine worship was paid. "This fact," he says, "viz. that Abraham and Sarah in the second Isaiah are not historical persons, but a block of stone and a hollow, is one of great worth, as enabling us to determine the time at which the stories of Abraham in Genesis were written, and to form a correct idea of the spirit of those stories."

And behind the door and the post thou didst place thy reminder : for thou uncoveredst away from me, and ascendedst ; thou madest thy bed broad, and didst stipulate for thyself what they had to do : thou lovedst their lying with thee ; thou sawest their manhood."

The lovers that she sought for herself are the gods of the heathen. Upon lofty mountains, where they are generally worshipped, did she set up her bed, and did all that was needed to win their favour. The *zikkârôn*, i.e. the declaration that Jehovah is the only God, which the Israelites were to write upon the posts of their houses, and upon the entrances (Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20), for a constant reminder, she had put behind the door and post, that she might not be reminded, to her shame, of her unfaithfulness. That this explanation, which most of the commentators adopt, is the true one, is proved by the expression *בְּיָמֵי* which follows, and according to which *זִכְרוֹנָהּ* is something inconvenient, which might and was intended to remind them of Jehovah. *בְּיָמֵי*, away, far from me, as in Jer. iii. 1, and like *בְּמִתְחַתִּי*, which is still more frequently used. It is unnecessary to take *gillath* with *עֲרוֹתָהּ* understood (Ezek. xxiii. 18) as equivalent to "thou makest thyself naked," or with reference to the clothes = *ἀνασῦψεις*. *בְּשִׁפְכוֹהָ* is the common object of all three verbs, even of *וַתַּעֲלֵי* (with double *metheg*), after Gen. xlix. 4. On *וַתִּבְרָה* for *וַתִּבְרָתִי* (cf. Jer. iii. 5), see Ewald, § 191, *b*. The explanation "thou didst bind," or "thou didst choose (some) of them to thyself," is contrary to the general usage, according to which *בָּרַת לְ* signifies *spondere* (2 Chron. vii. 18), and *בָּרַת עִם* *pacisci* (1 Sam. xxii. 8), in both cases with *בְּרִית* to be supplied, so that *בָּרַת (בְּרִית) מִן* would mean *stipulari ab aliquo*, i.e. to obtain from a person a solemn promise, with all the force of a covenant. What she stipulated from them was, either the wages of adultery, or the satisfaction of her wanton lust. What follows agrees with this ; for it is there distinctly stated, that the lovers to whom she offered herself gratified her lust abundantly : *adamasti concubitum eorum* (*mishkâbh*, *cubile*, e.g. Prov. vii. 17, and *concubitus*, e.g. Ezra xxiii. 17), *manum conspexisti*. The Targum and Jewish commentators adopt this explanation, *loco quem delegisti*, or (*postquam*) *locum delegisti*. This also is apparently the meaning of the accents, and most of the more modern commentators have adopted it, taking *יָ* in the sense of place or side. But

this yields only a very lame and unmeaning thought. Dæderlein conjectured that Υ was employed here in the sense of *ἰθύφαλλος*; and this is the explanation adopted by Hitzig, Ewald, and others. The Arabic furnishes several analogies to this obscene use of the word; and by the side of Ezek. xvi. 26 and xxiii. 20, where the same thing is affirmed in even plainer language, there is nothing to astonish in the passage before us. The meaning is, that after the church of Jehovah had turned away from its God to the world and its pleasures, it took more and more delight in the pleasures afforded it by idolatry, and indulged its tastes to the full.

In the closest reciprocal connection with this God-forgetting, adulterous craving for the favour of heathen gods, stood their coquetting with the heathen power of the world. Vers. 9, 10. *“And thou wentest to the king with oil, and didst measure copiously thy spices, and didst send thy messengers to a great distance, and didst deeply abase thyself, even to Hades. Thou didst become weary of the greatness of thy way; yet thou saidst not, It is unattainable: thou obtainedst the revival of thy strength: therefore thou wast not pained.”* The first thing to be noticed here, is one that has been overlooked by nearly all the modern commentators, viz. that we have here a historical retrospect before us. And secondly, a single glance at ver. 11 is sufficient to show that the words refer to a servile coquetry from the fear of man, and therefore to a wicked craving for the favour of man; so that “the king” is not Baal, or any heathen god whatever (according to ch. viii. 21 and Zeph. i. 5), but the Asiatic ruler of the world. Ahaz sent messengers, as we read in 2 Kings xvi. 7 sqq., to Tiglath-pileser, the king of Assyria, to say to him, “I am thy servant and thy son.” And Ahaz took the silver and gold that were in the house of Jehovah, and in the treasures of the palace, and sent a bribe to the king of Assyria. And again, at vers. 10 sqq., Ahaz went to Damascus to meet the king of Assyria, and there he saw an altar, and sent a model of it to Jerusalem, and had one like it put in the place of the altar of burnt-offering. Such acts as these are here described in the figure of Israel travelling with oil to the king, and taking a quantity of choice spices with it to gain his favour, and also sending messengers, and not only bowing itself to the earth, but even stooping to Hades, that is to say,

standing as it were on its head in its excessive servility, for the purpose of obtaining allies. It seems most natural to take מְשֻׁמָּן as equivalent to מְשֻׁמָּה בְּשֶׁמֶן: thou wentest in oil (dripping with pomade), and didst apply to thyself many spices; but *Beth* after verbs of going signifies to go with anything, to take it with one and bring it, so that the oil and spices are thought of here as presents, which she took with her as sensual stimulants, with a view to the amorous pleasures she was seeking (Ezek. xxiii. 41, cf. Hos. xii. 2). הִשְׁפִּיל signifies to go deep down in Jer. xiii. 18; the meaning here is, to bow very low, or to degrade one's self. By "the greatness or breadth of the way" (a similar expression to that in Josh. ix. 13), all the great sacrifices are intended which it cost her to purchase the favour of the heathen ruler. Although they were a great trouble to her, yet she did not say נִיאֵץ, "it is hopeless;" the *niphal* of נִיאֵץ signifies in 1 Sam. xxvii. 1, to betake one's self to a thing with despair of its success. The participle in Job vi. 26 means a despairing person; it also occurs in a neuter sense in Jer. ii. 25, xviii. 12, viz. given up, i.e. absolutely in vain. She did not give up hope, although the offerings nearly exhausted her strength; on the contrary, she gained חַיַּית יָד, "life of her arm," i.e. (according to the use of חַיָּה in the sense of reviving, and הִחַיָּה, to bring to life again) new life in her arm, in other words, "the renewing of her strength" (*recentem vigorem virium suarum*). Thus, without noticing the sighs and groans forced from her by the excessive toil and fatigue, but stirring herself up again and again, she pursued the plan of strengthening her alliances with the heathen. Ezekiel's picture of Aholah and Aholibah is like a commentary on vers. 3-10 (see Ezek. xxiii.).

From fear of man, Israel, and still more Judah, had given up the fear of Jehovah. Ver. 11a. "*And of whom hast thou been afraid, and (whom) didst thou fear, that thou becamest a liar, and didst not continue mindful of me, and didst not take it to heart?*" It was of men—only mortal men, with no real power (ch. li. 12)—that Israel was so needlessly afraid, that it resorted to lies and treachery to Jehovah (*kī, ut*, an interrogative sentence, as in 2 Sam. vii. 18, Ps. viii. 5): purchasing the favour of man out of the fear of man, and throwing itself into the arms of false tutelar deities, it banished Jehovah its true shelter out of its memory, and did not take it to heart, viz. the

sinfulness of such infidelity, and the eventful consequences by which it was punished (compare ch. xlvii. 7 and xlii. 25).

With ver. 11b the reproaches are addressed to the present. The treachery of Israel had been severely punished in the catastrophe of which the captivity was the result, but without effecting any improvement. The great mass of the people were as forgetful of God as ever, and would not be led to repentance by the long-suffering of God, which had hitherto spared them from other well-merited punishments. Ver. 11b. "*Am I not silent, and that for a long time, whereas thou wast not afraid of me?*" A comparison with ch. xlii. 14 will show that the prophecy returns here to its ordinary style. The LXX. and Jerome render the passage as if the reading were מַעֲלָם (viz. עֵינִי = *παρορῶν*, *quasi non videns*), and this is the reading which Lowth adopts. We may see from this, that the original text had a defective מַעֲלָם, which was intended, however, to be read וּמַעֲלָם. The prophet applies the term 'olām (see ch. xlii. 14) to the captivity, which had already lasted a long time—a time of divine silence: the silence of His help so far as the servants of Jehovah were concerned, but the silence of His wrath as to the great mass of the people.

But this silence would not last for ever. Vers. 12, 13. "*I, I will proclaim thy righteousness; and thy works, they will not profit thee. When thou criest, let thy heaps of idols save thee: but a wind carries them all away; a breath takes them off; and whoever putteth trust in me will inherit the land, and take possession of my holy mountain.*" According to the context, צִדְקָתִי cannot be a synonym of יְשׁוּעָה here. It is neither salvation nor the way of salvation that is intended; nor is this even included, as Stier supposes. But the simple reference is to what Israel in its blindness regarded as righteousness; whereas, if it had known itself, it would have seen that it was the most glaring opposite. This lying-righteousness of Israel would be brought to a judicial exposure by Jehovah. וְאֶת־מַעֲשֵׂיךָ is not a second accusative to אֶת־צִדְקָתְךָ וּמַעֲשֵׂיךָ, for in that case we should have אֶת־צִדְקָתְךָ וּמַעֲשֵׂיךָ; but it commences a second sentence, as the accents really indicate. When Jehovah begins thus to speak and act, the impotence of the false gods which His people have made for themselves will soon be exposed; and "as for thy works (*i.e.* thine idols, ch. xli. 29, cf. ch. i. 31), they will do thee no good"

(ch. xlv. 9, 10, compare Jer. xxiii. 33; for the question מִה־מִשָּׁנָה, here an emphatic elevation of the subject, compare ch. liii. 8, וְאֶת־דִּדְרוֹ, Ewald, § 277, p. 683). This determines the meaning of קִבְּצֵיָהּ, which Knobel supposes to refer to the large army of the Babylonians, with which the apostates among the exiles had formed an offensive and defensive alliance. But the term is really applied to the heaps (*qibbûts*, *collectio*, not an adjective of the form *limmūd*) of different idols, with which Israel had furnished itself even in its captivity (compare *qibbâtsâh* in Mic. i. 17). It was in vain for them to turn to these pantheons of theirs; a single *rûäch* would carry them all away, a *hebhel* would sweep them off, for they themselves were nothing but *hebhel* and *rûäch* (ch. xli. 29). The proper punctuation here is יִקַּח־הֶבֶל; the first syllable of יקח, which is attached to a word with a disjunctive accent, has a so-called heavy *Gaya*, the second a euphonic *Gaya*, according to rules which are too little discussed in our grammars. When Knobel supports his explanation of קְבוּצֵיךְ on the ground that the idols in ver. 13a and the worshippers of Jehovah in ver. 13b do not form a fitting antithesis, the simple reply is, that the contrast lies between the idols, which cannot save, and Jehovah, who not only saves those who trust in Him, but sends them prosperity according to His promises. With the promise, "Whoso trusts in me will inherit the land," this prophecy reaches the thought with which the previous prophecy (ch. lvi. 7, 8) closed; and possibly what is here affirmed of קְבוּצֵיָהּ forms an intentional antithesis to the promise there, עוֹד אֶקְבֹּץ עָלַי לְנִקְבְּצֵי: when Jehovah gathers His faithful ones from the dispersion, and gathers others to them (from among the heathen), then will the plunder which the faithless have gathered together be all scattered to the winds. And whilst the latter stand forsaken by their powerless works, the former will be established in the peaceful inheritance of the promised land.

The first half of the prophecy closes here. It is full of reproach, and closes with a brief word of promise, which is merely the obverse of the threat. The second half follows an opposite course. Jehovah will redeem His people, provided it has been truly humbled by the sufferings appointed, for He has seen into what errors it has fallen since He has withdrawn His mercy from it. "But the wicked," etc. The whole closes

here with words of threatening, which are the obverse of the promise. Ver. 13^b forms the transition from the first half to the second.

The promise is now followed by an appeal to make ready the way which the redeemed people have to take. Ver. 14. "*And He saith, Heap up, heap up, prepare a way, take away every obstruction from the way of my people.*" This is the very same appeal which occurs once in all three books of these prophecies (ch. xl. 3, 4, lvii. 14, lxii. 10). The subject of the verb (*âmar*) is not Jehovah; but the prophet intentionally leaves it obscure, as in ch. xl. 3, 6 (cf. xxvi. 2). It is a heavenly cry; and the crier is not to be more precisely named.

The primary ground for this voice being heard at all is, that the Holy One is also the Merciful One, and not only has a manifestation of glory on high, but also a manifestation of grace below. Ver. 15. "*For thus saith the high and lofty One, the eternally dwelling One, He whose name is Holy One; I dwell on high and in the holy place, and with the contrite one and him that is of a humbled spirit, to revive the spirit of humbled ones, and to revive the heart of contrite ones.*" He inflicts punishment in His wrath; but to those who suffer themselves to be urged thereby to repentance and the desire for salvation, He is most inwardly and most effectually near with His grace. For the heaven of heavens is not too great for Him, and a human heart is not too small for Him to dwell in. And He who dwells upon cherubim, and among the praises of seraphim, does not scorn to dwell among the sighs of a poor human soul. He is called *râm* (high), as being high and exalted in Himself; *נָשָׂא* (the lofty One), as towering above all besides; and *שֹׁכֵן עַר*. This does not mean the dweller in eternity, which is a thought quite outside the biblical range of ideas; but, since *עַר* stands to *שֹׁכֵן* not in an objective, but in an attributive or adverbial relation (Ps. xlv. 7, cf. Prov. i. 33), and *שֹׁכֵן*, as opposed to being violently wrested from the ordinary sphere of life and work (cf. Ps. xvi. 9, cii. 29), denotes a continuing life, a life having its root in itself, *עַר שֹׁכֵן* must mean the eternally (= *לְעַר*) dwelling One, *i.e.* He whose life lasts for ever and is always the same. He is also called *qādōsh*, as One who is absolutely pure and good, separated from all the uncleanness and imperfection by which creatures are characterized. This is not to be rendered *sanctum nomen ejus*, but *sanctus*; this

name is the *facit* of His revelation of Himself in the history of salvation, which is accomplished in love and wrath, grace and judgment. This God inhabits *mārôm v'qādōsh*, the height and the Holy Place (accusatives of the object, like *mārôm* in ch. xxxiii. 5, and *m'rômîm* in ch. xxxiii. 16), both together being equivalent to *φῶς ἀπρόσιτον* (1 Tim. vi. 16), since *qādōsh* (neuter, as in Ps. xlv. 5, lxxv. 5) answers to *φῶς*, and *mārôm* to *ἀπρόσιτον*. But He also dwells with (חַסַּד as in Lev. xvi. 16) the crushed and lowly of spirit. To these He is most intimately near, and that for a salutary and gracious purpose, namely "to revive . . ." חַיֵּיהֶם and חַיֵּיהָ always signify either to keep that which is living alive, or to restore to life that which is dead. The spirit is the seat of pride and humility, the heart the seat of all feeling of joy and sorrow; we have therefore *spiritum humilium* and *cor contritorum*. The selfish egotism which repentance breaks has its root in the heart; and the self-consciousness, from whose false elevation repentance brings down, has its seat in the spirit (*Psychol.* p. 199).

The compassion, by virtue of which God has His abode and His work of grace in the spirit and heart of the penitent, is founded in that free anticipating love which called man and his self-conscious spirit-soul into being at the first. Ver. 16. "*For I do not contend for ever, and I am not angry for ever: for the spirit would pine away before me, and the souls of men which I have created.*" The early translators (LXX., Syr., Jer., possibly also the Targum) give to עָנָה the meaning *egredietur*, which certainly cannot be established. And so also does Stier, so far as the thought is concerned, when he adopts the rendering, "A spirit from me will cover over, and breath of life will I make;" and so Hahn, "When the spirit pines away before me, I create breath in abundance." But in both cases the writer would at any rate have used the *perf. consec.* עָשִׂיתִי, and the last clause of the verse has not the syntactic form of an apodosis. The rendering given above is the only one that is unassailable both grammatically and in fact. וְיִי introduces the reason for the self-limitation of the divine wrath, just as in Ps. lxxviii. 38, 39 (cf. Ps. ciii. 14): if God should put no restraint upon His wrath, the consequence would be the entire destruction of human life, which was His creative work at first. The verb עָנָה, from its primary meaning to bend round (*Job*,

ii. p. 8), has sometimes the transitive meaning to cover, and sometimes the meaning to wrap one's self round, *i.e.* to become faint or weak (compare עָטַף, fainted away, Lam. ii. 19; and הִתְעַטַּף in Ps. cxlii. 4, which is applied to the spirit, like the *kal* here). מִלְפָּנָי is equivalent to "in consequence of the wrath proceeding from me." נִשְׁמֹת (a plural only met with here) signifies, according to the fixed usage of the Old Testament (ii. 22, xlii. 5), the souls of men, the origin of which is described as a *creation* in the attributive clause (with an emphatic אֲנִי), just as in Jer. xxxviii. 16 (cf. Zech. xii. 1). Whether the accents are intended to take אֲנִי עֲשִׂיתִי in this attributive sense or not, cannot be decided from the *tiphchah* attached to וּנְשָׁמוֹת. The prophet, who refers to the flood in other passages also (*e.g.* ch. liv. 9), had probably in his mind the promise given after the flood, according to which God would not make the existing and inherited moral depravity an occasion for utterly destroying the human race.

This general law of His action is most especially the law of His conduct towards Israel, in which such grievous effects of its well-deserved punishment are apparent, and effects so different from those intended, that the compassion of God feels impelled to put an end to the punishment for the good of all that are susceptible of salvation. Vers. 17, 18. "*And because of the iniquity of its selfishness, I was wroth, and smote it; hiding myself, and being angry: then it went on, turning away in the way of its own heart. I have seen its ways, and will heal it; and will lead it, and afford consolations to it, and to its mourning ones.*" The fundamental and chief sin of Israel is here called בָּצֵעַ, lit. a cut or slice (= gain, ch. lvi. 11); then, like *πλεονεξία*, which is "idolatry" according to Col. iii. 5, or like *φιλαργυρία*, which is "the root of all evil" according to 1 Tim. vi. 10, greedy desire for worldly possession, self-seeking, or worldliness generally. The future וְאֶבְרָחָה, standing as it does by the side of the perfect here, indicates that which is also past; and וְאֶקְצֶיהָ stands in the place of a second gerund: *abscondendo* (*viz.* *pānai*, my face, ch. liv. 8) *et stomachando*. When Jehovah had thus wrathfully hidden His gracious countenance from Israel, and withdrawn His gracious presence out of the midst of Israel (Hos. v. 6, הִלָּץ מִפָּנָיו), it went away from Him (שׁוּבָה with שׁוֹבֵב), like עוֹלָל with עוֹלֵל, going its own ways like the world of nations

that had been left to themselves. But Jēhovah had not seen these wanderings without pity. The futures which follow are promising, not by virtue of any syntactic necessity, but by virtue of an inward necessity. He will heal His wounded (ch. i. 4-6) and languishing people, and lead in the right way those that are going astray, and afford them consolation as a recompense for their long sufferings (נְחֻמִּים is derived from the *piel* נָחַם, and not, as in Hos. xi. 8, from the *niphāl hinnāchēm*, in the sense of "feelings of sympathy"), especially (*Vav epeexeget.*; Ges. § 155, 1) its mourning ones (ch. lxi. 2, 3, lxvi. 10), *i.e.* those whom punishment has brought to repentance, and rendered desirous of salvation.

But when the redemption comes, it will divide Israel into two halves, with very different prospects. Vers. 19-21. "*Creating fruit of the lips; Jehovah saith, 'Peace, peace to those that are far off, and to those that are near; and I heal it.' But the wicked are like the sea that is cast up; for it cannot rest, and its waters cast out slime and mud. There is no peace, saith my God, for the wicked.*" The words of God in ver. 19 are introduced with an interpolated "*inquit Jehova*" (cf. ch. xlv. 24, and the ellipsis in ch. xli. 27); and what Jehovah effects by speaking thus is placed first in a determining participial clause: "Creating fruit (נוֹב = נוֹב, נוֹב, *keri* נוֹב) of the lips," καρπὸν χείλεων (LXX., Heb. xiii. 15), *i.e.* not of His own lips, to which בִּרְיָא would be inapplicable, but the offering of praise and thanksgiving springing from human lips (for the figure, see *Psychol.* p. 214, transl.; and on the root נוֹב, to press upon forward, *Gen.* p. 635): "Jehovah saith *shālōm, shālōm*," *i.e.* lasting and perfect peace (as in ch. xxvi. 3), "be the portion of those of my people who are scattered far and near" (ch. xliii. 5-7, xlix. 12; compare the application to heathen and Jews in Eph. ii. 17); "and I heal it" (*viz.* the nation, which, although scattered, is like one person in the sight of God). But the wicked, who persist in the alienation from God inherited from the fathers, are incapable of the peace which God brings to His people: they are like the sea in its tossed and stormy state (נִגְרָשׁ pausal third pers. as an attributive clause). As this cannot rest, and as its waters cast out slime and mud, so has their natural state become one of perpetual disturbance, leading to the uninterrupted production of unclean and ungodly thoughts,

words, and works. Thus, then, there is no peace for them, saith my God. With these words, which have even a more pathetic sound here than in ch. xlvi. 22, the prophet seals the second book of his prophecies. The "wicked" referred to are not the heathen outside Israel, but the heathen, *i.e.* those estranged from God, within Israel itself.

The transition from the first to the second half of this closing prophecy is formed by נִסְתַּלֵּם in ch. lvii. 14. In the second half, from ch. lvii. 11b, we find the accustomed style of our prophet; but in ch. lvi. 9-lvii. 11a the style is so thoroughly different, that Ewald maintains that the prophet has here inserted in his book a fragment from some earlier writer of the time of Manasseh. But we regard this as very improbable. It is not required by what is stated concerning the prophets and shepherds, for the book of Ezekiel clearly shows that the prophets and shepherds of the captivity were thus debased. Still less does what is stated concerning the early death of the righteous require it; for the fundamental idea of the suffering servant of Jehovah, which is peculiar to the second book, is shadowed forth therein. Nor by what is affirmed as to the idolatrous conduct of the people; for in the very centre (ver. 4) the great mass of the people are reproached for their contemptuous treatment of the servants of Jehovah. Nor does the language itself force us to any such conjecture, for ch. liii. also differs from the style met with elsewhere; and yet (although Ewald regards it as an earlier, borrowed fragment) it must be written by the author of the whole, since its grandest idea finds its fullest expression there. At the same time, we may assume that the prophet described the idolatry of the people under the influence of earlier models. If he had been a prophet of the captives after the time of Isaiah, he would have rested his prophecies on Jeremiah and Ezekiel. For just as ch. li. 18 sqq. has the ring of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, so does ch. lvii. 3 sqq. resemble in many respects the earlier reproaches of Jeremiah (compare Jer. v. 7-9, 29, ix. 8, with the expression, "Should I rest satisfied with this?"); also ch. ii. 25 (נִשְׁאָה), ii. 20, iii. 6, 13 ("upon lofty mountains and under green trees"); also the night scene in Ezek. xxiii.

PART III.

FIRST PROPHECY.—CHAP. LVIII.

THE FALSE WORSHIP AND THE TRUE, WITH THE PROMISES
BELONGING TO THE LATTER.

As the last prophecy of the second book contained all the three elements of prophetic addresses—reproach, threat, and promise,—so this, the first prophecy of the third book, cannot open in any other way than with a rehearsal of one of these. The prophet receives the commission to appear as the preacher of condemnation; and whilst Jehovah is giving the reason for this commission, the preaching itself commences. Vers. 1, 2. “*Cry with full throat, hold not back; lift up thy voice like a bugle, and proclaim to my people their apostasy, and to the house of Jacob their sins. And they seek me day by day, and desire to learn my ways, like a nation which has done righteousness, and has not forsaken the right of their God: they ask of me judgments of righteousness; they desire the drawing near of Elohim.*” As the second prophecy of the first part takes as its basis a text from Micah (ch. ii. 1–4), so have we here in ver. 1b the echo of Mic. iii. 8. Not only with lisping lips (1 Sam. i. 13), but with the throat (Ps. cxv. 7, cxlix. 6); that is to say, with all the strength of the voice, lifting up the voice like the *shōphâr* (not a trumpet, which is called *חֲצֹצְרֶה*, nor in fact any metallic instrument, but a bugle or signal horn, like that blown on new year’s day: see at Ps. lxxxi. 4), *i.e.* in a shrill shouting tone. With a loud voice that must be heard, with the most unsparing publicity, the prophet is to point out to the people their deep moral wounds, which they may indeed hide from themselves with hypocritical *opus operatum*, but cannot conceal from the all-seeing God. The ו of וְאֵינִי does not stand for an explanatory particle, but for an adversative one: “their apostasy . . . their sins; and yet (although they are to be punished for these) they approach Jehovah every day” (וּם וְאֵינִי with *mahpach* under the first וְאֵינִי, and *pasek* after it, as is the general rule between two like-sounding words), “that He would now

speedily interpose." They also desire to know the ways which He intends to take for their deliverance, and by which He desires to lead them. This reminds us of the occurrence between Ezekiel and the elders of Gola (Ezek. xx. 1 sqq.; compare also Ezek. xxxiii. 30 sqq.). As if they had been a people whose rectitude of action and fidelity to the commands of God warranted them in expecting nothing but what was good in the future, they ask God (viz. in prayer and by inquiring of the prophet) for *mishp'etē tsedeq*, "righteous manifestations of judgment," i.e. such as will save them and destroy their foes, and desire *qirbath 'Elōhīm*, the coming of God, i.e. His saving *parousia*. The energetic futures, with the tone upon the last syllable, answer to their self-righteous presumption; and *נִחַם* is repeated, according to Isaiah's most favourite oratorical figure (see p. 134), at the close of the verse.

There follow now the words of the work-righteous themselves, who hold up their fasting before the eyes of God, and complain that He takes no notice of it. And how could He?! Vers. 3, 4. "*Wherefore do we fast and Thou seest not, afflict our soul and Thou regardest not?*" Behold, on the day of your fasting ye carry on your business, and ye oppress all your labourers. Behold, ye fast with strife and quarrelling, and with smiting with the fist maliciously closed: ye do not fast now to make your voice audible on high." By the side of *צָם* (root *צָם*, to press, tie up, constrain) we have here the older expression found in the Pentateuch, *עָנָה נֶפֶשׁ*, to do violence to the natural life. In addition to the fasting on the day of atonement (the tenth of the seventh month Tizri), the only fast prescribed by the law, other fasts were observed according to Zech. vii. 3, viii. 19, viz. fasts to commemorate the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem (10th Tebeth), its capture (17th Tammuz), its destruction (9th Abib), and the murder of Gedaliah (3d Tizri). The exiles boast of this fasting here; but it is a heartless, dead work, and therefore worthless in the sight of God. There is the most glaring contrast between the object of the fast and their conduct on the fast-day: for they carry on their work-day occupation; they are then, more than at any other time, true taskmasters to their work-people (lest the service of the master should suffer from the service of God); and

because when fasting they are doubly irritable and ill-tempered, this leads to quarrelling and strife, and even to striking with angry fist (בִּצְנִיף, from נָצַף, to collect together, make into a ball, clench). Hence in their present state the true purpose of fasting is quite unknown to them, viz. to enable them to draw near with importunate prayer to God, who is enthroned on high (ch. lvii. 15).¹ The only difficulty here is the phrase מִצֵּץ הַפֶּה. In the face of ver. 13, this cannot have any other meaning than to stretch one's hand after occupation, to carry on business, to occupy one's self with it,—מִצֵּץ combining the three meanings, application or affairs, striving, and trade or occupation. מִצֵּץ, however, maintains its primary meaning, to lay hold of or grasp (cf. ch. x. 14; Targ. אֲתִמְן חֲבֵעִין צְרִיבִין, ye seek your livelihood). This is sustained by what follows, whether we derive עֲצִיבֵם (cf. חֲלָקִי, ch. lvii. 6) from עָצַב (*et omnes labores vestros graves rigide exigitis*), נָגַשׁ (from which we have here תִּנְגֹּשׁוּ for תִּנְגֹּשׁוּ, Deut. xv. 3) being construed as in 2 Kings xxiii. 35 with the accusative of what is peremptorily demanded; or (what we certainly prefer) from עָצַב; or better still from עָצַב (like עָמַל): *omnes operarios vestros adigitis (urgetis)*, נָגַשׁ being construed with the accusative of the person oppressed, as in Deut. xv. 2, where it is applied to the oppression of a debtor. Here, however, the reference is not to those who owe money, but to those who owe labour, or to obligations to labour; and עָצַב does not signify a debtor (an idea quite foreign to this verbal root), but a labourer, one who eats the bread of sorrows, or of hard toil (Ps. cxxvii. 2). The prophet paints throughout from the life; and we cannot be persuaded by Stier's false zeal for Isaiah's authorship to give up the opinion, that we have here a figure drawn from the life of the exiles in Babylon.

Whilst the people on the fast-day are carrying on their worldly, selfish, everyday business, the fasting is perverted from a means of divine worship and absorption in the spiritual character of the day to the most thoroughly selfish purposes: it is supposed to be of some worth and to merit some reward.

¹ The ancient church called a fast *statio*, because he who fasted had to wait in prayer day and night like a soldier at his post. See on this and what follows, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, iii. Sim. 5, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, c. iii.

This work-holy delusion, behind which self-righteousness and unrighteousness were concealed, is met thus by Jehovah through His prophet: Vers. 5-7. "*Can such things as these pass for a fast that I have pleasure in, as a day for a man to afflict his soul? To bow down his head like a bulrush, and spread sackcloth and ashes under him—dost thou call this a fast and an acceptable day for Jehovah? Is not this a fast that I have pleasure in: To loose coils of wickedness, to untie the bands of the yoke, and for sending away the oppressed as free, and that ye break every kind of yoke? Is it not this, to break thy bread to the hungry, and to take the poor and houseless to thy home; when thou seest a naked man that thou clothest him, and dost not deny thyself before thine own flesh?*" The second part of the address commences with ver. 5. The true worship, which consists in works of merciful love to one's brethren, and its great promises are here placed in contrast with the false worship just described. הִכָּיָה points backwards: is such a fast as this a fast after Jehovah's mind, a day on which it can be said in truth that a man afflicts his soul (Lev. xvi. 29)? The הִ of הִלָּכָה is resumed in הִלָּה; the second ל is the object to תִּקְרָא expressed as a dative. The first ל answers to our preposition "to" with the infinitive, which stands here at the beginning like a *casus absol.* (to hang down; for which the *inf. abs.* הִכָּפֹה might also be used), and as in most other cases passes over into the finite (*et quod saccum et cinerem substernit*, viz. *sibi*: Ges. § 132, Anm. 2). To hang down the head and sit in sackcloth and ashes—this does not in itself deserve the name of fasting and of a day of gracious reception (ch. lvi. 7, lxi. 2) on the part of Jehovah (לִיהוָה for a subjective genitive). Vers. 6 and 7 affirm that the fasting which is pleasant to Jehovah consists in something very different from this, namely, in releasing the oppressed, and in kindness to the helpless; not in abstinence from eating as such, but in sympathetic acts of that self-denying love, which gives up bread or any other possession for the sake of doing good to the needy.¹ There is a bitter irony in these words, just as when the ancients said, "not eating is a natural fast, but abstaining from sin is a spiritual fast." During the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans a general

¹ The ancient church connected fasting with almsgiving by law. Dressel, *Patr. Ap.* p. 493.

emancipation of the slaves of Israelitish descent (who were to be set free, according to the law, every three years) was resolved upon and carried out; but as soon as the Chaldeans were gone, the masters fetched their liberated slaves back into servitude again (Jer. xxxiv. 8-22). And as ver. 6 shows, they carried the same selfish and despotic disposition with them into captivity. The הַיִּל which points forwards is expanded into infin. absolutes, which are carried on quite regularly in the finite tense. *Mōtāh*, which is repeated palindromically, signifies in both cases a yoke, lit. *vectis*, the cross wood which formed the most important part of the yoke, and which was fastened to the animal's head, and so connected with the plough by means of a cord or strap (Sir. xxx. 35, xxxiii. 27).¹ It is to this that חַבְלֵי, knots, refers. We cannot connect it with *mutteh*, a state of perverted right (Ezek. ix. 9), as Hitzig does. רְצוּצִים are persons unjustly and forcibly oppressed even with cruelty; רָצַץ is a stronger synonym to עָשָׂה (e.g. Amos iv. 1). In ver. 7 we have the same spirit of general humanity as in Job xxxi. 13-23, Ezek. xviii. 7, 8 (compare what James describes in ch. i. 27 as "pure religion and undefiled"). לְהֵם (פָּרֶם) is the usual phrase for κλᾶν (κλάζειν) ἄρτον. מְרֻדִים is the adjective to מָרַר, and apparently therefore must be derived from מָרַר: miserable men who have shown themselves refractory towards despotic rulers. But the participle *mārūd* cannot be found elsewhere; and the recommendation to receive political fugitives has a modern look. The parallels in Lam. i. 7 and iii. 19 are conclusive evidence, that the word is intended as a derivative of מָרַד, to wander about, and it is so rendered in the LXX., Targ., and Jerome (*vagos*). But מְרֻדִים, pl. מְרֻדִים, is no adjective; and there is nothing to recommend the opinion, that by "wanderers" we are to understand Israelitish men. Ewald supposes that מְרֻדִים may be taken as a *part. hoph.* for מְרֻדִים, hunted away, like חֲמֻסִּים in 2 Kings xi. 2 (*keri* חֲמֻסִּים); but it cannot

¹ I have already observed at ch. xlvii. 6, in vindication of what was stated at ch. x. 27, that the yoke was not in the form of a collar. I brought the subject under the notice of Prof. Schegg, who wrote to me immediately after his return from his journey to Palestine to the following effect: "I saw many oxen ploughing in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and the neighbourhood of Ephesus; and in every case the yoke was a cross piece of wood laid upon the neck of the animal, and fastened to the pole of the plough by a cord which passed under the neck of the animal."

be shown that the language allowed of this shifting of a vowel-sound. We prefer to assume that מְרִידִים (persecuted) is regarded as *part. pass.*, even if only *per metaplasmum*, from מָרַד, a secondary form of רוּד (cf. מָכַם, מָלַץ, מָצָח, *makuna*). Ver. 7b is still the virtual subject to צוֹם אֶבְחָרָהּ. The apodosis to the hypothetical כִּי commences with a *perf. consec.*, which then passes into the pansal future תִּתְעַלֵּם. In מִבְּשָׂרְךָ (from thine own flesh) it is presupposed that all men form one united whole as being of the same flesh and blood, and that they form one family, owing to one another mutual love.

The prophet now proceeds to point out the reward of divine grace, which would follow such a fast as this, consisting of self-renouncing, self-sacrificing love; and in the midst of the promise he once more reminds of the fact, that this love is the condition of the promise. This divides the promises into two. The middle promise is linked on to the first; the morning dawn giving promise of the "perfect day" (Prov. iv. 18). The first series of promises we have in vers. 8, 9a. "*Then will thy light break forth as the morning dawn, and thy healing will sprout up speedily, and thy righteousness will go before thee, the glory of Jehovah will follow thee. Then wilt thou call and Jehovah will answer; thou wilt beseech, and He will say, Here am I!*" The love of God is called "light" in contrast with His wrath; and a quiet cheerful life in God's love is so called, in contrast with a wild troubled life spent in God's wrath. This life in God's love has its dawn and its noon-day. When it is night both within and around a man, and he suffers himself to be awakened by the love of God to a reciprocity of love; then does the love of God, like the rising sun, open for itself a way through the man's dark night and overcome the darkness of wrath, but so gradually that the sky within is at first only streaked as it were with the red of the morning dawn, the herald of the sun. A second figure of a promising character follows. The man is sick unto death; but when the love of God stimulates him to reciprocal love, he is filled with new vigour, and his recovery springs up suddenly; he feels within him a new life working through with energetic force like a miraculous springing up of verdure from the earth, or of growing and flowering plants. The only other passages in which אֲרִיכָה occurs are in the books of Jeremiah, Chronicles,

and Nehemiah. It signifies recovery (LXX. here, τὰ ἱάματα σου ταχὺ ἀνατελεῖ, an old mistake for ἱμάτια, *vestimenta*), and hence general prosperity (2 Chron. xxiv. 13). It always occurs with the predicate עָלָה (causative הֶעֱלָה, cf. Targ. Ps. cxlvii. 3, אָרָא, אָרָא, another reading אָרָא), *oritur* (for which we have here poetically *germinat*) *alicui sanitas*; hence Gesenius and others have inferred, that the word originally meant the binding up of a wound, bandage (*imponitur alicui fascia*). But the primary word is אָרָא = אָרָא, to set to rights, to restore or put into the right condition (*e.g. b. Sabbath 33b*, “he cured his wounded flesh”), connected with אָרָא, Arab. *arak*, *accommodatus*; so that אָרָא, after the form מְלִיכָה, Arab. (though rarely) *arika*, signifies properly, setting to rights, *i.e.* restoration.

The third promise is: “thy righteousness will go before thee, the glory of Jehovah will gather thee, or keep thee together,” *i.e.* be thy rear-guard (LXX. περιστελεῖ σε, enclose thee with its protection; אָרָא as in מְאַרָא, ch. lii. 12). The figure is a significant one: the first of the mercies of God is *δικαιοσύνη*, and the last *δοξάζειν*. When Israel is diligent in the performance of works of compassionate love, it is like an army on the march or a travelling caravan, for which righteousness clears and shows the way as being the most appropriate gift of God, and whose rear is closed by the glory of God, which so conducts it to its goal that not one is left behind. The fourth promise assures them of the immediate hearing of prayer, of every appeal to God, every cry for help.

But before the prophet brings his promises up to their culminating point, he once more lays down the condition upon which they rest. Vers. 9b-12. “*If thou put away from the midst of thee the yoke, the pointing of the finger, and speaking of evil, and offerest up thy gluttony to the hungry, and satisfiest the soul that is bowed down: thy light will stream out in the darkness, and thy darkness become like the brightness of noon-day. And Jehovah will guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drougths, and refresh thy bones; and thou wilt become like a well-watered garden, and like a fountain, whose waters never deceive. And thy people will build ruins of the olden time, foundations of earlier generations wilt thou erect; and men will call thee repairers of breaches, restorers of habitable streets.*” מוֹקָה, a yoke, is here equivalent to yoking or oppression, as in ver. 6a, where it

stands by the side of שָׁלַח אֶצְבָּעוֹ (only met with here, for שָׁלַח, Ges. § 65, 1, a), the stretching out of the finger, signifies a scornful pointing with the fingers (Prov. vi. 13, δακτυλο-δεικτείν) at humbler men, and especially at such as are godly (ch. lvii. 4). דְּבַר אָוֶן, the utterance of things which are wicked in themselves and injurious to one's neighbour, hence sinful conversation in general. The early commentators looked for more under נַפְשִׁי, than is really meant (and so does even Stier: "thy soul, thy heart, all thy sympathetic feelings," etc.). The name of the soul, which is regarded here as greedily longing (ch. lvi. 11), is used in Deut. xxiv. 6 for that which nourishes it, and here for that which it longs for; the longing itself (*appetitus*) for the object of the longing (*Psychol.* p. 204). We may see this very clearly from the choice of the verb תִּפְקֹץ (a voluntative in a conditional clause, Ges. § 128, 2), which, starting from the primary meaning *educere* (related to נָפַץ, Arabic *anfafa*, to give out, distribute, *nafafa*, distribution, especially of alms), signifies both to work out, acquire, carry off (Prov. iii. 13, viii. 35, etc.), and also to take out, deliver, offer, *ex-promere* (as in this instance and Ps. cxl. 9, cxliv. 13). The soul "bowed down" is bowed down in this instance through abstinence. The apodoses commence with the *perf. cons.* תִּהְיֶה אֶפְלָה is the darkness caused by the utter absence of light (Arab. *afalat esh-shemsu*, "the sun has become invisible"); see at Job x. 22. This, as the substantive clause affirms, is like the noon-day, which is called צִהְרִים, because at that point the daylight of both the forenoon and afternoon, the rising and setting light, is divided as it were into two by the climax which it has attained. A new promise points to the fact, that such a man may enjoy without intermission the mild and safe guidance of divine grace, for which נָתַתָּה (נָתַתָּה, syn. נָתַתָּה) is the word commonly employed; and another to the communication of the most copious supply of strength. The ἀπαξ γεγερ. בְּצִחְקוֹת does not state with what God will satisfy the soul, as Hahn supposes (after Jerome, "*splendoribus*"), but according to צִחְקָה (Ps. lxxviii. 7) and such promises as ch. xliii. 20, xlviii. 21, xlix. 10, the kind of satisfaction and the circumstances under which it occurs, viz. in extreme droughts (Targ. "years of drought"). In the place of the *perf. cons.* we have then the future, which facilitates the elevation of the object: "and thy

bones will He make strong," יְחַלֵּיץ, for which Hupfeld would read יְחַלֵּיף, "will He rejuvenate." יְחַלֵּיץ is a denom. of חָלַץ, *expeditus*; it may, however, be directly derived from a verb חָלַץ, presupposed by חֲלָצִים, not, however, in the meaning "to be fat" (LXX. *πιαυθήσεται*, and so also Kimchi), but "to be strong," lit. to be loose or ready for action; and *b. Jebamoth* 102*b* has the very suitable gloss זרחי גרמי (making the bones strong). This idea of invigorating is then unfolded in two different figures, of which that of a well-watered garden sets forth the abundance received, that of a spring the abundance possessed. Natural objects are promised, but as a gift of grace; for this is the difference between the two testaments, that in the Old Testament the natural is ever striving to reach the spiritual, whereas in the New Testament the spiritual lifts up the natural to its own level. The Old Testament is ever striving to give inwardness to what was outward; in the New Testament this object is attained, and the further object now is to make the outward conformed to the inward, the natural life to the spiritual. The last promise (whether the seventh or eighth, depends upon whether we include the growing of the morning light into the light of noon, or not) takes its form from the pining of the exiles for their home: "and thy people (בְּמִן) build" (Ewald, § 295, *c*); and Böttcher would read וּבְנוּ מִן; but מִן with a passive, although more admissible in Hebrew than in Arabic, is very rarely met with, and then more frequently in the sense of *ἀπό* than in that of *ἐκ*, and וּבְנוּ followed by a plural of the thing would be more exact than customary. Moreover, there is no force in the objection that בְּמִן with the active can only signify "some of thee," since it is equivalent to אֲשֶׁר מִן, those who sprang from thee and belong to thee by kindred descent. The members born to the congregation in exile will begin, as soon as they return to their home, to build up again the ruins of olden time, the foundations of earlier generations, *i.e.* houses and cities of which only the foundations are left (ch. lxi. 4); therefore Israel restored to its fatherland receives the honourable title of "builder of breaches," "restorer of streets (*i.e.* of places much frequented once) לְשֹׁבֵת" (for inhabiting), *i.e.* so that, although so desolate now (ch. xxxiii. 8), they become habitable and populous once more.

The third part of the prophecy now adds to the duties of

human love the duty of keeping the Sabbath, together with equally great promises; *i.e.* it adds the duties of the first table to those of the second, for the service of works is sanctified by the service of worship. Vers. 13, 14. "*If thou hold back thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy business on my holy day, and callest the Sabbath a delight, the holy of Jehovah, reverer, and honourest it, not doing thine own ways, not pursuing thy business and speaking words : then wilt thou have delight in Jehovah, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the land, and make thee enjoy the inheritance of Jacob thy forefather, for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it.*" The duty of keeping the Sabbath is also enforced by Jeremiah (ch. xvii. 19 sqq.) and Ezekiel (ch. xx. 12 sqq., xxii. 8, 26), and the neglect of this duty severely condemned. Ch. lvi. has already shown the importance attached to it by our prophet. The Sabbath, above all other institutions appointed by the law, was the true means of uniting and sustaining Israel as a religious community, more especially in exile, where a great part of the worship necessarily fell into abeyance on account of its intimate connection with Jerusalem and the holy land ; but whilst it was a Mosaic institution so far as its legal appointments were concerned, it rested, in a way which reached even beyond the rite of circumcision, upon a basis much older than that of the law, being a ceremonial copy of the Sabbath of creation, which was the divine rest established by God as the true object of all motion; for God entered into Himself again after He had created the world out of Himself, that all created things might enter into Him. In order that this, the great end set before all creation, and especially before mankind, viz. entrance into the rest of God, might be secured, the keeping of the Sabbath prescribed by the law was a divine method of education, which put an end every week to the ordinary avocations of the people, with their secular influence and their tendency to fix the mind on outward things, and was designed by the strict prohibition of all work to force them to enter into themselves and occupy their minds with God and His word. The prophet does not hedge round this commandment to keep the Sabbath with any new precepts, but merely demands for its observance full truth answering to the spirit of the letter. "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath" is equivalent to, if thou do not tread upon its holy

ground with a foot occupied with its everyday work. עֲשׂוֹת which follows is not elliptical (= מַעֲשֵׂוֹת answering to מַשְׁפָּחָה, an unnecessary and mistaken assumption), but an explanatory permutative of the object "thy foot:" "turn away thy foot," viz. from attending to thy business (a defective plural) on my holy day. Again, if thou call (*i.e.* from inward contemplation and esteem) the Sabbath a pleasure ('*ōneg*, because it leads thee to God, and not a burden because it leads thee away from thine everyday life; cf. Amos viii. 5) and the holy one of Jehovah (on this masculine personification of the Sabbath, see ch. lvi. 2), "*m'khubbād*," honoured = honourable, *honorandus* (see vol. i. p. 128), and if thou truly honourest him, whom Jehovah has invested with the splendour of His own glory (Gen. ii. 3: "and sanctified it"), "not" (אֵין = ὅσπερ μὴ) "to perform thy ways" (the ordinary ways which relate to self-preservation, not to God), "not to attend to thine own business" (see at ver. 3) "and make words," viz. words of vain useless character and needless multitude (רַב־דְּבָרִים as in Hos. x. 4, denoting unspiritual gossip and boasting);¹ then, just as the Sabbath is thy pleasure, so wilt thou have thy pleasure in Jehovah, *i.e.* enjoy His delightful fellowship (תִּתְעַנֵּג עִלָּיָהּ, a promise as in Job xxii. 26), and He will reward thee for thy

¹ Hitzig observes, that "the law of the Sabbath has already received the Jewish addition, 'speaking is work.'" But from the premiss that the sabbatical rest of God was rest from speaking His creating word (Ps. xxxiii. 6), all the conclusion that tradition has ever drawn is, that on the Sabbath men must to a *certain extent* rest מִדְּבָרִים as well as מִמַּעֲשֵׂה; and when R. Simon b. Jochai exclaimed to his loquacious old mother on the Sabbath, "Keeping the Sabbath means keeping silence," his meaning was not that talking in itself was working and therefore all conversation was forbidden on the Sabbath. Tradition never went as far as this. The rabbinical exposition of the passage before us is the following: "Let not thy talking on the Sabbath be the same as that on working days;" and when it is stated once in the Jerusalem Talmud that the Rabbins could hardly bring themselves to allow of friendly greetings on the Sabbath, it certainly follows from this, that they did not forbid them. Even the author of the ש"ל (שְׁנֵי לִוְיוֹת הַבְּרִית) with its excessive ceremonial stringency goes no further than this, that on the Sabbath men must abstain from דְּבָרֵי חוֹל. And is it possible that our prophet can have been more stringent than the strictest traditionalists, and wished to make the keeper of the Sabbath a Carthusian monk? There could not be a more thorough perversion of the spirit of prophecy than this.

renunciation of earthly advantages with a victorious reign, with an unapproachable possession of the high places of the land—*i.e.* chiefly, though not exclusively, of the promised land, which shall then be restored to thee,—and with the free and undisputed usufruct of the inheritance promised to thy forefather Jacob (Ps. cv. 10, 11 ; Deut. xxxii. 13 and xxxiii. 29) ;—this will be thy glorious reward, for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it. Thus does Isaiah confirm the predictions of ch. i. 20 and xl. 25 (compare ch. xxiv. 3 and the passages quoted at vol. i. p. 425).

SECOND PROPHECY.—CHAP. LIX.

THE EXISTING WALL OF PARTITION BROKEN DOWN AT LAST.

This second prophetic address continues the reproachful theme of the first. In the previous prophecy we found the virtues which are well-pleasing to God, and to which He promises redemption as a reward of grace, set in contrast with those false means, upon which the people rested their claim to redemption. In the prophecy before us the sins which retard redemption are still more directly exposed. Vers. 1, 2. “ *Behold, Jehovah’s hand is not too short to help, nor His ear too heavy to hear ; but your iniquities have become a party-wall between you and your God, and your sins have hidden His face from you, so that He does not hear.* ” The reason why redemption is delayed, is not that the power of Jehovah has not been sufficient for it (cf. ch. i. 2), or that He has not been aware of their desire for it, but that their iniquities (עֲוֹנוֹתֵיכֶם with the second syllable defective) have become dividers (מַגְדִּילִים, defective), have grown into a party-wall between them and their God, and their sins (cf. Jer. v. 25) have hidden *pānīm* from them. As the “ hand ” (*yād*) in ch. xxviii. 2 is the *absolute* hand ; so here the “ face ” (*pānīm*) is that face which sees everything, which is everywhere present, whether uncovered or concealed ; which diffuses light when it unveils itself, and leaves darkness when it is veiled ; the sight of which is blessedness, and not to see which is damnation. This absolute countenance is never to be seen in this life without a veil ; but the rejection and abuse of grace make this veil a perfectly impenetrable covering. And Israel had forfeited in this way the

light and sight of this countenance of God, and had raised a party-wall between itself and Him, and that יְשׁוּמִי , so that He did not hear, *i.e.* so that their prayer did not reach Him (Lam. iii. 44) or bring down an answer from Him.

The sins of Israel are sins in words and deeds. Ver. 3. "*For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips speak lies, your tongue murmurs wickedness.*" The verb לָאָה , to spot (see ch. lxiii. 3), is a later softening down of לָאָה (*e.g.* 2 Sam. i. 21); and in the place of the niphal לָאָה (Zeph. iii. 1), we have here, as in Lam. iv. 14, the double passive form לָאָה , compounded of niphal and pual. The post-biblical *nithpaël*, compounded of the *niphal* and the *hithpaël*, is a mixed form of the same kind, though we also meet with it in a few biblical passages (Deut. xxi. 8; Prov. xxvii. 15; Ezek. xxiii. 48). The verb *hāgāh* (LXX. *μελετᾶ*) combines the two meanings of "thought" (meditation or reflection), and of a light low "expression," half inward half outward.

The description now passes over to the social and judicial life. Lying and oppression universally prevail. Vers. 4-6. "*No one speaks with justice, and no one pleads with faithfulness; men trust in vanity, and speak with deception; they conceive trouble, and bring forth ruin. They hatch basilisks' eggs, and weave spiders' webs. He that eateth of their eggs must die; and if one is trodden upon, it splits into an adder. Their webs do not suffice for clothing, and men cannot cover themselves with their works: their works are works of ruin, and the practice of injustice is in their hands.*" As אֲרָץ is generally used in these prophetic addresses in the sense of *κηρύσσειν*, and the judicial meaning, *citare*, in *jus vocare*, *litem intendere*, cannot be sustained, we must adopt this explanation, "no one gives public evidence with justice" (LXX. *οὐδεὶς λαλεῖ δίκαια*). אֲרָץ is firm adherence to the rule of right and truth; אֲרָץ a conscientious reliance which awakens trust; אֲרָץ (in a reciprocal sense, as in ch. xliii. 26, lxvi. 16) signifies the commencement and pursuit of a law-suit with any one. The abstract infinitives which follow in ver. 4b express the general characteristics of the social life of that time, after the manner of the historical infinitive in Latin (*cf.* ch. xxi. 5; Ges. § 131, 4, b). Men trust in *tōhū*, that which is perfectly destitute of truth, and speak אֲרָץ , what is morally corrupt and worthless. The double figure

הָרָו עָמַל הוֹלִיד אֵן is taken from Job xv. 35 (cf. Ps. vii. 15). הָרָו (compare the *poel* in ver. 13) is only another form for הָרָה (Ges. § 131, 4, *b*); and הוֹלִיד (the western or Palestinian reading here), or הוֹלִיר (the oriental or Babylonian reading), is the usual form of the *inf. abs. hiph.* (Ges. § 53, Anm. 2). What they carry about with them and set in operation is compared in ver. 5a to basilisks' eggs (עֲפָעוֹנִי, *serpens regulus*, as in ch. xi. 8) and spiders' webs (עֲבָבִישׁ, as in Job viii. 14, from עָבַב, possibly in the sense of squatter, sitter still, with the substantive ending *ish*; see Jeshurun, p. 228). They hatch basilisks' eggs (בִּנְעָה like בִּנְעָה, ch. xxxiv. 15, a perfect, denoting that which has hitherto always taken place and therefore is a customary thing); and they spin spiders' webs (אָרַג possibly related to ἀράχ-νη;¹ the future denoting that which goes on occurring). The point of comparison in the first figure is the injurious nature of all they do, whether men rely upon it, in which case "he that eateth of their eggs dieth," or whether they are bold or imprudent enough to try and frustrate their plans and performances, when that (the egg) which is crushed or trodden upon splits into an adder, *i.e.* sends out an adder, which snaps at the heel of the disturber of its rest. אָרַג as in Job xxxix. 15, here the *part. pass. fem.* like סוֹרֶה (ch. xlix. 21), with אָ instead of אַ, like אָרַג, the original *ā* of the feminine (*zûrāth*) having returned from its lengthening into *ā* to the weaker lengthening into *ē*. The point of comparison in the second figure is the worthlessness and deceptive character of their works. What they spin and make does not serve for a covering to any man (תַּכְסִּי with the most general subject: Ges. § 137, 3), but has simply the appearance of usefulness; their works are מַעֲשֵׂי-אָן (with *metheg*, not *munach*, under the *Mem*), evil works, and their acts are all directed to the injury of their neighbour, in his right and his possession.

This evil doing of theirs rises even to hatred, the very opposite of that love which is well-pleasing to God. Ver. 7. "Their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed innocent blood:

¹ Neither *καῖρος* nor ἀράχνη has hitherto been traced to an Indian root in any admissible way. Benfey deduces the former from the root *dhvri* (to twist); but this root has to perform an immense number of services. M. Müller deduces the latter from *rak*; but this means to make, not to spin.

their thoughts are thoughts of wickedness; wasting and destruction are in their paths." Paul has interwoven this passage into his description of the universal corruption of morals, in Rom. iii. 15-17. The comparison of life to a road, and of a man's conduct to walking, is very common in proverbial sayings. The prophet has here taken from them both his simile and his expressions. We may see from ver. 7a, that during the captivity the true believers were persecuted even to death by their countrymen, who had forgotten God. The verbs יִמְהָרוּ and יִרְצוּ (the proper reading, with *metheg*, not *munach*, under the מ) depict the pleasure taken in wickedness, when the conscience is thoroughly lulled to sleep.

Their whole nature is broken up into discord. Ver. 8. "*The way of peace they know not, and there is no right in their roads: they make their paths crooked: every one who treads upon them knows no peace.*" With דֶּרֶךְ, the way upon which a man goes, the prophet uses interchangeably (here and in ver. 7) מַסְלָה, a high-road thrown up with an embankment; מַעְגָּל (with the plural in *im* and *oth*), a carriage-road; and נִתְיָבָה, a footpath formed by the constant passing to and fro of travellers. Peaceable conduct, springing from a love of peace, and aiming at producing peace, is altogether strange to them; no such thing is to be met with in their path as the recognition or practice of right: they make their paths for themselves (לָהֶם, *dat. ethicus*), i.e. most diligently, twisting about; and whoever treads upon them (*báh*, neuter, as in ch. xxvii. 4), forfeits all enjoyment of either inward or outward peace. *Shâlôm* is repeated significantly, in Isaiah's peculiar style, at the end of the verse. The first strophe of the prophecy closes here: it was from no want of power or willingness on the part of God, that He had not come to the help of His people; the fault lay in their own sins.

In the second strophe the prophet includes himself when speaking of the people. They now mourn over that state of exhaustion into which they have been brought through the perpetual straining and disappointment of expectation, and confess those sins on account of which the righteousness and salvation of Jehovah have been withheld. The prophet is speaking communicatively here; for even the better portion of the nation was involved in the guilt and consequences of the

corruption which prevailed among the exiles, inasmuch as a nation forms an organized whole, and the delay of redemption really affected them. Vers. 9-11. "*Therefore right remains far from us, and righteousness does not overtake us; we hope for light, and behold darkness; for brightness—we walk in thick darkness. We grope along the wall like the blind, and like eyeless men we grope: we stumble in the light of noon-day as in the darkness, and among the living like the dead. We roar all like bears, and moan deeply like doves: we hope for right, and it cometh not; for salvation—it remaineth far off from us.*" At the end of this group of verses, again, the thought with which it sets out is palindromically repeated. The perfect הִתְקַדֵּשׁ denotes a state of things reaching from the past into the present; the future הִתְקַדֵּשׁ a state of things continuing unchangeable in the present. By *mishpāt* we understand a solution of existing inequalities or incongruities through the judicial interposition of God; by *ts'dāqāh* the manifestation of justice, which bestows upon Israel grace as its right in accordance with the plan of salvation after the long continuance of punishment, and pours out merited punishment upon the instruments employed in punishing Israel. The prophet's standpoint, whether a real or an ideal one, is the last decade of the captivity. At that time, about the period of the Lydian war, when Cyrus was making one prosperous stroke after another, and yet waited so long before he turned his arms against Babylon, it may easily be supposed that hope and despondency alternated incessantly in the minds of the exiles. The dark future, which the prophet penetrated in the light of the Spirit, was indeed broken up by rays of hope, but it did not amount to light, *i.e.* to a perfect lighting up (*n'gōhōth*, an intensified plural of *n'gōhāh*, like *n'khōchōth* in ch. xxvi. 10, pl. of *n'khōchāh* in ver. 14); on the contrary, darkness was still the prevailing state, and in the deep thick darkness (*'āphēlōth*) the exiles pined away, without the promised release being effected for them by the oppressor of the nations. "We grope," they here complain, "like blind men by a wall, in which there is no opening, and like eyeless men we grope." הִתְקַדֵּשׁ (only used here) is a synonym of the older הִתְקַדֵּשׁ (Deut. xxviii. 29); הִתְקַדֵּשׁ (with the elision of the reduplication, which it is hardly possible to render audible, and which comes up again in the pausal הִתְקַדֵּשׁ) has the *āh* of force,

here of the impulse to self-preservation, which leads them to grope for an outlet in this *ἀπορία*; and *אֵין עֵינַיִם* is not quite synonymous with *עִרְיָם*, for there is such a thing as blindness with apparently sound eyes (cf. ch. xliii. 8); and there is also a real absence of eyes, on account of either a natural malformation, or the actual loss of the eyes through either external injury or disease. In the lamentation which follows, "we stumble in the light of noon-day (*צִהְרִים*, *meridies* = *mesidies*, the culminating point at which the eastern light is separated from the western) as if it were darkness, and *בְּאַשְׁמֵנִים*, as if we were dead men," we may infer from the parallelism that since *בְּאַשְׁמֵנִים* must express some antithesis to *בְּמִתִּים*, it cannot mean either *in caliginosis* (Jer., Luther, etc.), or "in the graves" (Targ., D. Kimchi, etc.), or "in desolate places" (J. Kimchi). Moreover, there is no such word in Hebrew as *אֲשֵׁם*, to be dark, although the lexicographers give a Syriac word *אוּתְמָנָה*, thick darkness (possibly related to *عَتَمَةٌ*, which does not mean the dark night, but late in the night); and the verb *shāmēn*, to be fat, is never applied to "fat, i.e. thick darkness," as Knobel assumes, whilst the form of the word with *c. dagesh* precludes the meaning a solitary place or desert (from *אֲשֵׁם* = *אֶשֶׁם*). The form in question points rather to the verbal stem *שָׁמַן*, which yields a fitting antithesis to *בְּמִתִּים*, whether we explain it as meaning "in luxuriant fields," or "among the fat ones, i.e. those who glory in their abundant health." We prefer the latter, since the word *mishmannim* (Dan. xi. 24; cf. Gen. xxvii. 28) had already been coined to express the other idea; and as a rule, words formed with *s. prosth.* point rather to an attributive than to a substantive idea. *אֲשֵׁמֶן* is a more emphatic form of *שָׁמַן* (Judg. iii. 29);¹ and *אֲשֵׁמֵנִים* indicates indirectly the very same thing which is directly expressed by *מִשְׁמַנִּים* in ch. x. 16. Such explanations as "*in opimis rebus*" (Stier, etc.), or "in fat-

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before נ, and with a suffix; Ewald, § 60). The sins are now enumerated in ver. 13 in abstract infinitive forms. At the head stands apostasy in thought and deed, which is expressed as a threefold sin. 'נָה (of Jehovah) belongs to both the "apostasy" (treachery; e.g. ch. i. 2) and the "denial" (Jer. v. 12). נָסוֹן is an inf. abs. (different from Ps. lxxx. 19). Then follow sins against the neighbour: viz. such speaking as leads to oppression, and consists of *sārāh*, that which deviates from or is opposed to the law and truth (Deut. xix. 16); also the conception (*concupere*) of lying words, and the utterance of them from the heart in which they are conceived (Matt. xv. 18, xii. 35). הָרוּ and הָנוּ are the only *poel* infinitives which occur in the Old Testament, just as שִׁוְשִׁיתִי (ch. x. 13) is the only example of a *poel perfect* of a verb לָ"ה. The *poël* is suitable throughout this passage, because the action expressed affects others, and is intended to do them harm. According to Ewald, the *poel* indicates the object or tendency: it is the conjugation employed to denote seeking, attacking, or laying hold of; e.g. לְהִיזֵן, *lingua petere*, i.e. to calumniate; עֵינִי, *oculo petere*, i.e. to envy.

The confession of personal sins is followed by that of the sinful state of society. Vers. 14, 15a. "*And right is forced back, and righteousness stands afar off; for truth has fallen in the market-place, and honesty finds no admission. And truth became missing, and he who avoids evil is outlawed.*" In connection with *mishpāt* and *ts'dāqāh* here, we have not to think of the manifestation of divine judgment and justice which is prevented from being realized; but the people are here continuing the confession of their own moral depravity. Right has been forced back from the place which it ought to occupy (*hissig* is the word applied in the law to the removal of boundaries), and righteousness has to look from afar off at the unjust habits of the people, without being able to interpose. And why are right and righteousness—that united pair so pleasing to God and beneficial to man—thrust out of the nation, and why do they stand without? Because there is no truth or uprightness in the nation. Truth wanders about, and stands no longer in the midst of the nation; but upon the open street, the broad market-place, where justice is administered, and where she ought above all to stand upright and be pre-

served upright, she has stumbled and fallen down (cf. ch. iii. 8); and honesty (*n^ekhōchāh*), which goes straight forward, would gladly enter the limits of the forum, but she cannot: people and judges alike form a barrier which keeps her back. The consequence of this is indicated in ver. 15a: truth in its manifold practical forms has become a missing thing; and whoever avoids the existing voice is *mishtōlēl* (*part. hithpoel*, not *hithpoal*), one who is obliged to let himself be plundered and stripped (Ps. lxxvi. 6), to be made a *shōlāl* (Mic. i. 8), Arab. *maslūb*, with a passive turn given to the reflective meaning, as in *שָׁחַח*, to cause one's self to be spied out = to disguise one's self, and as in the so-called *niphal tolerativum* (Ewald, 133, b, 2).

The third strophe of the prophecy commences at ver. 15b or ver. 16. It begins with threatening, and closes with promises; for the true nature of God is love, and every manifestation of wrath is merely one phase in its development. In consideration of the fact that this corrupt state of things furnishes no prospect of self-improvement, Jehovah has already equipped Himself for judicial interposition. Vers. 15b-18. "*And Jehovah saw it, and it was displeasing in His eyes, that there was no right. And He saw that there was not a man anywhere, and was astonished that there was nowhere an intercessor: then His arm brought Him help, and His righteousness became His stay. And He put on righteousness as a coat of mail, and the helmet of salvation upon His head; and put on garments of vengeance as armour, and clothed Himself in zeal as in a cloak. According to the deeds, accordingly He will repay: burning wrath to His adversaries, punishment to His foes; the islands He will repay with chastisement.*" The prophet's language has now toilsomely worked its way through the underwood of keen reproach, of dark descriptions of character, and of mournful confession which has brought up the apostasy of the great mass in all the blacker colours before his mind, from the fact that the confession proceeds from those who are ready for salvation. And now, having come to the description of the approaching judgment, out of whose furnace the church of the future is to spring, it rises again like a palm-tree that has been violently hurled to the ground, and shakes its head as if restored to itself in the transforming ether of the future.

Jehovah saw, and it excited His displeasure ("it was evil in His eyes," an antiquated phrase from the Pentateuch, *e.g.* Gen. xxxviii. 10) to see that right (which He loves, ch. lxi. 8; Ps. xxxvii. 28) had vanished from the life of His nation. He saw that there was no man there, no man possessing either the disposition or the power to stem this corruption (שׁוֹמֵר as in Jer. v. 1, cf. 1 Sam. iv. 9, 1 Kings ii. 2, and the old Jewish saying, "Where there is no man, I strive to be a man"). He was astonished (the sight of such total depravity exciting in Him the highest degree of compassion and displeasure) that there was no מְשִׁיב, *i.e.* no one to step in between God and the people, and by his intercession to press this disastrous condition of the people upon the attention of God (see ch. liii. 12); no one to form a wall against the coming ruin, and cover the rent with his body; no one to appease the wrath, like Aaron (Num. xvii. 12, 13) or Phinehas (Num. xxv. 7). What the *fut. consec.* affirms from הוֹשִׁיעַ onwards, is not something to come, but something past, as distinguished from the coming events announced from ver. 18 onwards. Because the nation was so utterly and deeply corrupt, Jehovah had equipped Himself for judicial interposition. The equipment was already completed; only the taking of vengeance remained to be effected. Jehovah saw no man at His side who was either able or willing to help Him to His right in opposition to the prevailing abominations, or to support His cause. Then His own arm became His help, and His righteousness His support (cf. ch. lxiii. 5); so that He did not desist from the judgment to which He felt Himself impelled, until He had procured the fullest satisfaction for the honour of His holiness (ch. v. 16). The armour which Jehovah puts on is now described. According to the scriptural view, Jehovah is never unclothed; but the free radiation of His own nature shapes itself into a garment of light. Light is the robe He wears (Ps. civ. 2). When the prophet describes this garment of light as changed into a suit of armour, this must be understood in the same sense as when the apostle in Eph. vi. speaks of a Christian's panoply. Just as there the separate pieces of armour represent the manifold self-manifestations of the inward spiritual life, so here the pieces of Jehovah's armour stand for the manifold self-manifestations of His holy nature, which consist of a mixture of

wrath and love. He does not arm Himself from any outward armoury; but the armoury is His infinite wrath and His infinite love, and the might in which He manifests Himself in such and such a way to His creatures is His infinite will. He puts on righteousness as a coat of mail (שָׁרִיט in half pause, as in 1 Kings xxii. 34 in full pause, for שָׁרִיט, *ō* passing into the broader *ā*, as is generally the case in יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה; also in Gen. xliii. 14, שָׁכַלְתִּי; xlix. 3, עָן; xlix. 27, יִטָּרָה), so that His appearance on every side is righteousness; and on His head He sets the helmet of salvation: for the ultimate object for which He goes into the conflict is the redemption of the oppressed, salvation as the fruit of the victory gained by righteousness. And over the coat of mail He draws on clothes of vengeance as a tabard (LXX. περιβόλαιον), and wraps Himself in zeal as in a war-cloak. The inexorable justice of God is compared to an impenetrable brazen coat of mail; His joyful salvation, to a helmet which glitters from afar; His vengeance, with its manifold inflictions of punishment, to the clothes worn above the coat of mail; and His wrathful zeal (קִנְיָה from קָנָה, to be deep red) with the fiery-looking chlamys. No weapon is mentioned, neither sword nor bow; for His own arm procures Him help, and this alone. But what will Jehovah do, when He has armed Himself thus with justice and salvation, vengeance and zeal? As ver. 18 affirms, He will carry out a severe and general retributive judgment. נִמְלָה and מְלָה signify accomplishment of (on *gāmāl*, see at ch. iii. 9) a ῥῆμα μέσον; נִמְלָה, which may signify, according to the context, either manifestations of love or manifestations of wrath, and either retribution as looked at from the side of God, or forfeiture as regarded from the side of man, has the latter meaning here, viz. the works of men and the double-sided *gāmāl*, i.e. repayment, and that in the infliction of punishment. עַל, as if, as on account of, signifies, according to its Semitic use, in the measure (עַל) of that which is fitting (עַל); cf. ch. lxiii. 7, *uti par est propter*. It is repeated with emphasis (like לָכֵן in ch. lii. 6); the second stands without *rectum*, as the correlate of the first. By the adversaries and enemies, we naturally understand, after what goes before, the rebellious Israelites. The prophet does not mention these, however, but “the islands,” that is to say, the heathen world. He hides the

special judgment upon Israel in the general judgment upon the nations. The very same fate falls upon Israel, the salt of the world which has lost its savour, as upon the whole of the ungodly world. The purified church will have its place in the midst of a world out of which the crying injustice has been swept away.

The prophet now proceeds to depict the *ישועה*, the symbol of which is the helmet upon Jehovah's head. Vers. 19, 20. "*And they will fear the name of Jehovah from the west, and His glory from the rising of the sun: for He will come like a stream dammed up, which a tempest of Jehovah drives away. And a Redeemer comes for Zion, and for those who turn from apostasy in Jacob, saith Jehovah.*" Instead of *ויראו*, Knobel would strike out the *metheg*, and read *וירא*, "and they will see;" but "seeing the name of Jehovah" (the usual expression is "seeing His glory") is a phrase that cannot be met with, though it is certainly a passable one; and the relation in which ver. 19b stands to 19a does not recommend the alteration, since ver. 19b attributes that general fear of the name of Jehovah (cf. Deut. xxviii. 58) and of His glory (see the parallel overlooked by Knobel, Ps. cii. 16), which follows the manifestation of judgment on the part of Jehovah, to the manner in which this manifestation occurs. Moreover, the true Masoretic reading in this passage is not *ויראו* (as in Mic. vii. 17), but *ויראו* (see Norzi). The two *מן* in *מִן־מִצְרַיִם* (with the indispensable *metheg* before the *chateph*, and a second to ensure clearness of pronunciation)¹ and *וּמִן־מִצְרַיִם־שָׂמִיט* (also with the so-called strong *metheg*)² indicate the *terminus a quo*. From all quarters of the globe will fear of the name and of the glory of Jehovah become naturalized among the nations of the world. For when God has withdrawn His name and His glory from the world's history, as during the Babylonian captivity (and also at the present time), the return of both is all the more intense and extraordinary; and this is represented here in a figure which recalls ch. xxx. 27, 28, x. 22, 23 (cf. Ezek. xliii. 2). The accentuation, which gives *pashta* to *בְּנֵהוּר*, does indeed appear to make *נָר* the subject, either in the sense of oppressor or adversary, as in Lam. iv. 12, or in that of oppression, as in ch. xxv. 4,

¹ See the law in Bär's *Metheg-Setzung*, § 29.

² See *idem*, § 28.

xxvi. 16, xxx. 20. The former is quite out of the question, since no such transition to a human instrument of the retributive judgment could well take place after the *חֵמָה לְצָרָיו* in ver. 18. In support of the latter, it would be possible to quote ch. xlviii. 18 and lxvi. 12, since *צָר* is the antithesis to *shālôm*. But according to such parallels as ch. xxx. 27, 28, it is incomparably more natural to take Jehovah (His name, His glory) as the subject. Moreover, *בּוֹ*, which must in any case refer to *בְּנֵהר*, is opposed to the idea that *צָר* is the subject, to which *בּוֹ* would have the most natural claim to be referred,—an explanation indeed which Stier and Hahn have really tried, taking *נוֹסֶסָה* as in Ps. lx. 4, and rendering it “The Spirit of Jehovah holds up a banner against him, viz. the enemy.” If, however, Jehovah is the subject to *יָבֵא צָר בְּנֵהָר צָר* must be taken together (like *מִכְבָּסִים . . . בְּנָמִים*, ch. xi. 9; *רִיחֹד טוֹבָה*, Ps. cxliii. 10; Ges. § 111, 2, *b*), either in the sense of “a hemming stream,” one causing as it were a state of siege (from *tsūr*, ch. xxi. 2, xxix. 3), or, better still, according to the adjective use of the noun *צָר* (here with *tzakeph*, *צָר* from *צָרַר*) in ch. xxviii. 20, Job xli. 7, 2 Kings vi. 1, a closely confined stream, to whose waters the banks form a compressing dam, which it bursts through when agitated by a tempest, carrying everything away with it. Accordingly, the explanation we adopt is this: Jehovah will come like the stream, a stream hemmed in, which a wind of Jehovah, i.e. (like “the mountains of God,” “cedars of God,” “garden of Jehovah,” ch. li. 3, cf. Num. xxiv. 6) a strong tempestuous wind, sweeps away (*נִסְפָּסָה בּוֹ*, *nōs^ssa-b-bō*, with the tone drawn back and *dagesh forte conj.* in the monosyllable, the *pilel* of *nūs* with *Beth*: to hunt into, to press upon and put to flight),—a figure which also indicates that the Spirit of Jehovah is the driving force in this His judicially gracious revelation of Himself. Then, when the name of Jehovah makes itself legible once more as with letters of fire, when His glory comes like a sea of fire within the horizon of the world’s history, all the world from west to east, from east to west, will begin to fear Him. But the true object of the love, which bursts forth through this revelation of wrath, is His church, which includes not only those who have retained their faith, but all who have been truly converted to Him. And He comes (*יָבֵא* a continuation of *יָבֵא*) for Zion a Redeemer, i.e. as a Redeemer (a closer definition of the predicate), and for

those who turn away from apostasy (שָׁבִי פִשְׁעֵי, compare ch. i. 27, and for the genitive connection Mic. ii. 8, שָׁבִי מִלְחָמָה, those who have turned away from the war). The *Vav* here does not signify "and indeed," as in ch. lvii. 18, but "more especially." He comes as a Redeemer for Zion, *i.e.* His church which has remained true, including those who turn again to Jehovah from their previous apostasy. In Rom. xi. 26 the apostle quotes this word of God, which is sealed with "Thus saith Jehovah," as a proof of the final restoration of all Israel; for יהוה (according to the Apocalypse, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος) is to him the God who moves on through the Old Testament towards the goal of His incarnation, and through the New Testament towards that of His *parousia* in Christ, which will bring the world's history to a close. But this final close does not take place without its having become apparent at the same time that God "has concluded all in unbelief, that He may have compassion upon all" (Rom. xi. 32).

Jehovah, having thus come as a Redeemer to His people, who have hitherto been lying under the curse, makes an everlasting covenant with them. Ver. 21. *"And I, this is my covenant with them, saith Jehovah: My Spirit which is upon thee, and my word which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, and out of the mouth of thy seed, and out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith Jehovah, from henceforth and for ever."* In the words, "And I, this is my covenant with them," we have a renewal of the words of God to Abram in Gen. xvii. 4, "As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee." Instead of אֲנִי we have in the same sense אֲתָם (not אִוְתָם, as in ch. liv. 15); we find this very frequently in Jeremiah. The following prophecy is addressed to Israel, the "servant of Jehovah," which has been hitherto partially faithful and partially unfaithful, but which has now returned to fidelity, *viz.* the "remnant of Israel," which has been rescued through the medium of a general judgment upon the nations, and to which the great body of all who fear God from east to west attach themselves. This church of the new covenant has the Spirit of God over it, for it comes down upon it from above; and the comforting saving words of God are not only the blessed treasure of its heart, but the confession of its mouth which spreads salvation all around. The words intended are those which prove, accord-

ing to ch. li. 16, the seeds of the new heaven and the new earth. The church of the last days, endowed with the Spirit of God, and never again forsaking its calling, carries them as the evangelist of God in her apostolic mouth. The subject of the following prophecy is the new Jerusalem, the glorious centre of this holy church.

THIRD PROPHECY.—CHAP. LX.

THE GLORY OF THE JERUSALEM OF THE LAST DAYS.

It is still night. The inward and outward condition of the church is night; and if it is night followed by a morning, it is so only for those who "against hope believe in hope." The reality which strikes the senses is the night of sin, of punishment, of suffering, and of mourning,—a long night of nearly seventy years. In this night, the prophet, according to the command of God, has been prophesying of the coming light. In his inward penetration of the substance of his own preaching, he has come close to the time when faith is to be turned to sight. And now in the strength of God, who has made him the mouthpiece of His own creative fiat, he exclaims to the church, ver. 1: "*Arise, grow light; for thy light cometh, and the glory of Jehovah riseth upon thee.*" The appeal is addressed to Zion-Jerusalem, which is regarded (as in ch. xlix. 18, l. 1, lii. 1, 2, liv. 1) as a woman, and indeed as the mother of Israel. Here, however, it is regarded as the church redeemed from banishment, and settled once more in the holy city and the holy land, the church of salvation, which is now about to become the church of glory. Zion lies prostrate on the ground, smitten down by the judgment of God, brought down to the ground by inward prostration, and partly overcome by the sleep of self-security. She now hears the cry, "Arise" (*qūmī*). This is not a mere admonition, but a word of power which puts new life into her limbs, so that she is able to rise from the ground, on which she has lain, as it were, under the ban. The night, which has brought her to the ground mourning, and faint, and intoxicated with sleep, is now at an end. The mighty word *qūmī*, "arise," is supplemented by a second word: 'ōrī. What creative force there is in these two

trochees, *qūmī 'ōrī*, which hold on, as it were, till what they express is accomplished; and what force of consolation in the two *iambi*, *kī-bhā 'ōrēkh*, which affix, as it were, to the acts of Zion the seal of the divine act, and add to the *ἄψις* (or elevation) its *θέσις* (or foundation)! Zion is to become light; it is to, because it can. But it cannot of itself, for in itself it has no light, because it has so absolutely given itself up to sin; but there is a light which will communicate itself to her, viz. the light which radiates from the holy nature of God Himself. And this light is salvation, because the Holy One loves Zion: it is also glory, because it not only dispels the darkness, but sets itself, all glorious as it is, in the place of the darkness. *Zārach* is the word commonly applied to the rising of the sun (Mal. iii. 20). The sun of suns is Jehovah (Ps. lxxxiv. 12), the God who is coming (ch. lix. 20).

It is now all darkness over mankind; but Zion is the east, in which this sun of suns will rise. Ver. 2. "*For, behold, the darkness covereth the earth, and deep darkness the nations; and Jehovah riseth over thee, and His glory becomes visible over thee.*" The night which settles upon the world of nations is not to be understood as meaning a night of ignorance and enmity against God. This prophecy no doubt stands in progressive connection with the previous one; but, according to ch. lix. 19, the manifestation of judgment, through which Zion is redeemed, brings even the heathen from west to east, i.e. those who survive the judgment, to the fear of Jehovah. The idea is rather the following: After the judgments of God have passed, darkness in its greatest depth still covers the earth, and a night of clouds the nations. It is still night as on the first day, but a night which is to give place to light. Where, then, will the sun rise, by which this darkness is to be lighted up? The answer is, "Over Zion, the redeemed church of Israel." But whilst darkness still covers the nations, it is getting light in the Holy Land, for a sun is rising over Zion, viz. Jehovah in His unveiled glory. The consequence of this is, that Zion itself becomes thoroughly light, and that not for itself only, but for all mankind. When Jehovah has transformed Zion into the likeness of His own glory, Zion transforms all nations into the likeness of her own. Ver. 3. "*And nations walk to thy light, and kings to the shining of thy rays.*" Zion exerts such an

attractive force, that nations move towards her light (הַלֵּךְ לְ) as in הַלֵּךְ לְבֵיתוֹ and other similar expressions), and kings to the splendour of her rays, to share in them for themselves, and enjoy them with her. All earthly might and majesty station themselves in the light of the divine glory, which is reflected by the church.

Zion is now exhorted, as in ch. xlix. 18, to lift up her eyes, and turn them in all directions; for she is the object sought by an approaching multitude. Ver. 4. "*Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: they all crowd together, they come to thee: thy sons come from afar, and thy daughters are carried hither upon arms.*" The multitude that are crowding together and coming near are the *diaspora* of her sons and daughters that have been scattered far away (ch. xi. 12), and whom the heathen that are now drawing near to her bring with them, conducting them and carrying them, so that they cling "to the side" (ch. lxvi. 12) of those who are carrying them upon their arms and shoulders (ch. xlix. 22). תִּאֲמָנָה is softened from תִּאֲמָנָה, the pausal form for תִּאֲמָנָה (compare the softening in Ruth i. 13), from אָמַן, to keep, fasten, support; whence אֲמָנָה, אֲמָן, a foster-father, a nurse who has a child in safe keeping.

When this takes place, Zion will be seized with the greatest delight, mingled with some trembling. Ver. 5. "*Then wilt thou see and shine, and thine heart will tremble and expand; for the abundance of the sea will be turned to thee, the wealth of the nations cometh to thee.*" It is a disputed question whether the proper reading is תִּרְאֶה, תִּרְאֶה, or תִּרְאֶה—all three point to יִרְאֶה—or תִּרְאֶה, from רָאָה. The last is favoured by the LXX., Targ., Syr., Jerome, Saad., and all the earlier Jewish commentators except AE, and is also the Masoretic reading; for the *Masora finalis* (f. 1, col. 6) observes that this תִּרְאֶה is the only instance of such a form from רָאָה (differing therefore from תִּרְאֶה in Zeph. iii. 15, where we also find the readings תִּרְאֶה and תִּרְאֶה); and there is a note in the margin of the Masora, לִית חֲטָף, to the effect that this תִּרְאֶה is the only one with *chateph*, i.e. *Sheva*. Moreover, תִּרְאֶה (thou shalt see) is the more natural reading, according to ch. lxvi. 14 and Zech. x. 7; more especially as יִרְאֶה is not a suitable word to use (like *pâchad* and *râgaz* in Jer. xxxiii. 9) in the sense of trembling for joy (compare, on the contrary, יָרַע, ch. xv. 4, and יָרַח in ch. xlv. 8). The true ren-

toneless contracted suffix, as in ch. xlvii. 10), and ascend ^{לַעֲלֹא}לַעֲלֹא, according to good pleasure = acceptably (with the ^{לַעֲלֹא}לַעֲלֹא used to form adverbs, Ewald, § 217, i; cf. *l'rátsōn* in ch. lvi. 7), the altar of Jehovah (*‘áláh* with the local object in the accusative, as in Gen. xlix. 4, Num. xiii. 17). The meaning is, that Jehovah will graciously accept the sacrifices which the church offers from the gifts of the Nabatæans (and Kedarenes) upon His altar. It would be quite wrong to follow Antistes Hess and Baumgarten, and draw the conclusion from such prophecies as these, that animal sacrifices will be revived again. The sacrifice of animals has been abolished once for all by the self-sacrifice of the "Servant of Jehovah;" and by the spiritual revolution which Christianity, *i.e.* the Messianic religion, has produced, so far as the consciousness of modern times is concerned, even in Israel itself, it is once for all condemned (see Holdheim's *Schrift über das Ceremonial-gesetz im Messiasreich*, 1845). The prophet, indeed, cannot describe even what belongs to the New Testament in any other than Old Testament colours, because he is still within the Old Testament limits. But from the standpoint of the New Testament fulfilment, that which was merely educational and preparatory, and of which there will be no revival, is naturally transformed into the truly essential purpose at which the former aimed; so that all that was real in the prophecy remains unaffected and pure, after the deduction of what was merely the unessential medium employed to depict it. The very same Paul who preaches Christ as the end of the law, predicts the conversion of Israel as the topstone of the gracious counsels of God as they unfold themselves in the history of salvation, and describes the restoration of Israel as "the riches of the Gentiles;" and the very same John who wrote the Gospel was also the apocalyptist, by whom the distinction between Israel and the Gentiles was seen in vision as still maintained even in the New Jerusalem. It must therefore be possible (though we cannot form any clear idea of the manner in which it will be carried out), that the Israel of the future may have a very prominent position in the perfect church, and be, as it were, the central leader of its worship, though without the restoration of the party-wall of particularism and ceremonial shadows, which the blood of the crucified One has entirely washed away. The house of God

in Jerusalem, as the prophet has already stated in ch. lvi. 7, will be a house of prayer (*bēth t'phillāh*) for all nations. Here Jehovah calls the house built in His honour, and filled with His gracious presence, "the house of my glory." He will make its inward glory like the outward, by adorning it with the gifts presented by the converted Gentile world.

From the mainland, over which caravans and flocks are coming, the prophet now turns his eyes to the sea. Vers. 8, 9. "*Who are these who fly hither as a cloud, and like the doves to their windows? Yea, the islands wait for me; and the ships of Tarshish come first, to bring thy children from far, their silver and gold with them, to the name of thy God, and to the holy One of Israel, because He hath ornamented thee.*" Upon the sea there appear first of all enigmatical shapes, driving along as swiftly as if they were light clouds flying before the wind (ch. xix. 1, xliv. 22), or like doves flying to their dovecots (*celeris cavis se turribus abdunt*, as Ovid says), *i.e.* to the round towers with their numerous pigeon-holes, which are provided for their shelter. The question is addressed to Zion, and the answer may easily be anticipated,—namely, that this swarm of swiftly flying figures are hurrying to a house which they long to reach, as much as pigeons do to reach their pigeon-house. The *kī* which follows is explanatory: this hurrying presents itself to thine eyes, because the isles wait for me. The reason for all this haste is to be found in the faith of those who are hurrying on. The Old Testament generally speaks of faith as hope (לְהִיָּתוּת as in ch. li. 5, xlii. 4); not that faith is the same as hope, but it is the support of hope, just as hope is the comfort of faith. In the Old Testament, when the true salvation existed only in promise, this epithet, for which there were many synonyms in the language, was the most appropriate one. The faith of the distant lands of the west is now beginning to work. The object of all this activity is expressed in the word לְהִיָּתוּת. The things thus flying along like clouds and doves are ships; with the Tartessus ships, which come from the farthest extremity of the European insular quarter of the globe, at their head (בְּרִאשֹׁנָה with *munach* instead of *metheg*, in the same sense as in Num. x. 14; LXX. ἐν πρώτοις; Jerome, in *principio*, in the foremost rank), *i.e.* acting as the leaders of the fleet which is sailing to Zion and bringing Zion's children from

afar, and along with them the gold and silver of the owners of the vessels themselves, to the name (לְשֵׁם, to the name, dative, not equivalent to לְמַעַן; LXX. δὲ, as in ch. lv. 5) of thy God, whom they adore, and to the Holy One of Israel, because He hath ornamented thee, and thereby inspired them with reverence and love to thee (פָּאָרָה for פָּאָרָה, as in ch. liv. 6, where it even stands out of pause).

The first turn (vers. 1-3) described the glorification of Zion through the rising of the glory of Jehovah; the second (vers. 4-9) her glorification through the recovery of her scattered children, and the gifts of the Gentiles who bring them home; and now the third depicts her glorification through the service of the nations, especially of her former persecutors, and generally through the service of all that is great and glorious in the world of nature and the world of men. Not only do the converted heathen offer their possessions to the church on Zion, but they offer up themselves and their kings to pay her homage and render service to her. Vers. 10-12. "*And sons of strangers build thy walls, and their kings serve thee: for in my wrath I have smitten thee, and in my favour I have had mercy upon thee. And thy gates remain open continually day and night, they shall not be shut, to bring in to thee the possessions of the nations and their kings in triumph. For the nation and the kingdom which will not serve thee will perish, and the nations be certainly laid waste.*" The walls of Zion (הַמִּצְדֹּת) doubly defective) rise up from their ruins through the willing co-operation of converted foreigners (ch. lvi. 6, 7), and foreign kings place themselves at the service of Zion (ch. xlix. 23); the help rendered by the edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes Longimanus being only a prelude to events stretching on to the end of time, though indeed, in the view of the prophet himself, the period immediately succeeding the captivity really would be the end of time. Of the two perfects in ver. 10b, הַיְיָ points to the more remote past; הַיְיָ to the nearer past, stretching forward into the present (cf. ch. liv. 8). On *pittēach*, *patescere*, *hiscere*, see ch. xlviii. 8, where it is applied to the ear, as in Song of Sol. vii. 13 to a bud. The first clause of ver. 11a closes with וְלַיְלָה; *tiphchah* divides more strongly than *tebir*, which is subordinate to it. At the same time, "day and night" may be connected with "shall not be shut," as in Rev. xxi.

25, 26. The gates of Zion may always be left open, for there is no more fear of a hostile attack; and they must be left open *ad importandum*, that men may bring in the possession of the heathen through them (a thing which goes on uninterruptedly), וּמִלְכֵיהֶם נְהוּגִים. The last words are rendered by Knobel, "and their kings are leaders (of the procession);" but *nāhūg* would be a strange substantive, having nothing to support it but the obscure יָקוֹשׁ from יָקוֹשׁ, for אָחִיז in Cant. iii. 8 does not mean a support, but *amplexus* (Ewald, § 149, d). The rendering "and their kings escorted," i.e. attended by an escort, commends itself more than this; but in the passage quoted in support of this use of *nāhag*, viz. Nah. ii. 8, it is used as a synonym of *hāgāh*, signifying *gemere*. It is better to follow the LXX. and Jerome, and render it, "and their kings brought," viz., according to ch. xx. 4, 1 Sam. xxx. 2, as prisoners (Targ. *z'qīqīn*, i.e. *ḇ'zīqīqīm*, in fetters),—brought, however, not by their several nations who are tired of their government and deliver them up (as Hitzig supposes), but by the church, by which they have been irresistibly bound in fetters, i.e. inwardly conquered (compare ch. xlv. 14 with Ps. cxlix. 8), and thus suffer themselves to be brought in a triumphal procession to the holy city as the captives of the church and her God. Ver. 12 is connected with this *n'ḥūgīm*; for the state of every nation and kingdom is henceforth to be determined by its subjection to the church of the God of sacred history (עֲבָד, δουλεύειν, in distinction from *shērēth*, διακονεῖν, θεραπεύειν), and by its entrance into this church—the very same thought which Zechariah carries out in ch. xiv. 16 sqq. Instead of בִּי-יהוָה, *bi* is more properly pointed according to certain MSS. with *munach* (without *makkeph*); the article before *haggōyim* is remonstrative, and the inf. intens. *chārōbh* makes the thing threatened unquestionable.

From the thought that everything great in the world of man is to be made to serve the Holy One and His church, the prophet passes to what is great in the world of nature. Ver. 13. "*The glory of Lebanon will come to thee, cypresses, plane-trees and Sherbin-trees all together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary, and to make the place of my feet glorious.*" The splendid cedars, which are the glory of Lebanon, and in fact the finest trees of all kinds, will be brought to Zion, not as

trunks felled to be used as building materials, but dug up with their roots, to ornament the holy place of the temple (Jer. xvii. 12), and also to this end, that Jehovah may glorify the "holy place of His feet," i.e. the place where He, who towers above the heaven of all heavens, has as it were to place His feet. The temple is frequently called His footstool (*hādōm raglāiv*), with especial reference to the ark of the covenant (Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; Lam. ii. 1; 1 Chron. xxviii. 2) as being the central point of the earthly presence of God (cf. ch. lxvi. 1). The trees, that is to say, which tower in regal glory above all the rest of the vegetable world, are to adorn the environs of the temple, so that avenues of cedars and plane-trees lead into it; a proof that there is no more fear of any further falling away to idolatry. On the names of the trees, see ch. xli. 19. Three kinds are mentioned here; we found seven there. The words *ברוש חדרר ותאשור יחור* are repeated *verbatim* from ch. xli. 19 (on these repetitions of himself, see p. 288).

The prophecy now returns to the world of man. Ver. 14. "*The children also of thy tormentors come bending unto thee, and all thy despisers stretch themselves at the soles of thy feet, and call thee 'City of Jehovah, Zion of the Holy One of Israel.'*" The persecutors of the church both in work and word are now no more (ch. xxvi. 14), and their children feel themselves disarmed. They are seized with shame and repentance, when they see the church which was formerly tormented and despised so highly exalted. They come *sh'chōāch* (an inf. noun of the form *שָׁחַח*, Lam. v. 13; used here as an accusative of more precise definition, just as nouns of this kind are frequently connected directly with the verb *הָלַךְ*, Ewald, § 279, c), literally a bow or stoop, equivalent to bowing or stooping (the opposite to *rōmāh* in Micah ii. 3), and stretch themselves "at the soles of thy feet," i.e. clinging to thee as imploringly and obsequiously as if they would lay themselves down under thy very feet, and were not worthy to lie anywhere but there (as in ch. xlix. 23); and whereas formerly they called thee by nicknames, they now give thee the honourable name of "City of Jehovah, Zion of the Holy One of Israel," not "Sanctuary of Israel," as Meier supposes, since *q'dōsh Israel* is always a name of Jehovah in the book of Isaiah. It is a genitive construction like Bethlehem of Judah, Gibeah of Saul, and others.

The fourth turn (vers. 15-18) describes the glorification of Zion through the growth and stability of its community both without and within. A glorious change takes place in the church, not only in itself, but also in the judgment of the nations. Vers. 15, 16. "*Whereas thou wast forsaken, and hated, and no one walked through thee, I make thee now into eternal splendour, a rapture from generation to generation. And thou suckest the milk of nations, and the breast of kings thou wilt suck, and learn that I Jehovah am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.*" Of the two ideas of a church (the mother of Israel) and a city (metropolis) involved in the term Zion, the former prevails in ver. 15, the latter in ver. 16. For although עִירָא and שְׁנוּאָה are equally applicable to a city and a church (ch. liv. 6, 11), the expression "no one walked through thee" applies only to the desolate city as she lay in ruins (see ch. xxxiv. 10). The fusion of the two ideas in ver. 15 is similar to ch. xlix. 21. Jerusalem will now become thoroughly a splendour, and in fact an eternal splendour, a rapture of successive generations so long as the history of this world continues. The nations and their kings give up their own vital energy to the church, just as a mother or nurse gives the milk of her breasts to a child; and the church has thereby rich food for a prosperous growth, and a constant supply of fresh material for grateful joy. We cannot for a moment think of enriching by means of conquest, as Hitzig does; the sucking is that of a child, not of a vampyre. We should expect *m'lákhōth* (ch. xlix. 23) instead of *m'lákhīm* (kings); but by שָׂר (as in ch. lxvi. 11 for שָׂרִי) the natural character of what is promised is intentionally spiritualized. The figure proves itself to be only a figure, and requires an ideal interpretation. The church sees in all this the gracious superintendence of her God; she learns from experience that Jehovah is her Saviour, that He is her Redeemer, He the Mighty One of Jacob, who has conquered for her, and now causes her to triumph (מִנִּי נִי with *munach yethib*, as in ch. xlix. 26b, which passage is repeated almost *verbatim* here, and ch. lxi. 8).

The outward and inward beauty of the new Jerusalem is now depicted by the materials of her structure, and the powers which prevail within her. Vers. 17, 18. "*For copper I bring gold, and for iron I bring silver, and for wood copper, and for*

stones iron, and make peace thy magistracy, and righteousness thy bailiffs. Injustice is no more seen in thy land, wasting and destruction in thy borders; and thou callest salvation thy walls, and renown thy gates." Wood and stone are not used at all in the building of the new Jerusalem. Just as in the time of Solomon silver was counted as nothing (1 Kings x. 21) and had only the value of stones (1 Kings x. 27), so here Jehovah gives her gold instead of copper, silver instead of iron; whilst copper and iron are so despised with this superabundance of the precious metals, that they take the place of such building materials as wood and stones. Thus the city will be a massive one, and not even all of stone, but entirely built of metal, and indestructible not only by the elements, but by all kinds of foes. The allegorical continuation of the prophecy shows very clearly that the prophet does not mean his words to be taken literally. The LXX., Saad., and others, are wrong in adopting the rendering, "I make thy magistracy peace," etc.; since *shâlôm* and *ts'êdâqâh* are not accusatives of either the predicate or the object, but such personifications as we are accustomed to in Isaiah (*vid.* ch. xxxii. 16, 17, lix. 14; cf. ch. xlv. 8). Jehovah makes peace its *p'quddâh*, i.e. its "overship" (like *g'bhûrâh*, hero-ship, in ch. iii. 25, and *'ezrâh*, helpship, in ch. xxxi. 2), or magistracy; and righteousness its bailiffs. The plural מַשְׁפָּטִים is no disproof of the personification; the meaning is, that *ts'êdâqâh* (righteousness) is to Jerusalem what the whole body of civil officers together are: that is to say, righteousness is a substitute for the police force in every form. Under such magistracy and such police, nothing is ever heard within the land, of which Jerusalem is the capital, of either *châmâs*, i.e. a rude and unjust attack of the stronger upon the weaker, or of *shôd*, i.e. conquest and devastation, and *shebher*, i.e. dashing to pieces, or breaking in two. It has walls (ver. 10); but in truth "salvation," the salvation of its God, is regarded as its impregnable fortifications. It has gates (ver. 11); but *t'hîllâh*, the renown that commands respect, with which Jehovah has invested it, is really better than any gate, whether for ornament or protection.

The fifth turn celebrates the glorifying of Jerusalem, through the shining of Jehovah as its everlasting light and through the form of its ever-growing membership, which is so

well-pleasing to God. The prophecy returns to the thought with which it set out, and by which the whole is regulated, viz. that Jerusalem will be light. This leading thought is now unfolded in the most majestic manner, and opened up in all its eschatological depth. Vers. 19, 20. "*The sun will be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness will the moon shine upon thee: Jehovah will be to thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun will no more go down, and thy moon will not be withdrawn; for Jehovah will be to thee an everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning will be fulfilled.*" Although, in the prophet's view, the Jerusalem of the period of glory in this world and the Jerusalem of the eternal glory beyond flow into one another; the meaning of this prophecy is not that the sun and moon will no longer exist. Even of the Jerusalem which is not to be built by Israel with the help of converted heathen, but which comes down from heaven to earth, the seer in Rev. xxi. 23 merely says, that the city needs neither the shining of the sun nor of the moon (as the Targum renders the passage before us, "thou wilt not need the shining of the sun by day"), for the glory of God lightens it, and the Lamb is the light thereof, *i.e.* God Himself is instead of a sun to her, and the Lamb instead of a moon. Consequently we do not agree with Stier, who infers from this passage that "there is a final new creation approaching, when there will be no more turning round into the shadow (Jas. i. 17), when the whole planetary system, including the earth, will be changed, and when the earth itself will become a sun, yea, will become even more than that, in the direct and primary light which streams down upon it from God Himself." We rather agree with Hofmann, that "there will still be both sun and moon, but the Holy Place will be illumined without interruption by the manifestation of the presence of God, which outshines all besides." The prophet has here found the most complete expression, for that which has already been hinted at in such prophecies in ch. iv. 5, xxx. 26, xxiv. 23. As the city receives its light neither from the sun nor from the moon, this implies, what Rev. xxi. 25 distinctly affirms, that there will be no more night there. The prophet intentionally avoids a *לֵאשׁוֹר לַיְלָה* parallel to *לֵאשׁוֹר יוֹמָם*. We must not render the second clause in ver. 19, "and it will not become light to thee with the shining

of the moon," for הָאֵר never means to get light; nor "and as for the shining of the moon, it does not give the light," as Hitzig and Knobel propose, for וְלִנְיָה is used alone, and not וְלִנְיָה הָאֵר as the antithesis to לְאֹר יוֹמָם, in the sense of "to light up the night" (compare נִנְיָה as applied to the shining of the moon in ch. xiii. 10, and נִנְיָה to the glittering of the stars in Joel ii. 10), and even the use of הַלֵּילָה is avoided. The true rendering is either, "and for lighting, the moon will not shine upon thee" (Stier, Hahn, etc.); or, what is more in accordance with the accentuation, which would have given וְלִנְיָה *tifchah* and not *tsakeph gadol*, if it had been intended to indicate the object, "and as for the lighting" (לְ as in ch. xxxii. 1b). The glory of Jehovah, which soars above Jerusalem, and has come down into her, is henceforth her sun and her moon,—a sun that never sets, a moon לֹא יָאֲסֶה which is not taken in towards morning, like a lamp that has been hung out at night (compare נִאֲסֶה, ch. xvi. 10, withdrawn, disappeared). The triumph of light over darkness, which is the object of the world's history, is concentrated in the new Jerusalem. How this is to be understood, is explained in the closing clause of ver. 20. The sum of the days of mourning allotted to the church is complete. The darkness of the corruption of sin and state of punishment is overcome, and the church is nothing but holy blessed joy without change or disturbance; for it walks no longer in sidereal light, but in the eternally unchangeable light of Jehovah, which with its peaceful gentleness and perfect purity illumines within as well as without. The seer of the Apocalypse also mentions the Lamb. The Lamb is also known to our prophet; for the "Servant of Jehovah" is the Lamb. But the light of transfiguration, in which he sees this exalted Lamb, is not great enough to admit of its being combined with the light of the Divine Nature itself.

The next verse shows how deep was his consciousness of the close connection between darkness, wrath, and sin. Ver. 21. "*And thy people, they are all righteous; they possess the land for ever, a sprout of my plantations, a work of my hands for glorification.*" The church of the new Jerusalem consists of none but righteous ones, who have been cleansed from guilt, and keep themselves henceforth pure from sinning, and therefore possess the land of promise for ever, without having to

fear repeated destruction and banishment: a "sprout" (*nētsēr* as in ch. xi. 1, xiv. 19; Arab. *nadr*, the green branch) "of my plantations" (*כִּטְעִי chethib*, erroneously *כִּטְעִי* or *כִּטְעִי*), *i.e.* of my creative acts of grace (cf. ch. v. 7), a "work of my hands" (cf. ch. xix. 25), "to glorify me," *i.e.* in which I possess that in which I glory (*לְהַתְּפַאֵר* as in ch. lxi. 3).

The life of this church, which is newly created, new-born, through judgment and grace, gradually expands from the most unassuming centre in ever widening circles until it has attained the broadest dimensions. Ver. 22a. "*The smallest one will become thousands, and the meanest one a powerful nation.*" "The small and mean one," or, as the idea is a relative one, "the smallest and meanest one" (Ges. § 119, 2), is either a childless one, or one blessed with very few children. At the same time, the reference is not exclusively to growth through the blessing of children, but also to growth through the extension of fellowship. We have a similar expression in Mic. iv. 7 (cf. v. 1), where 'eleph is employed, just as it is here, in the sense of *לְאַלְפִי*, "to thousands (or chiliads)."

The whole of the prophetic address is now sealed with this declaration: Ver. 22b. "*I, Jehovah, will hasten it in His time.*" The neuter *הֵנָּה* (as in ch. xliii. 13, xlv. 11) refers to everything that has been predicted from ver. 1 downwards. Jehovah will fulfil it rapidly, when the point of time (*καίρὸς*) which He has fixed for it shall have arrived. As this point of time is known to Him only, the predicted glory will burst all at once with startling suddenness upon the eyes of those who have waited believingly for Him.

This chapter forms a connected and self-contained whole, as we may see very clearly from the address to Zion-Jerusalem, which is sustained throughout. If we compare together such passages as ch. li. 17-23 ("Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem"), ch. lii. 1, 2 ("Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion"), and ch. liv. ("Sing, O barren"), which are all closely related so far as their contents are concerned, we shall find that these addresses to Zion form an ascending series, ch. lx. being the summit to which they rise, and that the whole is a complete counterpart to the address to the daughter of Babylon in ch. xlvii.

FOURTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LXI.

THE GLORY OF THE OFFICE COMMITTED TO THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

The words of Jehovah Himself pass over here into the words of another, whom He has appointed as the Mediator of His gracious counsel. Vers. 1-3. *“The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is over me, because Jehovah hath anointed me, to bring glad tidings to sufferers, hath sent me to bind up broken-hearted ones, to proclaim liberty to those led captive, and emancipation to the fettered; to proclaim a year of grace from Jehovah, and a day of vengeance from our God; to comfort all that mourn; to put upon the mourners of Zion, to give them a head-dress for ashes, oil of joy for mourning, a wrapper of renown for an expiring spirit, that they may be called terebinths of righteousness, a planting of Jehovah for glorification.”* Who is the person speaking here? The Targum introduces the passage with אֲמַר בְּנִיָּא. Nearly all the modern commentators support this view. Even the closing remarks to Drechsler (iii. 381) express the opinion, that the prophet who exhibited to the church the summit of its glory in ch. lx., an evangelist of the rising from on high, an apocalypticist who sketches the painting which the New Testament apocalypticist is to carry out in detail, is here looking up to Jehovah with a grateful eye, and praising Him with joyful heart for his exalted commission. But this view, when looked at more closely, cannot possibly be sustained. It is open to the following objections: (1.) The prophet never speaks of himself as a prophet at any such length as this; on the contrary, with the exception of the closing words of ch. lvii. 21, “saith my God,” he has always most studiously let his own person fall back into the shade. (2.) Wherever any other than Jehovah is represented as speaking, and as referring to his own calling, or his experience in connection with that calling, as in ch. xlix. 1 sqq., l. 4 sqq., it is the very same “servant of Jehovah” of whom and to whom Jehovah speaks in ch. xlii. 1 sqq., lii. 13-liii., and therefore not the prophet himself, but He who had been appointed to be the Mediator of a new covenant, the light of the Gentiles, the salvation of

Jehovah for the whole world, and who would reach this glorious height, to which He had been called, through self-abasement even to death. (3.) All that the person speaking here says of himself is to be found in the picture of the unequalled "Servant of Jehovah," who is highly exalted above the prophet. He is endowed with the Spirit of Jehovah (ch. xlii. 1); Jehovah has sent Him, and with Him His Spirit (ch. xlviii. 16*b*); He has a tongue taught of God, to help the exhausted with words (ch. l. 4); He spares and rescues those who are almost despairing and destroyed, the bruised reed and expiring wick (ch. xlii. 7). "To open blind eyes, to bring out prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house:" this is what He has chiefly to do for His people, both in word and deed (ch. xlii. 7, xlix. 9). (4.) We can hardly expect that, after the prophet has described the Servant of Jehovah, of whom he prophesied, as coming forward to speak with such dramatic directness as in ch. xlix. 1 sqq., l. 4 sqq. (and even ch. xlviii. 16*b*), he will now proceed to put himself in the foreground, and ascribe to himself those very same official attributes which he has already set forth as characteristic features in his portrait of the predicted One. For these reasons we have no doubt that [we have here the words of the Servant of Jehovah.] The glory of Jerusalem is depicted in ch. lx. in the direct words of Jehovah Himself, which are well sustained throughout. And now, just as in ch. xlviii. 16*b*, though still more elaborately, we have by their side the words of His servant, who is the mediator of this glory, and who above all others is the pioneer thereof in his evangelical predictions. Just as Jehovah says of him in ch. xlii. 1, "I have put my Spirit upon him;" so here he says of himself, "The Spirit of Jehovah is upon me." And when he continues to explain this still further by saying, "because" (עַל מִןּהָ, from עָלָה, intention, purpose; here equivalent to יָצַח אֵשֶׁר) "Jehovah hath anointed me" (*māshach 'ōthī*, more emphatic than *mēshāchānī*), notwithstanding the fact that *māshach* is used here in the sense of prophetic and not regal anointing (1 Kings xix. 16), we may find in the choice of this particular word a hint at the fact, that [the Servant of Jehovah and the Messiah are one and the same person.] So also the account given in Luke iv. 16-22—viz. that when Jesus was in the synagogue at Nazareth, after reading the opening

words of this address, He closed the book with these words, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears"—cannot be interpreted more simply in any other way, than on the supposition that Jesus here declares Himself to be the predicted and divinely anointed Servant of Jehovah, who brings the gospel of redemption to His people. Moreover, though it is not decisive in favour of our explanation, yet this explanation is favoured by the fact that the speaker not only appears as the herald of the new and great gifts of God, but also as the dispenser of them (*"non præco tantum, sed et dispensator,"* Vitringa). The combination of the names of God ('Adonai Yehovâh) is the same as in ch. l. 4-9. On *bissēr*, *εὐαγγελίζειν* (*-εσθαι*), see p. 145. He comes to put a bandage on the hearts' wounds of those who are broken-hearted: *קָבַשׁ* (*קָבַשׁ*) as in Ezek. xxxiv. 4, Ps. cxlvii. 3; cf. *רָפָא* (*רָפָא*), vol. i. p. 200; *הִצְרִיתִי*, p. 336. *קָרָא דְּרֹר* is the phrase used in the law for the proclamation of the freedom brought by the year of jubilee, which occurred every fiftieth year after seven sabbatical periods, and was called *sh'nath hadd'rôr* (Ezek. xvi. 17); *d'rôr* from *dârar*, a verbal stem, denoting the straight, swift flight of a swallow (see at Ps. lxxxiv. 4), and free motion in general, such as that of a flash of lightning, a liberal self-diffusion, like that of a superabundant fulness. *P^eqach-qōäch* is written like two words (see at ch. ii. 20). The Targum translates it as if *p^eqach* were an imperative: "Come to the light," probably meaning undo the bands. But *qōäch* is not a Hebrew word; for the *qīchōth* of the Mishna (the loops through which the strings of a purse are drawn, for the purpose of lacing it up) cannot be adduced as a comparison. Parchon, AE, and A, take *p^eqach-qōäch* as one word (of the form *פְּתַח־דְּרֹר*), in the sense of throwing open, viz. the prison. But as *pāqach* is never used like *pāthach* (ch. xiv. 17, li. 14), to signify the opening of a room, but is always applied to the opening of the eyes (ch. xxxv. 5, xlii. 7, etc.), except in ch. xlii. 20, where it is used for the opening of the ears, we adhere to the strict usage of the language, if we understand by *p^eqachqōäch* the opening up of the eyes (as contrasted with the dense darkness of the prison); and this is how it has been taken even by the LXX., who have rendered it *καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν*, as if the reading had been *וַיִּפְתַּח* (Ps. cxlvi. 8). Again, he is sent to promise with

a loud proclamation a year of good pleasure (*rātsōn*: syn. *yeshū'āh*) and a day of vengeance, which Jehovah has appointed; a promise which assigns the length of a year for the thorough accomplishment of the work of grace, and only the length of a day for the work of vengeance. The vengeance applies to those who hold the people of God in fetters, and oppress them; the grace to all those whom the infliction of punishment has inwardly humbled, though they have been strongly agitated by its long continuance (ch. lvii. 15). The *'ābhēlīm*, whom the Servant of Jehovah has to comfort, are the "mourners of Zion," those who take to heart the fall of Zion. In ver. 3, לְשׂוֹם . . . לְיָתֵת, he corrects himself, because what he brings is not merely a diadem, to which the word *sūm* (to set) would apply, but an abundant supply of manifold gifts, to which only a general word like *nāthan* (to give) is appropriate. Instead of אֶפְרָיִם, the ashes of mourning or repentance laid upon the head, he brings פָּאֵר, a diadem to adorn the head (a transposition even so far as the letters are concerned, and therefore the counterpart of אֶפְרָיִם); the "oil of joy" (from Ps. xlv. 8; compare also מִשְׁחָה there with מִשַּׁח here) instead of mourning; "a wrapper (cloak) of renown" instead of a faint and almost extinguished spirit. The oil with which they henceforth anoint themselves is to be joy or gladness, and renown the cloak in which they wrap themselves (a genitive connection, as in ch. lix. 17). And whence is all this? The gifts of God, though represented in outward figures, are really spiritual, and take effect within, rejuvenating and sanctifying the inward man; they are the sap and strength, the marrow and impulse of a new life. The church thereby becomes "terebinths of righteousness" (יְרֵמִיָּה: Targ., Symm., Jer., render this, strong ones, mighty ones; Syr. *dechre*, rams; but though both of these are possible, so far as the letters are concerned, they are unsuitable here), *i.e.* possessors of righteousness, produced by God and acceptable with God, having all the firmness and fulness of terebinths, with their strong trunks, their luxuriant verdure, and their perennial foliage,—a planting of Jehovah, to the end that He may get glory out of it (a repetition of ch. lx. 21).

Even in ver. 3b with וְיִקְרָא לָהֶם a perfect was introduced in the place of the infinitives of the object, and affirmed what was to be accomplished through the mediation of the Servant of

Jehovah. The second turn in the address, which follows in vers. 4-9, continues the use of such perfects, which afterwards pass into futures. But the whole is still governed by the commencement in ver. 1. The Servant of Jehovah celebrates the glorious office committed to him, and expounds the substance of the gospel given him to proclaim. It points to the restoration of the promised land, and to the elevation of Israel, after its purification in the furnace of judgment, to great honour and dignity in the midst of the world of nations. Vers. 4-6. "*And they will build up wastes of the olden time, raise up desolations of the forefathers, and renew desolate cities, desolations of former generations. And strangers stand and feed your flocks, and foreigners become your ploughmen and vinedressers. But ye will be called priests of Jehovah; Servants of our God, will men say to you: ye will eat the riches of the nations, and pride yourselves in their glory.*" The desolations and wastes of *'ôlâm* and *dôr vâdôr*, i.e. of ages remote and near (ch. lviii. 12), are not confined to what had lain in ruins during the seventy years of the captivity. The land will be so thickly populated, that the former places of abode will not suffice (ch. xlix. 19, 20); so that places must be referred to which are lying waste beyond the present bounds of the promised land (ch. liv. 3), and which will be rebuilt, raised up, and renewed by those who return from exile, and indeed by the latest generations (ch. lviii. 12, מְבֹרָא; cf. ch. lx. 14). *Chôrebh*, in the sense of desolation, is a word belonging to the later period of the language (Zeph., Jer., and Ezek.). The rebuilding naturally suggests the thought of assistance on the part of the heathen (ch. lx. 10). But the prophet expresses the fact that they will enter into the service of Israel (ver. 5), in a new and different form. They "stand there" (viz. at their posts ready for service, *'al-mishmartâm*, 2 Chron. vii. 6), "and feed your flocks" (מְבֹרָא *singular etantum*, cf. Gen. xxx. 43), and foreigners are your ploughmen and vinedressers. Israel is now, in the midst of the heathen who have entered into the congregation of Jehovah and become the people of God (ch. xix. 25), what the Aaronites formerly were in the midst of Israel itself. It stands upon the height of its primary destination to be a kingdom of priests (Ex. xix. 6). They are called "priests of Jehovah," and the heathen call them "servants of our God;" for even the heathen speak with

believing reverence of the God, to whom Israel renders priestly service, as "our God." This reads as if the restored Israelites were to stand in the same relation to the converted heathen as the clergy to the laity; but it is evident, from ch. lxvi. 21, that the prophet has no such hierarchical separation as this in his mind. All that we can safely infer from his prophecy is, that the nationality of Israel will not be swallowed up by the entrance of the heathen into the community of the God of revelation. The people created by Jehovah, to serve as the vehicle of the promise of salvation and the instrument in preparing the way for salvation, will also render Him special service, even after that salvation has been really effected. At the same time, we cannot take the attitude, which is here assigned to the people of sacred history after it has become the teacher of the nations, viz. as the leader of its worship also, and shape it into any clear and definite form that shall be reconcilable with the New Testament spirit of liberty and the abolition of all national party-walls. The Old Testament prophet utters New Testament prophecies in an Old Testament form. Even when he continues to say, "Ye will eat the riches of the Gentiles, and pride yourselves in their glory," *i.e.* be proud of the glorious things which have passed from their possession into yours, this is merely colouring intended to strike the eye, which admits of explanation on the ground that he saw the future in the mirror of the present, as a complete inversion of the relation in which the two had stood before. The figures present themselves to him in the form of contrasts. The New Testament apostle, on the other hand, says in Rom. xi. 12 that the conversion of all Israel to Christ will be "the riches of the Gentiles." But if even then the Gentile church should act according to the words of the same apostle in Rom. xv. 27, and show her gratitude to the people whose spiritual debtor she is, by ministering to them in carnal things, all that the prophet has promised here will be amply fulfilled. We cannot adopt the explanation proposed by Hitzig, Stier, etc., "and changing with them, ye enter into their glory" (*hithyammēr* from *yâmar* = *mûr*, *Hiph.*: *hēmûr*, Jer. ii. 11; lit. to exchange with one another, to enter into one another's places); for *yâmar* = '*âmar* (cf. *yâchad* = '*âchad*; *yâsham* = '*âsham*; *yâlahph* = '*âlahph*), to press upwards, to rise up (related to *tâmar*, see at ch. xvii. 9; *sâmar*, Symm. ὁρῶσιν

χεῖν, possibly also *‘amar* with the *hithpael hith’ammēr*, LXX. καταδυναστεύειν), yields a much simpler and more appropriate meaning. From this verb we have *hith’ammēr* in Ps. xciv. 4, “to lift one’s self up (proudly),” and here *hithyammēr*; and it is in this way that the word has been explained by Jerome (*superbietis*), and possibly by the LXX. (θαυμασθήσεσθε, in the sense of *spectabiles eritis*), by the Targum, and the Syriac, as well as by most of the ancient and modern expositors.

The shame of banishment will then be changed into an excess of joy, and honourable distinction. Vers. 7-9. “*Instead of shame ye will have double, and (instead) of insult they rejoice at their portion: thus in their land they will possess double; everlasting joy will they have. For I Jehovah love right, hate robbery in wickedness; and give them their reward in faithfulness, and conclude an everlasting covenant with them. And their family will be known among the nations, and their offspring in the midst of the nations: all who see them will recognise them, for they are a family that Jehovah hath blessed.*” The enigmatical first half of ver. 7 is explained in the second, where *mishneh* is shown to consist of double possession in the land of their inheritance, which has not only been restored to them, but extended far beyond the borders of their former possession; and *yārōnnū chelqām* (cf. ch. lxiv. 14) denotes excessive rejoicing in the ground and soil belonging to them (according to the appointment of Jehovah): *chelqām* as in Mic. ii. 4; and *mishneh* as equivalent not to מִשְׁנֵה כְּבוֹד, but to מִשְׁנֵה יְרֵשָׁה. Taking this to be the relation between ver. 7*b* and 7*a*, the meaning of *lākhēn* is not, “therefore, because they have hitherto suffered shame and reproach;” but what is promised in ver. 7*a* is unfolded according to its practical results, the effects consequent upon its fulfilment being placed in the foreground (cf. vol. i. p. 448); so that there is less to astonish us in the elliptically brief form of ver. 7*a* which needed explanation. The transition from the form of address to that of declaration is the same as in ch. i. 29, xxxi. 6, lii. 14, 15. וְיִכְלַמָּה is a concise expression for וְיִתְחַת כְּלָמָה, just as וְיִתְהַלְלִי in ch. xlviii. 9 is for וְיִלְמְעַן תְּהַלְלִי. *Chelqām* is either the accusative of the object, according to the construction of רָצִין, which occurs in Ps. li. 16; or what I prefer, looking at חֲמָה in ch. xlii. 25, and וְיִבְחָרֶיךָ in ch. xliii. 23, an adverbial accusative = בְּחֻלָּקִים. The LXX.,

Jerome, and Saad. render the clause, in opposition to the accents, "instead of your double shame and reproach;" but in that case the principal words of the clause would read תָּרִינוּ הֶלְלֶכְכֶּם. The explanation adopted by the Targum, Saad., and Jerome, "shame on the part of those who rejoice in their portion," is absolutely impossible. The great majority of the modern commentators adopt essentially the same explanation of ver. 7a as we have done, and even A. E. Kimchi does the same. Hahn's modification, "instead of your shame is the double their portion, and (instead) of the insult this, that they will rejoice," forces a meaning upon the syntax which is absolutely impossible. The reason for the gracious recompense for the wrong endured is given in ver. 8, "Jehovah loves the right," which the enemies of Israel have so shamefully abused. "He hates בְּעוֹלָה, i.e. not *rapinam* in *holocausto* (as Jerome, Talmud *b. Succa* 30a, Luther, and others render it; Eng. ver. "robbery for burnt-offering"),—for what object could there be in mentioning sacrifices here, seeing that only heathen sacrifices could be intended, and there would be something worse than *gāzēl* to condemn in them?—but *robbery*, or, strictly speaking, "something robbed in or with knavery" (LXX., Targ., Syr., Saad.), which calls to mind at once the cruel robbery or spoiling that Israel had sustained from the Chaldeans, its *bōz'zīm* (ch. xlii. 24),—a robbery which passed all bounds. עוֹלָה is softened from עוֹלָה (from עוֹל, עוֹל), like עֲלָה in Job v. 16, and יוֹלָה in Ps. lviii. 3 and lxiv. 7; though it is doubtful whether the punctuation assumes the latter, as the Targum does, and not rather the meaning *holocaustum* supported by the Talmud. For the very reason, therefore, that Israel had been so grievously ill-treated by the instruments of punishment employed by Jehovah, He would give those who had been ill-treated their due reward, after He had made the evil, which He had not approved, subservient to His own salutary purposes. בְּעוֹלָה is the reward of work in Lev. xix. 13, of hardship in Ezek. xxix. 20; here it is the reward of suffering. This reward He would give בְּאֵמֶת, exactly as He had promised, without the slightest deduction. The posterity of those who have been ill-treated and insulted will be honourably known (נִדְרָע as in Prov. xxxi. 23) in the world of nations, and men will need only to catch sight of them to recognise them (by

prominent marks of blessing), for they are a family blessed of God. 'E, not *quod* (because), although it might have this meaning, but *nam* (for), as in Gen. xxvii. 23, since *hikkir* includes the meaning *agnoscere* (to recognise).

This is the joyful calling of the Servant of Jehovah to be the messenger of such promises of God to His people. Vers. 10, 11. "*Joyfully I rejoice in Jehovah; my soul shall be joyful in my God, that He hath given me garments of salvation to put on, hath wrapped me in the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom who wears the turban like a priest, and as a bride who puts on her jewellery. For like the land which brings forth its sprouts, and as a garden which causes the things sown in it to sprout up; so the Lord Jehovah bringeth righteousness to sprouting, and renown before all nations.*" The Targum precedes this last turn with "Thus saith Jerusalem." But as vers. 4-9 are a development of the glorious prospects, the realization of which has to be effected through the instrumentality of the person speaking in vers. 1-3 both in word and deed, the speaker here is certainly the same as there. Nor is it even the fact that he is here supposed to commence speaking again; but he is simply continuing his address by expressing at the close, as he did at the beginning, the relation in which he stands in his own person to the approaching elevation of His people. Exalted joy, which impels him to exult, is what he experiences in Jehovah his God (E denoting the ground and orbit of his experience): for the future, which so abounds in grace, and which he has to proclaim as a prophet and as the evangelist of Israel, and of which he has to lay the foundation as the mediator of Israel, and in which he is destined to participate as being himself an Israelite, consists entirely of salvation and righteousness; so that he, the bearer and messenger of the divine counsels of grace, appears to himself as one to whom Jehovah has given clothes of salvation to put on, and whom He has wrapped in the robe of righteousness. *Ts'dâqâh* (righteousness), looked at from the evangelical side of the idea which it expresses, is here the parallel word to *y'shû'âh* (salvation). The figurative representation of both by different articles of dress is similar to ch. lix. 17; *yâ'at*, which only occurs here, is synonymous with *'âtâh*, from which comes *mâ'âteh*, a wrapper or cloak (ver. 3). He appears to himself, as he

stands there hoping such things for his people, and preaching such things to his people, to resemble a bridegroom, who makes his turban in priestly style, *i.e.* who winds it round his head after the fashion of the priestly *migbá'ôth* (Ex. xxix. 9), which are called פְּאָרִים in Ex. xxxix. 28 (cf. Ezek. xlv. 18). Rashi and others think of the *mitsnepheth* of the high priest, which was of purple-blue; but יָבֵן does not imply anything beyond the *migbá'âh*, a tall mitra, which was formed by twisting a long linen band round the head so as to make it stand up in a point. פְּרִי is by no means equivalent to *kōnēn*, or *heklhēn*, as Hitzig and Halin suppose, since the verb *kāhan* = *kūn* only survives in *kōhēn*. *Kīhēn* is a denom., and signifies to act or play the priest; it is construed here with the accusative פְּרִי, which is either the accusative of more precise definition ("who play the priest in a turban;" A: ὡς νύμφιον ἱερατευόμενον στεφάνῳ), or what would answer better to the parallel member, "who makes the turban like a priest." As often as he receives the word of promise into his heart and takes it into his mouth, it is to him like the turban of a bridegroom, or like the jewellery which a bride puts on (*tá'deh*, *kal*, as in Hos. ii. 15). For the substance of the promise is nothing but salvation and renown, which Jehovah causes to sprout up before all nations, just as the earth causes its vegetation to sprout, or a garden its seed (כ as a preposition in both instances, *instar* followed by attributive clauses; see ch. viii. 23). The word in the mouth of the servant of Jehovah is the seed, out of which great things are developed before all the world. The ground and soil (*'erets*) of this development is mankind; the enclosed garden therein (*gannâh*) is the church; and the great things themselves are *ts'êdâqâh*, as the true inward nature of His church, and *êhillâh* as its outward manifestation. The force which causes the seed to germinate is Jehovah; but the bearer of the seed is the servant of Jehovah, and the ground of his festive rejoicing is the fact that he is able to scatter the seed of so gracious and glorious a future.

FIFTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LXII.

THE GRADUAL EXTENSION OF THE GLORY OF JERUSALEM.

Nearly all the more recent commentators regard the prophet himself as speaking here. Having given himself up to praying to Jehovah and preaching to the people, he will not rest or hold his peace till the salvation, which has begun to be realized, has been brought fully out to the light of day. It is, however, really Jehovah who commences thus: Vers. 1-3. *“For Zion’s sake I shall not be silent, and for Jerusalem’s sake I shall not rest, till her righteousness breaks forth like morning brightness, and her salvation like a blazing torch. And nations will see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory; and men will call thee by a new name, which the mouth of Jehovah will determine. And thou wilt be an adorning coronet in the hand of Jehovah, and a royal diadem in the lap of thy God.”* It is evident that Jehovah is the speaker here, both from ver. 6 and also from the expression used; for *châshâh* is the word commonly employed in such utterances of Jehovah concerning Himself, to denote His leaving things in their existing state without interposing (ch. lxv. 6, lvii. 11, lxiv. 11). Moreover, the arguments which may be adduced to prove that the author of ch. xl.-lxvi. is not the speaker in ch. lxi., also prove that it is not he who is continuing to speak of himself in ch. lxii. Jehovah, having now begun to speak and move on behalf of Zion, will “for Zion’s sake,” *i.e.* just because it is Zion, His own church, neither be silent nor give Himself rest, till He has gloriously executed His work of grace. Zion is now in the shade, but the time will come when her righteousness will go forth as *nôgah*, the light which bursts through the night (ch. lx. 19, lix. 9; here the morning sunlight, Prov. iv. 18; compare *shachar*, the morning red, ch. lviii. 8); or till her salvation is like a torch which blazes. *יָבֵעַר* belongs to *בָּלַעַר* (*mercha*) in the form of an attributive clause = *בָּעֵר*, although it might also be assumed that *יָבֵעַר* stands by attraction for *תִּבְעַר* (cf. ch. ii. 11; Ewald, § 317, c). The verb *בָּעֵר*, which is generally applied to wrath (*e.g.* ch. xxx. 27), is here used in connection with salvation, which has wrath towards the enemies

of Zion as its obverse side: Zion's *tsedeq* (righteousness) shall become like the morning sunlight, before which even the last twilight has vanished; and Zion's *y'shū'āh* is like a nightly torch, which sets fire to its own material, and everything that comes near it. The force of the conjunction עַד (until) does not extend beyond ver. 1. From ver. 2 onwards, the condition of things in the object indicated by עַד is more fully described. The eyes of the nations will be directed to the righteousness of Zion, the impress of which is now their common property; the eyes of all kings to her glory, with which the glory of none of them, nor even of all together, can possibly compare. And because this state of Zion is a new one, which has never existed before, her old name is not sufficient to indicate her nature. She is called by a new name; and who could determine this new name? He who makes the church righteous and glorious, He, and He alone, is able to utter a name answering to her new nature, just as it was He who called Abram *Abraham*, and Jacob *Israel*. The mouth of Jehovah will determine it (נָתַן, to pierce, to mark, to designate in a signal and distinguishing manner, *nuncupare*; cf. Amos vi. 1, Num. i. 17). It is only in imagery that prophecy here sees what Zion will be in the future: she will be "a crown of glory," "a diadem," or rather a tiara (*ts'nīph*; *Chethib ts'nūph* = *mitsnepheth*, the head-dress of the high priest, Ex. xxviii. 4, Zech. iii. 5; and that of the king, Ezek. xxi. 31) "of regal dignity," in the hand of her God (for want of a synonym of "hand," we have adopted the rendering "in the lap" the second time that it occurs). Meier renders בִּיַּד יְהוָה (בְּכַף) *Jovæ sub præsidio*, as though it did not form part of the figure. But it is a main feature in the figure, that Jehovah holds the crown in His hand. Zion is not the ancient crown which the Eternal wears upon His head, but the crown wrought out in time, which He holds in His hand, because He is seen in Zion by all creation. The whole history of salvation is the history of the taking of the kingdom, and the perfecting of the kingdom by Jehovah; in other words, the history of the working out of this crown.

Zion will be once more the beloved of God, and her home the bride of her children. Vers. 4, 5. "Men will no more call thee 'Forsaken one;' and thy land they will no more call 'Desert:' but men will name thee 'My delight in her,' and thy

home 'Married one:' for Jehovah hath delight in thee, and thy land is married. For the young man marrieth the maiden, thy children will marry thee; and as the bridegroom rejoiceth in the bride, thy God will rejoice in thee." The prophecy mentions new names, which will now take the place of the old ones; but these names indicate what Zion appears to be, not her true nature which is brought to the light. In the explanatory clause יְיָ stands at the head, because the name of Zion is given first in distinction from the name of her land. Zion has hitherto been called 'āzūbhāh, forsaken by Jehovah, who formerly loved her; but she now receives instead the name of chephtsī-bhāh (really the name of a woman, viz. the wife of Hezekiah, and mother of Manasseh, 2 Kings xxi. 1), for she is now the object of true affection on the part of Jehovah. With the rejoicing of a bridegroom in his bride (the accusative is used here in the same sense as in שָׂמַח בְּיָדָהּ; Ges. § 138, 1) will her God rejoice in her, turning to her again with a love as strong and deep as the first love of a bridal pair. And the land of Zion's abode, the fatherland of her children, was hitherto called sh'māmāh; it was turned into a desert by the heathen, and the connection that existed between it and the children of the land was severed; but now it shall be called b'e'alāh, for it will be newly married. A young man marries a virgin, thy children will marry thee: the figure and the fact are placed side by side in the form of an emblematical proverb, the particle of comparison being omitted (see Herzog's *Cyclopædia*, xiv. 696, and Ges. § 155, 2, h). The church in its relation to Jehovah is a weak but beloved woman, which has Him for its Lord and Husband (ch. liv. 5); but in relation to her home she is the totality of those who are lords or possessors (ba'ālē, 2 Sam. vi. 2) of the land, and who call the land their own as it were by right of marriage. Out of the loving relation in which the church stands to its God, there flows its relation of authority over every earthly thing of which it stands in need. In some mss. there is a break here.

Watchmen stationed upon the walls of Zion (says the third strophe) do not forsake Jehovah till He has fulfilled all His promise. Vers. 6, 7. "Upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, have I stationed watchmen; all the day and all the night continually they are not silent. O ye who remember Jehovah, leave yourselves no

rest! And give Him no rest, till He raise up, and till He set Jerusalem for a praise in the earth." As the phrase *hiphqîd* 'al signifies to make a person an overseer (president) over anything, it seems as though we ought to render the sentence before us, "I have set watchmen over thy walls." But *hiphqîd* by itself may also mean "to appoint" (2 Kings xxv. 23), and therefore *הַיְּחִידִים* may indicate the place of appointment (LXX. ἐπὶ τῶν τειχέων σου, upon thy walls; Ἱερουσαλήμ, κατέστησα φύλακας). Those who are stationed upon the walls are no doubt keepers of the walls; not, however, as persons whose exclusive duty it is to keep the walls, but as those who have committed to them the guarding of the city both within and without (Song of Sol. v. 7). The appointment of such watchmen presupposes the existence of the city, which is thus to be watched from the walls. It is therefore inadmissible to think of the walls of Jerusalem as still lying in ruins, as the majority of commentators have done, and to understand by the watchmen pious Israelites, who pray for their restoration, or (according to *b. Menachoth* 87a; cf. Zech. i. 12) angelic intercessors. The walls intended are those of the city, which, though once destroyed, is actually imperishable (ch. xlix. 16) and has now been raised up again. And who else could the watchmen stationed upon the walls really be, but prophets who are called *tsôphîm* (e.g. ch. lii. 8), and whose calling, according to Ezek. xxxiii., is that of watchmen? And if prophets are meant, who else can the person appointing them be but Jehovah Himself? The idea that the author of these prophecies is speaking of himself, as having appointed the *shômerîm*, must therefore be rejected. Jehovah gives to the restored Jerusalem faithful prophets, whom He stations upon the walls of the city, that they may see far and wide, and be heard afar off. And from those walls does their warning cry on behalf of the holy city committed to their care ascend day and night to Jehovah, and their testimony go round about to the world. For after Jerusalem has been restored and re-peopled, the further end to be attained is this, that Jehovah should build up the newly founded city within (*cônên* the consequence of *bânâh*, Num. xxi. 27, and *âsâh*, ch. xlv. 18, Dent. xxxii. 6; cf. ch. liv. 14, and Ps. lxxxvii. 5), and help it to attain the central post of honour in relation to those without, which He has destined

for it. Such prophets of the times succeeding the captivity (*n'bhî'im 'achārônîm*; cf. Zech. i. 4) were Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Haggai stands upon the walls of Jerusalem, and proclaims the glory of the second temple as surpassing that of the first. Zechariah points from Joshua and Zerubbabel onwards to the sprout of Jehovah, who is priest and prince in one person, and builds the true temple of God. Malachi predicts the coming of the Lord to His temple, and the rising of the Sun of righteousness. Under the eyes of these prophets the city of God rose up again, and they stand upon its pinnacles, and look thence into the glorious future that awaits it, and hasten its approach through the word of their testimony. Such prophets, who carry the good of their people day and night upon their anxious praying hearts, does Jehovah give to the Jerusalem after the captivity, which is one in the prophet's view with the Jerusalem of the last days; and in so lively a manner does the prophet here call them up before his own mind, that he exclaims to them, "Ye who remind Jehovah, to finish gloriously the gracious work which He has begun," give yourselves no rest (*dōmî* from *dāmāh* = *dāmam*, to grow dumb, *i.e.* to cease speaking or working, in distinction from *chāshāh*, to be silent, *i.e.* not to speak or work), and allow Him no rest till He puts Jerusalem in the right state, and so glorifies it, that it shall be recognised and extolled as glorious over all the earth. Prophecy here sees the final glory of the church as one that gradually unfolds itself, and that not without human instrumentality. The prophets of the last times, with their zeal in prayer, and in the exercise of their calling as witnesses, form a striking contrast to the blind, dumb, indolent, sleepy hirelings of the prophet's own time (ch. lvi. 10).

The following strophe expresses one side of the divine promise, on which the hope of that lofty and universally acknowledged glory of Jerusalem, for whose completion the watchers upon its walls so ceaselessly exert themselves, is founded. Vers. 8, 9. "*Jehovah hath sworn by His right hand, and by His powerful arm, Surely I no more give thy corn for food to thine enemies; and foreigners will not drink thy must, for which thou hast laboured hard. No, they that gather it in shall eat it, and praise Jehovah; and they that store it, shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary.*" The church will no more suc-

cumb to the tyranny of a worldly power. Peace undisturbed, and unrestricted freedom, reign there. With praise to Jehovah are the fruits of the land enjoyed by those who raised and reaped them. יָנַעַת (with an auxiliary *pathach*, as in ch. xlvii. 12, 15) is applied to the cultivation of the soil, and includes the service of the heathen who are incorporated in Israel (ch. lxi. 5); whilst אָפַף (whence מִן־אָפַף with *raphatum*) or אָפַף (*poel*, whence the reading מִן־אָפַף, cf. Ps. ci. 5, *m'loshnā*; cix. 10, *v^e-dorshū*, for which in some codd. and editions we find מִן־אָפַף, an intermediate form between *piel* and *poel*; see at Ps. lxii. 4) and יָנַעַת stand in the same relation to one another as *condere* (*horreo*) and *colligere* (cf. ch. xi. 12). The expression *b'chats-rōth qodshū*, in the courts of my sanctuary, cannot imply that the produce of the harvest will never be consumed anywhere else than there (which is inconceivable), but only that their enjoyment of the harvest-produce will be consecrated by festal meals of worship, with an allusion to the legal regulation that two-tenths (*mā'āsēr shēnī*) should be eaten in a holy place (*liḥlīnē Jehovah*) by the original possessor and his family, with the addition of the Levites and the poor (Deut. xiv. 22-27: see Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, cap. 42). Such thoughts, as that all Israel will then be a priestly nation, or that all Jerusalem will be holy, are not implied in this promise. All that it affirms is, that the enjoyment of the harvest-blessing will continue henceforth undisturbed, and be accompanied with the grateful worship of the giver, and therefore, because sanctified by thanksgiving, will become an act of worship in itself. This is what Jehovah has sworn "by His right hand," which He only lifts up with truth, and "by His powerful arm," which carries out what it promises without the possibility of resistance. The Talmud (*b. Nazir* 3*b*) understands by זְרֹעַ עֵז the left arm, after Dan. xii. 7; but the ו of זְרֹעַ עֵז is expegetical.

The concluding strophe goes back to the standpoint of the captivity. Vers. 10-12. "Go forth, go forth through the gates, clear the way of the people. Cast up, cast up the road, clean it of stones; lift up a banner above the nations! Behold, Jehovah hath caused tidings to sound to the end of the earth. Say to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, His reward is with Him, and His recompense before Him. And men will call them the holy people, the redeemed of Jehovah; and men

will call thee, Striven after, A city that will not be forsaken." We cannot adopt the rendering proposed by Gesenius, "Go ye into the gates," whether of Jerusalem or of the temple, since the reading would then be *בָּאוּ שְׁעָרִים* (Gen. xxiii. 10) or *בְּשַׁעְרֵים* (Jer. vii. 2). For although *עָבַר בְּ* may under certain circumstances be applied to entrance into a city (Judg. ix. 26), yet it generally denotes either passing through a land (ch. viii. 21, xxxiv. 10; Gen. xli. 46; Lev. xxvi. 6, etc.), or through a nation (2 Sam. xx. 14), or through a certain place (ch. x. 28); so that the phrase *עָבַר בְּשַׁעַר*, which does not occur anywhere else (for in Mic. ii. 13, which refers, however, to the exodus of the people out of the gates of the cities of the captivity, *וַיַּעְבְּרוּ שַׁעַר* do not belong together), must refer to passing through the gate; and the cry *עָבְרוּ בְּשַׁעְרִים* means just the same as *צְאוּ מִבָּבֶל* ("Go ye forth from Babylon") in ch. xlvi. 20, li. 11. The call to go out of Babylon forms the conclusion of the prophecy here, just as it does in ch. xlvi. 20, 21, li. 11, 12. It is addressed to the exiles; but who are they to whom the command is given, "Throw up a way,"—a summons repeatedly found in all the three books of these prophecies (ch. xl. 3, lvii. 14)? They cannot be the heathen, for this is contradicted by the conclusion of the charge, "Lift ye up a banner above the nations;" nor can we adopt what seems to us a useless fancy on the part of Stier, viz. that ver. 10 is addressed to the watchmen on the walls of Zion. We have no hesitation, therefore, in concluding that they are the very same persons who are to march through the gates of Babylon. The vanguard (or pioneers) of those who are coming out are here summoned to open the way by which the people are to march, to throw up the road (viz. by casting up an embankment, *hamsilláh*, as in ch. xi. 16, xlix. 11; *maslál*, ch. xxxv. 8), to clear it of stones (*siqqēl*, as in ch. v. 2; cf. Hos. ix. 12, *shikkēl mē'ādām*), and lift up a banner above the nations (one rising so high as to be visible far and wide), that the *diaspora* of all places may join those who are returning home with the friendly help of the nations (ch. xi. 12, xlix. 22). For Jehovah hath caused tidings to be heard to the end of the earth, *i.e.* as we may see from what follows, the tidings of their liberation; in other words, looking at the historical fulfilment, the proclamation of Cyrus, which he caused to be issued throughout his

empire at the instigation of Jehovah (Ezra i. 1). Hitzig regards *וְהָיָה* as expressing what had actually occurred at the time when the prophet uttered his predictions; and in reality the standpoint of the prophets was so far a variable one, that the fulfilment of what was predicted did draw nearer and nearer to it *ἐν πνεύματι* (p. 123). But as *hinnēh* throughout the book of Isaiah (vol. i. 425), even when followed by a perfect (p. 10), invariably points to something future, all that can be said is, that the divine announcement of the time of redemption, as having now arrived, stands out before the soul of the prophet with all the certainty of a historical fact. The conclusion which Knobel draws from the expression “to the end of the earth,” as to the Babylonian standpoint of the prophet, is a false one. In his opinion, “the end of the earth” in such passages as Ps. lxxii. 8, Zech. ix. 10 (*‘aphsē-’ārets*), and ch. xxiv. 16 (*k’naph hā’ārets*), signifies the western extremity of the *orbis orientalis*, that is to say, the region of the Mediterranean, more especially Palestine; whereas it was rather a term applied to the remotest lands which bounded the geographical horizon (compare ch. xlii. 10, xlviii. 20, with Ps. ii. 8, xxii. 28, and other passages). The words that follow (“Say ye,” etc.) might be taken as a command issued on the ground of the divine *hishmā’* (“the Lord hath proclaimed”); but *hishmā’* itself is a word that needs to be supplemented, so that what follows is the divine proclamation: Men everywhere, *i.e.* as far as the earth or the dispersion of Israel extends, are to say to the daughter of Zion—that is to say, to the church which has its home in Zion, but is now in foreign lands—that “its salvation cometh,” *i.e.* that Jehovah, its Saviour, is coming to bestow a rich reward upon His church, which has passed through severe punishment, but has been so salutarily refined. Those to whom the words “Say ye,” etc., are addressed, are not only the prophets of Israel, but all the mourners of Zion, who become *m’bhassērīm*, just because they respond to this appeal (compare the meaning of this “Say ye to the daughter of Zion” with Zech. ix. 9 in Matt. xxi. 5). The whole of the next clause, “Behold, His reward,” etc., is a repetition of the prophet’s own words in ch. xl. 10. It is a question whether the words “and they shall call thee,” etc., contain the gospel which is to be proclaimed according to the will of Jehovah to the end of the

earth (see ch. xlviii. 20), or whether they are a continuation of the prophecy which commences with "Behold, Jehovah hath proclaimed." The latter is the more probable, as the address here passes again into an objective promise. The realization of the gospel, which Jehovah causes to be preached, leads men to call those who are now still in exile "the holy people," "the redeemed" (lit. ransomed, ch. li. 10; like *p'dūyē* in ch. xxxv. 10). "*And thee*"—thus does the prophecy close by returning to a direct address to Zion-Jerusalem—"thee will men call *d'rūshāh*," sought assiduously, *i.e.* one whose welfare men, and still more Jehovah, are zealously concerned to promote (compare the opposite in Jer. xxx. 17),—"a city that will not be forsaken," *i.e.* in which men gladly settle, and which will never be without inhabitants again (the antithesis to *'āzūbhāh* in ch. lx. 15), possibly also in the sense that the gracious presence of God will never be withdrawn from it again (the antithesis to *'āzūbhāh* in ver. 4). נְעֻבָּה is the third pers. pr., like *nuchāmāh* in ch. liv. 11: the perfect as expressing the abstract present (Ges. § 126, 3).

The following prophecy anticipates the question, how Israel can possibly rejoice in the recovered possession of its inheritance, if it is still to be surrounded by such malicious neighbours as the Edomites.

SIXTH PROPHECY.—CHAP. LXIII. 1-6.

JUDGMENT UPON EDMO, AND UPON THE WHOLE WORLD THAT IS HOSTILE TO THE CHURCH.

Just as the Ammonites had been characterized by a thirst for extending their territory as well as by cruelty, and the Moabites by boasting and a slanderous disposition, so were the Edomites, although the brother-nation to Israel, characterized from time immemorial by fierce, implacable, bloodthirsty hatred towards Israel, upon which they fell in the most ruthless and malicious manner, whenever it was surrounded by danger or had suffered defeat. The knavish way in which they acted in the time of Joram, when Jerusalem was surprised and plundered by Philistines and Arabians (2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17), has been depicted by Obadiah. A large part of the inhabitants

of Jerusalem were then taken prisoners, and sold by the conquerors, some to the Phœnicians and some to the Greeks (Obad. 20; Joel iv. 1-8); to the latter through the medium of the Edomites, who were in possession of the port and commercial city of Elath on the Élanitic Gulf (Amos i. 6). Under the rule of the very same Joram the Edomites had made themselves independent of the house of David (2 Kings viii. 20; 2 Chron. xxi. 10), and a great massacre took place among the Judæans settled in Idumæa; an act of wickedness for which Joel threatens them with the judgment of God (ch. iv. 19), and which was regarded as not yet expiated even in the time of Uzziah, notwithstanding the fact that Amaziah had chastised them (2 Kings xiv. 7), and Uzziah had wrested Elath from them (2 Kings xiv. 22). "*Thus saith Jehovah,*" was the prophecy of Amos (i. 11, 12) in the first half of Uzziah's reign, "*for three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not take it back, because he pursued his brother with the sword, and stifled his compassion, so that his anger tears in pieces for ever, and he keeps his fierce wrath eternally: And I let fire loose upon Teman, and it devours the palaces of Bozrah.*" So also at the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and the carrying away of the people, Edom took the side of the Chaldeans, rejoiced over Israel's defeat, and flattered itself that it should eventually rule over the territory that had hitherto belonged to Israel. They availed themselves of this opportunity to slake their thirst for revenge upon Israel, placing themselves at the service of its enemies, delivering up fugitive Judæans or else massacring them, and really obtaining possession of the southern portion of Judæa, viz. Hebron (1 Macc. v. 65; cf. Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9, 7). With a retrospective glance at these, the latest manifestations of eternal enmity, Edom is threatened with divine vengeance by Jeremiah in the prophecy contained in Jer. xlix. 7-22, which is taken for the most part from Obadiah; also in the Lamentations (iv. 21, 22), as well as by Ezekiel (xxv. 12-14, and especially xxxv.), and by the author of Ps. cxxxvii., which looks back upon the time of the captivity. Edom is not always an emblematical name for the imperial power of the world: this is evident enough from Ps. cxxxvii., from Isa. xxi., and also from Isa. xxxiv. in connection with ch. xiii., where the judgment upon Edom is represented as a

different one from the judgment upon Babylon. Babylon and Edom are always to be taken literally, so far as the primary meaning of the prophecy is concerned; but they are also representative, Babylon standing for the violent and tyrannical world-power, and Edom for the world as cherishing hostility and manifesting hostility to Israel as Israel, *i.e.* as the people of God. Babylon had no other interest, so far as Israel was concerned, than to subjugate it like other kingdoms, and destroy every possibility of its ever rising again. But Edom, which dwelt in Israel's immediate neighbourhood, and sprang from the same ancestral house, hated Israel with hereditary mortal hatred, although it knew the God of Israel better than Babylon ever did, because it knew that Israel had deprived it of its birthright, viz. the chieftainship. If Israel should have such a people as this, and such neighbouring nations generally round about it, after it had been delivered from the tyranny of the mistress of the world, its peace would still be incessantly threatened. Not only must Babylon fall, but Edom also must be trodden down, before Israel could be redeemed, or be regarded as perfectly redeemed. The prophecy against Edom which follows here is therefore a well-chosen side-piece to the prophecy against Babel in ch. xlvii., at the point of time to which the prophet has been transported.

This is the smallest of all the twenty-seven prophecies. In its dramatic style it resembles Ps. xxiv.; in its visionary and emblematical character it resembles the tetralogy in ch. xxi.-xxii. 14. The attention of the seer is attracted by a strange and lofty form coming from Edom, or more strictly from Bozrah; not the place in Auranitis or Hauran (Jer. xlviii. 24) which is memorable in church history, but the place in Edomitis or Gebal, between Petra and the Dead Sea, which still exists as a village in ruins under the diminutive name of *el-Busaire*. Ver. 1. "*Who is this that cometh from Edom, in deep red clothes from Bozrah? This, glorious in his apparel, bending to and fro in the fulness of his strength?*" The verb *châmats* means to be sharp or bitter; but here, where it can only refer to colour, it means to be glaring, and as the Syriac shows, in which it is generally applied to blushing from shame or reverential awe, to be a staring red (*ὀξέως*). The question, what is it that makes the clothes of this new-comer so strik-

ingly red? is answered afterwards. But apart from the colour, they are splendid in their general arrangement and character.

The person seen approaching is *הָרֹדֵף בְּלִבָּשׁוֹ* (cf. *حدر* and *הדר*, to rush up, to shoot up luxuriantly, *ahdar* used for a swollen body), and possibly through the medium of *hādār* (which may signify primarily a swelling, or pad, *ὄγκος*, and secondarily pomp or splendour), “to honour or adorn;” so that *hādār* signifies adorned, grand (as in Gen. xxiv. 65; Targ. II. LXX. *ὡραῖος*), splendid. The verb *tsā’āh*, to bend or stoop, we have already met with in ch. li. 14. Here it is used to denote a gesture of proud self-consciousness, partly with or without the idea of the proud bending back of the head (or bending forward to listen), and partly with that of swaying to and fro, *i.e.* the walk of a proud man swinging to and fro upon the hips. The latter is the sense in which we understand *tsō’eh* here, *viz.* as a syn. of the Arabic *mutamāil*, to bend proudly from one side to the other (Vitranga: *se huc illuc motitans*). The person seen here produces the impression of great and abundant strength; and his walk indicates the corresponding pride of self-consciousness.

“Who is this?” asks the seer of a third person. But the answer comes from the person himself, though only seen in the distance, and therefore with a voice that could be heard afar off. Ver. 1b. “*I am he that speaketh in righteousness, mighty to aid.*” Hitzig, Knobel, and others, take righteousness as the object of the speaking; and this is grammatically possible (אָ = *περί*, *e.g.* Deut. vi. 7). But our prophet uses *בְּצֶדֶק* in ch. xlii. 6, xlv. 13, and *בְּצֶדֶקָה* in an adverbial sense: “strictly according to the rule of truth (more especially that of the counsel of mercy or plan of salvation) and right.” The person approaching says that he is great in word and deed (Jer. xxxii. 19). He speaks in righteousness; in the zeal of his holiness threatening judgment to the oppressors, and promising salvation to the oppressed; and what he threatens and promises, he carries out with mighty power. He is great (*רַב*, not *רָב*; S. *ὑπερμαχῶν*, Jer. *propugnator*) to aid the oppressed against their oppressors. This alone might lead us to surmise, that it is God from whose mouth of righteousness (ch. xlv. 23) the consolation of redemp-

tion proceeds, and whose holy omnipotent arm (ch. lii. 10, lix. 16) carries out the act of redemption.

The seer surmises this also, and now inquires still further, whence the strange red colour of his apparel, which does not look like the purple of a king's talar or the scarlet of a chlamys. Ver. 2. "*Whence the red on thine apparel, and thy clothes like those of a wine-presser?*" מַדּוּנָה inquires the reason and cause; לָמָּה, in its primary sense, the object or purpose. The seer asks, "Why is there red ('*ádōm*, neuter, like *rabh* in ver. 7) to thine apparel?" The *Lamed*, which might be omitted (wherefore is thy garment red?), implies that the red was not its original colour, but something added (cf. Jer. xxx. 12, and *lāmō* in ch. xxvi. 16, liii. 8). This comes out still more distinctly in the second half of the question: "and (why are) thy clothes like those of one who treads (wine) in the wine-press" (*b'gath* with a pausal *á* not lengthened, like *baz* in ch. viii. 1), i.e. saturated and stained as if with the juice of purple grapes?

The person replies: Vers. 3-6. "*I have trodden the wine-trough alone, and of the nations no one was with me: and I trode them in my wrath, and trampled them down in my fury; and their life-sap spirted upon my clothes, and all my raiment was stained. For a day of vengeance was in my heart, and the year of my redemption was come. And I looked round, and there was no helper; and I wondered there was no supporter: then mine own arm helped me; and my fury, it became my support. And I trode down nations in my wrath, and made them drunk in my fury, and made their life-blood run down to the earth.*" He had indeed trodden the wine-press (*pūrāh* = *gath*, or, if distinct from this, the pressing-trough as distinguished from the pressing-house or pressing-place; according to Fürst, something hollowed out; but according to the traditional interpretation from *pūr* = *pārar*, to crush, press, both different from *yeqebh*: see at ch. v. 2), and he alone; so that the juice of the grapes had saturated and coloured his clothes, and his only. When he adds, that of the nations no one was with him, it follows that the press which he trode was so great, that he might have needed the assistance of whole nations. And when he continues thus: And I trod them in my wrath, etc., the enigma is at once explained. It was to the nations themselves that the knife was applied. They were cut off like grapes and put into the wine-press (Joel iv. 13); and

this heroic figure, of which there was no longer any doubt that it was Jehovah Himself, had trodden them down in the impulse and strength of His wrath. The red upon the clothes was the life-blood of the nations, which had spirted upon them, and with which, as He trode this wine-press, He had soiled all His garments. *Nětsach*, according to the more recently accepted derivation from *nātsach*, signifies, according to the traditional idea, which is favoured by Lam. iii. 18, *vigor*, the vital strength and life-blood, regarded as the sap of life. נָצַח (compare the historical tense נָצַח in 2 Kings ix. 33) is the future used as an imperfect, and it spirted, from *nāzāh* (see at ch. lii. 15). נִצְּחָה (from נָצַח = נָצַח, ch. lix. 3) is the perfect *hiphil* with an Aramaean inflexion (compare the same Aramaism in Ps. lxxvi. 6, 2 Chron. xx. 35; and הִלְחָה, which is half like it, in Job xvi. 7); the Hebrew form would be הִנְחָה.¹ AE and A regard the form as a mixture of the perfect and future, but this is a mistake. This work of wrath had been executed by Jehovah, because He had in His heart a day of vengeance, which could not be delayed, and because the year (see at ch. lxi. 2) of His promised redemption had arrived. נִצְּחָה (this is the proper reading, not נִצְּחָה, as some codd. have it; and this was the reading which Rashi had before him in his comm. on Lam. i. 6) is the plural of the passive participle used as an abstract noun (compare חַיִּים *vivi, vitales*, or rather *viva, vitalia = vita*). And He only had accomplished this work of wrath. Ver. 5 is the expansion of לִבְרִי, and almost a verbal repetition of ch. lix. 16. The meaning is, that no one joined Him with conscious free-will, to render help to the God of judgment and salvation in His purposes. The church that was devoted to Him was itself the object of the redemption, and the great mass of those who were estranged from Him the object of the judgment. Thus He found Himself alone, neither human co-operation nor the natural course of events helping the accomplishment of His purposes. And consequently He renounced all human help, and broke through the steady course of development by a marvellous act of His own. He trode down nations in His wrath, and intoxicated them in His fury, and caused their life-

¹ The Babylonian mss. have נִצְּחָה with *chirek*, since the Babylonian (Assyrian) system of punctuation has no *seghol*.

blood to flow down to the ground. The Targum adopts the rendering "*et triturabo eos*," as if the reading were וַאֲשַׁבְּרֵם, which we find in Sonc. 1488, and certain other editions, as well as in some codd. Many agree with Cappellus in preferring this reading; and in itself it is not inadmissible (see Lam. i. 15). But the LXX. and all the other ancient versions, the Masora (which distinguishes וַאֲשַׁבְּרֵם with ב, as only met with once, from וַאֲשַׁבְּרֵם with ב in Dent. ix. 17), and the great majority of the MSS., support the traditional reading. There is nothing surprising in the transition to the figure of the cup of wrath, which is a very common one with Isaiah. Moreover, all that is intended is, that Jehovah caused the nations to feel the full force of this His fury, by trampling them down in His fury.

Even in this short and highly poetical passage we see a desire to emblemize, just as in the emblematic cycle of prophetic night-visions in ch. xxi.-xxii. 14. For not only is the name of Edom made covertly into an emblem of its future fate, אֶדֹם becoming אֶדֶם upon the apparel of Jehovah the avenger, when the blood of the people, stained with blood-guiltiness towards the people of God, is spirted out, but the name of Bozrah also; for *bâtsar* means to cut off bunches of grapes (*vindemiare*), and *botsrâh* becomes *bâtsûr*, i.e. a vintage, which Jehovah treads in His wrath, when He punishes the Edomitish nation as well as all the rest of the nations, which in their hostility towards Him and His people have taken pleasure in the carrying away of Israel and the destruction of Jerusalem, and have lent their assistance in accomplishing them. Knobel supposes that the judgment referred to is the defeat which Cyrus inflicted upon the nations under Crœsus and their allies; but it can neither be shown that this defeat affected the Edomites, nor can we understand why Jehovah should appear as if coming from Edom-Bozrah, after inflicting this judgment, to which ch. xli. 2 sqq. refers. Knobel himself also observes, that Edom was still an independent kingdom, and hostile to the Persians (Diod. xv. 2) not only under the reign of Cambyses (Herod. iii. 5 sqq.), but even later than that (Diod. xiii. 46). But at the time of Malachi, who lived under Artaxerxes Longimanus, if not under his successor Darius Nothus, a judgment of devastation was inflicted upon Edom (Mal. i. 3-5),

from which it never recovered. The Chaldeans, as Caspari has shown (*Obad.* p. 142), cannot have executed it, since the Edomites appear throughout as their accomplices, and as still maintaining their independence even under the first Persian kings; nor can any historical support be found to the conjecture, that it occurred in the wars between the Persians and the Egyptians (Hitzig and Köhler, *Mal.* p. 35). What the prophet's eye really saw was fulfilled in the time of the Maccabæans, when Judas inflicted a total defeat upon them, John Hyrcanus compelled them to become Jews, and Alexander Jannai completed their subjection; and in the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, when Simon of Gerasa avenged their cruel conduct in Jerusalem in combination with the Zelots, by ruthlessly turning their well-cultivated land into a horrible desert, just as it would have been left by a swarm of locusts (*Jos. Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9, 7).

The New Testament counterpart of this passage in Isaiah is the destruction of Antichrist and his army (*Rev.* xix. 11 sqq.). He who effects this destruction is called the Faithful and True, the Logos of God; and the seer beholds Him sitting upon a white horse, with eyes of flaming fire, and many diadems upon His head, wearing a blood-stained garment, like the person seen by the prophet here. The vision of John is evidently formed upon the basis of that of Isaiah; for when it is said of the Logos that He rules the nations with a staff of iron, this points to Ps. ii.; and when it is still further said that He treads the wine-press of the wrath of Almighty God, this points back to Isa. lxi. The reference throughout is not to the first coming of the Lord, when He laid the foundation of His kingdom by suffering and dying, but to His final coming, when He will bring His regal sway to a victorious issue. Nevertheless ch. lxiii. 1-6 has always been a favourite passage for reading in Passion week. It is no doubt true that the Christian cannot read this prophecy without thinking of the Saviour streaming with blood, who trode the wine-press of wrath for us without the help of angels and men, *i.e.* who conquered wrath for us. But the prophecy does not relate to this. The blood upon the garment of the divine Hero is not His own, but that of His enemies; and His treading of the wine-press is not the conquest of wrath, but the manifestation of wrath. This section can

only be properly used as a lesson for Passion week so far as this, that Jehovah, who here appears to the Old Testament seer, was certainly He who became man in His Christ, in the historical fulfilment of His purposes; and behind the first advent to bring salvation there stood with warning form the final coming to judgment, which will take vengeance upon that Edom, to whom the red lentil-judgment of worldly lust and power was dearer than the red life-blood of that loving Servant of Jehovah who offered Himself for the sin of the whole world.

There follows now in ch. lxiii. 7–lxiv. 11 a prayer commencing with thanksgiving as it looks back to the past, and closing with a prayer for help as it turns to the present. Hitzig and Knobel connect this closely with ch. lxiii. 1–6, assuming that through the great event which had occurred, viz. the overthrow of Edom, and of the nations hostile to the people of God as such, by which the exiles were brought one step nearer to freedom, the prophet was led to praise Jehovah for all His previous goodness to Israel. There is nothing, however, to indicate this connection, which is in itself a very loose one. The prayer which follows is chiefly an entreaty, and an entreaty appended to ch. lxiii. 1–6, but without any retrospective allusion to it: it is rather a prayer in general for the realization of the redemption already promised. Ewald is right in regarding ch. lxiii. 7–lxvi. as an appendix to this whole book of consolation, since the traces of the same prophet are unmistakeable; but the whole style of the description is obviously different, and the historical circumstances must have been still further developed in the meantime.

The three prophecies which follow are the *finale* of the whole. The announcement of the prophet, which has reached its highest point in the majestic vision in ch. lxiii. 1–6, is now drawing to an end. It is standing close upon the threshold of all that has been promised, and nothing remains but the fulfilment of the promise, which he has held up like a jewel on every side. And now, just as in the finale of a poetical composition, all the melodies and movements that have been struck before are gathered up into one effective close; and first of all, as in Hab. iii., into a prayer, which forms, as it were, the lyrical echo of the preaching that has gone before.

THE THREE CLOSING PROPHECIES.

FIRST CLOSING PROPHECY.—CHAP. LXIII. 7—LXIV.

THANKSGIVING, CONFESSION, AND SUPPLICATION OF THE
CHURCH OF THE CAPTIVITY.

THE prophet, as the leader of the prayers of the church, here passes into the expanded style of the *tephillah*. Ver. 7. “*I will celebrate the mercies of Jehovah, the praises of Jehovah, as is seemly for all that Jehovah hath shown us, and the great goodness towards the house of Israel, which He hath shown them according to His pity, and the riches of His mercies.*” The speaker is the prophet, in the name of the church, or, what is the same thing, the church in which the prophet includes himself. The prayer commences with thanksgiving, according to the fundamental rule in Ps. l. 23. The church brings to its own remembrance, as the subject of praise in the presence of God, all the words and deeds by which Jehovah has displayed His mercy and secured glory to Himself. חַסְדֵּי (this is

the correct pointing, with ך protected by *gaya*; cf. בְּרַבֵּר in ch. liv. 12) are the many thoughts of mercy and acts of mercy into which the grace of God, *i.e.* His one purpose of grace and His one work of grace, had been divided. They are just so many *t'hilloth*, self-glorifications of God, and impulses to His glorification. On בָּעֵל, as is seemly, see at ch. lix. 18. There is no reason for assuming that וְרַב־טוֹב is equivalent to וּבְעֵל רַב־טוֹב, as Hitzig and Knobel do. וְרַב־טוֹב commences the second object to אֲזַכִּיר, in which what follows is unfolded as a parallel to the first. *Rabbh*, the much, is a neuter formed into a substantive, as in Ps. cxlv. 7; *rōbh*, plurality or multiplicity, is an infinitive used as a substantive. *Tubh* is God's benignant goodness; *rachāmim*, His deepest sympathizing tenderness; *chesed* (root חס, used of violent emotion; cf. Syr. *chāsad*, *chāsam*, *cemulari*; Arab. حَس, to be tender, full of compassion), grace which condescends to and comes to meet a sinful creature. After

this introit, the prayer itself commences with a retrospective glance at the time of the giving of the law, when the relation of a child, in which Israel stood to Jehovah, was solemnly proclaimed and legally regulated. Ver. 8. "*He said, They are my people, children who will not lie; and He became their Saviour.*" אֱלֹהִים is used here in its primary affirmative sense. אֱלֹהִים is the future of hope. When He made them His people, His children, He expected from them a grateful return of His covenant grace in covenant fidelity; and whenever they needed help from above, He became their Saviour (*mōshīā'*). We can recognise the ring of Ex. xv. 2 here, just as in ch. xii. 2. *Mōshīā'* is a favourite word in ch. xl.-lxvi. (compare, however, ch. xix. 20 also)

The next verse commemorates the way in which He proved Himself a Saviour in heart and action. Ver. 9. "*In all their affliction He was afflicted, and the Angel of His face brought them salvation. In His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and lifted them up, and bare them all the days of the olden time.*" This is one of the fifteen passages in which the *chethib* has אֱלֹהִים, the *keri* אֱלֹהִים. It is only with difficulty that we can obtain any meaning from the *chethib*: "in all the affliction which He brought upon them He did not afflict, viz. according to their desert" (Targ., Jer., Rashi); or better still, as *tsār* must in this case be derived from *tsūr*, and *tsār* is only met with in an intransitive sense, "In all their distress there was no distress" (Saad.), with which J. D. Michaelis compares 2 Cor. iv. 8, "troubled on every side, yet not distressed." The oxymoron is perceptible enough, but the אֱלֹהִים (אֱלֹהִים), which is indispensable to this expression, is wanting. Even with the explanation, "In all their affliction He was not an enemy, viz. Jehovah, to them" (Döderlein), or "No man persecuted them without the angel immediately," etc. (Cocceius and Rosenmüller), we miss אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהִים. There are other still more twisted and jejune attempts to explain the passage with אֱלֹהִים, which are not worth the space they occupy. Even the older translators did not know how to deal with the אֱלֹהִים in the text. The Sept. takes *tsār* as equivalent to *tsir*, a messenger, and renders the passage according to its own peculiar interpunctuation: οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔσωσεν αὐτούς (neither a messenger nor an angel, but His face, i.e. He

Himself helped them: Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15; 2 Sam. xvii. 11). Everything forces to the conclusion that the *keri* יִּלְּ is to be preferred. The Masora actually does reckon this as one of the fifteen passages in which יִּלְּ is to be read for אֵל.¹ Jerome was also acquainted with this explanation. He says: "Where we have rendered it, 'In all their affliction He was not afflicted,' which is expressed in Hebrew by LO, the adverb of negation, we might read IPSE; so that the sense would be, 'In all their affliction He, i.e. God, was afflicted.'" If we take the sentence in this way, "In all oppression there was oppression to Him," it yields a forcible thought in perfect accordance with the Scripture (compare e.g. Judg. x. 16), an expression in harmony with the usage of the language (compare *tsar-li*, 2 Sam. i. 26), and a construction suited to the contents (יִּלְּ = *ipsi*). There is nothing to surprise us in the fact that God should be said to feel the sufferings of His people as His own sufferings; for the question whether God can feel pain is answered by the Scriptures in the affirmative. He can as surely as everything originates in Him, with the exception of sin, which is a free act and only originates in Him so far as the possibility is concerned, but not in its actuality. Just as a man can feel pain, and yet in his personality keep himself superior to it, so God feels pain without His own happiness being thereby destroyed. And so did He suffer with His people; their affliction was reflected in His own life in Himself, and shared Him inwardly. But because He, the all-knowing, all-feeling One, is also the almighty will, He sent the angel of His face, and brought them salvation. "The angel of His face," says Knobel, "is the pillar of cloud and fire, in which Jehovah was present with His people in the march through the desert, with His protection, instruction, and guidance, the helpful presence of God in the pillar of cloud and fire." But where do we ever read of this, that it brought Israel salvation in the pressure of

¹ There are fifteen passages in which the *keri* substitutes יִּלְּ for אֵל. See *Masora magna* on Lev. xi. 21 (*Psalter*, ii. 60). If we add Isa. xlix. 5, 1 Chron. xi. 20, 1 Sam. ii. 16, there are eighteen (*Job*, vol. i. p. 213). But the first two of these are not reckoned, because they are doubtful; and in the third, instead of יִּלְּ being substituted for אֵל, אֵל is substituted for יִּלְּ (*Ges. Thes.* 735, b). 2 Sam. xix. 7 also is not a case in point, for there the *keri* is יִּלְּ for אֵל.

great dangers? Only on one occasion (Ex. xiv. 19, 20) does it cover the Israelites from their pursuers; but in that very instance a distinction is expressly made between the angel of God and the pillar of cloud. Consequently the cloud and the angel were two distinct media of the manifestation of the presence of God. They differed in two respects. The cloud was a material medium—the veil, the sign, and the site of the revealed presence of God. The angel, on the other hand, was a personal medium, a ministering spirit (λειτουργικὸν πνεῦμα), in which the name of Jehovah was indwelling for the purpose of His own self-attestation in connection with the historical preparation for the coming of salvation (Ex. xxiii. 21). He was the mediator of the preparatory work of God in both word and deed under the Old Testament, and the manifestation of that redeeming might and grace which realized in Israel the covenant promises given to Abraham (Gen. xv.). A second distinction consisted in the fact that the cloud was a mode of divine manifestation which was always visible; whereas, although the angel of God did sometimes appear in human shape both in the time of the patriarchs and also in that of Joshua (Josh. v. 13 sqq.), it never appeared in such a form during the history of the exodus, and therefore is only to be regarded as a mode of divine revelation which was chiefly discernible in its effects, and belonged to the sphere of invisibility: so that in any case, if we search in the history of the people that was brought out of Egypt for the fulfilment of such promises as Ex. xxiii. 20–23, we are forced to the conclusion that the cloud was the medium of the settled presence of God in His angel in the midst of Israel, although it is never so expressed in the *thorah*. This mediatorial angel is called “the angel of His face,” as being the representative of God, for “the face of God” is His self-revealing presence (even though only revealed to the mental eye); and consequently the presence of God, which led Israel to Canaan, is called directly “His face” in Dent. iv. 37, apart from the angelic mediation to be understood; and “my face” in Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15, by the side of “my angel” in Ex. xxxii. 34, and the angel in Ex. xxxiii. 2, appears as something incomparably higher than the presence of God through the mediation of that one angel, whose personality is completely hidden by his mediatorial instrumen-

talities. The genitive פָּנָיו, therefore, is not to be taken objectively in the sense of "the angel who sees His face," but as explanatory, "the angel who is His face, or in whom His face is manifested." The הוּא which follows does not point back to the angel, but to Jehovah, who reveals Himself thus. But although the angel is regarded as a distinct being from Jehovah, it is also regarded as one that is completely hidden before Him, whose name is in him. He redeemed them by virtue of His love and of His *chemlâh*, i.e. of His forgiving gentleness (Arabic, with the letters transposed, *chilm*; compare, however, *chamûl*, gentle-hearted), and lifted them up, and carried them (נָשָׂא the consequence of נָטַל, which is similar in sense, and more Aramæan; cf. *tollere* root *tal*, and *ferre* root *bhar*, perf. *tuli*) all the days of the olden time.

The prayer passes now quite into the tone of Ps. lxxviii. and cvi., and begins to describe how, in spite of Jehovah's grace, Israel fell again and again away from Jehovah, and yet was always rescued again by virtue of His grace. For it is impossible that it should leap at once in הִתְקַדְּמָה to the people who caused the captivity, and וַיִּזְכֹּר have for its subject the penitential church of the exiles which was longing for redemption (Ewald). The train of thought is rather this: From the proofs of grace which the Israel of the olden time had experienced, the prophet passes to that disobedience to Jehovah into which it fell, to that punishment of Jehovah which it thereby brought upon itself, and to that longing for the renewal of the old Mosaic period of redemption, which seized it in the midst of its state of punishment. But instead of saying that Jehovah did not leave this longing unsatisfied, and responded to the penitence of Israel with ever fresh help, the prophet passes at once from the desire of the old Israel for redemption, to the prayer of the existing Israel for redemption, suppressing the intermediate thought, that Israel was even now in such a state of punishment and longing.

Israel's ingratitude. Ver. 10. "*But they resisted and vexed His Holy Spirit: then He turned to be their enemy; He made war upon them.*" Not only has וַיַּעֲצֹב (to cause cutting pain) אֶת־רוּחַ קְדֹשׁוֹ as its object, but מָרַי has the same (on the primary meaning, see at ch. iii. 8). In other cases, the object of *m'rôth* (*hamrôth*) is Jehovah, or His word, His promise, His providence,

hence Jehovah himself in the revelations of His nature in word and deed; here it is the spirit of holiness, which is distinguished from Him as a personal existence. For just as the angel who is His face, *i.e.* the representation of His nature, is designated as a person both by His name and also by the redeeming activity ascribed to Him; so also is the Spirit of holiness, by the fact that He can be grieved, and therefore can feel grief (compare Eph. iv. 30, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God"). Hence Jehovah, and the angel of His face, and the Spirit of His holiness, are distinguished as three persons, but so that the two latter derive their existence from the first, which is the absolute ground of the Deity, and of everything that is divine. Now, if we consider that the angel of Jehovah was indeed an angel, but that he was the angelic anticipation of the appearance of God the Mediator "in the flesh," and served to foreshadow Him "who, as the image of the invisible God" (Col. i. 15), as "the reflection of His glory and the stamp of His nature" (Heb. i. 3), is not merely a temporary medium of self-manifestation, but the perfect personal self-manifestation of the divine *pānīm*, we have here an unmistakeable indication of the mystery of the triune nature of God the One, which was revealed in history in the New Testament work of redemption. The subject to יְהוָה is Jehovah, whose Holy Spirit they troubled. He who proved Himself to be their Father (cf. Deut. xxxii. 6), became, through the reaction of His holiness, the very reverse of what He wished to be. He turned to be their enemy; הוּא, He, the most fearful of all foes, made war against them. This is the way in which we explain ver. 10*b*, although with this explanation it would have to be accentuated differently, viz. וַיִּהְיֶה *mahpach*, להם *pashta*, לְאֹיִב *zakeph*, הוּא *tiphchah*, נִלְחָמֵבם *silluk*. The accentuation as we find it takes הוּא נִלְחָמֵבם as an attributive clause: "to an enemy, who made war against them."

Israel being brought to a right mind in the midst of this state of punishment, longed for the better past to return. Vers. 11–14. "*Then His people remembered the days of the olden time, of Moses: Where is He who brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock? where is He who put the spirit of His holiness in the midst of them; who caused the arm of His majesty to go at the right of Moses; who split the waters before them, to make Himself an everlasting name; who caused them*

to pass through abysses of the deep, like the horse upon the plain, without their stumbling? Like the cattle which goeth down into the valley, the Spirit of Jehovah brought them to rest: thus hast Thou led Thy people, to make Thyself a majestic name." According to the accentuation before us, ver. 11a should be rendered thus: "Then He (viz. Jehovah) remembered the days of the olden time, the Moses of His people" (LXX., Targ., Syr., Jerome). But apart from the strange expression "the Moses of His people," which might perhaps be regarded as possible, because the proper name *mōsheh* might suggest the thought of its real meaning in Hebrew, viz. *extrahens*=*liberator*, but which the Syriac rejects by introducing the reading 'abhdō (Moses, His servant), we have only to look at the questions of evidently human longing which follow, to see that Jehovah cannot be the subject to זָכַר (remembered), by which these reminiscences are introduced. It is the people which begins its inquiries with אֵיךְ, just as in Jer. ii. 6 (cf. ch. li. 9, 10), and recalls "the days of olden time," according to the admonition in Deut. xxxii. 7. Consequently, in spite of the accents, such Jewish commentators as Saad. and Rashi regard "his people" ('ammō) as the subject; whereas others, such as AE, Kimchi, and Abravanel, take account of the accents, and make the people the suppressed subject of the verb "remembered," by rendering it thus, "Then it remembered the days of olden time, (the days) of Moses (and) His people," or in some similar way. But with all modifications the rendering is forced and lame. The best way of keeping to the accents is that suggested by Stier, "Then men (indef. *man*, the French *on*) remembered the days of old, the Moses of His people." But why did the prophet not say זָכַרְנוּ, as the proper sequel to ver. 10? We prefer to adopt the following rendering and accentuation: Then remembered (*zakeph gadol*) the days-of-old (*mercha*) of Moses (*tiphchah*) His people. The object stands before the subject, as for example in 2 Kings v. 13 (compare the inversions in ch. viii. 22 *extr.*, xxii. 2 *init.*); and *mosheh* is a genitive belonging to the composite "days of old" (for this form of the construct state, compare ch. xxviii. 1 and Ruth ii. 1). The retrospect commences with "Where is He who led them up?" etc. The suffix of הַמַּעֲלִים (for הַמַּעֲלִים, like רִדִּים in Ps. lxxviii. 28, and therefore with the verbal force predominant) refers to the ancestors;

and although the word is determined by the suffix, it has the article as equivalent to a demonstrative pronoun (*ille qui sursum duxit, eduxit eos*). "The shepherd of his flock" is added as a more precise definition, not dependent upon *vayyizkôr*, as even the accents prove. **הוא** is rendered emphatic by *yethib*, since here it signifies *unâ cum*. The Targum takes it in the sense of *instar pastoris gregis sui*; but though **עם** is sometimes used in this way, **הוא** never is. Both the LXX. and Targum read **הוא**; Jerome, on the other hand, adopts the reading **והוא**, and this is the Masoretic reading, for the Masora in Gen. xlvii. 3 reckons four **והוא**, without including the present passage. Kimchi and Abravanel also support this reading, and Norzi very properly gives it the preference. The shepherds of the flock of Jehovah are Moses and Aaron, together with Miriam (Ps. lxxvii. 21; Mic. vi. 4). With these (*i.e.* in their company or under their guidance) Jehovah led His people up out of Egypt through the Red Sea. With the reading **והוא**, the question whether *b'qirbô* refers to Moses or Israel falls to the ground. Into the heart of His people (Neh. ix. 20) Jehovah put the spirit of His holiness: it was present in the midst of Israel, inasmuch as Moses, Aaron, Miriam, the Seventy, and the prophets in the camp possessed it, and inasmuch as Joshua inherited it as the successor of Moses, and all the people might become possessed of it. The majestic might of Jehovah, which manifested itself majestically, is called the "arm of His majesty;" an anthropomorphism to which the expression "who caused it to march at the right hand of Moses" compels us to give an interpretation worthy of God. Stier will not allow that **זרעו ימארינו** is to be taken as the object, and exclaims, "What a marvellous figure of speech, an arm walking at a person's right hand!" But the arm which is visible in its deeds belongs to the God who is invisible in His own nature; and the meaning is, that the active power of Moses was not left to itself, but the overwhelming omnipotence of God went by its side, and endowed it with superhuman strength. It was by virtue of this that the elevated staff and extended hand of Moses divided the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 16). **בזקע** has *mahpach* attached to the **ב**, and therefore the tone drawn back upon the penultimate, and *metheg* with the *tsere*, that it may not be slipped over in the pronunciation. The clause **לעשות וגו'** affirms that the absolute

purpose of God is in Himself. But He is holy love, and whilst willing for Himself, He wills at the same time the salvation of His creatures. He makes to Himself an "everlasting name," by glorifying Himself in such memorable miracles of redemption, as that performed in the deliverance of His people out of Egypt. According to the general order of the passage, ver. 13 apparently refers to the passage through the Jordan; but the psalmist, in Ps. cvi. 9 (cf. lxxvii. 17), understood it as referring to the passage through the Red Sea. The prayer dwells upon this chief miracle, of which the other was only an after-play. "As the horse gallops over the plain," so did they pass through the depths of the sea **לֹא יִפְּסָלוּ** (a circumstantial minor clause), *i.e.* without stumbling. Then follows another beautiful figure: "like the beast that goeth down into the valley," not "as the beast goeth down into the valley," the Spirit of Jehovah brought it (Israel) to rest, *viz.* to the *m'nūchāh* of the Canaan flowing with milk and honey (Deut. xii. 9; Ps. xcv. 11), where it rested and was refreshed after the long and wearisome march through the sandy desert, like a flock that had descended from the bare mountains to the brooks and meadows of the valley. The Spirit of God is represented as the leader here (as in Ps. cxliii. 10), *viz.* through the medium of those who stood, enlightened and instigated by Him, at the head of the wandering people. The following **כִּי** is no more a correlate of the foregoing particle of comparison than in ch. lii. 14. It is a recapitulation, and refers to the whole description as far back as ver. 9, passing with **וְהִנֵּה** into the direct tone of prayer.

The way is prepared for the petitions for redemption which follow, outwardly by the change in ver. 14*b*, from a mere description to a direct address, and inwardly by the thought, that Israel is at the present time in such a condition, as to cause it to look back with longing eyes to the time of the Mosaic redemption. Ver. 15. "*Look from heaven and see, from the habitation of Thy holiness and majesty! Where is Thy zeal and Thy display of might? The pressure of Thy bowels and Thy compassions are restrained towards me.*" On the relation between **הִבֵּית**, to look up, to open the eyes, and **רָאָה**, to fix the eye upon a thing, see p. 185. It is very rarely that we meet with the words in the reverse order, **רָאָה וְהִבֵּית** (*vid.* Hab. i. 5; Lam. i. 11). In the second clause of ver. 15*a*, instead of *m'sshāmāyim*

(from heaven), we have "from the dwelling-place (*mizze'bhul*) of Thy holiness and majesty." The all-holy and all-glorious One, who once revealed Himself so gloriously in the history of Israel, has now withdrawn into His own heaven, where He is only revealed to the spirits. The object of the looking and seeing, as apparent from what follows, is the present helpless condition of the people in their sufferings, to which there does not seem likely to be any end. There are no traces now of the *kin'ah* (zeal) with which Jehovah used to strive on behalf of His people, and against their oppressors (ch. xxvi. 11), or of the former displays of His *g'bhūrah* (גְּבוּרָה), as it is correctly written in Ven. 1521, is a defective plural). In ver. 15b we have not a continued question ("the sounding of Thy bowels and Thy mercies, which are restrained towards me?"), as Hitzig and Knobel suppose. The words *'elai hith'appāqū* have not the appearance of an attributive clause, either according to the new strong thought expressed, or according to the order of the words (with לִי written first). On *strepitus viscerum*, as the effect and sign of deep sympathy, see at ch. xvi. 11. רַחֲמִים and מַעֲיִם, or rather מַעֲיִם (from מַעֵה, of the form מַעֵה), both signify primarily *σπλάγχνα*, strictly speaking the soft inward parts of the body; the latter from the root מע, to be pulpy or soft, the former from the root רח, to be slack, loose, or soft. רַחֲמִין, as the plural of the predicate shows, does not govern רַחֲמִי also. It is presupposed that the love of Jehovah urges Him towards His people, to relieve their misery; but His compassion and sympathy apparently put constraint upon themselves (*hith'appēq* as in ch. xlii. 14, lit. *se superare*, from *'āphaq*, root פק), to abstain from working on behalf of Israel.

The prayer for help, and the lamentation over its absence, are now justified in ver. 16: "*For Thou art our Father; for Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not. Thou, O Jehovah, art our Father; our Redeemer is from olden time Thy name.*" Jehovah is Israel's Father (Deut. xxxii. 6). His creative might, and the gracious counsels of His love, have called it into being: אֲבִי has not yet the deep and unrestricted sense of the New Testament "Our Father." The second *kī* introduces the reason for this confession that Jehovah was Israel's Father, and could therefore look for paternal care and help from Him alone. Even the dearest and most honourable

men, the forefathers of the nation, could not help it. Abraham and Jacob-Israel had been taken away from this world, and were unable to interfere on their own account in the history of their people. יָרַע and הִבִּיר suggest the idea of participating notice and regard, as in Deut. xxxiii. 9 and Ruth ii. 10, 19. יִפְרְנִי has the vowel *ā* (pausal for *a*, ch. lvi. 3) in the place of *ē*, to rhyme with יִרְעֵנִי (see Ges. § 60, Anm. 2). In the concluding clause, according to the accents, נִפְּלֵנוּ מֵעוֹלָם are connected together; but the more correct accentuation is נִפְּלֵנוּ *tiphchah*, מֵעוֹלָם *mercha*, and we have rendered it so. From the very earliest time the acts of Jehovah towards Israel had been such that Israel could call Him נִפְּלֵנוּ.

But in the existing state of things there was a contrast which put their faith to a severe test. Ver. 17. "*O Jehovah, why leadeest Thou us astray from Thy ways, hardenest our heart, so as not to fear Thee? Return for Thy servants' sake, the tribes of Thine inheritance.*" When men have scornfully and obstinately rejected the grace of God, God withdraws it from them judicially, gives them up to their wanderings, and makes their heart incapable of faith (*higshāch*, which only occurs again in Job xxxix. 16, is here equivalent to *higshāh* in Ps. xcv. 8, Deut. ii. 30). The history of Israel from ch. vi. onwards has been the history of such a gradual judgment of hardening, and such a curse, eating deeper and deeper, and spreading its influence wider and wider round. The great mass are lost, but not without the possibility of deliverance for the better part of the nation, which now appeals to the mercy of God, and sighs for deliverance from this ban. Two reasons are assigned for this petition for the return of the gracious presence of God: first, that there are still "servants of Jehovah" to be found, as this prayer itself actually proves; and secondly, that the divine election of grace cannot perish.

But the existing condition of Israel looks like a withdrawal of this grace; and it is impossible that these contrasts should cease, unless Jehovah comes down from heaven as the deliverer of His people. Vers. 18, 19 (lxiv. 1). "*For a little time Thy holy people was in possession. Our adversaries have trodden down Thy sanctuary. We have become such as He who is from everlasting has not ruled over, upon whom Thy name was not called. O that Thou wouldst rend the heaven, come down, the*

mountains would shake before thy countenance." It is very natural to try whether *yâr^sshū* may not have *tsârēnū* for its subject (cf. Jer. xlix. 2); but all the attempts made to explain the words on this supposition, show that *lammits'âr* is at variance with the idea that *yâr^sshū* refers to the foes. Compare, for example, Jerome's rendering "*quasi nihilum (i.e. ad nihil et absque allo labore) possederunt populum sanctum tuum;*" that of Cocceius, "*propemodum ad hæreditatem;*" and that of Stier, "for a little they possess entirely Thy holy nation." *Mits'âr* is the harsher form for *miz'âr*, which the prophet uses in ch. x. 25, xvi. 14, xxix. 17 for a contemptibly small space of time; and as *?* is commonly used to denote the time to which, towards which, within which, and through which, anything occurs (cf. 2 Chron. xi. 17, xxix. 17; Ewald, § 217, d), *lammits'âr* may signify for a (lit. the well-known) short time (*per breve tempus*; like *εἰς, ἐπ'*, κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, a year long). If *miqdāsh* could mean the holy land, as Hitzig and others suppose, *miqdāshekhā* might be the common object of both sentences (Ewald, § 351, p. 838). But *miqdash Jehovah* (the sanctuary of Jehovah) is the place of His abode and worship; and "taking possession of the temple" is hardly an admissible expression. On the other hand, *yārash hā'ârets*, to take possession of the (holy) land, is so common a phrase (e.g. ch. lx. 21, lxx. 9; Ps. xlv. 4), that with the words "Thy holy people possessed for a little (time)" we naturally supply the holy land as the object. The order of the words in the two clauses is chiasitic. The two strikingly different subjects touch one another as the two inner members. Of the perfects, the first expresses the more remote past, the second the nearer past, as in ch. lx. 10b. The two clauses of the verse rhyme,—the holiest thing in the possession of the people, which was holy according to the choice and calling of Jehovah, being brought into the greatest prominence; *bōsēs* = παρὲν, Luke xxi. 24, Rev. xi. 2. Hahn's objection, that the time between the conquest of the land and the Chaldean catastrophe could not be called *mits'âr* (a little while), may be answered, from the fact that a time which is long in itself shrinks up when looked back upon or recalled, and that as an actual fact from the time of David and Solomon, when Israel really rejoiced in the possession of the land, the coming catastrophe began to be foreboded by many significant preludes. The lamentation in ver.

19 proceeds from the same feeling which caused the better portion of the past to vanish before the long continuance of the mournful present (compare the reverse at p. 346). Hitzig renders הָיִינוּ "we were;" Hahn, "we shall be;" but here, where the speaker is not looking back, as in ch. xxvi. 17, at a state of things which has come to an end, but rather at one which is still going on, it signifies "we have become." The passage is rendered correctly in S.: ἐγενήθημεν (or better, γεγόναμεν) ὡς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὧν οὐκ ἐξουσίασας οὐδὲ ἐπικλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου αὐτοῖς. The virtual predicate to *hāyīnū* commences with *mē'olām*: "we have become such (or like such persons) as," etc.; which would be fully expressed by בָּעָם אֲשֶׁר, or merely בְּאִשֶּׁר, or without אֲשֶׁר, and simply by transposing the words, בְּלֹא מִשְׁלֵת וְנֹ (cf. Obad. 16): compare the virtual subject יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ in ch. xlviii. 14, and the virtual object יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁמִי in ch. xli. 25 (Ewald, § 333, b). Every form of "as if" is intentionally omitted. The relation in which Jehovah placed Himself to Israel, viz. as its King, and as to His own people called by His name, appears not only as though it had been dissolved, but as though it had never existed at all. The existing state of Israel is a complete practical denial of any such relation. Deeper tones than these no lamentation could possibly utter, and hence the immediate utterance of the sigh which goes up to heaven: "O that Thou wouldst rend heaven!" It is extremely awkward to begin a fresh chapter with בְּקִרְיָה ("as when the melting fire burneth"); at the same time, the Masoretic division of the verses is unassailable.¹ For ver. 19b (ch. lxiv. 1) could not be attached to ch. lxiv. 1, 2, since this verse would be immensely overladen; moreover, this sigh really belongs to ver. 19a (ch. lxiii. 19), and ascends out of the depth of the lamentation uttered there. On *utinam discideris* = *discinderes*, see at ch. xlviii. 18. The wish presupposes that the gracious presence of God had been withdrawn from Israel, and that Israel felt itself to be separated from the world beyond by a thick party-wall, resembling an impenetrable black cloud. The closing member of the optative clause is generally rendered (*utinam*) *a facie tua montes diffluerent* (e.g. Rosenmüller after

¹ In the Hebrew Bibles, chap. lxiv. commences at the second verse of our version; and the first verse is attached to ver. 19 of the previous chapter.—Tr.

the LXX. *τακῆσονται*), or more correctly, *defluerent* (Jerome), as *nāzal* means to flow down, not to melt. The meaning therefore would be, "O that they might flow down, as it were to the ground melting in the fire" (Hitzig). The form *nāzollu* cannot be directly derived from *nāzal*, if taken in this sense; for it is a pure fancy that *nāzöllū* may be a modification of the pausal *נָזַל* with *ō* for *ā*, and the so-called *dagesh affectuosum*). Stier invents a verb *med. o.* *נָזַל*. The more probable supposition is, that it is a *niphal* formed from *zālāl* = *nāzal* (Ewald, § 193, c). But *zālāl* signifies to hang down slack, to sway to and fro (hence *zōlēl*, lightly esteemed, and *zalzallīm*, ch. xviii. 5, pliable branches), like *zūl* in ch. xlvi. 6, to shake, to pour down;¹ and *nāzöllū*, if derived from this, yields the appropriate sense *concuterentur* (compare the Arabic *zalzala*, which is commonly applied to an earthquake). The nearest *niphal* form would be *נָזַל* (or resolved, *נָזַל*, Judg. v. 5); but instead of the *a* of the second syllable, the *niphal* of the verbs *נָזַל* has sometimes *o*, like the verb *נָזַל* (e.g. *נָזַל*, ch. xxxiv. 4; Ges. § 67, Anm. 5).

The similes which follow cannot be attached to this *nāzöllū*, however we may explain it. Yet ch. lxiv. 1 (2) does not form a new and independent sentence; but we must in thought repeat the word upon which the principal emphasis rests in ch. lxiii. 19b (ch. lxiv. 1). Ch. lxiv. 1, 2 (2, 3). "(*Wouldst come down*) as fire kindles brushwood, fire causes water to boil; to make known Thy name to Thine adversaries, that the heathen may tremble before Thy face! When Thou doest terrible things which we hoped not for; wouldst come down, (and) mountains shake before Thy countenance!" The older expositors gave themselves a great deal of trouble in the attempt to trace *hāmāsīm* to *māsas*, to melt. But since Louis de Dieu and Albert Schultens have followed Saadia and Abulwālid in citing the Arabic *هَمَس*, to crack, to mutter, to mumble, etc., and *هَشَم*, to break in pieces, *confringere*, from which comes *hashīm*, broken, dry wood, it is generally admitted that *hāmāsīm* is from *hemes* (lit. crackling, rattling, Arab. *hams*), and signifies "dry twigs," *arida sarmenta*. The second simile might be rendered, "as water bubbles up

¹ Just as the Greek has in addition to *σαλ-εύειν* the much simpler and more root-like *σελ-ειν*; so the Semitic has, besides *נָזַל*, the roots *נָזַל*, *נָזַל*: compare the Arabic *نَزَلَ*, *نَزَلَ*, *نَزَلَ*, all three denoting restless motion.

in the fire;" and in that case *mayim* would be treated as a feminine (according to the rule in Ges. § 146, 3), in support of which Job xiv. 19 may be adduced as an unquestionable example (although in other cases it is masculine), and $\text{אֵשׁ} = \text{בָּאֵשׁ}$ would be used in a local sense, like *lehābbāh*, into flames, in ch. v. 24. But it is much more natural to take אֵשׁ , which is just as often a feminine as מַיִם is a masculine, as the subject of תִּבְעֶה , and to give to the verb בָּעָה , which is originally intransitive, judging from the Arabic بَغَى , to swell, the Chald. בִּעַ , to spring up (compare אֲבַעְבְּעוֹת , blisters, pustules), the Syr. ܒܝܢܐ , to bubble up, etc., the transitive meaning to cause to boil or bubble up, rather than the intransitive to boil (comp. ch. xxx. 13, נִבְעָה , swollen = bent forwards, as it were *protumidus*). Jehovah is to come down with the same irresistible force which fire exerts upon brushwood or water, when it sets the former in flames and makes the latter boil; in order that by such a display of might He may make His name known (viz. the name thus judicially revealing itself, hence "in fire," ch. xxx. 27, lxvi. 15) to His adversaries, and that nations (viz. those that are idolaters) may tremble before Him (מִפְּנֵי : cf. Ps. lxviii. 2, 3). The infinitive clause denoting the purpose, like that indicating the comparison, passes into the finite (cf. ch. x. 2, xiii. 9, xiv. 25). Modern commentators for the most part now regard the optative *lū'* (O that) as extending to ver. 2 also; and, in fact, although this continued influence of *lū'* appears to overstep the bounds of the possible, we are forced to resort to this extremity. Ver. 2 cannot contain a historical retrospect: the word "formerly" would be introduced if it did, and the order of the words would be a different one. Again, we cannot assume that $\text{יִרְדָּת מִפְּנֵי הָרִים הַזֵּהִם}$ contains an expression of confidence, or that the perfects indicate certainty. Neither the context, the foregoing $\text{בְּעֲשׂוֹתֶךָ נִרְאָה}$ (why not עָשָׂה ?), nor the parenthetical assertion לֹא יִמָּה , permits of this. On the other hand, $\text{וַיִּרְדָּת בְּעֲשׂוֹתֶךָ}$ connects itself very appropriately with the purposes indicated in ver. 1 (2): "may tremble when Thou doest terrible things, which we, *i.e.* such as we, do not look for," *i.e.* which surpass our expectations. And now nothing remains but to recognise the resumption of ch. lxiii. 19 (lxiv. 1) in the clause "The mountains shake at Thy presence," in which case ch.

lxiii. 19b–lxiv. 2 (lxiv. 1–3) forms a grand period rounded off palindromically after Isaiah's peculiar style.

The following clause gives the reason for this; י being very frequently the logical equivalent for *kī* (e.g. ch. iii. 7 and xxxviii. 15). The justification of this wish, which is forced from them by the existing misery, is found in the incomparable acts of Jehovah for the good of His own people, which are to be seen in a long series of historical events. Ver. 3 (4). "*For from olden time men have not heard, nor perceived, nor hath an eye seen, a God beside Thee, who acted on behalf of him that waiteth for Him.*" No ear, no eye has ever been able to perceive the existence of a God who acted like Jehovah, i.e. really interposed on behalf of those who set their hopes upon Him. This is the explanation adopted by Knobel; but he wrongly supplies נוראות to עשה, whereas עשה is used here in the same pregnant sense as in Ps. xxii. 32, xxxvii. 5, lii. 11 (cf. *gámar* in Ps. lvii. 3, cxxxviii. 8). It has been objected to this explanation, that הִשְׁמָע is never connected with the accusative of the person, and that God can neither be heard nor seen. But what is tenable in relation to שָׁמַע in Job xlii. 5 cannot be untenable in relation to הִשְׁמָע. Hearing and seeing God are here equivalent to recognising His existence through the perception of His works. The explanation favoured by Rosenmüller and Stier, viz., "And from olden time men have not heard it, nor perceived with ears, no eye has seen it, O God, beside Thee, what (this God) doth to him that waiteth for Him," is open to still graver objections. The thought is the same as in Ps. xxxi. 20, and when so explained it corresponds more exactly to the free quotation in 1 Cor. ii. 9, which with our explanation there is no necessity to trace back to either ch. lii. 15, 16, or a lost book, as Origen imagined (see Tischendorf's ed. vii. of the N. T. on this passage). This which no ear has heard, no eye seen, is not God Himself, but He who acts for His people, and justifies their waiting for Him (cf. Hofmann, *Die h. Schrift Neuen Testaments*, ii. 2, 51). Another proof that Paul had no other passage than this in his mind, is the fact that the same quotation is met with in Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians* (ch. xxxiv.), where, instead of "those that love Him," we have "those that wait for Him," a literal rendering of לְמַחְבְּרָתוֹ. The quotation by Paul therefore by no means leads us to take

Elohim as a vocative or 'עשה וגו' as the object, although it must not be concealed that this view of the passage and its reference to the fulness of glory in the eternal life is an old rabbinical one, as Rashi expressly affirms, when he appeals to R. Jose (Joseph Kara) as authority for the other (see *b. Sanhedrin* 99a). Hahn has justly objected to this traditional explanation, which regards *Elohim* as a vocative, that the thought, that God alone has heard and perceived and seen with His eye what He intends to do to His people, is unsuitable in itself, and at variance with the context, and that if 'עשה וגו' was intended as the object, אשר (את) would certainly be inserted. And to this we may add, that we cannot find the words *Elohim zûlâth^ekhâ* (God beside Thee) preceded by a negation anywhere in ch. xl.-lxvi. without receiving at once the impression, that they affirm the sole deity of Jehovah (comp. ch. xlv. 5, 21). The meaning therefore is, "No other God beside Jehovah has ever been heard or seen, who acted for (*ageret pro*) those who waited for Him." *M^echakkêh* is the construct, according to Ges. § 116, 1; and *ya'ăsêh* has *tsere* here, according to Kimchi (*Michlol* 125b) and other testimonies, just as we meet with תַּעֲשֶׂה four times (in Gen. xxvi. 29; Josh. vii. 9; 2 Sam. xiii. 12; Jer. xl. 16) and וְנַעֲשֶׂה once (Josh. ix. 24), mostly with a disjunctive accent, and not without the influence of a whole or half pause, the form with *tsere* being regarded as more emphatic than that with *seghol*.¹

After the long period governed by לֵאמֹר has thus been followed by the retrospect in ver. 3 (4), it is absolutely impossible that ver. 4a (5a) should be intended as an optative, in the sense of "O that thou wouldst receive him that," etc., as Stier and others propose. The retrospect is still continued thus, ver. 4a (5a): "Thou didst meet him that rejoiceth to work righteousness, when they remembered Thee in Thy ways." שָׂשׁ וְעָשָׂה צָדִיק is one in whom joy and right action are paired, and is therefore

¹ In addition to the examples given above, we have the following forms of the same kind in *kal*: יִפְחַח (with *tiphchah*) in Jer. xvii. 17; תִּרְאֶה (with *tsakeph*) in Dan. i. 13, compare תִּנָּלֶה (with *atmach*) in Lev. xviii. 7, 8, and תִּנָּלֶה (with the smaller disjunctive *tiphchah*) in vers. 9-11; יִנָּקֶה (with *atmach*) in Nah. i. 3; אֲזַרֶה (with *tsakeph*) in Ezek. v. 12. This influence of the accentuation has escaped the notice of the more modern grammarians (e.g. Ges. § 75, Anm. 17).

equivalent to שֵׁשׁ לְעֵשׂוֹר. At the same time, it may possibly be more correct to take צָרָךְ as the object of both verses, as Hoffmann does in the sense of "those who let what is right be their joy, and their action also;" for though שֵׁשׁ (שֵׁשׁ) cannot be directly construed with the accusative of the object, as we have already observed at ch. viii. 6 and xxxv. 1, it may be indirectly, as in this passage and ch. lxxv. 18. On *pāga'*, "to come to meet," in the sense of "coming to the help of," see at ch. xlvii. 3; it is here significantly interchanged with בִּדְרָכֶיךָ of the minor clause *bidrākekhā yizk'rūkhā*, "those who remember Thee in Thy ways" (for the syntax, compare ch. i. 5 and xxvi. 16): "When such as love and do right, walking in Thy ways, remembered Thee (*i.e.* thanked Thee for grace received, and longed for fresh grace), Thou camest again and again to meet them as a friend."

But Israel appeared to have been given up without hope to the wrath of this very God. Ver. 4b (5b). "*Behold, Thou, I thou art enraged, and we stood as sinners there; already have we been long in this state, and shall we be saved?*" Instead of *hēn 'attāh* (the antithesis of now and formerly), the passage proceeds with *hēn 'attāh*. There was no necessity for 'attāh with *qātsaphā*; so that it is used with special emphasis: "Behold, Thou, a God who so faithfully accepts His own people, hast broken out in wrath" (see p. 345). The following word וְנִחַמְתָּ cannot mean "and we have sinned," but is a *fut. consec.*, and therefore must mean at least, "then we have sinned" (the sin inferred from the punishment). It is more correct, however, to take it, as in Gen. xliii. 9, in the sense of, "Then we stand as sinners, as guilty persons:" the punishment has exhibited Israel before the world, and before itself, as what it really is (consequently the *fut. consec.* does not express the logical inference, but the practical consequence). As וְנִחַמְתָּ has *tsakeph*, and therefore the accents at any rate preclude Schelling's rendering, "and we have wandered in those ways from the very earliest times," we must take the next two clauses as independent, if indeed בָּהֶם is to be understood as referring to בְּדִרְכֶיךָ. Stier only goes half-way towards this when he renders it, "And indeed in them (the ways of God, we sinned) from of old, and should we be helped?" This is forced, and yet not in accordance with the accents. Rosenmüller and Hahn quite satisfy this demand when they

render it, "*Tamen in viis tuis æternitas ut salvemur*;" but 'ōlām, αἰών, in this sense of αἰωνιότης, is not scriptural. The rendering adopted by Besser, Grotius, and Starck is a better one: "*(Si vero) in illis (viis tuis) perpetuo (mansissemus), tunc servati fuerimus*" (if we had continued in Thy ways, then we should have been preserved). But there is no succession of tenses here, which could warrant us in taking וַיִּשָּׁע as a paulo-post future; and Hofmann's view is syntactically more correct, "In them (i.e. the ways of Jehovah) eternally, we shall find salvation, after the time is passed in which He has been angry and we have sinned" (or rather, been shown to be guilty). But we question the connection between בָּהֶם and דְּרִכֶּיךָ in any form. In our view the prayer suddenly takes a new turn from hēn (behold) onwards, just as it did with lū' (O that) in ch. lxiv. 1; and דְּרִכֶּיךָ in ver. 5a stands at the head of a subordinate clause. Hence בָּהֶם must refer back to קֶצֶף וְחַמָּה ("in Thine anger and in our sins," Schegg). There is no necessity, however, to search for nouns to which to refer בָּהֶם. It is rather to be taken as neuter, signifying "therein" (Ezek. xxxiii. 18, cf. Ps. xc. 10), like עֲלֵיהֶם, thereupon = thereby (ch. xxxviii. 16), בָּהֶן therein (xxxviii. 16), מִבָּהֶם thereout (ch. xxx. 6), therefrom (ch. xlv. 15). The idea suggested by such expressions as these is no doubt that of plurality (here a plurality of manifestations of wrath and of sins), but one which vanishes into the neuter idea of totality. Now we do justice both to the clause without a verb, which, being a logical copula, admits simply of a present sumus; and also to 'ōlām, which is the accusative of duration, when we explain the sentence as meaning, "In this state we are and have been for a long time." 'Olām is used in other instances in these prophecies to denote the long continuance of the state of punishment (see ch. xlii. 14, lvii. 11), since it appeared to the exiles as an eternity (a whole æon), and what lay beyond it as but a little while (mits'ār, ch. lxiii. 18). The following word וַיִּשָּׁע needs no correction. There is no necessity to change it into וַיִּחַע, as Ewald proposes, after the LXX. καὶ ἐπλανήθημεν ("and we fell into wandering"), or what would correspond still more closely to the LXX. (cf. ch. xlv. 8, בַּשָּׁעִים, LXX. πεπλανήμενοι), but is less appropriate here, into וַיִּשָּׁע ("and we fell into apostasy"), the reading supported by Lowth and others. If it were necessary to alter

the text at all, we might simply transpose the letters, and read וַיִּשָּׂא, "and cried for help." But if we take it as a question, "And shall we experience salvation—find help?" there is nothing grammatically inadmissible in this (compare ch. xxviii. 28), and psychologically it is commended by the state of mind depicted in ch. xl. 27, lix. 10–12. Moreover, what follows attaches itself quite naturally to this.

The people who ask the question in ver. 5 do not regard themselves as worthy of redemption, as their self-righteousness has been so thoroughly put to shame. Ver. 5 (6). "*We all became like the unclean thing, and all our virtues like a garment soiled with blood; and we all faded away together like the leaves; and our iniquities, like the storm they carried us away.*" The whole nation is like one whom the law pronounces unclean, like a leper, who has to cry "*tāmē', tāmē'*" as he goes along, that men may get out of his way (Lev. xiii. 45). Doing right in all its manifold forms (*ts'dāqōth*, like ch. xxxiii. 15, used elsewhere of the manifestations of divine righteousness), which once made Israel well-pleasing to God (ch. i. 21), has disappeared and become like a garment stained with menstruous discharge (cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 17); (LXX. ὡς ῥάκος ἀποκαθημένης = *dāvāh*, ch. xxx. 22; *niddāh*, Lam. i. 17; *t'mē'āh*, Lev. xv. 33). 'Iddīm (used thus in the plural in the Talmud also) signifies the monthly period (*menstrua*). In the third figure, that of fading falling foliage, the form *vannābhēl* is not *kal* (= *van-nibbōl* or *vanibbal*; Ewald, § 232, *b*), which would be an impossibility according to the laws of inflexion; still less is it *niphāl* = *vanninnābhēl* (which Kimchi suggests as an alternative); but certainly a *hiphīl*. It is not, however, from *nābhēl* = *vannabbēl*, "with the reduplication dropped to express the idea of something gradual," as Böttcher proposes (a new and arbitrary explanation in the place of one founded upon the simple laws of inflexion), but either from *bālal* (compare the remarks on *bēlīl* in ch. xxx. 24, which hardly signifies "ripe barley" however), after the form וַיִּלֵּל (from וָלַל), or from וַיִּסַּךְ (from סָכַךְ), or from *būl*, after the form וַיִּקַּם, etc. In any case, therefore, it is a meta-plastic formation, whether from *bālal* or *būl* = *nābhēl*, like וַיִּשָּׂר in 1 Chron. xx. 3, after the form וַיִּסַּר, from שָׁר = שָׁרַר, or after the form וַיִּרַע, from שָׁרַר = שָׁרַר (compare the rabbinical explanation of the name of the month *Bul* from the falling of the

leaves, in Buxtorf, *Lex. talm.* col. 271). The *hiphil* הִבִּיל or הִבִּיל is to be compared to הִאָּרִים, to stream out red (= to be red); הִאָּרִיף, to make an extension (= to be long); הִשְׁרִישׁ, to strike root (= to root), etc., and signifies literally to produce a fading (= to fade away). In the fourth figure, עֲוֹנוֹנִי (as it is also written in ver. 6 according to correct codices) is a defective plural (as in Jer. xiv. 7, Ezek. xxviii. 18, Dan. ix. 13) for the more usual עֲוֹנוֹתַי (ch. lix. 12). עָוֶן is the usual term applied to sin regarded as guilt, which produces punishment of itself. The people were robbed by their sins of all vital strength and energy, like dry leaves, which the guilt and punishment springing from sin carried off as a very easy prey.

Universal forgetfulness of God was the consequence of this self-instigated departure from God. Ver. 6 (7). "*And there was no one who called upon Thy name, who aroused himself to lay firm hold of Thee : for Thou hadst hidden Thy face from us, and didst melt us into the hand of our transgressions.*" There was no one (see ch. lix. 16) who had risen up in prayer and intercession out of this deep fall, or had shaken himself out of the sleep of security and lethargy of insensibility, to lay firm hold of Jehovah, *i.e.* not to let Him go till He blessed him and his people again. The curse of God pressed every one down ; God had withdrawn His grace from them, and given them up to the consequences of their sins. The form וְהִמְנִינִי is not softened from the *pilel* וְהִמְנִינִי, but is a *kal* like וְיִכְנִינִי in Job xxxi. 15 (which see), מִנִּי being used in a transitive sense, as *kūn* is there (cf. *shūbh*, ch. lii. 8 ; *mush*, Zech. iii. 9). The LXX., Targ., and Syr. render it *et tradidisti nos* ; but we cannot conclude from this with any certainty that they read וְהִמְנִינִי, which Knobel follows Ewald in correcting into the incorrect form וְהִמְנִינִי. The prophet himself had the expression *miggēn b'yad* (Gen. xiv. 20, cf. Job viii. 4) in his mind, in the sense of *liquefecisti nos in manum*, equivalent to *liquefecisti et tradidisti* (*παρέδωκας*, Rom. i. 28), from which it is evident that בְּיָד is not a mere *διά* (LXX.), but the "hand" of the transgressions is their destructive and damning power.

This was the case when the measure of Israel's sins had become full. They were carried into exile, where they sank deeper and deeper. The great mass of the people proved themselves to be really *massa perditā*, and perished among the

heathen. But there were some, though a vanishingly small number, who humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, and, when redemption could not be far off, wrestled in such prayers as these, that the nation might share it in its entirety, and if possible not one be left behind. With *וְעַתָּה* the existing state of sin and punishment is placed among the things of the past, and the petition presented that the present moment of prayer may have all the significance of a turning-point in their history. Vers. 7, 8 (8, 9). "*And now, O Jehovah, Thou art our Father: we are the clay, and Thou our Maker; and we are all the work of Thy hand. Be not extremely angry, O Jehovah, and remember not the transgression for ever! Behold, consider, we beseech Thee, we are all Thy people.*" The state of things must change at last; for Israel is an image made by Jehovah; yea, more than this, Jehovah is the begetter of Israel, and loves Israel not merely as a sculptor, but as a father (compare ch. xlv. 9, 10, and the unquestionable passage of Isaiah in ch. xxix. 16). Let Him then not be angry *עַרְמָאָר*, "to the utmost measure" (cf. Ps. cxix. 8), or if we paraphrase it according to the radical meaning of *מֵאֵר*, "till the weight becomes intolerable." Let Him not keep in mind the guilt for ever, to punish it; but, in consideration of the fact that Israel is the nation of His choice, let mercy take the place of justice. *וְיָ* strengthens the petition in its own way (see Gen. xxx. 34), just as *נָּ* does; and *וְיָבִיט* signifies here, as elsewhere, to fix the eye upon anything. The object, in this instance, is the existing fact expressed in "we are all Thy people." Hitzig is correct in regarding the repetition of "all of us" in this prayer as significant. The object throughout is to entreat that the whole nation may participate in the inheritance of the coming salvation, in order that the exodus from Babylonia may resemble the exodus from Egypt.

The re-erection of the ruins of the promised land requires the zeal of every one, and this state of ruin must not continue. It calls out the love and faithfulness of Jehovah. Vers. 9-11. "*The cities of Thy holiness have become a pasture-ground; Zion has become a pasture-ground, Jerusalem a desert. The house of our holiness and of our adorning, where our fathers praised Thee, is given up to the fire, and everything that was our delight given up to devastation. Wilt Thou restrain Thyself in spite of this,*

O Jehovah, be silent, and leave us to suffer the utmost?” Jerusalem by itself could not possibly be called “*cities*” (*âre*), say with reference to the upper and lower cities (Vitringa). It is merely mentioned by name as the most prominent of the many cities which were all “*holy cities*,” inasmuch as the whole of Canaan was the land of Jehovah (ch. xiv. 25), and His holy territory (Ps. lxxviii. 54). The word *midbâr* (pasture-land, heath, different from *tsiyyâh*, the pastureless desert, ch. xxxv. 1) is repeated, for the purpose of showing that the same fate had fallen upon Zion-Jerusalem as upon the rest of the cities of the land. The climax of the terrible calamity was the fact, that the temple had also fallen a prey to the burning of the fire (compare for the fact, Jer. lii. 13). The people call it “*house of our holiness and of our glory*.” Jehovah’s *qôdesh* and *tiph’ereth* have, as it were, transplanted heaven to earth in the temple (compare ch. lxiii. 15 with ch. lx. 7); and this earthly dwelling-place of God is Israel’s possession, and therefore Israel’s *qôdesh* and *tiph’ereth*. The relative clause describes what sublime historical reminiscences are attached to the temple: אֶשֶׁר is equivalent to אֶשֶׁר שָׁם, as in Gen. xxxix. 20, Num. xx. 13 (compare Ps. lxxxiv. 4), Deut. viii. 15, etc. הַלְלִיךָ has *chateph-pathach*, into which, as a rule, the vocal *sheva* under the first of two similar letters is changed. *Machâmaddênû* (our delights) may possibly include favourite places, ornamental buildings, and pleasure grounds; but the parallel leads us rather to think primarily of things associated with the worship of God, in which the people found a holy delight. כֹּל, contrary to the usual custom, is here followed by the singular of the predicate, as in Prov. xvi. 2, Ezek. xxxi. 15 (cf. Gen. ix. 29). Will Jehovah still put restraint upon Himself, and cause His merciful love to keep silence, עַל-זֶה, with such a state of things as this, or notwithstanding this state of things (Job x. 7)? On הִתְאַפֵּק, see ch. lxiii. 15, xlii. 14. The suffering would indeed increase עַד-מְאֹד (to the utmost), if it caused the destruction of Israel, or should not be followed at last by Israel’s restoration. Jehovah’s compassion cannot any longer thus forcibly restrain itself; it must break forth, like Joseph’s tears in the recognition scene (Gen. xlv. 1).

SECOND CLOSING PROPHECY.—CHAP. LXV.

JEHOVAH'S ANSWER TO THE CHURCH'S PRAYER.

After the people have poured out their heart before Jehovah, He announces what they may expect from Him. But instead of commencing with a promise, as we might anticipate after the foregoing prayer, He begins with reproach and threatening; for although the penitential portion of the community had included the whole nation in their prayer, it was destruction, and not deliverance, which awaited one portion of the nation, and that portion was the greater one. The great mass were in that state of "sin unto death" which defies all intercession (1 John v. 16), because they had so scornfully and obstinately resisted the grace which had been so long and so incessantly offered to them. Vers. 1, 2. *"I was discernible to those who did not inquire, discoverable by those who did not seek me. I said, 'Here am I, here am I,' to a nation where my name was not called. I spread out my hands all the day to a refractory people, who walked in the way that was not good, after their own thoughts."* The LXX. (A) render ver. 1a, "I was found by those who did not seek me, I became manifest to those who did not ask for me" (B reverses the order); and in Rom. x. 20, 21, Paul refers ver. 1 to the Gentiles, and ver. 2 to Israel. The former, to whom He has hitherto been strange, enter into fellowship with Him; whilst the latter, to whom He has constantly offered Himself, thrust Him away, and lose His fellowship. Luther accordingly adopts this rendering: "I shall be sought by those who did not ask for me, I shall be found by those who did not seek me. And to the heathen who did not call upon my name, I say, Here am I, here am I." Zwingli, again, observes on ver. 1, "This is an irresistible testimony to the adoption of the Gentiles." Calvin also follows the apostle's exposition, and observes, that "Paul argues boldly for the calling of the Gentiles on the ground of this passage, and says that Isaiah dared to proclaim and assert that the Gentiles had been called by God, because he announced a greater thing, and announced it more clearly than the reason of those times would bear." Of all the Jewish expositors, there is only one,

viz. Gecatilia, who refers ver. 1 to the Gentiles; and of all the Christian expositors of modern times, there is only one, viz. Hendewerk, who interprets it in this way, without having been influenced by the quotation made by Paul. Hofmann, however, and Stier, feel obliged to follow the apostle's exposition, and endeavour to vindicate it. But we have no sympathy with any such untenable efforts to save the apostle's honour. In Rom. ix. 25, 26, he also quotes Hos. ii. 25 and ii. 1 in support of the calling of the Gentiles; whereas he could not have failed to know, that it is the restoration of Israel to favour which is alluded to there. He merely appeals to Hos. ii. in support of the New Testament fact of the calling of the Gentiles, so far as it is in these words of the Old Testament prophet that the fact is most adequately expressed. And according to 1 Pet. ii. 10, Peter received the same impression from Hosea's words. But with the passage before us it is very different. The apostle shows, by the way in which he applies the Scripture, how he depended in this instance upon the Septuagint translation, which was in his own hands and those of his readers also, and by which the allusion to the Gentiles is naturally suggested, even if not actually demanded. And we may also assume that the apostle himself understood the Hebrew text, with which he, the pupil of Rabban Gamaliel, was of course well acquainted, in the same sense, viz. as relating to the calling of the Gentiles, without being therefore legally bound to adopt the same interpretation. The interchange of גוי (cf. ch. lv. 5) and עם; the attribute לֹא קָרָא בְּשֵׁמִי, which applies to heathen, and heathen only; the possibility of interpreting ch. lxv. 1, 2, in harmony with the context both before and after, if ver. 1 be taken as referring to the Gentiles, on the supposition that Jehovah is here contrasting His success with the Gentiles and His failure with Israel: all these certainly throw weight into the scale. Nevertheless they are not decisive, if we look at the Hebrew alone, apart altogether from the LXX. For *nidrashti* does not mean "I have become manifest;" but, regarded as the so-called *niphal tolerativum* (according to Ezek. xiv. 3, xx. 3, 31, xxxvi. 37), "I permitted myself to be explored or found out;" and consequently נִמְצְאתִי, according to ch. lv. 6, "I let myself be found." And so explained, ver. 1 stands in a parallel relation to ch. lv. 6: Jehovah was searchable, was discoverable

(cf. Zeph. i. 6) to those who asked no questions, and did not seek Him (אֵלֹהִים = אֱלֹהִים, Ges. § 123, 3), *i.e.* He displayed to Israel the fulness of His nature and the possibility of His fellowship, although they did not bestir themselves or trouble themselves in the least about Him,—a view which is confirmed by the fact that ver. 1*b* merely refers to offers made to them, and not to results of any kind. Israel, however, is called גֵּי לֹא־קָרָא בִשְׁמִי, not as a nation that was not called by Jehovah's name (which would be expressed by קָרָא, ch. xliii. 7; cf. מִקְרָא, κλητός μου, ch. xlviii. 12), but as a nation where (supply 'āsher) Jehovah's name was not invoked (LXX. "who called not upon my name"), and therefore as a thoroughly heathenish nation; for which reason we have *gōi* (LXX. ἔθνος) here, and not 'am (LXX. λαός). Israel was estranged from Him, just like the heathen; but He still turned towards them with infinite patience, and (as is added in ver. 2) with ever open arms of love. He spread out His hands (as a man does to draw another towards him to embrace him) all the day (*i.e.* continually, cf. ch. xxviii. 24) towards an obstinate people, who walked in the way that was not good (cf. Ps. xxxvi. 5, Prov. xvi. 29; here with the article, which could not be repeated with the adjective, because of the אֵלֹהִים), behind their own thoughts. That which led them, and which they followed, was not the will of God, but selfish views and purposes, according to their own hearts' lusts; and yet Jehovah did not let them alone, but they were the constant thought and object of His love, which was ever seeking, alluring, and longing for their salvation.

But through this obstinate and unyielding rejection of His love they have excited wrath, which, though long and patiently suppressed, now bursts forth with irresistible violence. Vers. 3-5. "*The people that continually provoketh me by defying me to my face, sacrificing in the gardens, and burning incense upon the tiles; who sit in the graves, and spend the night in closed places; to eat the flesh of swine, and broken pieces of abominations is in their dishes; who say, Stop! come not too near me; for I am holy to thee; they are a smoke in my nose, a fire blazing continually.*" אֵלֶּה (these) in ver. 5*b* is retrospective, summing up the subject as described in vers. 3-5*a*, and what follows in ver. 5*b* contains the predicate. The heathenish practices of the exiles are here depicted, and in ver. 7 they are

expressly distinguished from those of their fathers. Hence there is something so peculiar in the description, that we look in vain for parallels among those connected with the idolatry of the Israelites before the time of the captivity. There is only one point of resemblance, viz. the allusion to gardens as places of worship, which only occurs in the book of Isaiah, and in which our passage, together with ch. lvii. 5 and lxvi. 17, strikingly coincides with ch. i. 29. "Upon my face" (*al-pānai*) is equivalent to "freely and openly, without being ashamed of me, or fearing me;" cf. Job i. 11, vi. 28, xxi. 31. "Burning incense upon the bricks" carries us to Babylonia, the true home of the *cocti lateres* (*laterculi*). The *thorah* only mentions *l'bhēnīm* in connection with Babylonian and Egyptian buildings. The only altars that it allows are altars of earth thrown up, or of unhewn stones and wooden beams with a brazen covering. "They who sit in the graves," according to Vitranga, are they who sacrifice to the dead. He refers to the Greek and Roman *inferiæ* and *februationes*, or expiations for the dead, as probably originating in the East. Sacrifices for the dead were offered, in fact, not only in India and Persia, but also in Hither Asia among the Ssabians, and therefore probably in ancient Mesopotamia and Babylonia. But were they offered in the graves themselves, as we must assume from *בְּקִבְרֵיהֶם* (not *עַל-קִבְרֵיהֶם*)? Nothing at all is known of this, and Böttcher (*de inferis*, § 234) is correct in rendering it "among (*inter*) the graves," and supposing the object to be to hold intercourse there with the dead and with demons. The next point, viz. passing the night in closed places (*i.e.* places not accessible to every one: *n^tsūrīm*, *custodita* = *clausa*, like *n^eimīm*, *amæna*), may refer to the mysteries celebrated in natural caves and artificial crypts (on the mysteries of the Ssabians, see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier u. der Ssabismus*, ii. 332 sqq.). But the LXX. and Syriac render it *ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι' ἐνύπνια*, evidently understanding it to refer to the so-called *incubare*, *ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι*; and so Jerome explains it. "In the temples of idols," he says, "where they were accustomed to lie upon the skins of the victims stretched upon the ground, to gather future events from their dreams." The expression *ubhann^tsūrīm* points not so much to open temples, as to inaccessible caves or subterraneous places. G. Rawlinson

(*Monarchies*, ii. 269) mentions the discovery of "clay idols in holes below the pavement of palaces." From the next charge, "who eat there the flesh of the swine," we may infer that the Babylonians offered swine in sacrifice, if not as a common thing, yet like the Egyptians and other heathen, and ate their flesh ("the flesh taken from the sacrifice," 2 Macc. vi. 21); whereas among the later Ssabians (Harranians) the swine was not regarded as either edible or fit for sacrifice. On the synecdochical character of the sentence *וּפְרָק פְּגִלִים בְּלֵיהֶם*, see at ch. v. 12a, cf. Jer. xxiv. 2. Knobel's explanation, "pieces" (but it is not *וּפְרָקִי*) "of abominations are their vessels, *i.e.* those of their *εποσκοπία*," is a needless innovation. *פְּגִל* signifies a stench, putrefaction (Ezek. iv. 14, *ṭ'sar piggul*), then in a concrete sense anything corrupt or inedible, a thing to be abhorred according to the laws of food or the law generally (syn. *פָּסוּל*, *פָּסוּלִי*); and when connected with *פְּרָק* (*chethib*), which bears the same relation to *פֶּרֶק* as crumbs or pieces (from *פְּרָק*, to crumble) to broth (from *פָּרַק*, to rub off or scald off), it means a decoction, or broth made either of such kinds of flesh or such parts of the body as were forbidden by the law. The context also points to such heathen sacrifices and sacrificial meals as were altogether at variance with the Mosaic law. For the five following words proceed from the mouths of persons who fancy that they have derived a high degree of sanctity either from the mysteries, or from their participation in rites of peculiar sacredness, so that to every one who abstains from such rites, or does not enter so deeply into them as they do themselves, they call out their "*odi profanum vulgus et arceo*." *קָרַב אֵלַי*, keep near to thyself, *i.e.* stay where you are, like the Arabic *idhab ileika*, go away to thyself, for take thyself off. *אַל-תִּשָּׂרֵבִי* (according to some MSS. with *mercha tifchah*), do not push against me (equivalent to *בָּשָׂה-לִּי* or *בָּשָׂה-לָּךְ*, get away, make room; Gen. xix. 9, Isa. xlix. 20), for *q'dashtikhâ*, I am holy to thee, *i.e.* unapproachable. The verbal suffix is used for the dative, as in ch. xliv. 21 (Ges. § 121, 4), for it never occurred to any of the Jewish expositors (all of whom give *sanctus præ te* as a gloss) that the *Kal qâdash* was used in a transitive sense, like *châzaq* in Jer. xx. 7, as Luther, Calvin, and even Hitzig suppose. Nor is the exclamation the well-meant warning against the communication of a burdensome *q'dusshâh*, which

had to be removed by washing before a man could proceed to the duties of every-day life (such, for example, as the *q'dussâh* of the man who had touched the flesh of a sin-offering, or been sprinkled with the blood of a sin-offering; Lev. vi. 20, cf. Ezek. xliv. 19, xlvi. 20). It is rather a proud demand to respect the *sacro-sanctus*, and not to draw down the chastisement of the gods by the want of reverential awe. After this elaborate picture, the men who are so degenerate receive their fitting predicate. They are fuel for the wrath of God, which manifests itself, as it were, in smoking breath. This does not now need for the first time to seize upon them; but they are already in the midst of the fire of wrath, and are burning there in inextinguishable flame.

The justice of God will not rest till it has procured for itself the fullest satisfaction. Vers. 6, 7. "*Behold, it is written before me: I will not keep silence without having recompensed, and I will recompense into their bosom. Your offences, and the offences of your fathers together, saith Jehovah, that they have burned incense upon the mountains, and insulted me upon the hills, and I measure their reward first of all into their bosom.*" Vitringa has been misled by such passages as ch. x. 1, Job xiii. 26, Jer. xxii. 30, in which *kâthabh* (*kittēbh*) is used to signify a written decree, and understands by *kh^ethabhâh* the sentence pronounced by God; but the reference really is to their idolatrous conduct and contemptuous defiance of the laws of God. This is ever before Him, written in indelible characters, waiting for the day of vengeance; for, according to the figurative language of Scripture, there are heavenly books, in which the good and evil works of men are entered. And this agrees with what follows: "I will not be silent, without having first repaid," etc. The accentuation very properly places the tone upon the penultimate of the first *shillamtî* as being a pure perfect, and upon the last syllable of the second as a *perf. consec.* כִּי יִשָּׁׁׁ preceded by a future and followed by a perfect signifies, "but if (without having) first," etc. (ch. lv. 10; Gen. xxxii. 27; Lev. xxii. 6; Ruth iii. 18; cf. Judg. xv. 7). The original train of thought was, "I will not keep silence, for I shall first of all keep silence when," etc. Instead of 'al *chēqām*, "upon their bosom," we might have 'el *chēqām*, into their bosom, as in Jer. xxxii. 18, Ps. lxxix. 12. In ver. 7 the *keri*

really has 'el instead of 'al, whilst in ver. 6 the *chethib* is 'al without any *keri* (for the figure itself, compare Luke vi. 38, "into your bosom"). The thing to be repaid follows in ver. 7a; it is not governed, however, by *shillamti*, as the form of the address clearly shows, but by 'āshallēm understood, which may easily be supplied. Whether 'āsher is to be taken in the sense of *qui* or *quod* (that), it is hardly possible to decide; but the construction of the sentence favours the latter. Sacrificing "upon mountains and hills" (and, what is omitted here, "under every green tree") is the well-known standing phrase used to describe the idolatry of the times preceding the captivity (cf. ch. lvii. 7; Hos. iv. 13; Ezek. vi. 13). וְיָמִידָהּ points back to *v'shillamti* in ver. 6b, after the object has been more precisely defined. Most of the modern expositors take פְּעֻלָּתָם רְאִשְׁוֹנָה together, in the sense of "their former wages," i.e. the recompense previously deserved by their fathers. But in this case the concluding clause would only affirm, by the side of ver. 7a, that the sins of the fathers would be visited upon them. Moreover, this explanation has not only the accents against it, but also the parallel in Jer. xvi. 18 (see Hitzig), which evidently stands in a reciprocal relation to the passage before us. Consequently *ri'shōnāh* must be an adverb, and the meaning evidently is, that the first thing which Jehovah had to do by virtue of His holiness was to punish the sins of the apostate Israelites; and He would so punish them, that inasmuch as the sins of the children were merely the continuation of the fathers' sins, the punishment would be measured out according to the desert of both together.

As the word *ri'shōnāh* (first of all) has clearly intimated that the work of the future will not all consist in the execution of penal justice, there is no abruptness in the transition from threatening to promises. Vers. 8, 9. "Thus saith Jehovah, As when the must is found in the cluster, men say, Do not destroy it, for there is a blessing within it, so will I do for the sake of my servants, that I may not destroy the whole. And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and an heir of my mountains out of Judah, and my chosen ones shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there." Of the two co-ordinate clauses of the protasis (ver. 8a), the first contains the necessary condition of the second. *Hattirōsh* (must, or the juice of the grapes, from

yārash, possibly primarily nothing more than receipt, or the produce of labour) and *bā'eshkōl* have both of them the article generally found in comparisons (Ges. § 109, Anm. 1); *יָאֵרֶשׁ* signifies, as in ch. xlv. 24, "men say," with the most general and indefinite subject. As men do not destroy a juicy cluster of grapes, because they would thereby destroy the blessing of God which it contains; so will Jehovah for His servants' sake not utterly destroy Israel, but preserve those who are the clusters in the vineyard (ch. iii. 14, v. 1-7) or upon the vine (Ps. lxxx. 9 sqq.) of Israel. He will not destroy *hakkōl*, the whole without exception; that is to say, keeping to the figure, not "the juice with the skin and stalk," as Knobel and Hahn explain it, but "the particular clusters in which juice is contained, along with the degenerate neglected vineyard or vine, which bears for the most part only sour grapes (ch. v. 4) or tendrils without fruit (cf. ch. xviii. 5). The servants of Jehovah, who resemble these clusters, remain preserved. Jehovah brings out, causes to go forth, calls to the light of day (*וַיֵּצֵא* as in ch. liv. 16; here, however, it is by means of sifting: Ezek. xx. 34 sqq.), out of Jacob and Judah, *i.e.* the people of the two captivities (see ch. xlvi. 3), a seed, a family, that takes possession of His mountains, *i.e.* His holy mountain-land (ch. xiv. 25, cf. Ps. cxxi. 1, and *har godshī*, which is used in the same sense in ch. xi. 9, lxv. 25). As "my mountain" is equivalent in sense to the "land of Israel," for which Ezekiel is fond of saying "the mountains of Israel" (*e.g.* ch. vi. 2, 3), the promise proceeds still further to say, "and my chosen ones will take possession thereof" (*viz.* of the land, ch. lx. 21, cf. viii. 21).

From west to east, *i.e.* in its whole extent, the land then presents the aspect of prosperous peace. Ver. 10. "*And the plain of Sharon becomes a meadow for flocks, and the valley of Achor a resting-place for oxen, for my people that asketh for me.*" *Hasshārōn* (Sharon) is the plain of rich pasture-land which stretches along the coast of the Mediterranean from Yafo to the neighbourhood of Carmel. '*Emeq 'Akhōr* is a valley which became renowned through the stoning of Achan, in a range of hills running through the plain of Jericho (see Keil on Josh. vii. 24 sqq.). From the one to the other will the wealth in flocks extend, and in the one as well as in the other will that peace prevail which is now enjoyed by the people of Jehovah,

who inquired for Him in the time of suffering, and therefore bear this name in truth. The idyllic picture of peace is thoroughly characteristic of Isaiah: see, for example, ch. xxxii. 20; and for *rēbhets* with *nāveh*, compare ch. xxxv. 7.

The prophecy now turns again to those already indicated and threatened in vers. 1-7. Vers. 11, 12. "*And ye, who are enemies to Jehovah, O ye that are unmindful of my holy mountain, who prepare a table for Gad, and fill up mixed drink for the goddess of destiny,—I have destined you to the sword, and ye will all bow down to the slaughter, because I have called and ye have not replied, I have spoken and ye have not heard; and ye did evil in mine eyes, and ye chose that which I did not like.*" It may be taken for granted as a thing generally admitted, that ver. 11b refers to two deities, and to the *lectisternia* (meals of the gods, cf. Jer. vii. 18, li. 44) held in their honour. שֹׁלְחָן is the other side of the *lectum sternere*, i.e. the spreading of the cushions upon which the images of the gods were placed during such meals of the gods as these. In the passage before us, at any rate, the *lectus* answering to the *shulchân* (like the *sella* used in the case of the goddesses) is to be taken as a couch for eating, not for sleeping on. In the second clause, therefore, מִלְּאֵי מִמְּסָךְ (which is falsely accentuated in our editions with *tifchah mercha silluk*, instead of *mercha tifchah silluk*), מִלְּאֵי מִמְּסָךְ signifies to fill with mixed drink, i.e. with wine mixed with spices, probably oil of spikenard. מִלְּאֵי may be connected not only with the accusative of the vessel filled, but also with that of the thing with which it is filled (e.g. Ex. xxviii. 17). Both names have the article, like הַבַּעַל הַנֵּר is perfectly clear; if used as an appellative, it would mean "good fortune." The word has this meaning in all the three leading Semitic dialects, and it also occurs in this sense in Gen. xxx. 11, where the *chethib* is to be read בְּנֵר (LXX. ἐν ῥύχῃ). The Aramæan definitive is בְּנֵרָא (not בְּנֵרָא), as the Arabic 'gadd' evidently shows. The primary word is גַּדָּר (Arab. 'gadda), to cut off, to apportion; so that גַּד, like the synonymous חַטָּ, signifies that which is appointed, more especially the good fortune appointed. There can be no doubt, therefore, that *Gad*, the god of good fortune, more especially if the name

of the place *Baal-Gad* is to be explained in the same way as *Baal-hammân*, is Baal (Bel) as the god of good fortune. Gecatilia (Mose ha-Cohen) observes, that this is the deified planet Jupiter. This star is called by the Arabs "the greater luck" as being the star of good fortune; and in all probability it is also the *rabb-el-bacht* (lord of good fortune) worshipped by the Ssabians (Chwolsohn, ii. 30, 32). It is true that it is only from the passage before us that we learn that it was worshipped by the Babylonians; for although H. Rawlinson once thought that he had found the names *Gad* and *Menni* in certain Babylonian inscriptions (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xii. p. 478), the Babylonian Pantheon in G. Rawlinson's *Monarchies* contains neither of these names. With this want of corroborative testimony, the fact is worthy of notice, that a Rabbi named 'Ulla, who sprang from Babylon, explains the דְּרִישׁ of the *Mishna* by עֶרְסָא דְּנִיָּא (a sofa dedicated to the god of prosperity, and often left unused) (*b. Nedarim* 56a; cf. *Sanhedrin* 20a).¹ But if *Gad* is Jupiter, nothing is more probable than that *Meni* is Venus; for the planet Venus is also regarded as a star of prosperity, and is called by the Arabs "the lesser luck." The name *Meni* in itself, indeed, does not necessarily point to a female deity; for *m'ni* from *māndāh*, if taken as a passive participial noun (like בְּרִיָּה בְּרִי, a creature), signifies "that which is apportioned;" or if taken as a modification of the primary form *many*, like עֲבִי, טָלִי, גְּדִי, and many others, allotment, destination, fate. We have synonyms in the Arabic *mana-n* and *meniye*, and the Persian *bacht* (adopted into the Arabic), which signify the general fate, and from which *bago-bacht* is distinguished as signifying that which is exceptionally allotted by the gods. The existence of a deity of this name *m'ni* is also probably confirmed by the occurrence of the per-

¹ The foreign formula of incantation given in *b. Sabbath* 67a, נְדַר נְדִי וּבְרִשְׁכִּי וּבְרִשְׁכִּי לֹא אוֹשְׁכִי (according to the glosses, "O Fortune, give good fortune, and be not tardy day and night"), also belongs here; whereas the name of a place not far from Siloah, called *Gad-yavan* (Gad of Greece), contains some allusion to the mythology of Greece, which we are unable to trace. In the later usage of the language *Gad* appears to have acquired the general meaning of *numen* (e.g. *b. Chullin* 40a: גְּדָא דְּהָרַי, the mountain-spirit); and this helps to explain the fact that in Pehlewi גְּדִמָּן signifies majesty in a royal, titular sense (see Vuller's *Lex.*; and Spiegel in the *Indische Studien*, 3, 412).

sonal name עברמני on certain Aramæo-Persian coins of the Achæmenides,¹ with which Fürst associates the personal name *Achiman* (see his *Lex.*), combining מן with *Μήν*, and מני with *Μήνη*, as Movers (*Phönizier*, i. 650) and Knobel have also done. מן and מני would then be Semitic forms of these Indo-Germanic names of deities; for *Μήν* is *Deus Lunus*, the worship of which in Carræ (*Charran*) is mentioned by Spartian in ch. vi. of the Life of Caracalla, whilst Strabo (xii. 3, 31, 32) speaks of it as being worshipped in Pontus, Phrygia, and other places; and *Μήνη* is *Dea Luna* (cf. *Γενέτῃ Μάνῃ* in Plut. *quæst. rom.* 52, *Genita Mana* in Plin. *h. n.* 29, 4, and *Dea Mena* in Augustine, *Civ.* 4, 11), which was worshipped, according to Diodorus (iii. 56) and Nonnus (*Dionys.* v. 70 ss.), in Phœnicia and Africa. The rendering of the LXX. may be quoted in favour of the identity of the latter with מני (*ἐτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαιμονίῳ* (another reading *δαίμονι*) *τράπέζαν καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα*), especially if we compare with this what Macrobius says in *Saturn.* i. 19, viz. that “according to the Egyptians there are four of the gods which preside over the birth of men, *Δαίμων*, *Τύχη*, *Ἔρως*, *Ἀνάγκη*. Of these *Daimōn* is the sun, the author of spirit, of warmth, and of light. *Tychē* is the moon, as the goddess through whom all bodies below the moon grow and disappear, and whose ever changing course accompanies the multifarious changes of this mortal life.”² In perfect harmony with this is the following passage of Vettius Valens, the astrologer of Antioch, which has been brought to light by Selden in his *Syntagma de Diis Syris*: *Κλῆροι τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος σημαίνουσιν* (viz. by the signs of nativity) *ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην*. Rosenmüller very properly traces back the Sept. rendering to this Egyptian view, according to which Gad is the sun-god, and *Mēni* the lunar goddess as the power of fate. Now it is quite true that the passage before us refers to Babylonian deities, and not to Egyptian; at the same time there might be some relation between the two views, just as in other instances ancient Babylonia and Egypt coincide. But there are many objections that may be offered to the combination of מני (*Meni*) and *Μήνη*: (1) The Babylonian moon-deity was either called *Sîn*, as among the ancient

¹ See Rödiger in the concluding part of the *thes.* p. 97.

² See Ge. Zoega's *Abhandlungen*, edited by Welcker (1817), pp. 39, 40.

Shemites generally, or else by other names connected with יָרֵחַ (יָרֵחַ) and *châmar*. (2) The moon is called *mās* in Sanscrit, Zendic *māo*, Neo-Pers. *māh* (*mah*); but in the Arian languages we meet with no such names as could be traced to a root *mān* as the expansion of *mā* (to measure), like μῆν (μῆνη), Goth. *mena*; for the ancient proper names which Movers cites, viz. Ἀριαμένης, Ἀτραμένης, etc., are traceable rather to the Arian *manas* = μένος, *mens*, with which *Minerva* (*Menerva*, endowed with mind) is connected. (3) If *mēni* were the Semitic form of the name for the moon, we should expect a closer reciprocal relation in the meanings of the words. We therefore subscribe to the view propounded by Gesenius, who adopts the pairing of Jupiter and Venus common among the Arabs, as the two heavenly bodies that preside over the fortunes of men; and understands by *Mēni* Venus, and by *Gad* Jupiter. There is nothing at variance with this in the fact that *ʿAshtoreth* (*Ishtar*, with *ʿAshērāh*) is the name of Venus (the morning star), as we have shown at ch. xiv. 12. *Mēni* is her special name as the bestower of good fortune and the distributor of fate generally; probably identical with *Manāt*, one of the three leading deities of the præ-Islamitish Arabs.¹ The address proceeds with *umānūthi* (and I have measured), which forms an apodosis and contains a play upon the name of *Meni*, ver. 11 being as it were a protasis indicating the principal reason of their approaching fate. Because they sued for the favour of the two gods of fortune (the Arabs call them *es-saʿdāni*, “the two fortunes”) and put Jehovah into the shade, Jehovah would assign them to the sword, and they would all have to bow down (כָּרַע as in ch. x. 4). Another reason is now assigned for this, the address thus completing the circle, viz., because when I called ye did not reply, when I spake ye did not hear (this is expressed in the same paratactic manner as in ch. v. 4, xii. 1, l. 2), and ye have done, etc.: an explanatory clause, consisting of four members, which is repeated almost word for word in ch. lxvi. 4 (cf. lvi. 4).

On the ground of the sin thus referred to again, the proclamation of punishment is renewed, and the different fates awaiting the servants of Jehovah and those by whom He is despised are here announced in five distinct *theses* and *anti-*

¹ See Krehl, *Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, p. 78. Sprenger in his *Life of Mohammad*, 1862, compares the Arabic *Manāt* with מְנִי.

theses. Vers. 13-16. "Therefore thus saith the Lord, Jehovah: Behold my servants will eat, but ye will hunger; behold my servants will drink, but ye will thirst; behold my servants will rejoice, but ye will be put to shame; behold my servants will exult for delight of heart, but ye will cry for anguish of heart, and ye will lament for brokenness of spirit. And ye will leave your name for a curse to my chosen ones, and the Lord, Jehovah, will slay thee; but His servants He will call by another name, so that whoever blesseth himself in the land will bless himself by the God of truthfulness, and whoever sweareth in the land will swear by the God of truthfulness, because the former troubles are forgotten, and because they have vanished from mine eyes." The name *Adonai* is connected with the name *Jehovah* for the purpose of affirming that the God of salvation and judgment has the power to carry His promises and threats into execution. Starving, confounded by the salvation they had rejected (יבשו as in ch. lxvi. 5), crying and wailing (תיללו, fut. *hiph.* as in ch. xv. 2, with a double preformative; Ges. § 70, 2 Anm.) for sorrow of heart and crushing of spirit (*shebher*, rendered very well by the LXX. συντριβή, as in ch. lxi. 1, συντριμμένους), the rebellious ones are left behind in the land of captivity, whilst the servants of Jehovah enjoy the richest blessings from God in the land of promise (ch. lxii. 8, 9). The former, perishing in the land of captivity, leave their name to the latter as *sh'bhū'āh*, i.e. to serve as a formula by which to swear, or rather to execrate or curse (Num v. 21), so that men will say, "Jehovah slay thee, as He slew them." This, at any rate, is the meaning of the threat; but the words יהמיתך וגו' cannot contain the actual formula, not even if we drop the *Vav*, as Knobel proposes, and change לבהירי into לבהירי; for, in the first place, although in the doxologies a Hebrew was in the habit of saying "*b'rūkh sh'mō*" (bless his name) instead of *y'hī sh'mō bārūkh* (his name be blessed), he never went so far as the Arab with his الله تبارك, but said rather יתברך. Still less could he make use of the perfect (indicative) in such sentences as "may he slay thee," instead of the future (voluntative) מיתך, unless the perfect shared the optative force of the previous future by virtue of the *consecutio temporum*. And secondly, the indispensable בָּהֶם or בָּאֵלָה would be wanting (see Jer. xxix. 22, cf. Gen.

xlvi. 20). We may therefore assume, that the prophet has before his mind the words of this imprecatory formula, though he does not really express them, and that he deduces from it the continuation of the threat. And this explains his passing from the plural to the singular. Their name will become an execration; but Jehovah will call His servants by another name (cf. ch. lxii. 2), so that henceforth it will be the God of the faithfully fulfilled promise whose name men take into their mouth when they either desire a blessing or wish to give assurance of the truth (*hithbârēkh b'*, to bless one's self with any one, or 'with the name of any one; Ewald, § 133, Anm. 1). No other name of any god is now heard in the land, except this gloriously attested name; for the former troubles, which included the mixed condition of Israel in exile and the persecution of the worshippers of Jehovah by the despisers of Jehovah, are now forgotten, so that they no longer disturb the enjoyment of the present, and are even hidden from the eyes of God, so that all thought of ever renewing them is utterly remote from His mind. This is the connection between ver. 16 and vers. 13-15. *וְאֵלֹהֵי* does not mean *eo quod* here, as in Gen. xxxi. 49 for example, but *ita ut*, as in Gen. xiii. 16. What follows is the result of the separation accomplished and the promise fulfilled. For the same reason God is called *Elohē 'āmēn*, "the God of Amen," i.e. the God who turns what He promises into Yea and Amen (2 Cor. i. 20). The epithet derived from the confirmatory Amen, which is thus applied to Jehovah, is similar to the expression in Rev. iii. 14, where Jesus is called "the Amen, the faithful and true witness." The explanatory *kī* (for) is emphatically repeated in *כִּי*, as in Gen. xxxiii. 11 and 1 Sam. xix. 4 (compare Job xxxviii. 20). The inhabitants of the land stand in a close and undisturbed relation to the God who has proved Himself to be true to His promises; for all the former evils that followed from the sin have entirely passed away.

The fact that they have thus passed away is now still further explained; the prophet heaping up one *kī* (for) upon another, as in ch. ix. 3-5. Vers. 17-19. "*For behold I create a new heaven and a new earth; and men will not remember the first, nor do they come to any one's mind. No, be ye joyful and exult for ever at that which I create: for behold I turn*

Jerusalem into exulting, and her people into joy. And I shall exult over Jerusalem, and be joyous over my people, and the voice of weeping and screaming will be heard in her no more." The promise here reaches its culminating point, which had already been seen from afar in ch. li. 16. Jehovah creates a new heaven and a new earth, which bind so fast with their glory, and which so thoroughly satisfy all desires, that there is no thought of the former ones, and no one wishes them back again. Most of the commentators, from Jerome to Hahn, suppose the *r'shōnōth* in ver. 16 to refer to the former sorrowful times. Calvin says, "The statement of the prophet, that there will be no remembrance of former things, is supposed by some to refer to the heaven and the earth, as if he meant, that henceforth neither the fame nor even the name of either would any more be heard; but I prefer to refer them to the former times." But the correctness of the former explanation is shown by the parallel in Jer. iii. 16, which stands in by no means an accidental relation to this passage, and where it is stated that in the future there will be no ark of the covenant, "neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it," inasmuch as all Jerusalem will be the throne of Jehovah, and not merely the capporeth with its symbolical cherubim. This promise is also a glorious one; but Jeremiah and all the other prophets fall short of the eagle-flight of Isaiah, of whom the same may be said as of John, "*volat avis sine meta.*" Luther (like Zwingli and Stier) adopts the correct rendering, "that men shall no more remember the former ones (*i.e.* the old heaven and old earth), nor take it to heart." But '*ālāh 'al-lēbh*' signifies to come into the mind, not "to take to heart," and is applied to a thing, the thought of which "ascends" within us, and with which we are inwardly occupied. There is no necessity to take the futures in ver. 17*b* as commands (Hitzig); for קִי אִם-שִׁשִּׁי (כִּי with *munach*, as in Ven. 1521, after the Masora to Num. xxxv. 33) fits on quite naturally, even if we take them as simple predictions. Instead of such a possible, though not actual, calling back and wishing back, those who survive the new times are called upon rather to rejoice for ever in that which Jehovah is actually creating, and will have created then. אֲשֶׁר, if not regarded as the accusative-object, is certainly regarded as the object of causality, "in consideration of that

which" (cf. ch. xxxi. 6, Gen. iii. 17, Judg. viii. 15), equivalent to, "on account of that which" (see at ch. lxiv. 4, xxxv. 1). The imperatives *sisū v'gilū* are not words of admonition so much as words of command, and *kī* gives the reason in this sense: Jehovah makes Jerusalem *gīlāh* and her people *māsōs* (accusative of the predicate, or according to the terminology adopted in Becker's syntax, the "factitive object," Ges. § 139, 2), by making joy its perpetual state, its appointed condition of life both inwardly and outwardly. Nor is it joy on the part of the church only, but on the part of its God as well (see the primary passage in Deut. xxx. 9). When the church thus rejoices in God, and God in the church, so that the light of the two commingle, and each is reflected in the other; then will no sobbing of weeping ones, no sound of lamentation, be heard any more in Jerusalem (see the opposite side as expressed in ch. li. 3b).

There will be a different measure then, and a much greater one, for measuring the period of life and grace. Ver. 20. "*And there shall no more come thence a suckling of a few days, and an old man who has not lived out all his days; for the youth in it will die as one a hundred years old, and the sinner be smitten with the curse as one a hundred years old.*" Our editions of the text commence ver. 20 with *לֹא-יִהְיֶה*, but according to the Masora (see *Mas. finalis*, p. 23, col. 7), which reckons five *לֹא-יִהְיֶה* at the commencement of verses, and includes our verse among them, it must read *וְלֹא-יִהְיֶה*, as it is also rendered by the LXX. and Targum. The meaning and connection are not affected by this various reading. Henceforth there will not spring from Jerusalem (or, what *hâyāh* really means, "come into existence," "*thence*," *misshām*, not "from that time," but locally, as in Hos. ii. 17 and elsewhere, cf. ch. lviii. 12) a suckling (see vol. i. p. 138) of days, *i.e.* one who has only reached the age of a few days (*yāmīm* as in Gen. xxiv. 55, etc.), nor an old man who has not filled his days, *i.e.* has not attained to what is regarded as a rule as the full measure of human life. He who dies as a youth, or is regarded as having died young, will not die before the hundredth year of his life; and the sinner (*וְהַחֹטֵא* with *seghol*, as in Eccl. viii. 12, ix. 18; Ges. § 75, Anm. 21) upon whom the curse of God falls, and who is overwhelmed by the punishment, will not

be swept away before the hundredth year of his life. We cannot maintain with Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 2, 567), that it is only in appearance that less is here affirmed than in ch. xxv. 8. The reference there is to the ultimate destruction of the power of death; here it is merely to the limitation of its power.

In the place of the threatened curses of the law in Lev. xxvi. 16 (cf. Deut. xxviii. 30), the very opposite will now receive their fullest realization. Vers. 21-23. "*And they will build houses and inhabit them, and plant vineyards and enjoy the fruit thereof. They will not build and another inhabit, nor plant and another enjoy; for like the days of trees are the days of my people, and my chosen ones will consume the work of their hands. They will not weary themselves in vain, nor bring forth for sudden disaster; for they are a family of the blessed of Jehovah, and their offspring are left to them.*" They themselves will enjoy what they have worked for, without some one else stepping in, whether a countryman by violence or inheritance, or a foreigner by plunder or conquest (ch. lxii. 8), to take possession of that which they have built and planted (read בְּעֵץ

without *dagesh*); for the duration of their life will be as great as that of *trees* (i.e. of oaks, terebinths, and cedars, which live for centuries), and thus they will be able thoroughly to enjoy in their own person what their hands have made. *Billáh* does not mean merely to use and enjoy, but to use up and consume. Work and generation will be blessed then, and there will be no more disappointed hopes. They will not weary themselves (לֹא יִעֵי with a preformative ' without that of the root) for failure, nor get children *labbeháláh*, i.e. for some calamity to fall suddenly upon them and carry them away (Lev. xxvi. 16, cf. Ps. lxxviii. 33). The primary idea of *báhal* is either acting, permitting, or bearing, with the characteristic of being let loose, of suddenness, of overthrow, or of throwing into confusion. The LXX. renders it *eis katápan*, probably according to the Egypto-Jewish usage, in which *beháláh* may have signified cursing, like *bahle*, *buhle* in the Arabic (see the Appendices). The two clauses of the explanation which follows stand in a reciprocal relation to the two clauses of the previous promise. They are a family of the blessed of God, upon whose labour

the blessing of God rests, and their offspring are with them, without being lost to them by premature death. This is the true meaning, as in Job xxi. 8, and not "their offspring with them," i.e. in like manner, as Hitzig supposes.

All prayer will be heard then. Ver. 24. "*And it will come to pass: before they call, I will answer; they are still speaking, and I already hear.*" The will of the church of the new Jerusalem will be so perfectly the will of Jehovah also, that He will hear the slightest emotion of prayer in the heart, the half-uttered prayer, and will at once fulfil it (cf. ch. xxx. 19).

And all around will peace and harmony prevail, even in the animal world itself. Ver. 25. "*Wolf and lamb then feed together, and the lion eats chopped straw like the ox, and the serpent—dust is its bread. They will neither do harm nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith Jehovah.*" We have frequently observed within ch. xl.–lxvi. (last of all at ch. lxv. 12, cf. lxvi. 4), how the prophet repeats entire passages from the earlier portion of his prophecies almost word for word. Here he repeats ch. xi. 6–9 with a compendious abridgment. Ver. 25b refers to the animals just as it does there. But whilst this custom of self-repetition favours the unity of authorship, כָּאֲדָמָה for יִצְחָק = *unā*, which only occurs elsewhere in Ezra and Ecclesiastes (answering to the Chaldee כְּחֵדָה), might be adduced as evidence of the opposite. The only thing that is new in the picture as here reproduced, is what is said of the serpent. This will no longer watch for human life, but will content itself with the food assigned it in Gen. iii. 14. It still continues to wriggle in the dust, but without doing injury to man. The words affirm nothing more than this, although Stier's method of exposition gets more out, or rather puts more in. The assertion of those who regard the prophet speaking here as one later than Isaiah, viz. that ver. 25 is only attached quite loosely to what precedes, is unjust and untrue. The description of the new age closes here, as in ch. xi., with the peace of the world of nature, which stands throughout ch. xl.–lxvi. in the closest reciprocal relation to man, just as it did in ch. i.–xxxix. If we follow Hahn, and change the animals into men by simply allegorizing, we just throw our exposition back to a standpoint that has been long passed by. But to what part of the history of salvation are we to look for a place for the fulfilment of such prophecies

as these of the state of peace prevailing in nature around the church, except in the millennium? A prophet was certainly no fanatic, so that we could say, these are beautiful dreams. And if, what is certainly true, his prophecies are not intended to be interpreted according to the letter, but according to the spirit of the letter; the letter is the sheath of the spirit, as Luther calls it, and we must not give out as the spirit of the letter what is nothing more than a *quid-pro-quo* of the letter. The prophet here promises a new age, in which the patriarchal measure of human life will return, in which death will no more break off the life that is just beginning to bloom, and in which the war of man with the animal world will be exchanged for peace without danger. And when is all this to occur? Certainly not in the blessed life beyond the grave, to which it would be both absurd and impossible to refer these promises, since they presuppose a continued mixture of sinners with the righteous, and merely a limitation of the power of death, not its utter destruction. But when then? This question ought to be answered by the anti-millenarians. They throw back the interpretation of prophecy to a stage, in which commentators were in the habit of lowering the concrete substance of the prophecies into mere doctrinal *loci communes*. They take refuge behind the enigmatical character of the Apocalypse, without acknowledging that what the Apocalypse predicts under the definite form of the millennium is the substance of all prophecy, and that no interpretation of prophecy on sound principles is any longer possible from the standpoint of an orthodox antichiliasm, inasmuch as the antichiliasts twist the word in the mouths of the prophets, and through their perversion of Scripture shake the foundation of all doctrines, every one of which rests upon the simple interpretation of the words of revelation. But one objection may be made to the supposition, that the prophet is here depicting the state of things in the millennium; viz. that this description is preceded by an account of the creation of a new heaven and a new earth. The prophet appears, therefore, to refer to that Jerusalem, which is represented in the Apocalypse as coming down from heaven to earth after the transformation of the globe. But to this it may be replied, that the Old Testament prophet was not yet able to distinguish from one another the things which the

author of the Apocalypse separates into distinct periods. From the Old Testament point of view generally, nothing was known of a state of blessedness beyond the grave. Hades lay beyond this present life; and nothing was known of a heaven in which men were blessed. Around the throne of God in heaven there were angels and not men. And, indeed, until the risen Saviour ascended to heaven, heaven itself was not open to men, and therefore there was no heavenly Jerusalem whose descent to earth could be anticipated then. Consequently in the prophecies of the Old Testament the eschatological idea of the new Cosmos does unquestionably coincide with the millennium. It is only in the New Testament that the new creation intervenes as a party-wall between this life and the life beyond; whereas the Old Testament prophecy brings down the new creation itself into the present life, and knows nothing of any Jerusalem of the blessed life to come, as distinct from the new Jerusalem of the millennium. We shall meet with a still further illustration in ch. lxvi. of this Old Testament custom of reducing the things of the life to come within the limits of this present world.

THIRD CLOSING PROPHECY.—CHAP. LXVI.

EXCLUSION OF SCORNERS FROM THE COMING SALVATION.

Although the note on which this prophecy opens is a different one from any that has yet been struck, there are many points in which it coincides with the preceding prophecy. For not only is ch. lxv. 12 repeated here in ver. 4, but the sharp line of demarcation drawn in ch. lxv., between the servants of Jehovah and the worldly majority of the nation with reference to the approaching return to the Holy Land, is continued here. As the idea of their return is associated immediately with that of the erection of a new temple, there is nothing at all to surprise us, after what we have read in ch. lxv. 8 sqq., in the fact that Jehovah expresses His abhorrence at the thought of having a temple built by the Israel of the captivity, as the majority then were, and does so in such words as those which follow in vers. 1-4: "*Thus saith Jehovah: The heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool. What kind of house is it that ye would build*

me, and what kind of place for my rest? My hand hath made all these things; then all these things arose, saith Jehovah; and at such persons do I look, at the miserable and broken-hearted, and him that trembleth at my word. He that slaughtereth the ox is the slayer of a man; he that sacrificeth the sheep is a strangler of dogs; he that offereth a meat-offering, it is swine's blood; he that causeth incense to rise up in smoke, blesseth idols. As they have chosen their ways, and their soul cherisheth pleasure in their abominations; so will I choose their ill-treatments, and bring their terrors upon them, because I called and no one replied, I spake and they did not hear, and they did evil in mine eyes, and chose that in which I took no pleasure." Hitzig is of opinion that the author has broken off here, and proceeds quite unexpectedly to denounce the intention to build a temple for Jehovah. Those who wish to build he imagines to be those who have made up their minds to stay behind in Chaldea, and who, whilst their brethren who have returned to their native land are preparing to build a temple there, want to have one of their own, just as the Jews in Egypt built one for themselves in Leontopolis (see vol. i. pp. 362-366). Without some such supposition as this, Hitzig thinks it altogether impossible to discover the thread which connects the different verses together. This view is at any rate better than that of Umbreit, who imagines that the prophet places us here "on the loftiest spiritual height of the Christian development." "In the new Jerusalem," he says, "there will be no temple seen, nor any sacrifice; Jehovah forbids these in the strongest terms, regarding them as equivalent to mortal sins." But the prophet, if this were his meaning, would involve himself in self-contradiction, inasmuch as, according to ch. lvi. and lx., there will be a temple in the new Jerusalem with perpetual sacrifice, which this prophecy also presupposes in vers. 20 sqq. (cf. ver. 6); and secondly, he would contradict other prophets, such as Ezekiel and Zechariah, and the spirit of the Old Testament generally, in which the statement, that whoever slaughters a sacrificial animal in the new Jerusalem will be as bad as a murderer, has no parallel, and is in fact absolutely impossible. According to Hitzig's view, on the other hand, ver. 3a affirms, that the worship which they would be bound to perform in their projected temple would be an abomination to Jehovah, however thoroughly it might be made

to conform to the Mosaic ritual. But there is nothing in the text to sustain the idea, that there is any intention here to condemn the building of a temple to Jehovah in Chaldæa, nor is such an explanation by any means necessary to make the text clear. The condemnation on the part of Jehovah has reference to the temple, which the returning exiles intend to build in Jerusalem. The prophecy is addressed to the entire body now ready to return, and says to the whole without exception, that Jehovah, the Creator of heaven and earth, does not stand in need of any house erected by human hands, and then proceeds to separate the penitent from those that are at enmity against God, rejects in the most scornful manner all offerings in the form of worship on the part of the latter, and threatens them with divine retribution, having dropped in vers. 3b-4 the form of address to the entire body. Just as in the Psalm of Asaph (Ps. l.) Jehovah refuses animal and other material offerings as such, because the whole of the animal world, the earth and the fulness thereof, are His possession, so here He addresses this question to the entire body of the exiles: What kind of house is there that ye could build, that would be worthy of me, and what kind of place that would be worthy of being assigned to me as a resting-place? On *mâqôm m'nûchâthi*, *locus qui sit requies mea* (apposition instead of genitive connection), see p. 35. He needs no temple; for heaven is His throne, and the earth His footstool. He is the Being who filleth all, the Creator, and therefore the possessor, of the universe; and if men think to do Him a service by building Him a temple, and forget His infinite majesty in their concern for their own contemptible fabric, He wants no temple at all. "All these" refer, as if pointing with the finger, to the world of visible objects that surround us. יְהִי (from יָהָה, *existere, fieri*) is used in the same sense as the יָהָה which followed the creative יָהָה. In this His exaltation He is not concerned about a temple; but His gracious look is fixed upon the man who is as follows (*zeh* pointing forwards as in ch. lviii. 6), viz. upon the mourner, the man of broken heart, who is filled with reverential awe at the word of His revelation. We may see from Ps. li. 9 what the link of connection is between vers. 2 and 3. So far as the mass of the exiles were concerned, who had not been humbled by their sufferings, and

whom the preaching of the prophet could not bring to reflection, He did not want any temple or sacrifice from them. The sacrificial acts, to which such detestable predicates are here applied, are such as end with the merely external act, whilst the inward feelings of the person presenting the sacrifice are altogether opposed to the idea of both the animal sacrifice and the meat-offering, more especially to that desire for salvation which was symbolized in all the sacrifices; in other words, they are sacrificial acts regarded as *νεκρὰ ἔργα*, the lifeless works of men spiritually dead. The articles of *hasshōr* and *hasseh* are used as generic with reference to sacrificial animals. The slaughter of an ox was like the slaying (*makkēh* construct with *tzere*) of a man (for the association of ideas, see Gen. xlix. 6); the sacrifice (*zōbhēāch* like *shāchat* is sometimes applied to slaughtering for the purpose of eating; here, however, it refers to an animal prepared for Jehovah) of a sheep like the strangling of a dog, that unclean animal (for the association of ideas, see Job xxx. 1); the offerer up (*mē'ōlēh*) of a meat-offering (like one who offered up) swine's blood, *i.e.* as if he was offering up the blood of this most unclean animal upon the altar; he who offered incense as an *'azkārāh* (see at ch. i. 13a) like one who blessed *'āven*, *i.e.* godlessness, used here as in 1 Sam. xv. 23, and also in Hosea in the change of the name of Bethel into *Beth 'Aven*, for idolatry, or rather in a concrete sense for the worthless idols themselves, all of which, according to ch. xli. 29, are nothing but *'āven*. Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Hitzig, Stier, and even Jerome, have all correctly rendered it in this way, "as if he blessed an idol" (*quasi qui benedicat idolo*); and Vitringa, "*cultum exhibens vano numini*" (offering worship to a vain god). Such explanations as that of Luther, on the other hand, viz. "as if he praised that which was wrong," are opposed to the antithesis, and also to the presumption of a concrete object to מברך (blessing); whilst that of Knobel, "praising vainly" (*'āven* being taken as an *acc. adv.*), yields too tame an antithesis, and is at variance with the usage of the language. In this condemnation of the ritual acts of worship, the closing prophecy of the book of Isaiah coincides with the first (ch. i. 11-15). But that it is not sacrifices in themselves that are rejected, but the sacrifices of those whose hearts are divided between Jehovah and idols, and who refuse to offer

to Him the sacrifice that is dearest to Him (Ps. li. 19, cf. l. 23), is evident from the correlative double-sentence that follows in vers. 3b and 4, which is divided into two masoretic verses, as the only means of securing symmetry. *Gam . . . gam*, which means in other cases, "both . . . and also," or in negative sentences "neither . . . nor," means here, as in Jer. li. 12, "as assuredly the one as the other," in other words, "as . . . so." They have chosen their own ways, which are far away from those of Jehovah, and their soul has taken pleasure, not in the worship of Jehovah, but in all kinds of heathen abominations (*shiqqûtsêhem*, as in many other places, after Deut. xxix. 16); therefore Jehovah wants no temple built by them or with their co-operation, nor any restoration of sacrificial worship at their hands. But according to the law of retribution, He chooses *thâ'âlûlēhem*, *vexationes eorum* (LXX. τὰ ἐμπαίγματα αὐτῶν: see at ch. iii. 4), with the suffix of the object: fates that will use them ill, and brings their terrors upon them, *i.e.* such a condition of life as will inspire them with terror (*m'gûrôth*, as in Ps. xxxiv. 5).

From the heathenish majority, with their ungodly hearts, the prophet now turns to the minority, consisting of those who tremble with reverential awe when they hear the word of God. They are called to hear how Jehovah will accept them in defiance of their persecutors. Ver. 5. "*Hear ye the word of Jehovah, ye that tremble at His word: your brethren that hate you, that thrust you from them for my name's sake, say, 'Let Jehovah get honour, that we may see your joy:' they will be put to shame.*" They that hate them are their own brethren, and (what makes the sin still greater) the name of Jehovah is the reason why they are hated by them. According to the accents, indeed (מְרִיבֵיכֶם *rebia*, שְׂמִי *pashta*), the meaning would be. "your brethren say . . . 'for my name's sake (*i.e.* for me = out of goodness and love to us) will Jehovah glorify Himself,'—then we shall see your joy, but—they will be put to shame." Rashi and other Jewish expositors interpret it in this or some similar way; but Rosenmüller, Stier, and Hahn are the only modern Christian expositors who have done so, following the precedent of earlier commentators, who regarded the accents as binding. Luther, however, very properly disregarded them. If לְמַעַן שְׂמִי be taken in connection with יִכְבֹּד, it gives only a forced sense,

which disturbs the relation of all the clauses ; whereas this is preserved in all respects in the most natural and connected manner if we combine *למען שמי* with *שְׁנֵאֵיכֶם מְנַרְיָכֶם*, as we must do, according to such parallels as Matt. xxiv. 9. *נִרְדָּה*, to scare away or thrust away (Amos vi. 3, with the object in the dative), corresponds to *ἀφορίζω* in Luke vi. 22 (compare John xvi. 22, “to put out of the synagogue”). The practice of excommunication, or putting under the ban (*niddūi*), reaches beyond the period of the Herodians (see *Eduyoth* v. 6),¹ at any rate as far back as the times succeeding the captivity ; but in the passage before us it is quite sufficient to understand *niddāh* in the sense of a defamatory renunciation of fellowship. To the accentuators this *למען שמי מְנַרְיָכֶם* appeared quite unintelligible. They never considered that it had a confessional sense here, which certainly does not occur anywhere else : viz. “for my name’s sake, which ye confess in word and deed.” With unbelieving scorn they say to those who confess Jehovah, and believe in the word of the true redemption : Let Jehovah glorify Himself (lit. let Him be, *i.e.* show Himself, glorious = *yikkābhēd*, cf. Job. xiv. 21), that we may thoroughly satisfy ourselves with looking at your joy. They regard their hope as deceptive, and the word of the prophet as fanaticism. These are they, who, when permission to return is suddenly given, will desire to accompany them, but will be disappointed, because they did not rejoice in faith before, and because, although they do now rejoice in that which is self-evident, they do this in a wrong way.

The city and temple, to which they desire to go, are nothing more, so far as they are concerned, than the places from which just judgment will issue. Ver. 6. “*Sound of tumult from the city ! Sound from the temple ! Sound of Jehovah, who repays His enemies with punishment.*” All three קול, to the second of which שׁוֹמֵר must be supplied in thought, are in the form of interjectional exclamations (as in ch. lii. 8). In the third, however, we have omitted the note of admiration, because here the interjectional clause approximates very nearly to a substantive clause (“it is the sound of Jehovah”), as the person shouting announces here who is the originator and cause of the noise

¹ Compare Wiesner : *Der Bann in seiner gesch. Entwicklung auf dem Boden des Judenthums*, 1864.

which was so enigmatical at first. The city and temple are indeed still lying in ruins as the prophet is speaking; but even in this state they both preserve the holiness conferred upon them. They are the places where Jehovah will take up His abode once more; and even now, at the point at which promise and fulfilment coincide, they are in the very process of rising again. A loud noise (like the tumult of war) proceeds from it. It is Jehovah, He who is enthroned in Zion and rules from thence (ch. xxxi. 9), who makes Himself heard in this loud noise (compare Joel iv. 16 with the derivative passage in Amos i. 2); it is He who awards punishment or reckons retribution to His foes. In other cases נָמַל (נָשִׁיב) נָמַל generally means to repay that which has been worked out (what has been deserved; e.g. Ps. cxxxvii. 8, compare ch. iii. 11); but in ch. lix. 18 *g'mûl* was the parallel word to *chēmâh*, and therefore, as in ch. xxxv. 4, it did not apply to the works of men, but to the retribution of the judge, just as in Jer. li. 6, where it is used quite as absolutely. We have therefore rendered it "punishment;" "merited punishment" would express both sides of this double-sided word. By "His enemies," according to the context, we are to understand primarily the mass of the exiles, who were so estranged from God, and yet withal so full of demands and expectations.

All of these fall victims to the judgment; and yet Zion is not left either childless or without population. Vers. 7-9. *"Before she travailed she brought forth; before pains came upon her, she was delivered of a boy. Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen anything like it? Are men delivered of a land in one day? or is a nation begotten at once? For Zion hath travailed, yea, hath brought forth her children. Should I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? saith Jehovah: or should I, who cause to bring forth, shut up? saith thy God."* Before Zion travaileth, before any labour pains come upon her (*chēbhel* with *tzere*), she has already given birth, or brought with ease into the world a male child (*himlît* like *millêt*, in ch. xxxiv. 15, to cause to glide out). This boy, of whom she is delivered with such marvellous rapidity, is a whole land full of men, an entire nation. The seer exclaims with amazement, like Zion herself in ch. xlix. 21, "who hath heard such a thing, or seen anything like it? is a land brought to the birth (*hăyūchal* followed by

'erets for *hāthūchal*, as in Gen. xiii. 6, Isa. ix. 18; Ges. § 147), i.e. the population of a whole land (as in Judg. xviii. 30), and that in one day, or a nation born all at once (*yivvālēd*, with *munach* attached to the *kametz*, and *metheg* to the *tzere*)? This unheard-of event has taken place now, for Zion has travailed, yea, has also brought forth her children,"—not one child, but her children, a whole people that calls her mother.¹ "For" (*kī*) presupposes the suppressed thought, that this unexampled event has now occurred: *yāl'dāh* follows *chālāh* with *gan*, because *chāl* signifies strictly *parturire*; *yālad*, *parere*. Zion, the mother, is no other than the woman of the sun in Rev. xii.; but the child born of her there is the shepherd of the nations, who proceeds from her at the end of the days, whereas here it is the new Israel of the last days; for the church, which is saved through all her tribulations, is both the mother of the Lord, by whom Babel is overthrown, and the mother of that Israel which inherits the promises, that the unbelieving mass have failed to obtain. Ver. 9 follows with an emphatic confirmation of the things promised. Jehovah inquires: "Should I create the delivery (cause the child to break through the matrix) and not the birth (both *hiphil*, causative), so that although the child makes an effort to pass the opening of the womb, it never comes to the light of day? Or should I be one to bring it to the birth, and then to have closed, viz. the womb, so that the work of bringing forth should remain ineffectual, when all that is required is the last effort to bring to the light the fruit of the womb?" From the expression "thy God," we see that the questions are addressed to Zion, whose faith they are intended to strengthen. According to Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, 149, 150), the future אֵלֶיךָ affirms what Jehovah will say, when the time for bringing forth arrives, and the perfect אֵלֶיךָ what He is saying now: "Should I who create the bringing forth have shut up?" And He comforts the now barren daughter Zion (ch. liv. 1) with the assurance, that her barrenness is not meant to continue for ever. "The prediction,"

¹ There is a certain similarity in the saying, with which a talmudic teacher roused up the sleepy scholars of the Beth ha-Midrash: "There was once a woman, who was delivered of 600,000 children in one day," viz. Jochebed, who, when she gave birth to Moses, brought 600,000 to the light of freedom (Ex. xii. 37).

says Hofmann, "which is contained in 'אמר ה', of the ultimate issue of the fate of Zion, is so far connected with the consolation administered for the time present, that she who is barren now is exhorted to anticipate the time when the former promise shall be fulfilled." But this change in the standpoint is artificial, and contrary to the general use of the expression 'אמר ה' elsewhere (see at ch. xl. 1). Moreover, the meaning of the two clauses, which constitute here as elsewhere a disjunctive double question in form more than in sense, really runs into one. The first member affirms that Jehovah will complete the bringing to the birth; the second, that He will not ultimately frustrate what He has almost brought to completion: *an ego sum is qui parere faciat et (uterum) occluserim (occludam)?* There is no other difference between 'אמר and אמר, than that the former signifies the word of God which is sounding at the present moment, the latter the word that has been uttered and is resounding still. The prophetic announcement of our prophet has advanced so far, that the promised future is before the door. The church of the future is already like the fruit of the body ripe for the birth, and about to separate itself from the womb of Zion, which has been barren until now. The God by whom everything has been already so far prepared, will suddenly cause Zion to become a mother;—a boy, viz. a whole people after Jehovah's own heart, will suddenly lie in her lap, and this new-born Israel, not the corrupt mass, will build a temple for Jehovah.

In the anticipation of such a future, those who inwardly participate in the present sufferings of Zion are to rejoice beforehand in the change of all their suffering into glory. Vers. 10, 11. "*Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and exult over her, all ye that love her; be ye delightfully glad with her, all ye that mourn over her, that ye may suck and be satisfied with the breast of her consolations, that ye may sip and delight yourselves in the abundance of her glory.*" Those who love Jerusalem (the abode of the church, and the church itself), who mourn over her (*hith'abbēl*, inwardly mourn, 1 Sam. xv. 35, prove and show themselves to be mourners and go into mourning, *b. Mo'ed katan* 20*b*, the word generally used in prose, whereas אָבַל, to be thrown into mourning, to mourn, only occurs in the higher style; compare אָבַל יֵינָן, ch. lvii. 18, lxi. 2, 3, lx. 20), these are

even now to rejoice in spirit with Jerusalem and exult on her account (*bāh*), and share her ecstatic delight with her (*'ittāh*), in order that when that in which they now rejoice in spirit shall be fulfilled, they may suck and be satisfied, etc. Jerusalem is regarded as a mother, and the rich actual consolation, which she receives (ch. li. 3), as the milk that enters her breasts (*shōd* as in ch. lx. 16), and from which she now supplies her children with plentiful nourishment. יי, which is parallel to יי (not יי, a reading which none of the ancients adopted), signifies a moving, shaking abundance, which oscillates to and fro like a great mass of water, from יי, to move by fits and starts, for *pellere movere* is the radical meaning common in such combinations of letters as יי, יי, יי, Ps. xlii. 5, to which Bernstein and Knobel have correctly traced the word; whereas the meaning *emicans fluxus* (Schröder), or *radians copia* (Kocher), to pour out in the form of rays, has nothing to sustain it in the usage of the language.

The reason is now given, why the church of the future promises such abundant enjoyment to those who have suffered with her. Ver. 12. "*For thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I guide peace to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like an overflowing stream, that ye may suck; ye shall be borne upon arms, and fondled upon knees.*" Jehovah guides or turns (Gen. xxxix. 21) peace to Jerusalem, the greatest of all inward blessings, and at the same time the most glorious of all the outward blessings, that are in the possession of the Gentile world (*kābhōd* as in ch. lxi. 6), both of them in the richest superabundance ("like a river," as in ch. xlviii. 18), so that (*perf. cons.*) "ye may be able to suck yourselves full according to your heart's desire" (ch. lx. 16). The figure of the new maternity of Zion, and of her children as *quasimodogeniti*, is still preserved. The members of the church can then revel in peace and wealth, like a child at its mother's breasts. The world is now altogether in the possession of the church, because the church is altogether God's. The allusion to the heathen leads on to the thought, which was already expressed in a similar manner in ch. xlix. 22 and lx. 4: "on the side (arm or shoulder) will ye be carried, and fondled (פֶּלְפֶּל, *pulpal* of the *pilpel* פֶּלְפֶּל, ch. xi. 8) upon the knees," viz. by the heathen, who will vie with one another in the effort to show you tenderness and care (ch. xlix. 23).

The prophet now looks upon the members of the church as having grown up, as it were, from childhood to maturity: they suck like a child, and are comforted like a grown-up son. Ver. 13. "*Like a man whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you, and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.*" Hitzig says that 'ish is not well chosen; but how easily could the prophet have written *bēn* (son), as in ch. xlix. 15! He writes 'ish, however, not indeed in the unmeaning sense in which the LXX. has taken it, viz. ὡς εἴ τινα μήτηρ παρακαλέσει, but looking upon the people, whom he had previously thought of as children, as standing before him as one man. Israel is now like a man who has escaped from bondage and returned home from a foreign land, full of mournful recollections, the echoing sounds of which entirely disappear in the maternal arms of divine love there in Jerusalem, the beloved home, which was the home of its thoughts even in the strange land.

Wherever they look, joy now meets their eye. Ver. 14. "*And ye will see, and your heart will be joyful, and your bones will flourish like young herbage; and thus does the hand of Jehovah make itself known in His servants, and fiercely does He treat His enemies.*" They will see, and their heart will rejoice, i.e. (cf. ch. liii. 11, lx. 5) they will enjoy a heart-cheering prospect, and revive again with such smiling scenery all around. The body is like a tree. The bones are its branches. These will move and extend themselves in the fulness of rejuvenated strength (compare ch. lviii. 11, *et ossa tua expedita faciet*); and thus will the hand of Jehovah practically become known (*v'nōd'āh*, perf. cons.) in His servants,—that hand under whose gracious touch all vernal life awakens, whether in body or in mind. And thus is it with the surviving remnant of Israel, whereas Jehovah is fiercely angry with His foes. The first אֵל is used in a prepositional sense, as in Ps. lxvii. 2, viz. "in His servants, so that they come to be acquainted with it;" the second in an accusative sense, for *zā'am* is either connected with עַל, or as in Zech. i. 12, Mal. i. 4, with the accusative of the object. It is quite contrary to the usage of the language to take both אֵל according to the phrase עֲשֵׂה טוֹבָה (רעה) אֵל (עם).

The prophecy now takes a new turn with the thought expressed in the words, "and fiercely does He treat His

enemies." The judgment of wrath, which prepares the way for the redemption and ensures its continuance, is described more minutely in ver. 15: "*For behold Jehovah, in the fire will He come, and His chariots are like the whirlwind, to pay out His wrath in burning heat, and His threatening passeth into flames of fire.*" Jehovah comes *bá'ēsh, in igne* (Jerome; the LXX., on the contrary, render it arbitrarily *ὡς πῦρ, ká'ēsh*), since it is the fiery side of His glory, in which He appears, and fire pours from Him, which is primarily the intense excitement of the powers of destruction within God Himself (ch. x. 17, xxx. 27; Ps. xviii. 9), and in these is transformed into cosmical powers of destruction (ch. xxix. 6, xxx. 30; Ps. xviii. 13). He is compared to a warrior, driving along upon war-chariots resembling stormy wind, which force everything out of their way, and crush to pieces whatever comes under their wheels. The plural מִרְכָּבָתָיו (*His chariots*) is probably not merely amplifying, but a strict plural; for Jehovah, the One, can manifest Himself in love or wrath in different places at the same time. The very same substantive clause *ובכסופה מרכבתיו* occurs in Jer. iv. 13, where it is not used of Jehovah, however, but of the Chaldeans. Observe also that Jeremiah there proceeds immediately with a derivative passage from Hab. i. 8. In the following clause denoting the object, *לְהַשִּׁיב בַּחֲמָה אָפוֹ*, we must not adopt the rendering, "to breathe out His wrath in burning heat" (Hitzig), for *hēshīb* may mean *respirare*, but not *expirare* (if this were the meaning, it would be better to read *לְהַשִּׁיב* from *נָשַׁב*, as Lowth does); nor "*ut iram suam furore sedet*" (Meier), for even in Job ix. 13, Ps. lxxviii. 38, *הַשִּׁיב אָפוֹ* does not mean to still or cool His wrath, but to turn it away or take it back; not even "to direct His wrath in burning heat" (Ges., Kn.), for in this sense *hēshīb* would be connected with an object with *לְ*, *אֵל* (Job xv. 13), *עַל* (i. 25). It has rather the meaning *reddere* in the sense of *retribuere* (Arab. *athāba*, syn. *shillēm*), and "to pay back, or pay out, His wrath" is equivalent to *hēshīb nāqām* (Deut. xxxii. 41, 43). Hence *בַּחֲמָה אָפוֹ* does not stand in a permutative relation instead of a genitive one (viz. *in fervore, irā suā = iræ suæ*), but is an adverbial definition, just as in ch. xlii. 25. That the payment of the wrath deserved takes place in burning heat, and His rebuke (*gē'ārāh*) in flames of fire, are thoughts that answer to one another.

Jehovah appears with these warlike terrors because He is coming for a great judgment. Ver. 16. "*For in the midst of fire Jehovah holds judgment, and in the midst of His sword with all flesh; and great will be the multitude of those pierced through by Jehovah.*" The fire, which is here introduced as the medium of judgment, points to destructive occurrences of nature, and the sword to destructive occurrences of history. At the same time all the emphasis is laid here, as in ch. xxxiv. 5, 6 (cf. ch. xxvii. 1), upon the direct action of Jehovah Himself. The parallelism in ver. 16a is progressive. *Nishpat 'eth*, "to go into judgment with a person," as in Ezek. xxxviii. 22 (cf. *נָשַׁף* in ch. iii. 14, Joel iv. 2, 2 Chron. xxii. 8; *μετά*, Luke xi. 31, 32). We find a resemblance to ver. 16b in Zeph. ii. 12, and this is not the only resemblance to our prophecy in that strongly reproductive prophet.

The judgment predicted here is a judgment upon nations, and falls not only upon the heathen, but upon the great mass of Israel, who have fallen away from their election of grace and become like the heathen. Ver. 17. "*They that consecrate themselves and purify themselves for the gardens behind one in the midst, who eat swine's flesh and abomination and the field-mouse—they all come to an end together, saith Jehovah.*" The persons are first of all described; and then follows the judgment pronounced, as the predicate of the sentence. They subject themselves to the heathen rites of lustration, and that with truly bigoted thoroughness, as is clearly implied by the combination of the two synonyms *hammithqadd'shim* and *hammittahārīm* (*hithpael* with an assimilated *tav*), which, like the Arabic *qadusa* and *tahura*, are both traceable to the radical idea *ἀφαιρέω*. The *אֶל־הַגְּנוֹת* is to be understood as relating to the object or behoof: their intention being directed to the gardens as places of worship (ch. i. 29, lxx. 3), *ad sacra in lucis obeunda*, as Schelling correctly explains. In the *chethib* *אָחֵר אַחֵר בְּתוֹךְ*, the *אָחֵר* (for which we may also read *אַחֵר*, the form of connection, although the two *pathachs* of the text belong to the *keri*) is in all probability the hierophant, who leads the people in the performance of the rites of religious worship; and as he is represented as standing in the midst (*בְּתוֹךְ*) of the worshipping crowd that surrounds him, 'achar (behind, after) cannot be understood locally, as if they formed his train or tail, but tempo-

rally or in the way of imitation. He who stands in their midst performs the ceremonies before them, and they follow him, *i.e.* perform them *after* him. This explanation leaves nothing to be desired. The *keri*, 'achath, is based upon the assumption that 'achad must refer to the idol, and substitutes therefore the feminine, no doubt with an allusion to 'āshērāh, so that battāvekh (in the midst) is to be taken as referring not to the midst of the worshipping congregation, but to the midst of the gardens. This would be quite as suitable; for even if it were not expressly stated, we should have to assume that the sacred tree of Astarte, or her statue, occupied the post of honour in the midst of the garden, and 'achar would correspond to the phrase in the Pentateuch, וְנָתַתְּ אֶתְּחֵרִי אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים. But the foregoing expression, *sanctificantes et mundantes se* (consecrating and purifying), does not favour this sense of the word 'achar (why not ל = לְבָנוֹר?), nor do we see why the name of the goddess should be suppressed, or why she should be simply hinted at in the word אֶחָת (one). אֶחָד (אֶחָד) has its sufficient explanation in the antithesis between the one choir-leader and the many followers; but if we take 'achath as referring to the goddess, we can find no intelligible reason or object. Some again have taken both 'achad and 'achath to be the proper name of the idol. Ever since the time of Scaliger and Grotius, 'achad has been associated with the Phœnician Ἀδωδὸς βασιλεὺς θεῶν mentioned by Sanchuniathon in Euseb. *præp. ev.* 1, 10, 21, or with the Assyrian sun-god Adad, of whom Macrobius says (*Saturn.* 1, 23), *Ejus nominis interpretatio significat unus*; but we should expect the name of a Babylonian god here, and not of a Phœnician or Assyrian (Syrian) deity. Moreover, Macrobius' combination of the Syrian Hadad with 'achad, was a mere fancy, arising from an imperfect knowledge of the language. Clericus' combination of 'achath with Hecate, who certainly appears to have been worshipped by the Harranians as a monster, though not under this name, and not in gardens (which would not have suited her character), is also untenable. Now as 'achath cannot be explained as a proper name, and the form of the statement does not favour the idea that 'achar 'achath or 'achar 'achad refers to an idol, we adopt the reading 'achad, and understand it to refer to the hierophant or mystagogue. Jerome follows the *keri*. and renders it *post unam*

intrinsecus. The reading *post januam* is an ancient correction, which is not worth tracing to the Aramæan interpretation of 'achar 'achad, "behind a closed door," and merely rests upon some rectification of the unintelligible *post unam*. The Targum renders it, "one division after another," and omits *battâvekh*. The LXX., on the other hand, omits 'achar 'achad, reads *ûbhattâvekh*, and renders it *καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις* (in the inner court). Symmachus and Theodoret follow the Targum and Syriac, and render it *ὀπίσω ἀλλήλων*, and then pointing the next word *בְּתוֹךְ* (which Schelling and Böttcher approve), render the rest *ἐν μέσῳ ἐσθιόντων τὸ κρέας τὸ χοιρεῖον* (in the midst of those who eat, etc.). But *אֲנִי* commences the further description of those who were indicated first of all by their zealous adoption of heathen customs. Whilst, on the one hand, they readily adopt the heathen ritual; they set themselves on the other hand, in the most daring way, altogether above the law of Jehovah, by eating swine's flesh (ch. lxx. 4) and reptiles (*shegets*, abomination, used for disgusting animals, such as lizards, snails, etc., Lev. vii. 21, xi. 11¹), and more especially the mouse (Lev. xi. 29), or according to Jerome and Zwingli the dormouse (*glis esculentus*), which the Talmud also mentions under the name *עכברא דברא* (wild mouse) as a dainty bit with epicures, and which was fattened, as is well known, by the Romans in their *gliraria*.² However inward and spiritual may be the interpretation given to the law in these prophecies, yet, as we see here, the whole of it, even the laws of food, were regarded as inviolable. So long as God Himself had not taken away the hedges set about His church, every wilful attempt to break through them was a sin, which brought down His wrath and indignation.

The prophecy now marks out clearly the way which the history of Israel will take. It is the same as that set forth by Paul, the prophetic apostle, in Rom. ix.—xi. as the winding but memorable path by which the compassion of God will reach its all-embracing end. A universal judgment is the turning-point. Ver. 18. "*And I, their works and their thoughts — — it comes to*

¹ See Levysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, pp. 218–9.

² See Levysohn, *id.* pp. 108–9. A special delicacy was *glires isicio porcino*, dormice with pork stuffing; see Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie des Geschmacks*, by C. Vogt, p. 253.

pass that all nations and tongues are gathered together, that they come and see my glory." This verse commences in any case with a harsh ellipsis. Hofmann, who regards ver. 17 as referring not to idolatrous Israelites, but to the idolatrous world outside Israel, tries to meet the difficulty by adopting this rendering: "And I, saith Jehovah, when their thoughts and actions succeed in bringing together all nations and tongues (to march against Jerusalem), they come and see my glory (*i.e.* the alarming manifestation of my power)." But what is the meaning of the opening וְאֲנִי (and I), which cannot possibly strengthen the distant כְּבוֹדִי, as we should be obliged to assume? Or what rule of syntax would warrant our taking מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשְׁבֹתֵיהֶם בָּאָה as a participial clause in opposition to the accents? Again, it is impossible that וְאֲנִי should mean "*et contra me*;" or מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשְׁבֹתֵיהֶם, "in spite of their works and thoughts," as Hahn supposes, which leaves וְאֲנִי quite unexplained; not to mention other impossibilities which Ewald, Knobel, and others have persuaded themselves to adopt. If we wanted to get rid of the ellipsis, the explanation adopted by Hitzig would recommend itself the most strongly, *viz.* "and as for me, their works and thoughts have come, *i.e.* have become manifest (*ἡκαστω*, Susanna, ver. 52), so that I shall gather together." But this separation of בָּאָה לְקַבֵּץ (it is going to gather together) is improbable: moreover, according to the accents, the first clause reaches as far as וּמַחְשְׁבֹתֵיהֶם (with the twin-accent *zakeph-munach* instead of *zakeph* and *metheg*); whereupon the second clause commences with בָּאָה, which could not have any other disjunctive accent than *zakeph gadol* according to well-defined rules (see, for example, Num. xiii. 27). But if we admit the elliptical character of the expression, we have not to supply יָדַעְתִּי (I know), as the Targ., Syr., Saad., Ges., and others do, but, what answers much better to the strength of the emotion which explains the ellipsis, אֶפְקֹד (I will punish). The ellipsis is similar in character to that of the "*Quos ego*" of Virgil (Aen. i. 139), and comes under the rhetorical figure *aposiopesis*: "and I, their works and thoughts (I shall know how to punish)." The thoughts are placed after the works, because the reference is more especially to their plans against Jerusalem, that work of theirs, which has still to be carried out, and which Jehovah turns into a judgment upon them. The passage might have

been continued with *kî mishpâtî* (for my judgment), like the derivative passage in Zeph. iii. 8; but the emotional hurry of the address is still preserved: *בָּאֵהָ* (properly accented as a participle) is equivalent to *בָּאֵהָ* (*בָּאֵהָ*) in Jer. li. 33, Ezek. vii. 7, 12 (cf. *בָּאֵהָ*, ch. xxvii. 6). At the same time there is no necessity to supply anything, since *בָּאֵהָ* by itself may also be taken in a neuter sense, and signify *venturum (futurum) est* (Ezek. xxxix. 8). The expression "peoples and tongues" (as in the genealogy of the nations in Gen. ch. x.) is not tautological, since, although the distinctions of tongues and nationalities coincided at first, yet in the course of history they diverged from one another in many ways. All nations and all communities of men speaking the same language does Jehovah bring together (including the apostates of Israel, cf. Zech. xiv. 14): these will come, viz. as Joel describes it in ch. iv. 9 sqq., impelled by enmity towards Jerusalem, but not without the direction of Jehovah, who makes even what is evil subservient to His plans, and will see His glory,—not the glory manifest in grace (Ewald, Umbreit, Stier, Hahn), but His majestic manifestation of judgment, by which they, viz. those who have been encoiled by sinful conduct, are completely overthrown.

But a remnant escapes; and this remnant is employed by Jehovah to promote the conversion of the Gentile world and the restoration of Israel. Vers. 19, 20. "*And I set a sign upon them, and send away those that have escaped from them to the Gentiles to Tarshish, Phûl, and Lûd, to the stretchers of the bow, Tûbal and Javan—the distant islands that have not heard my fame and have not seen my glory, and they will proclaim my glory among the Gentiles. And they will bring your brethren out of all heathen nations, a sacrifice for Jehovah, upon horses and upon chariots, and upon litters and upon mules and upon dromedaries, to my holy mountain, to Jerusalem, saith Jehovah, as the children of Israel bring the meat-offering in a clear vessel to the house of Jehovah.*" The majority of commentators understand *v'samtî bâhem 'ôth* (and I set a sign upon them) as signifying, according to Ex. x. 2, that Jehovah will perform such a miraculous sign upon the assembled nations as He formerly performed upon Egypt (Hofmann), and one which will outweigh the ten Egyptian *'ôthôth* and complete the destruction commenced by them. Hitzig supposes the *'ôth* to refer directly

to the horrible wonder connected with the battle, in which Jehovah fights against them with fire and sword (compare the parallels so far as the substance is concerned in Joel iv. 14-16, Zeph. iii. 8, Ezek. xxxviii. 18 sqq., Zech. xiv. 12 sqq.). But since, according to the foregoing threat, the expression "they shall see my glory" signifies that they will be brought to experience the judicial revelation of the glory of Jehovah, if *v'samti bâhem 'oth* (and I set a sign upon them) were to be understood in this judicial sense, it would be more appropriate for it to precede than to follow. Moreover, this *v'samti bâhem 'oth* would be a very colourless description of what takes place in connection with the assembled army of nations. It is like a frame without a picture; and consequently Ewald and Umbreit are right in maintaining that what follows directly after is to be taken as the picture for this framework. The *'oth* (or sign) consists in the unexpected and, with this universal slaughter, the surprising fact, that a remnant is still spared, and survives this judicial revelation of glory. This marvellous rescue of individuals out of the mass is made subservient in the midst of judgment to the divine plan of salvation. Those who have escaped are to bring to the far distant heathen world the tidings of Jehovah, the God who has been manifested in judgment and grace, tidings founded upon their own experience. It is evident from this, that notwithstanding the expression "all nations and tongues," the nations that crowd together against Jerusalem and are overthrown in the attempt, are not to be understood as embracing all nations without exception, since the prophet is able to mention the names of many nations which were beyond the circle of these great events, and had been hitherto quite unaffected by the positive historical revelation, which was concentrated in Israel. By *Tarshish* Knobel understands the nation of the Tyrsenes, Tuscans, or Etruscans; but there is far greater propriety in looking for Tarshish, as the opposite point to 'Ophir, in the extreme west, where the name of the Spanish colony *Tartessus* resembles it in sound. In the middle ages *Tunis* was combined with this. Instead of *פִּיל וְלִיר* we should probably read with the LXX. *פִּיל וְלִיר*, as in Ezek. xxvii. 10, xxx. 5. Stier decides in favour of this, whilst Hitzig and Ewald regard *פִּיל* as another form of *פִּיל*. The epithet *מִשְׁכֵּי קֶשֶׁת* (drawers of the bow) is ad-

mirably adapted to the inhabitants of *Pūt*, since this people of the early Egyptian *Phet* (*Phaiat*) is represented ideographically upon the monuments by nine bows. According to Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6, 2, a river of Mauritania was called *Phout*, and the adjoining country *Phoute*; and this is confirmed by other testimonies. As *Lud* is by no means to be understood as referring to the Lydians of Asia Minor here, if only because they could not well be included among the nations of the farthest historico-geographical horizon in a book which traces prophetically the victorious career of Cyrus, but signifies rather the undoubtedly African tribe, the לִי which Ezekiel mentions in ch. xxx. 5 among the nations under Egyptian rule, and in ch. xxvii. 10 among the auxiliaries of the Tyrians, and which Jeremiah notices in ch. xlvi. 9 along with *Put* as armed with bows; *Put* and *Lud* form a fitting pair in this relation also, whereas *Pul* is never met with again. The Targum renders it by פְּלִי, i.e. (according to Bochart) inhabitants of *Φιλιά*, a Nile island of Upper Egypt, which Strabo (xvii. 1, 49) calls "a common abode of Ethiopians and Egyptians" (see Parthey's work, *De Philis insula*); and this is at any rate better than Knobel's supposition, that either Apulia (which was certainly called *Pul* by the Jews of the middle ages) or Lower Italy is intended here. *Tubal* stands for the Tibarenes on the south-east coast of the Black Sea, the neighbours of the Moschi (מֹשִׁי), with whom they are frequently associated by Ezekiel (ch. xxvii. 13, xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1); according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, 1), the (Caucasian) Iberians. *Javan* is a name given to the Greeks, from the aboriginal tribe of the *'IaFoves*. The eye is now directed towards the west: the "isles afar off" are the islands standing out of the great western sea (the Mediterranean), and the coastlands that project into it. To all these nations, which have hitherto known nothing of the God of revelation, either through the hearing of the word or through their own experience, Jehovah sends those who have escaped; and they make known His glory there, that glory the judicial manifestation of which they have just seen for themselves. The prophet is speaking here of the ultimate *completion* of the conversion of the Gentiles; for elsewhere this appeared to him as the work of the Servant of Jehovah, for which Cyrus the oppressor of the nations prepared the soil. His

standpoint here resembles that of the apostle in Rom. xi. 25, who describes the conversion of the heathen world and the rescue of all Israel as facts belonging to the future ; although at the time when he wrote this, the evangelization of the heathen foretold by our prophet in ch. xlii. 1 sqq. was already progressing most rapidly. A direct judicial act of God Himself will ultimately determine the entrance of the *Pleroma* of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God, and this entrance of the fulness of the Gentiles will then lead to the recovery of the *diaspora* of Israel, since the heathen, when won by the testimony borne to Jehovah by those who have been saved, "bring your brethren out of all nations." On the means employed to carry this into effect, including *kirkârôth*, a species of camels (female camels), which derives its name from its rapid swaying motion, see the Lexicons.¹ The words are addressed, as in ver. 5, to the exiles of Babylonia. The prophet presupposes that his countrymen are dispersed among all nations to the farthest extremity of the geographical horizon. In fact, the commerce of the Israelites, which had extended as far as India and Spain ever since the time of Solomon, the sale of Jewish prisoners as slaves to Phœnicians, Edomites, and Greeks in the time of king Joram (Obad. 20 ; Joel iv. 6 ; Amos i. 6), the Assyrian captivities, the free emigrations,—for example, of those who stayed behind in the land after the destruction of Jerusalem and then went down to Egypt,—had already scattered the Israelites over the whole of the known world (see at ch. xlix. 12). Umbreit is of opinion that the prophet calls all the nations who had turned to Jehovah "brethren of Israel," and represents them as marching in the most motley grouping to the holy city. In that case those who were brought upon horses, chariots, etc., would be proselytes ; but who would bring them ? This explanation is opposed not only to numerous parallels in Isaiah, such as ch. lx. 4, but also to the abridgment of the passage in Zeph. iii. 10 : "From the other side of the rivers of Ethiopia (taken from Isa. xviii.) will they offer my worshippers,

¹ The LXX. render it *σκιᾶδίων*, i.e. probably palanquins. Jerome observes on this, *quæ nos dormitoria interpretari possumus vel basternas*. (On this word, with which the name of the Bastarnians as *Ἀμαζόβιοι* is connected, see Hahnel's *Bedeutung der Bastarner für das german. Alterthum*, 1865, p. 34.)

the daughters of my dispersed ones, to me for a holy offering." It is the *diaspora* of Israel to which the significant name "my worshippers, the daughters of my dispersed ones," is there applied. The figure hinted at in *minchâthi* (my holy offering) is given more elaborately here in the book of Isaiah, viz. "as the children of Israel are accustomed (*frut.* as in ch. vi. 2) to offer the meat-offering" (*i.e.* that which was to be placed upon the altar as such, viz. wheaten flour, incense, oil, the grains of the first-fruits of wheat, etc.) "in a pure vessel to the house of Jehovah," not in the house of Jehovah, for the point of comparison is not the presentation in the temple, but the bringing to the temple. The *minchah* is the *diaspora* of Israel, and the heathen who have become vessels of honour correspond to the clean vessels.

The latter, having been incorporated into the priestly congregation of Jehovah (ch. lxi. 6), are not even excluded from the priestly and Levitical service of the sanctuary. Ver. 21. "*And I will also add some of them to the priests, to the Levites, saith Jehovah.*" Hitzig and Knobel suppose *mêhem* to refer to the Israelites thus brought home. But in this case something would be promised, which needed no promise at all, since the right of the native *cohen* and Levites to take part in the priesthood and temple service was by no means neutralized by their sojourn in a foreign land. And even if the meaning were that Jehovah would take those who were brought home for priests and Levites, without regard to their Aaronic or priestly descent, or (as Jewish commentators explain it) without regard to the apostasy, of which through weakness they had made themselves guilty among the heathen; this ought to be expressly stated. But as there is nothing said about any such disregard of priestly descent or apostasy, and what is here promised must be something extraordinary, and not self-evident, *mêhem* must refer to the converted heathen, by whom the Israelites had been brought home. Many Jewish commentators even are unable to throw off the impression thus made by the expression *mêhem* (of them); but they attempt to get rid of the apparent discrepancy between this statement and the Mosaic law, by understanding by the Gentiles those who had been originally Israelites of Levitical and Aaronic descent, and whom Jehovah would single out again. David Friedländer and David Ottensosser

interpret it quite correctly thus : “ *Mēhem*, i.e. of those heathen who bring them home, will He take for priests and Levites, for all will be saints of Jehovah ; and therefore He has just compared them to a clean vessel, and the Israelites offered by their hand to a *minchâh*.” The majority of commentators do not even ask the question, in what sense the prophet uses *lakkōhănîm lalviyyim* (to the priests, to the Levites) with the article. Joseph Kimchi, however, explains it thus : “ לצורך, הכהנים, to the service of the priests, the Levites, so that they (the converted heathen) take the place of the Gibeonites (cf. Zech. xiv. 21b), and therefore of the former Canaanæan *nʿthînîm*” (see Köhler, *Nach-exil. Proph.* iii. p. 39). But so interpreted, the substance of the promise falls behind the expectation aroused by נָתַן מַהֵם. Hofmann has adopted a more correct explanation, viz. : “ God rewards them for this offering, by taking priests to Himself out of the number of the offering priests, who are added as such to the Levitical priests.” Apart, however, from the fact that לְכַהֲנִים לְלוִיִּם cannot well signify “for Levitical priests” according to the Deuteronomic הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלֵּוִיִּם, since this would require לְכַהֲנִים הַלֵּוִיִּם (inasmuch as such permutative and more precisely defining expressions as Gen. xix. 9, Josh. viii. 24 cannot be brought into comparison) ; the idea “in addition to the priests, to the Levites,” is really implied in the expression (cf. ch. lvi. 8), as they would say לָקַח לְאִשָּׁה and not לְאִשָּׁה, and would only use לָקַח לְנָשִׁים in the sense of adding to those already there. The article presupposes the existence of priests, Levites (asyndeton, as in ch. xxxviii. 14, xli. 29, lxvi. 5), to whom Jehovah adds some taken from the heathen. When the heathen shall be converted, and Israel brought back, the temple service will demand a more numerous priesthood and Levitehood than ever before ; and Jehovah will then increase the number of those already existing, not only from the מִבְּנֵיהֶם, but from the מִבְּיָאִים also. The very same spirit, which broke through all the restraints of the law in ch. lvi., is to be seen at work here as well. Those who suppose *mēhem* to refer to the Israelites are wrong in saying that there is no other way, in which the connection with ver. 22 can be made intelligible. Friedländer had a certain feeling of what was right, when he took ver. 21 to be a parenthesis and connected ver. 22 with ver. 20. There is no necessity for any parenthesis, however.

The reason which follows, relates to the whole of the previous promise, including ver. 21; the election of Israel, as Hofmann observes, being equally confirmed by the fact that the heathen exert themselves to bring back the *diaspora* of Israel to their sacred home, and also by the fact that the highest reward granted to them is, that some of them are permitted to take part in the priestly and Levitical service of the sanctuary. Ver. 22. "*For as the new heaven and the new earth, which I am about to make, continue before me, saith Jehovah, so will your family and your name continue.*" The great mass of the world of nations and of Israel also perish; but the seed and name of Israel, *i.e.* Israel as a people with the same ancestors and an independent name, continues for ever, like the new heaven and the new earth; and because the calling of Israel towards the world of nations is now fulfilled and everything has become new, the former fencing off of Israel from other nations comes to an end, and the qualification for priesthood and Levitical office in the temple of God is no longer merely natural descent, but inward nobility. The new heaven and the new earth, God's approaching creation (*quæ facturum sum*), continue eternally before Him (*l'phânai* as in ch. xlix. 16), for the old ones pass away because they do not please God; but these are pleasing to Him, and are eternally like His love, whose work and image they are. The prophet here thinks of the church of the future as being upon a new earth and under a new heaven. But he cannot conceive of the eternal in the form of eternity; all that he can do is to conceive of it as the endless continuance of the history of time. Ver. 23. "*And it will come to pass: from new moon to new moon, and from Sabbath to Sabbath, all flesh will come, to worship before me, saith Jehovah.*" New moons and Sabbaths will still be celebrated therefore; and the difference is simply this, that just as all Israel once assembled in Jerusalem at the three great feasts, all flesh now journey to Jerusalem every new moon and every Sabbath. יָ (construct יִ) signifies that which suffices, then that which is plentiful (see ch. xl. 16), that which is due or fitting, so that מִיָּה חֹדֶשׁ (with a temporal, not an explanatory *min*, as Gesenius supposes) signifies "from the time when, or as often as what is befitting to the new moon (or Sabbath) occurs" (cf. xxviii. 19). If בַּחֹדֶשׁ (בשבת) be added, יָ is that of

exchange: as often as new moon (Sabbath) for new moon (Sabbath) is befitting, *i.e.* ought to occur: 1 Sam. vii. 16; Zech. xiv. 16 (cf. 1 Sam. i. 7, 1 Kings v. 25, 1 Chron. xxvii. 1: "year by year," "month by month"). When we find (בְּחִדְשׁוֹ) בְּחִדְשׁוֹ as we do here, the meaning is, "as often as it has to occur on one new moon (or Sabbath) after the other," *i.e.* in the periodical succession of one after another. At the same time it might be interpreted in accordance with 1 Kings viii. 59, יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, which does not mean the obligation of one day after the other, but rather "of a day on the fitting day" (cf. Num. xxviii. 10, 14), although the meaning of change and not of a series might be sustained in the passage before us by the suffixless mode of expression which occurs in connection with it.

They who go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem every new moon and Sabbath, see there with their own eyes the terrible punishment of the rebellious. Ver. 24. "*And they go out and look at the corpses of the men that have rebelled against me, for their worm will not die and their fire will not be quenched, and they become an abomination to all flesh.*" The perfects are *perf. cons.* regulated by the foregoing יָבוֹא. יִצְאָה (accented with *pashta* in our editions, but more correctly with *munach*) refers to their going out of the holy city. The prophet had predicted in ver. 18, that in the last times the whole multitude of the enemies of Jerusalem would be crowded together against it, in the hope of getting possession of it. This accounts for the fact that the neighbourhood of Jerusalem becomes such a scene of divine judgment. בָּרָאָה always denotes a fixed, lingering look directed to any object; here it is connected with the grateful feeling of satisfaction at the righteous acts of God and their own gracious deliverance. נִרְאָה, which only occurs again in Dan. xii. 2, is the strongest word for "abomination." It is very difficult to imagine the picture which floated before the prophet's mind. How is it possible that all flesh, *i.e.* all men of all nations, should find room in Jerusalem and the temple? ' Even if the city and temple should be enlarged, as Ezekiel and Zechariah predict, the thing itself still remains inconceivable. And again, how can corpses be eaten by worms at the same time as they are being burned, or how can they be the endless prey of worms and fire without disappearing altogether from the sight of man?

It is perfectly obvious, that the thing itself, as here described, must appear monstrous and inconceivable, however we may suppose it to be realized. The prophet, by the very mode of description adopted by him, precludes the possibility of our conceiving of the thing here set forth as realized in any material form in this present state. He is speaking of the future state, but in figures drawn from the present world. The object of his prediction is no other than the new Jerusalem of the world to come, and the eternal torment of the damned; but the way in which he pictures it, forces us to translate it out of the figures drawn from this life into the realities of the life to come; as has already been done in the apocryphal books of Judith (xvi. 17) and Wisdom (vii. 17), as well as in the New Testament, *e.g.* Mark ix. 43 sqq., with evident reference to this passage. This is just the distinction between the Old Testament and the New, that the Old Testament brings down the life to come to the level of this life, whilst the New Testament lifts up this life to the level of the life to come; that the Old Testament depicts both this life and the life to come as an endless extension of this life, whilst the New Testament depicts it as a continuous line in two halves, the last point in this finite state being the first point of the infinite state beyond; that the Old Testament preserves the continuity of this life and the life to come by transferring the outer side, the form, the appearance of this life to the life to come, the new Testament by making the inner side, the nature, the reality of the life to come, the *δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*, immanent in this life. The new Jerusalem of our prophet has indeed a new heaven above it and a new earth under it, but it is only the old Jerusalem of earth lifted up to its highest glory and happiness; whereas the new Jerusalem of the Apocalypse comes down from heaven, and is therefore of heavenly nature. In the former dwells the Israel that has been brought back from captivity; in the latter, the risen church of those who are written in the book of life. And whilst our prophet transfers the place in which the rebellious are judged to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem itself; in the Apocalypse, the lake of fire in which the life of the ungodly is consumed, and the abode of God with men, are for ever separated. The Hinnom-valley outside Jerusalem has become *Gehenna*, and this is no longer within the precincts of the new

Jerusalem, because there is no need of any such example to the righteous who are for ever perfect.

In the lessons prepared for the synagogue ver. 23 is repeated after ver. 24, on account of the terrible character of the latter, "so as to close with words of consolation."¹ But the prophet, who has sealed the first two sections of these prophetic orations with the words, "there is no peace to the wicked," intentionally closes the third section with this terrible picture of their want of peace. The promises have gradually soared into the clear light of the eternal glory, to the new creation in eternity; and the threatenings have sunk down to the depth of eternal torment, which is the eternal foil of the eternal light. More than this we could not expect from our prophet. His threefold book is now concluded. It consists of twenty-seven orations. The central one of the whole, *i.e.* the fourteenth, is ch. lii. 13–liii.; so that the cross forms the centre of this prophetic trilogy. *Per crucem ad lucem* is its watchword. The self-sacrifice of the Servant of Jehovah lays the foundation for a new Israel, a new human race, a new heaven and a new earth.

¹ Isaiah is therefore regarded as an exception to the rule, that the prophets close their orations בְּרִבְרֵי שְׁבַח וְתַנְחוּמִים (*b. Berachoth* 31a), although, on the other hand, this exception is denied by some, on the ground that the words "they shall be an abhorring" apply to the Gentiles (*j. Berachoth* c. V. Anf. *Midras Tillim* on Ps. iv. 8).

APPENDIX.

VOL. I. PAGE 66.—In the commentary on the second half of chap. xl.–lxvi., I have referred here and there to the expositions of J. Heinemann (Berlin 1842) and Isaiah Hochstädter (Carlsruhe 1827), both written in Hebrew,—the former well worthy of notice for criticism of the text, the latter provided with a German translation. For the psalm of Hezekiah (ch. xxxviii.) Professor Sam. David Luzzatto of Padua lent me his exposition in manuscript. Since then this great and noble-minded man has departed this life (on the 29th Sept. 1865). His commentary on Isaiah, so far as it has been printed, is full of information and of new and stirring explanations, written in plain, lucid, rabbinical language. It would be a great misfortune for the second half of this valuable work to remain unprinted. I well remember the assistance which the deceased afforded me in my earlier studies of the history of the post-biblical Jewish poetry (1836), and the affection which he displayed when I renewed my former acquaintance with him on the occasion of his publishing his Isaiah; so that I lament his loss on my own account as well as in the interests of science. “Why have you allowed twenty-five years to pass,” he wrote to me on the 22d Feb. 1863, “without telling me that you remembered me? Is it because we form different opinions of the עולם and the ילר לנ of Isaiah? Are you a sincere Christian? Then you are a hundred times dearer to me than so many Israelitish scholars, the partizans of Spinoza, with whom our age swarms.” These words indicate very clearly the standpoint taken in his writings.

Of the commentaries written in English, I am acquainted not only with *Lowth*, but with the thoroughly practical commen-

tary of *Henderson* (1857), and that of *Joseph Addison Alexander*, Prof. in Princeton (1847, etc.), which is very much read as an exegetical repertorium in England also. But I had neither of them in my possession.

VOL. I. PAGE 70.—What I have said here on ch. i. 1 as the heading to the whole book, or at any rate to ch. i.—xxxix., has been said in part by Photios also in his *Amphilochia*, which Sophocles the M.D. has published complete from a MS. of Mount Athos (Athens 1858, 4).

VOL. I. PAGE 203, ON CH. VI. 13.—Hofmann in his *Schriftbeweis* (ii. 2, 541) maintains with Knobel, that *מִצְבֵּת* cannot be shown to have any other meaning than “plant.” It is never met with in this sense, which it might have (after *נִצֵּב* = *נִטַּע*), though it is in the sense of *statua* and *cippus*, which, when applied to a tree deprived of its crown, can only mean *stipes* or *truncus*.—We take this opportunity of referring to a few other passages of his work:—Ch. viii. 22. “And the deep darkness is scared away: *m’nuddâch* with the accusative of the object used with the passive.” But this is only possible with the finite verb, not with the passive participle. Ch. ix. 2. “By the fact that Thou hast made the people many, Thou hast not made the joy great; but now they rejoice before Thee (who hast appeared).” It is impossible that *הַרְבִּית* and *הַגִּדַלְתָּ*, when thus surrounded with perfects relating to the history of the future, should itself relate to the historical past.—Ch. xviii. “It is Israel in its dispersion which is referred to here as a people carried away and spoiled, but which from that time forward is an object of reverential awe,—a people that men have cut in pieces and trampled under foot, whose land streams have rent in pieces.” But does not this explanation founder on *נִרְאָה וְהִלָּאָה*? In the midst of attributes which point to ill-treatment, can this passage be meant to describe the position which Israel is henceforth to hold as one commanding respect (see our exposition)?—Ch. xix. 28. “Egypt the land of cities will be reduced to five cities by the judgment that falls upon it.” But how can the words affirm that there will be only five cities in all, when there is nothing said about desolation in the judgment predicted before?—Ch. xxi. 1–10. “What the watchman on the watch-tower sees

is not the hostile army marching against Babel, but the march of the people of God returning home from Babel." Consequently *tsemed pârâshîm* does not mean pairs of horsemen, but carriages full of men and drawn by horses. But we can see what *tsemed pârâshîm* is from 2 Kings ix. 25 (*rôkh'bhîm ts'mâdîm*), and from the combination of *rekhebh* and *pârâshîm* (chariots and horsemen) in ch. xxii. 7, xxxi. 1. And the rendering "carriages" will never do for ch. xxi. 7, 9. Carriages with camels harnessed to them would be something unparalleled; and *rekhebh gâmâl* (cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 17) by the side of *tsemed pârâshîm* has a warlike sound.

VOL. I. PAGE 279, ON CH. X. 28-32.—Professor Schegg travelled by this very route to Jerusalem (cf. p. 560, Anm. 2): From *Gifneh* he went direct to *Tayibeh* (which he imagined to be the ancient *Ai*), and then southwards through *Muchmas*, *Geba*, *Hizmeleh*, *Anata*, and *el-Isawiye* to Jerusalem.

VOL. II. PAGE 65.—*No* (*Nô* 'Amôn in Nahum iii. 8) is the Egyptian *nu-Amun* = *Διόσπολις* (*nu* the spelling of the hieroglyphic of the plan of the city, with which the name of the goddess *Nu. t* = *Rhea* is also written). The ordinary spelling of the name of this city corresponds to the Greek *Ἀμμωνόπολις*.

VOL. II. PAGE 66, ON CH. XXXIII. 23.—(Compare Grashof, *Ueber das Schiff bei Homer und Hesiod*, Gymnasial-programm 1834, p. 23 sqq.). The *μεσόδμη* (= *μεσοδόμη*) is the cross plank which connects the two sides of the ship. A piece is cut out of this on the side towards the rudder, in which the mast is supported, being also let into a hole in the boards of the keel (*ἱστοπέδη*) and there held fast. The mast is also prevented from falling backwards by ropes or stays carried forward to the bows (*πρότονοι*). On landing, the mast is laid back into a hollow place in the bottom of the ship (*ἱστοδόκη*). If the stays are not drawn tight, the mast may easily fall backwards, and so slip not only out of the *μεσόδμη* but out of the *ἱστοπέδη* also. This is the meaning of the words בְּלִיחֵי־קֶרֶן בְּתֵּיחָרֶם. It would be better to understand *kên* as referring to the *ἱστοπέδη* than to the *μεσόδμη*. The latter has no "hole," but only a

notch, *i.e.* a semicircular piece cut out, and serves as a support to the mast; the former, on the contrary, has the mast inserted into it, and serves as a *kēn*, *i.e.* a *basis*, *theca*, *loculamentum*. Vitringa observes (though without knowing the difference between *μεσόδμη* and *ιστοπέδη*): "*Oportet accedere funes, qui thecam firment, h. e. qui malum sustinentes thecæ succurrant, qui quod theca sola per se præstare nequit absque funibus cum ea veluti concurrentes efficiant.*"

VOL. II. PAGE 75, ON CH. XXXIV. 16.—This transition from words of Jehovah concerning Himself to words relating to Him, may also be removed by adopting the following rendering: "For my mouth, it has commanded it, and its (my mouth's) breath, it has brought it together" (*rûchô* = *rûäch pî*, Ps. xxx. 6, Job xv. 30).

VOL. II. PAGE 104.—I am wrong in describing it here as improbable that the land would have to be left uncultivated during the year 713–12 in consequence of the invasion that had taken place, even after the departure of the Assyrians. *Wetzstein* has referred me to his Appendix on the Monastery of Job (see *Comm. on Job*, vol. ii. 416), where he has shown that the fallow-land (*wâgiha*) of a community, which is sown in the autumn of 1865 and reaped in the summer of 1866, must have been broken up, *i.e.* ploughed for the first time, in the winter of 1864–65. "If this breaking up of the fallow (*el-Bûr*) were obliged to be omitted in the winter of 1864–65, because of the enemy being in the land, whether from the necessity for hiding the oxen in some place of security, or from the fact that they had been taken from the peasants and consumed by the foe, it would be impossible to sow in the autumn of 1865 and reap a harvest in the summer of 1866. And if the enemy did not withdraw till the harvest of 1865, only the few who had had their ploughing oxen left by the war would find it possible to break up the fallow. *But neither the one nor the other could sow*, if the enemy's occupation of the land had prevented them from ploughing in the winter of 1864–65. If men were to sow in the newly broken fallow, they would reap no harvest, and the seed would only be lost. It is only in the volcanic and therefore fertile region of *Haurân* (Bashan) that

the sowing of the newly broken fallow (*es-sikak*) yields a harvest, and there it is only when the winter brings a large amount of rain; so that even in Haurân nothing but necessity leads any one to sow upon the *sikak*. In western Palestine, even in the most fruitful portions of it (round Samaria and Nazareth), the farmer is obliged to plough three times before he can sow; and a really good farmer follows up the breaking up of the fallow (*sikak*) in the winter, the second ploughing (*thânia*) in the spring, and the third ploughing (*tethlith*) in the summer, with a fourth (*terbia*) in the latter part of the summer. Consequently no sowing could take place in the autumn of 713, if the enemy had been in the land in the autumn of 714, in consequence of his having hindered the farmer from the *sikak* in the winter of 714-3, and from the *thânia* and *tethlith* in the spring and summer of 713. There is no necessity, therefore, to assume that a second invasion took place, which prevented the sowing in the autumn of 713."

VOL. II. PAGE 114, ON 2 KINGS XX. 9.—Even עֲבָרָה is syntactically admissible in the sense of *iveritne*; see Gen. xxi. 7, Ps. xi. 3, Job xii. 9.

VOL. II. PAGE 244.—ἀλμενιχιακά in Plut., read Porph., viz. in the letter of Porphyrios to the Egyptian Anebo in Euseb. *præp.* iii. 4, *init.*: τὰς τε εἰς τοὺς δεκανοὺς τομὰς καὶ τοὺς ὁροσκόπους καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους κραταιοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὧν καὶ ὀνόματα ἐν τοῖς ἀλμενιχιακοῖς φέρεται; compare Jamblichos, *de Mysteriis*, viii. 4: τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς σαλμεσχινιακοῖς μέρος τι βραχύτατον περιέχει τῶν Ἑρμαϊκῶν διατάξεων. This reading *σαλμεσχινιακοῖς* has been adopted by Parthey after two codices and the text in Salmasius, *de annis clim.* 605. But *ἀλμενιχιακοῖς* is favoured by the form *Almanach* (Hebr. אֶלְמַנַּח, see Steinschneider, *Catal. Codd. Lugduno-Batav.* p. 370), in which the word was afterwards adopted as the name of an astrological handbook or year-book. In Arabic the word appears to me to be equivalent to *المناخ*, the *encampment* (of the stars); but to all appearance it was originally an Egyptian word, and possibly the Coptic *monk* (old Egyptian *mench*), a form or thing formed, is hidden beneath it.

VOL. II. PAGE 376, ON CH. LVII. 10, נִשָּׂא.—*Fleischer* says: “Just as in اَمَلَ and رَجَا the meaning of hope springs out of the idea of stretching and drawing out, so do اَيْسُ and يَيْسُ (*spem deposuit, desperavit*) signify literally to draw in, to compress; hence the old Arabic يَاسٌ = يَسْلُ, consumption, *phthisis*. And the other old Arabic word رَيسٌ, lit. squeezing, *res angustæ* = *fakr wa-faka*, want, need, and penury, or in a concrete sense the need, or thing needed, is also related to this.”

VOL. II. PAGE 483-4, ON CH. LXV. 11.—*Mήνη* appears in *μηναγύρτης* = *μητραγύρτης* as the name of Cybele, the mother of the gods. In Egyptian, *Menhi* is a form of Isis in the city of *Hat-uer*. The Ithyphallic *Min*, the cognomen of Amon, which is often written in an abbreviated form with the spelling *men* (Copt. *MHIN*, *signum*), is further removed.

VOL. II. PAGE 490, ON CH. LXV. 23.—לְבַהֵלָה. *Fleischer* says: “בָּהֵל and בִּהֵל are so far connected, that the stem בָּהֵל, like בָּלַה, signifies primarily to *let loose*, or *let go*. This passes over partly into outward overtaking or overturning, and partly into internal surprise and bewildering, and partly also (in Arabic) into setting free on the one hand, and outlawing on the other (compare the Azazel-goat of the day of atonement, which was sent away into the wilderness); hence it is used as an equivalent for לָעֵן (*execrare*).”

OBSERVATIONS ON ISAIAH XXI.

By J. G. WETZSTEIN.

IF we look upon the last two oracles of ch. xxi. as neither connected together, nor associated with the first, we remain in utter ignorance as to their purport; whereas they admit of the most satisfactory explanation if we take ch. xxi. as a whole, and regard it as containing a description of the storming of Babylon, and its consequences, so far as the tribes of the desert and the Edomites are concerned. Let the following serve as an introduction. With the complete conquest of Syria and what appeared to be the voluntary subjection of Edom, the Chaldean empire found itself in possession of all the cultivated lands, which surround the desert both to the east and to the west; and as it was strong enough, at all events from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, to defend the harvests of the villages against the nomads, whilst the latter could not exist without the former, there must have been forcible contributions levied by the tribes, and bloody reprisals on the part of the Chaldeans. At the same time, one single appeal, like that contained in Jer. xlix. 28-33, may well have sufficed to compel the Arabs to seek their safety in alliance with Babylon. This ultimate alliance, of the actual completion of which we have no doubt, from the situation of Babylon itself (Jer. xxvii. 6), was very advantageous to both parties; for whilst it furnished the Kedarenes under the flag of the Chaldeans with the best opportunity of satisfying their thirst for rapine and plunder in distant lands (for the most part, probably in wealthy Egypt), it supplied the Chaldeans with new forces, always ready for battle and therefore inexpensive, and opened and secured to the caravan trade of the gigantic capital, which was already certainly very extensive, all the roads of the desert.

It may safely be maintained that the splendour of the city dates first from the time when she became the queen of the desert, and as such the capital of the Semitic nations. As for the Edomites, their policy was determined by that of their hereditary foes, the Judæans. The latter allied themselves to Egypt both in the Chaldean and the Assyrian wars; and consequently the former attached themselves to Babel (Obad. 11 sqq.),—and they had thereby chosen the better part, for during the continuance of the Chaldean empire Edom appears to have reached its greatest extent and most flourishing condition, even though its princes may have been nominally subject to the king of Babel (Jer. xxvii. 3). Not only have we to include among the mountains of *Seir*, according to the usage of speech of the later times, their southern extension, viz. the *Hizmah* mountains; but the Edomites also obtained possession of portions of the land of Judæa (Ezek. xxxvi. 5, cf. xxxv. 10); yea, and certain of their tribes emigrated even into Trachonitis (in the wider sense of the word, *i.e.* into Haurân or northern Gilead), if, according to Josephus and Eusebius, it was here that the Aramæan Uzzite tribes had their home (Lam. iv. 21). In like manner, all the *Hadir*, as far east as the mountains of *Aga*, may have been ceded to them by the Chaldeans, namely, the cities of *Dedan*, *Temah*, *Duma* in the *Goph*, and others which are not mentioned in the Bible. Nebuchadnezzar and his successors may have been especially compelled by the wars with Egypt to secure the attachment of the Edomites, who lived so near to the borders of this land, by great concessions; and the latter will, no doubt, have remained true to their avengers upon Judah, even till the conquest of Babylon. In the war with Cyrus, the city not only obtained help from Syria, but from the desert and the mountains of *Seir* also.¹

We now return to ch. xxi. When the barbarians threaten Babel, the eyes of all are directed in anxious expectation towards the east, from the mountains of Judæa as well as from *Seir*; inasmuch as, for the one, there is being accomplished there a divine judgment upon the foes of its oppressed people,

¹ Isa. lxiii. 1-6 shows retrospectively how correct this is,—a proof of the instructive character of this and the following observations, although the point of ultimate fulfilment fixed in ch. xxi. 16 is at variance with the direct and close connection of the three *massa's* (*Del*).

whilst the other sees the approach of a national calamity. At length Babylon falls. Horsemen bring the tidings to the west. They are either Arabs flying from the scene, or the victors themselves, who are coming to chastise such tribes as were hostile in their disposition, after Babylon itself had fallen. In that flat arid desert, without any fortified places, there lies the great enchanting oasis of *el-Goph* with the city of *Dumah*, four *Delul*-marches to the south-west of Babylon. On a general flight from the localities of the *Sawad* and the tents on the Euphrates, this would be the first place in which men and flocks could find a permanent rest. Now, since it is extremely probable that Cyrus would send his troop of camel-riders against the Arabs immediately after the conquest of Babylon, to secure the respect of these troublesome neighbours at the very outset; *Dumah*, the most important *Hadirah* of the Ishmaelites, is hardly likely to have been spared. One proof of its importance at that time is the fact, that it was thought worthy of a separate *massa*. The cry from Seir (ver. 11) may be accounted for from the fact, that Edom and *Dumah* were then standing in the very close relation to one another which we have already spoken of as probable. The answer given to those who inquire whether the evil has not come to an end with the fall of Babel and *Dumah*, is that it has only just begun. "The morning came, but also the night;" *i.e.* your morning of prosperity was the existencoe of the Chaldean empire, your night of calamity has begun with its overthrow. "Would ye know more, only inquire! Come back once more!" These words are words of sarcasm. The persons inquiring knew quite enough when they heard the answer, "The morning came, and also the night;" but the prophet calls after them: "Is my reply not clear enough? Do ye want to know something more definite about this night and what else it will bring you?" Assuming the connection between *Massa* 1 and 2, this is the explanation.

In the third *massa* the war spreads over the rest of the desert, as far west as to the neighbourhood of the mountains of Seir. It begins by scaring away the caravans from the roads of commerce. As their flight went past *Temah*, we are tempted to regard their owners the *Dedanim* as inhabitants of the before-mentioned city of *Dedan* (Jer. xlix. 8), which is

associated with *Temah* in Jer. xxv. 23, and must be regarded as the principal seat of the Keturæan tribe of the same name (Gen. xxv. 3). The sixteen Keturæan tribes formed a complex of small kindred peoples, who, to use an antiquated term, inhabited Arabia Petræa (Stony Arabia), *i.e.* the land of the *Harra* from the borders of Edom to *Medina*, and from the Elanitic Gulf to the mountains of *Aga*, having villages and small towns in spots capable of cultivation, and carrying on the rearing of camels in the valleys of the mountains and in *Wâ'r* and commerce on the Red Sea, and who, with the great poverty of their land, will most likely have engaged in the transport of such articles of commerce as they found in the neighbouring harbours and the different stations on the inland roads. The latter is affirmed in Isa. lx. 6 of *Midian* and *Ephah*, and in Gen. xxxvii. 36 of *Medan*; and caravans of *Dedan* might therefore be intended here. But these are not mentioned anywhere else; and as the city itself was certainly not one of sufficient importance for the driving away of its caravans to be regarded as the event of great moment, with which the *massa* would evidently introduce the great desert war, we have rather to think simply of the *Dedan* who are mentioned in Gen. x. 7 in the table of nations, and therefore belonged to the *great* nations of the ancient world within the circle of the biblical history. These *Dedan*, also called *Beni Dedan* in Ezek. xxvii. 15, were not Shemites, but a branch of the Cushite stem of *Ra'ma*. Another branch was called *Sheba*. The name *Cush* is generally regarded as a very wide geographical term. It was once thought that the Israelites included under this one name all the southern lands of the then known world—that is to say, not only Ethiopia, but also southern Arabia and the eastern lands as far as India,—so that Cushites were found on the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and even in the Higaz. But there is really nothing at all in those passages of the Bible which bear upon this question, to compel us to go beyond the limits of north-eastern Africa. According to Gen. ii. 13 (if we take the *Gihon* to be the southern Nile, the *Bach'r el-abyad*, and understand סוּבַּח in its true signification, “to flow round”), the complex of tribes called *Cush* inhabited the eastern country washed by the upper Nile as far as the southern frontier of Egypt, *i.e.* to the city of *Swen* (Ezek.

xxix. 10), the present Aswân,¹ including the adjoining stretch of coast (Ezek. xxx. 9), *i.e.* the interior and coast-lands of *Nuba*, *Bigga*, *Alwa*, *Habesh*, *Berbera*, and *Zeng*. As the three different tribes of *Ra'ma*, *Dedan*, and *Seba* carried on trading operations with Syria, their settlements must certainly have reached to the sea-coast, and therefore embraced the Troglo-dytice of the ancients almost from *Berenice* to the promontory of *Deire*. If they stretched still farther over a portion of the Berbera coast beyond the straits, it was very likely the *Ra'ma* who dwelt there; for the Bible only mentions them once, and that apparently with the intention of naming a people *very far off*, who carried on trade with Tyre.²

We should be brought to the same conclusion, if among the different productions mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 22 we had to refer "the best of all spices" to *Ra'ma*, for the whole of the coast-land on both sides of the promontory of *Ἀρώματα* (Ptol. Wilb. p. 300) was celebrated in antiquity for its costly spices.³ The *Sheba*, on the other hand, must have dwelt upon the Abyssinian Gulf, for Strabo (xvii. 4) mentions as in close proximity to the present seaport town of *Massaua*, not only a harbour called *Saba*, which he describes after *Artemidorus* as the very great city of *Saba*, but also a Sabæan mouth; and

¹ According to *Yâkût*, this town is more properly called *Swân* in Arabic, which approaches more nearly to the Hebrew שֹׁאֵן and the Latin *Syène*. Hence arose the name *Aswân* in the mouths of the people.

² There are some who seek the *Ra'ma*-people in the *Ῥέγαμα πόλις* (Ptol. Wilb. p. 405) on the north-east coast of *'Omân*, and place the *Dedan* to the north of this towards *Bahrein*. But the city of Ptol. answers rather to the رَجَام of the Arabian geographers, whereas רעמה written in Greek would read *Ῥάμαθα*, *Ῥάμτα*, or *Ῥάγματα*. Moreover, if we put the *Ra'ma* and *Dedan* on the Persian Gulf, would it not be necessary to put the closely related *Sheba* there as well? Do we not find them associated with *Ra'ma* in Ezek. xxvii. 22, and with *Dedan* in Ezek. xxxviii. 13? But the שֵׁבָא (Sheba) again are closely bound up with their cousins the סְבָא (Seba); and, according to Ps. lxxii. 10, must not be separated from them. Now, happily, in Isa. xlv. 14 we have a statement concerning the latter which proves them to be Nubians. How can there be any doubt, therefore, as to the land to which the whole fraternity must be assigned?

³ In *Yâkût* under *Bahar Zeng* we read: The coast of the Zeng Sea, as far as the land of Berbera in the neighbourhood of Aden, and the adjacent islands have a luxuriant growth of sandal-wood. of black and

although it may possibly be a rare thing for the name of a great people to be given to a city or a river, this is easily conceivable in the case of a harbour or the mouth of a river, inasmuch as the harbour and river of the *Sheba* may have been the river and harbour *κατ' ἐξοχήν* to foreign sailors, as being either the only ones there, or at any rate those of greatest importance. This port with its surrounding country must have constituted an integral, because an indispensable, part of the primeval state of *Meroë*, so memorable in the history of civilisation; and the *Sheba* (שֶׁבָא) will have been not only the inhabitants of the line of coast, but also those of the insular kingdom, for the queen of this people (1 Kings x. 1 sqq.) is called in Jos. *Ant.* viii. 6, 5 the ruler of Ethiopia. There is no ground whatever for the favourite combination of *Meroë* with סֶבָא (*Seba*),¹ or for assigning the queen of *Sheba* (מַלְכַּת־שֶׁבָא, 1 Kings x.) to the Sabæans of Yemen (Gen. x. 28). The latter were probably at all times cultivators of the soil in the mountains, and poor breeders of camels (nomads) in the desert. The export of incense alone could never bring them wealth, with the strong competition of other lands; and with the few wants of the southern Arabian they never attained a high degree of cultivation, even in the most flourishing period of the Arabian tribes. The ruins of ancient buildings, which are met with in western Yemen, recal with their colossal forms the temples and pyramids of Nubia, and can only be regarded as witnesses of Ethiopian culture, since this part of the Arabian peninsula was frequently subject to the neighbouring country, and even

white ebony, and of *kana*; on the coast they also gather amber, which is found here and nowhere else. The *Berbera*-land lies between the *Habesh* and *Zeng*, and the people must not be confounded with the Berberians of the west. The neighbouring island of *Sokotra* exports myrrh and the *Dem-el-achâwen*, a gum, which is only found upon this island, and is there called *katir*. It is sold in two different qualities, viz. as a natural unadulterated resinous dropping of a red colour, and also as an artificial production with spurious additions.

¹ This combination is made on the strength of the passage in Jos. *Ant.* ii. 10, 2; but then Josephus is not speaking of *Seba*, but of *Sheba*. The LXX. place *Seba* in northern Nubia. The name seems also to have been pointed *Sôba*; and this calls to mind Strabo's Ἀστασόβα; ("Soba-river"), which appears to have fallen into the Nile to the west of the Abyssinian mountains.

received colonies from thence. The romantic statements of the ancients concerning the treasures of the Sabæans of Arabia may be accounted for, partly from the utter ignorance of a land, which passed under the name of *Arabia Eudæmon* (probably the Greek form of חִימֶן = *Yemen*) as the embodiment of all that was valuable, partly from the fact that the Cushite Sabæans were confounded with the Joktanite tribe of the same name, and partly from the simple fact that statements relating to the former were transferred to the latter. And even where the distinction was preserved by the ancients, modern writers have confounded them, as the articles *Sheba* and *Seba* in Winer's *Real-Wörterbuch* will show. As the Jewish nation apparently came into close contact with none of the Joktanitish tribes (except perhaps on the voyages to *Ophir*), the Arabian *Seba* are mentioned much less frequently in the Bible than is commonly supposed. It is different with the Cushites, who must have been brought down to the sea very early by their river-navigation (compare Isa. xviii. 1, 2), and who would command the Red Sea down to the time of the Nabatæans. The queen of Sheba certainly came to Solomon partly with the intention of connecting herself with a monarch, through whose harbours on the Elanitic Gulf the trade of her own people with Palestine, Syria, Gaza, Tyre, and the Mediterranean was to a great extent, and during war with Egypt exclusively, carried on. The principal exports of the Ethiopian harbours were negro slaves of both sexes, ivory, ebony, cinnamon, amber, myrrh, sandal-wood (aloe), incense, topaz, emeralds, and, above all, refined gold (compare Strabo's *Beschreibung von Troglodytice und Meroë*; also *Ya'kubi liber regionum*, ed. A. W. T. Yuynboll, 1861, p. 121 sqq.). According to the latter authority, the gold mines of Ethiopia excited the same attractive power in the earliest times of Islam as those of California in our own day. Nearly all these articles of commerce are associated in the Bible with the Cushite tribes already named, and most frequently with the *Sheba* (the chief of these tribes, the Cushites *par excellence*) and the *Dedan*.

The latter are placed, along with Sheba, among the rich and powerful nations carrying on a maritime trade in Ezek. xxxviii. 13; and in ch. xxvii. 15, 20, they are described as trading with Tyre in ivory, ebony, and tapestry. The first

two articles are still specifically articles of Ethiopian export, and not Indian at all, as those who look for the *Dedan* on the Persian Gulf suppose. Strabo (xvii. 2) calls ebony a common production of *Meroë*. In the earliest period of Islam, 'Aidab, to the south of Berenice, was an important harbour for the export of Nubian ivory and gold (*vid. Ya'kubi ut sup.*). And the tapestries were either of Ethiopian or Egyptian manufacture. The Nubian wool was peculiarly suitable for tapestries, because it was not loose, but more of the nature of hair, like that of the Angola sheep. The Egyptian tapestries, which were probably made of this wool, were highly valued in ancient times; and we even find them mentioned in the tariff of Diocletian (compare W. H. Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien*, Paris 1864, p. 20, with note 6, where testimonies of ancient writers to the value of these tapestries are given).

If we take the *Dedan* to be the most northerly of these Cushites, it is because we find their caravans in Syria. It is true that articles of commerce belonging to the *Dedanians* might be taken by ship to Suez or *Æla*, and when transported thence by camels to Tyre or Babylon be called caravans of the *Dedanians*, just as at the present day the caravan which travels periodically from Bagdad to Damascus is called the *Persian* caravan, because it carries Persian goods. But we assume that the *Dedanian* caravans came from Africa itself, which was by no means impossible, if the people on the northern frontier of Nubia dwelt upon the Gulf of Berenice, under the *Allakî* mountains. Their settlements may even have extended, either originally or at the time to which the *massa* of Isaiah refers, still farther north over a portion of the *Mokattam* (*i.e.* the mountain range running from *Aswân* to *Suez*). As all the world of all ages desired to possess "the golden calf" (Jer. xlv. 20) of Egypt, so did also, and even pre-eminently, its southern neighbour. Egypt had often Ethiopian rulers, and several times during the existence of the Israelitish kingdoms. A dynasty of this kind would be sustained by such of their tribe as had established themselves with armed force in the land, and would rule there till they were forced out by another invasion, or decimated and lost amongst a new people. We might assume, even if the Bible said nothing about it, that in this way an Ethiopian population gradually covered the whole

of the *Mokattam*, and possibly the peninsula of Sinai also, just as even at the present day the more important tribes of the latter are regarded as immigrants and Egyptians. But the Bible also mentions these Cushites. The places and encampments plundered by Asa, according to 2 Chron. xiv. 14, 15, on the south-western frontier of Judæa, must from the context have been Cushite; for it is not stated there, that even Philistines or Arabians had made common cause with the *Zerah* who invaded Judah out of Egypt (or, as others suppose, across the *Mokattam* out of Nubia), and had been chastised by Asa on that account. Later still, under *Joram's* reign, the Philistines and Arabs there did indeed plunder Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxi. 16), but they did so '*al-yad Kūshīm*, "in alliance with the Cushites," who had found their permanent settlements on the N.E. frontier of Egypt, and probably passed as subjects of that land. If we confine the true land of the Egyptians to the banks of the Nile and the Delta, as we ought, the eastern mountains of Cushite Cabilæ (called *Arabes*, "nomads," even by the ancients; cf. "the tents of Cushan" in Hab. iii. 7) and the harbours of the Red Sea from *Suez* downwards belonged to trading tribes of Cushites.

The *massā' ba'rābh* in ch. xxi. 13-15 agrees with this view of the land and population of the Dedanians. The caravans are on the road to Babylon, bringing the productions of Ethiopia as contributions towards the demand made for articles of luxury in the enormous capital. The road leads by Petra, Ma'ân, and Korâkir, and one somewhat farther south by *Duma* and *Sukâka*. There, probably not far from Duma, they learn how near the enemy are, and flee, leaving the open road and taking the direction towards *Tema* through the protecting labyrinth of the Downs. Between this city and *Duma*, as many from both places have assured me in the most trustworthy manner, there is no direct road, nor has there ever been one.¹ And over all this ground you do not find a single drop of water either in winter or summer, since the flying sand itself renders it impossible to provide cisterns for collecting the rain-water. Yet the distance between the two is not more than forty hours,

¹ The road led from *Tema*, by *Korakir*, *Ezrak*, and *Kasam*, to the north; at *Ezrak* one branched off to the west (*Bozrah* and *Ammân*), at *Kasam* another branched off to *Damascus*.

since Tema lies to the N.E. of *Tebûk*, and not to the S.E., as marked upon our maps; and for this reason the Arabian geographers do not even reckon it as belonging to the Peninsula, but place it in the Syrian desert, and some even in Syria itself.¹ Now if the *ya'ar* (ver. 13), into which the Dedanians fled, was the Arabian *عرعر*, their flight ended at Tema; for the great *Wa'âr* of Arabia, i.e. the land of the *Harra*, commences there. And if it is "forest," the prophet had no doubt the western coast mountains in his mind; for since the mountains of *Seir* certainly derived their name from their original forests (even now, according to *Burckhardt* and others, there are still many holm-oaks there), the *Hisma* were very likely wooded as well. According to a statement in *Yâkût's Geograph. Lexicon* (s. v. *Iram*), the higher portions of them, the *Gebel Iram*, were covered with firs (*Snobar*) even in later times. Their seeking for a hiding-place in the *Wa'âr* or forest is contrasted with their spending the night by the wells of the free open steppe, where the caravans encamp when there is no danger apprehended.

A few words in conclusion as to ver. 13 according to the LXX. The rendering of the words *אֶרְמוֹת דְּדָנִים* by *ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Δαιδάν* seems to have been influenced by a circumstance, to which it may not be uninteresting to call attention. There lies to the west of *Tema* a city in ruins called *Dedan*, which was probably inhabited at the time of the Seventy and well known to them, so that the *'ôr'chôth D'dânîm* suggested to their minds the road which runs from Tema to this city. It is the same road of which the *Onomasticon* says, *Δαιδάν, ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ, ὡς Ἱερεμίας. παράκειται τῇ Φανῇ ὡς ἀπὸ σημεῖων δ' πρὸς Βορρᾶν*. Only if Eusebius understood by *Φανά* the place called *Punon* in Num. xxxiii. 42, in the northern half of the valley of the *Araba*, he had not formed a correct idea of the actual situation of this city; for in *Yâkût's Geographical Lexicon* it is said that "*Dedan* was formerly a fine city on the border of the *Belka* towards the *Higaz*, which is now desolate." The *Kitab el-merâsid*, in which, as is well known, there are innumerable typographical errors, substitutes for the name of

¹ See my paper on "Northern Arabia and the Syrian Desert," in the *Zeitschrift für d. allg. Erdkunde*, 1865.

the city the Persian word *Dedeban*, and reads incorrectly "road" instead of "frontier." The true reading must have been either "in the *Belka*, on the high road, near to *Higaz*," or "belonging to *Higaz*, on the road to the *Belka*;" but in either case *Yâkût* would have expressed himself differently. Now, as neither the *Araba*-valley, nor *Gibal* and the *Serâh* mountains (of *Seir*) were reckoned as belonging to the *Belka*, whereas the more easterly places, such as *Ma'an*, *Edruh*, *Gerba*, *Muta*, and others, were, the statement made by *Yâkût* leads us to assume that a traveller from *Muta* to *Tebuk* would have the city of *Dedan* on one side, and that the right side, since all cultivation ceases to the left of the road. It is very natural to connect it with *Dedan*, the Keturæan city mentioned above; and the fact that the latter is mentioned twice in connection with Edom (viz. in Jer. xlix. 8 and Ezek. xxv. 13, probably because it was associated with Edom during the continuance of the Chaldean empire) may have led Eusebius to place it in the *Arabah*. The idea of its having belonged originally to Edom may be dismissed without hesitation; for all the settlements of the Keturæans are certainly to be thought of as beyond the ancient limits of Edom, and even *Dedan* is not mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. among the kindred and districts of Edom, whereas in Jer. xxv. 21, 23, it is expressly separated from Edom and connected with two other cities of the desert, viz. *Tema* and *Buz*, because, even if temporarily belonging to Edom, it may have had much in common with the latter in position, mode of life, municipal constitution, and history. The farther it was removed from Edom proper, i.e. the more it lay to the south of Aila, the more does its situation agree with Ezek. xxv. 13, where it is placed in contrast with *Teman*, which was situated, according to Eusebius, to the north of Petra. Although it cannot be affirmed of any place lying farther south than Aila that it was situated in the *Belka*, the Arabian geographers, on the other hand, by no means unfrequently represented the *Higaz* as beginning at a line drawn in the latitude of Median; and I am therefore inclined to look for the ruins of *Dedan* at the eastern foot of the mountains of *Hismah*, especially as there is a valley of *Medân* there, which slopes off towards the east. This name is not met with anywhere else in the geography of Arabia, and is too striking in

this particular country for it to be possible to avoid conjecturing that it originally belonged to a ruined city situated there, which is called *Madáva* (read *Madáva*) in Ptol. (*Wilb.* p. 408), and was most probably the principal place belonging to the Keturæan tribe of *Medán* (Gen. xxv. 2).

Assuming the identity of *דָּדָן* and *الدِّدَان*, the only question that remains is, how the second could arise from the first, and how it could get the article? Both these questions are answered by the assumption that the word *d'dán*, which was almost intolerable (at any rate to an Arabic ear), was traced back to a root *דִּד* by the extension of the first syllable, and thus the termination became the forming syllable. In this way they got the form *دَعْلَان*, which is very frequent in Arabic names of places, with a really appellative signification, and such a word would very properly receive the article.¹ Eusebius adopts a shorter course. He imagines that there were originally two different names, viz. *דָּדָן* (a defective *דִּדָן*) the name of the Keturæan city, and *דָּדָן* (probably according to the form *דַּדָּן*, equivalent to *دَدَن*) that of the Cushite tribe, which he supposes to have lived in the Syrian desert; for in a different article of the *Onomasticon* from the one mentioned before he says, *Δαδάν, ἐν γῇ Κηδὰρ ὡς, Ἱερουσίας*. Whatever we may think of his double orthography, the distinction which he draws between the two tribes is at any rate supported by the biblical account, and is by no means rendered obsolete by the more modern assumption of mixed races or the variations of genealogies. The Bible calls the Cushites, *Dedan* and *Sheba*, very ancient tribes, and the two Keturæans of the same name very youthful tribes. Now if we are to take this as undeniable testimony, why may we not assume, as the real explanation of

¹ Words formed from the root *דִּד* are rare even in Arabic; but among the wandering tribes of the Syrian desert *déd* is the usual name given to the breast of a woman. As the Arab used the names of all the outward parts of the body at any rate as designations to be applied to the soil, there might be some hilly formation near *Dedan* which led to the adoption of this etymon here, although the people needed no such motive as this for giving a native sound to a foreign word.

the sameness of the names, that the father of the latter called the two brothers by the names of two flourishing tribes, since the name of the genealogical founder of any people was regarded by the Shemites as a name of good omen? Or why may not the mother have been a Cushite, who called her two sons by the names of the most powerful tribes of her own people? The Keturæans with their uninterrupted intercourse with the African coast, like the modern dwellers upon the Red Sea, are sure to have had a large number of Cushite wives, who would often give exotic names to their children. Moreover, there is an Arabic proverb which warns us against inquiring too minutely into the why and wherefore of Semitic proper names. Such inquiries are of very doubtful worth from a scientific point of view, and only lead to frivolities. Any one, however, who thinks similarity of names quite a sufficient reason for trying to combine the most heterogeneous elements, can show his skill in this art of cookery in the most splendid manner upon the genealogies of the Arabs. Even at the present day there are probably thirty tribes or branches of tribes called *Sa'd* in the Peninsula, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, and in Egypt, who have nothing whatever in common except the name; and quite as many with the names *Hamdân*, *Châlid*, *Ali*, *Gânim*, *Hasan*, *Muhammed*, and so forth.

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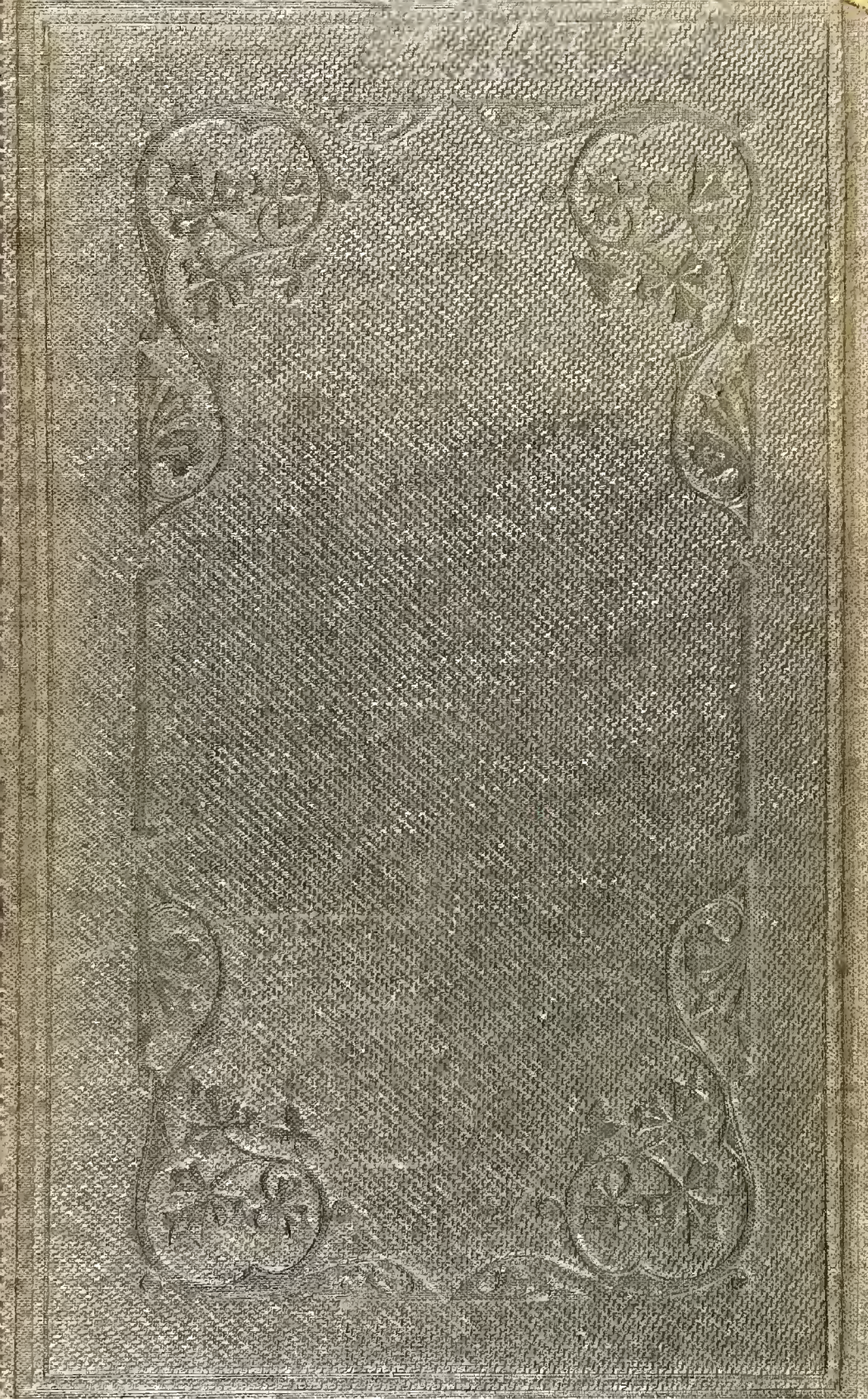
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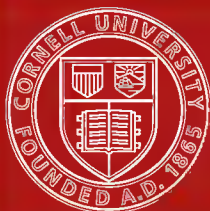
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THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAH.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE TIMES OF JEREMIAH.

T was in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, B.C. 629, that Jeremiah was called to be a prophet. At that time the kingdom of Judah enjoyed unbroken peace. Since the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's host before the gates of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, B.C. 714, Judah had no longer had much to fear from the imperial power of Assyria. The reverse then sustained before Jerusalem, just eight years after the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, had terribly crushed the might of the great empire. It was but a few years after that disaster till the Medes under Deïoces asserted their independence against Assyria; and the Babylonians too, though soon reduced to subjection again, rose in insurrection against Sennacherib. Sennacherib's energetic son and successor Esarhaddon did indeed succeed in re-establishing for a time the tottering throne. While holding Babylon, Elam, Susa, and Persia to their allegiance, he restored the ascendancy of the empire in the western provinces, and brought Lower Syria, the districts of Syria that lay on the sea coast, under the Assyrian yoke. But the rulers who succeeded him, Samuges and the second Sardanapalus, were wholly unable to offer any effective resistance to the growing power of the Medes, or to check the steady decline of the once so mighty empire. Cf. M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterth.* i. S. 707 ff. of 3 Aufl. Under Esarhaddon an Assyrian marauding army again made an inroad into Judah, and carried King Manasseh captive to Babylon;

but, under what circumstances we know not, he soon regained his freedom, and was permitted to return to Jerusalem and remount his throne (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11–13). From this time forward the Assyrians appeared no more in Judah. Nor did it seem as if Judah had any danger to apprehend from Egypt, the great southern empire; for the power of Egypt had been greatly weakened by intestine dissensions and civil wars. It is true that Psammetichus, after the overthrow of the dodecarchy, began to raise Egypt's head amongst the nations once more, and to extend his sway beyond the boundaries of the country; but we learn much as to his success in this direction from the statement of Herodotus (ii. 157), that the capture of the Philistine city of Ashdod was not accomplished until after a twenty-nine years' siege. Even if, with Duncker, we refer the length of time here mentioned to the total duration of the war against the Philistines, we are yet enabled clearly to see that Egypt had not then so far recovered her former might as to be able to menace the kingdom of Judah with destruction, had Judah but faithfully adhered to the Lord its God, and in Him sought its strength. This, unhappily, Judah utterly failed to do, notwithstanding all the zeal wherewith the godly King Josiah laboured to secure for his kingdom that foremost element of its strength.

In the eighth year of his reign, "while he was yet young," *i.e.* when but a lad of sixteen years of age, he began to seek the God of David his father; and in the twelfth year of his reign he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem of the high places and Astartes, and the carved and molten images (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3). He carried on the work of reforming the public worship without intermission, until every public trace of idolatry was removed, and the lawful worship of Jahveh was re-established. In the eighteenth year of his reign, upon occasion of some repairs in the temple, the book of the law of Moses was discovered there, was brought and read before him. Deeply agitated by the curses with which the transgressors of the law were threatened, he then, together with the elders of Judah and the people itself, solemnly renewed the covenant with the Lord. To set a seal upon the renewal of the covenant, he instituted a passover, to which not only all Judah was invited, but also all remnants of the ten tribes that had been left behind

in the land of Israel (2 Kings xxii. 3-xxiii. 24; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4-xxxv. 19). To Josiah there is given in 2 Kings xxiii. 25 the testimony that like unto him there was no king before him, that turned to Jahveh with all his heart, all his soul, and all his might, according to all the law of Moses; yet this most godly of all the kings of Judah was unable to heal the mischiefs which his predecessors Manasseh and Amon had by their wicked government created, or to crush the germs of spiritual and moral corruption which could not fail to bring about the ruin of the kingdom. And so the account of Josiah's reign and of his efforts towards the revival of the worship of Jahveh, given in 2 Kings xxiii. 26, is concluded: "Yet Jahveh ceased not from His great wrath wherewith He was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations wherewith Manasseh provoked Him; and Jahveh said: Judah also will I put away from my face as I have put away Israel, and will cast off this city which I have chosen, Jernsalem, and the house of which I said, My name shall dwell there."

The kingdom of Israel had come to utter ruin in consequence of its apostasy from the Lord its God, and on account of the calf-worship which had been established by Jeroboam, the founder of the kingdom, and to which, from political motives, all his successors adhered. The history of Judah too is summed up in a perpetual alternation of apostasy from the Lord and return to Him. As early as the time of heathen-hearted Ahaz idolatry had raised itself to all but unbounded ascendancy; and through the untheocratic policy of this wicked king, Judah had sunk into a dependency of Assyria. It would have shared the fate of the sister kingdom even then, had not the accession of Hezekiah, Ahaz's godly son, brought about a return to the faithful covenant God. The reformation then inaugurated not only turned aside the impending ruin, but converted this very ruin into a glorious deliverance such as Israel had not seen since its exodus from Egypt. The marvellous overthrow of the vast Assyrian host at the very gates of Jerusalem, wrought by the angel of the Lord in one night by means of a sore pestilence, abundantly testified that Judah, despite its littleness and inconsiderable earthly strength, might have been able to hold its own against all the onsets of the great empire, if it had only

kept true to the covenant God and looked for its support from His almighty hand alone. But the repentant loyalty to the faithful and almighty God of the covenant hardly lasted until Hezekiah's death. The heathen party amongst the people gained again the upper hand under Hezekiah's son Manasseh, who ascended the throne in his twelfth year; and idolatry, which had been only outwardly suppressed, broke out anew and, during the fifty-five years' reign of this most godless of all the kings of Israel, reached a pitch Judah had never yet known. Manasseh not only restored the high places and altars of Baal which his father had destroyed, he built altars to the whole host of heaven in both courts of the temple, and went so far as to erect an image of Asherah in the house of the Lord; he devoted his son to Moloch, practised witchcraft and soothsaying more than ever the Amorites had done, and by his idols seduced Israel to sin. Further, by putting to death such prophets and godly persons as resisted his impious courses, he shed very much innocent blood, until he had filled Jerusalem therewith from end to end (2 Kings xxi. 1-16; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1-10). His humbling himself before God when in captivity in Babylon, and his removal of the images out of the temple upon his return to Jerusalem and to his throne (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ff., 15 ff.), passed by and left hardly a trace behind; and his godless son Amon did but continue his father's sins and multiply the guilt (2 Kings xxi. 19-23; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21-23). Thus Judah's spiritual and moral strength was so broken that a thorough-going conversion of the people at large to the Lord and His law was now no longer to be looked for. Hence the godly Josiah accomplished by his reformation nothing more than the suppression of the grosser forms of idol-worship and the restoration of the formal temple-services; he could neither put an end to the people's estrangement at heart from God, nor check with any effect that moral corruption which was the result of the heart's forsaking the living God. And so, even after Josiah's reform of public worship, we find Jeremiah complaining: "As many as are thy cities, so many are thy gods, Judah; and as many as are the streets in Jerusalem, so many altars have ye made to shame, to burn incense to Baal" (ii. 28, xi. 13). And godlessness showed itself in all classes of the people. "Go

about in the streets of Jerusalem," Jeremiah exclaims, "and look and search if there is one that doth right and asks after honesty, and I will pardon her (saith the Lord). I thought, it is but the meaner sort that are foolish, for they know not the way of Jahveh, the judgment of their God. I will then get me to the great, and will speak with them, for they know the way of Jahveh, the right of their God. But they have all broken the yoke, burst the bonds" (Jer. v. 1-5). "Small and great are greedy for gain; prophet and priest use deceit" (vi. 13). This being the spiritual condition of the people, we cannot wonder that immediately after the death of Josiah, unblushing apostasy appeared again as well in public idolatry as in injustice and sin of every kind. Jehoiakim did that which was evil in the eyes of Jahveh even as his fathers had done (2 Kings xxiii. 37; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6). His eyes and his heart were set upon nothing but on gain and on innocent blood, to shed it, and on oppression and on violence, to do it, Jer. xxii. 17. And his successors on the throne, both his son Jehoiachin and his brother Zedekiah, walked in his footsteps (2 Kings xxiv. 5, 19; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 12), although Zedekiah did not equal his brother Jehoiakim in energy for carrying out evil, but let himself be ruled by those who were about him. For Judah's persistence in rebellion against God and His law, the Lord ceased not from His great wrath; but carried out the threatening proclamation to king and people by the prophetess Hulda, when Josiah sent to consult her for himself, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of the newly found book of the law: "Behold, I bring evil in this place, and upon its inhabitants, all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read: because that they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other gods, to provoke me with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath is kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched" (2 Kings xxii. 16 ff.).

This evil began to fall on the kingdom in Jehoiakim's days. Josiah was not to see the coming of it. Because, when he heard the curses of the law, he humbled himself before the Lord, rent his raiment and wept before Him, the Lord vouchsafed to him the promise that He would gather him to his fathers in peace, that his eyes should not look on the evil God would

bring on Jerusalem (2 Kings xxii. 19 f.); and this pledge God fulfilled to him, although they that were to execute God's righteous justice were already equipped, and though towards the end of his reign the storm clouds of judgment were gathering ominously over Judah.

While Josiah was labouring in the reformation of public worship, there had taken place in Central Asia the events which brought about the fall of the Assyrian empire. The younger son of Esarhaddon, the second Sardanapalus, had been succeeded in the year 626 by his son Saracus. Since the victorious progress of the Medes under Cyaxares, his dominion had been limited to the cradle of the empire, Assyria, to Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Cilicia. To all appearance in the design of preserving Babylonia to the empire, Saracus appointed Nabopolassar, a Babylonian by birth and sprung from the Chaldean stock, to be governor of that province. This man found opportunity to aggrandize himself during a war between the Medes and the Lydians. An eclipse of the sun took place on the 30th September 610, while a battle was going on. Both armies in terror gave up the contest; and, seconded by Syennesis, who governed Cilicia under the Assyrian supremacy, Nabopolassar made use of the favourable temper which the omen had excited in both camps to negotiate a peace between the contending peoples, and to institute a coalition of Babylonia and Media against Assyria. To confirm this alliance, Amytis, the daughter of Cyaxares, was given in marriage to Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar; and the war against Assyria was opened without delay by the advance against Nineveh in the spring of 609 of the allied armies of Medes and Babylonians. But two years had been spent in the siege of that most impregnable city, and two battles had been lost, before they succeeded by a night attack in utterly routing the Assyrians, pursuing the fugitives to beneath the city walls. The fortification would long have defied their assaults, had not a prodigious spring flood of the Tigris, in the third year of the war, washed down a part of the walls lying next the river, and so made it possible for the besiegers to enter the city, to take it, and reduce it to ashes. The fall of Nineveh in the year 607 overthrew the Assyrian empire; and when the conquerors

proceeded to distribute their rich booty, all the land lying on the western bank of the Tigris fell to the share of Nabopolassar of Babylon. But the occupation by the Babylonians of the provinces which lay west of the Euphrates was contested by the Egyptians. Before the campaign of the allied Medes and Babylonians against Nineveh, Pharaoh Necho, the warlike son of Psammetichus, had advanced with his army into Palestine, having landed apparently in the bay of Acco, on his way to war by the Euphrates with Assyria, Egypt's hereditary enemy. To oppose his progress King Josiah marched against the Egyptian; fearing as he did with good reason, that if Syria fell into Necho's power, the end had come to the independence of Judah as a kingdom. A battle was fought in the plain near Megiddo; the Jewish army was defeated, and Josiah mortally wounded, so that he died on the way to Jerusalem (2 Kings xxiii. 29 f.; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 f.). In his stead the people of the land raised his second son Jehoahaz to the throne; but Pharaoh came to Jerusalem, took Jehoahaz prisoner, and had him carried to Egypt, where he closed his life in captivity, imposed a fine on the country, and set up Eliakim, Josiah's eldest son, to be king as his vassal under the name of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiii. 30-35; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1-4). Thereafter Necho pursued his march through Syria, and subjected to himself the western provinces of the Assyrian empire; and he had penetrated to the fortified town of Carchemish (*Kirkesion*) on the Euphrates when Nineveh succumbed to the united Medes and Babylonians.—Immediately upon the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, Nabopolassar, now an old man no longer able to sustain the fatigues of a new campaign, entrusted the command of the army to his vigorous son Nebuchadnezzar, to the end that he might wage war against Pharaoh Necho and wrest from the Egyptians the provinces they had possessed themselves of (cf. Berosi *fragm. in Joseph. Antt.* x. 11. 1, and *c. Ap.* i. 19). In the year 607, the third year of Jehoiakim's reign, Nebuchadnezzar put the army entrusted to him in motion, and in the next year, the fourth of Jehoiakim's reign, B.C. 606, he crushed Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish on the Euphrates. Pursuing the fleeing enemy, he pressed irresistibly forwards into Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in the same year, made Jehoiakim

his dependant, and carried off to Babel a number of the Jewish youths of highest rank, young Daniel amongst them, together with part of the temple furniture (2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 f.; Dan. i. 1 f.). He had gone as far on his march as the boundaries of Egypt when he heard of the death of his father Nabopolassar at Babylon. In consequence of this intelligence he hastened to Babylon the shortest way through the desert, with but few attendants, with the view of mounting the throne and seizing the reins of government, while he caused the army to follow slowly with the prisoners and the booty (*Beros. l.c.*).

This, the first taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, is the commencement of the seventy years of Judah's Chaldean bondage, foretold by Jeremiah in xxv. 11, shortly before the Chaldeans invaded Judah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim; and with the subjection of Judah to Nebuchadnezzar's supremacy the dissolution of the kingdom began. For three years Jehoiakim remained subject to the king of Babylon; in the fourth year he rebelled against him. Nebuchadnezzar, who with the main body of his army was engaged in the interior of Asia, lost no time in sending into the rebellious country such forces of Chaldeans as were about the frontiers, together with contingents of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites; and these troops devastated Judah throughout the remainder of Jehoiakim's reign (2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2). But immediately upon the death of Jehoiakim, just as his son had mounted the throne, Nebuchadnezzar's generals advanced against Jerusalem with a vast army and invested the city in retribution for Jehoiakim's defection. During the siege Nebuchadnezzar joined the army. Jehoiachin, seeing the impossibility of holding out any longer against the besiegers, resolved to go out to the king of Babylon, taking with him the queen-mother, the princes of the kingdom, and the officers of the court, and to make unconditional surrender of himself and the city. Nebuchadnezzar made the king and his train prisoners; and, after plundering the treasures of the royal palace and the temple, carried captive to Babylon the king, the leading men of the country, the soldiers, the smiths and artisans, and, in short, every man in Jerusalem who was capable of bearing arms. He left in the land only the

poorest sort of the people, from whom no insurrectionary attempts were to be feared; and having taken an oath of fealty from Mattaniah, the uncle of the captive king, he installed him, under the name of Zedekiah, as vassal king over a land that had been robbed of all that was powerful or noble amongst its inhabitants (2 Kings xxiv. 8-17; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10). Nor did Zedekiah either keep true to the oath of allegiance he had sworn and pledged to the king of Babylon. In the fourth year of his reign, ambassadors appeared from the neighbouring states of Edom, Ammon, Moab, Tyre, and Sidon, seeking to organize a vast coalition against the Chaldean supremacy (Jer. xxvii. 3, xxviii. 1). Their mission was indeed unsuccessful; for Jeremiah crushed the people's hope of a speedy return of the exiles in Babylon by repeated and emphatic declaration that the Babylonian bondage must last seventy years (Jer. xxvii.-xxix.). In the same year Zedekiah visited Babylon, apparently in order to assure his liege lord of his loyalty and to deceive him as to his projects (Jer. li. 59). But in Zedekiah's ninth year Hophra (Apries), the grandson of Necho, succeeded to the crown of Egypt; and when he was arming for war against Babylon, Zedekiah, trusting in the help of Egypt (Ezek. xvii. 15), broke the oath of fealty he had sworn (Ezek. xvii. 16), and tried to shake off the Babylonian yoke. But straightway a mighty Chaldean army marched against Jerusalem, and in the tenth month of that same year established a blockade round Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 1). The Egyptian army advanced to relieve the beleaguered city, and for a time compelled the Chaldeans to raise the siege; but it was in the end defeated by the Chaldeans in a pitched battle (Jer. xxxvii. 5 ff.), and the siege was again resumed with all rigour. For long the Jews made stout resistance, and fought with the courage of despair, Zedekiah and his advisers being compelled to admit that this time Nebuchadnezzar would show no mercy. The Hebrew slaves were set free that they might do military service; the stone buildings were one after another torn down that their materials might serve to strengthen the walls; and in this way for about a year and a half all the enemy's efforts to master the strong city were in vain. Famine had reached its extremity when, in the fourth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, the Chaldean batter-

ing rams made a breach in the northern wall, and through this the besiegers made their way into the lower city. The defenders withdrew to the temple hill and the city of Zion; and, when the Chaldeans began to storm these strongholds during the night, Zedekiah, under cover of darkness, fled with the rest of his soldiers by the door between the two walls by the king's garden. He was, however, overtaken in the steppes of Jericho by the pursuing Chaldeans, made prisoner, and carried to Riblah in Cœle-Syria. Here Nebuchadnezzar had his headquarters during the siege of Jerusalem, and here he pronounced judgment on Zedekiah. His sons and the leading men of Judah were put to death before his eyes; he was then deprived of eyesight and carried in chains to Babylon, where he remained a prisoner till his death (2 Kings xxv. 3-7; Jer. xxxix. 2-7, lii. 6-11). A month later Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the king of Babylon's guard, came to Jerusalem to destroy the rebellious city. The principal priests and officers of the kingdom and sixty citizens were sent to the king at Riblah, and executed there. Everything of value to be found amongst the utensils of the temple was carried to Babylon, the city with the temple and palace was burnt to the ground, the walls were destroyed, and what able-bodied men were left amongst the people were carried into exile. Nothing was left in the land but a part of the poorer people to serve as vinedressers and husbandmen; and over this miserable remnant, increased a little in numbers by the return of some of those who had fled during the war into the neighbouring countries, Gedaliah the son of Alikam was appointed governor in the Chaldean interest. Jeremiah chose to stay with him amidst his countrymen. But three months afterwards Gedaliah was murdered, at the instigation of Baalis the king of the Ammonites, by one Ishmael, who was sprung from the royal stock; and thereupon a great part of the remaining population, fearing the vengeance of the Chaldeans, fled, against the prophet's advice, into Egypt (Jer. xl.-xliii.). And so the banishment of the people was now a total one, and throughout the whole period of the Chaldean domination the land was a wilderness.

Judah was now, like the ten tribes, cast out amongst the heathen out of the land the Lord had given them for an inherit-

ance, because they had forsaken Jahveh, their God, and had despised His statutes. Jerusalem, the city of the great King over all the earth, was in ruins, the house which the Lord had consecrated to His name was burnt with fire, and the people of His covenant had become a scorn and derision to all peoples. But God had not broken His covenant with Israel. Even in the law—Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxx.—He had promised that even when Israel was an outcast from his land amongst the heathen, He would remember His covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and not utterly reject the exiles; but when they had borne the punishment of their sins, would turn again their captivity, and gather them together out of the nations.

§ 2. THE PERSON OF THE PROPHET.

Concerning the life and labours of the prophet Jeremiah, we have fuller information than we have as to those of many of the other prophets. The man is very clearly reflected in his prophecies, and his life is closely interwoven with the history of Judah. We consider first the outward circumstances of the prophet's life, and then his character and mental gifts.

a. HIS OUTWARD CIRCUMSTANCES.—Jeremiah (יֵרֵמְיָהוּ, contracted יֵרֵמְיָה, *Ierepelas*, Jeremias) was the son of Hilkiah, one of the priests belonging to the priest-city Anathoth, situated about five miles north of Jerusalem, now a village called Anâta. This Hilkiah is not the high priest of that name, mentioned in 2 Kings xxii. 4 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9, as has been supposed by some of the Fathers, Rabbins, and recent commentators. This view is shown to be untenable by the indefinite מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים, i. 1. Besides, it is hardly likely that the high priest could have lived with his household out of Jerusalem, as was the case in Jeremiah's family (Jer. xxxii. 8, xxxvii. 12 ff.); and we learn from 1 Kings ii. 26 that it was priests of the house of Ithamar that lived in Anathoth, whereas the high priests belonged to the line of Eleazar and the house of Phinehas (1 Chron. xxiv. 3). Jeremiah, called to be prophet at an early age (נָעַר, i. 6), laboured in Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (B.C. 629) until the fall of the kingdom; and after the destruction of Jerusalem he continued

his work for some years longer amidst the ruins of Judah, and in Egypt amongst those of his countrymen who had fled thither (i. 2 f., xxv. 3, xl.-xliv.). His prophetic ministry falls, consequently, into the period of the internal dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, and its destruction by the Chaldeans. He had himself received a mission from the Lord to peoples and kingdoms, as well to break down and destroy, as to build and plant (i. 10). He was to fulfil this mission, in the first place, in the case of Judah, and then to the heathen peoples, in so far forth as they came in contact with the kingdom of God in Judah. The scene of his labours was Jerusalem. Here he proclaimed the word of the Lord in the courts of the temple (*e.g.* vii. 2, xxvi. 1); at the gates of the city (xvii. 19); in the king's palace (xxii. 1, xxxvii. 17); in the prison (xxxii. 1); and in other places (xviii. 1 ff., xix. 1 ff., xxvii. 2). Some commentators think that he first began as prophet in his native town of Anathoth, and that he wrought there for some time ere he visited Jerusalem; but this is in contradiction to the statement of ii. 2, that he uttered almost his very first discourse "before the ears of Jerusalem." Nor does this assumption find any support from xi. 21, xii. 5 ff. All that can be gathered from these passages is, that during his ministry he occasionally visited his native town, which lay so near Jerusalem, and preached the word of the Lord to his former fellow-citizens.

When he began his work as prophet, King Josiah had already taken in hand the extirpation of idolatry and the restoration of the worship of Jahveh in the temple; and Jeremiah was set apart by the Lord to be a prophet that he might support the godly king in this work. His task was to bring back the hearts of the people to the God of their fathers by preaching God's word, and to convert that outward return to the service of Jahveh into a thorough turning of the heart to Him, so as to rescue from destruction all who were willing to convert and be saved. Encouraged by Manasseli's sins, backsliding from the Lord, godlessness, and unrighteousness had reached in Judah such a pitch, that it was no longer possible to turn aside the judgment of rejection from the face of the Lord, to save the backsliding race from being delivered into the power of the

heathen. Yet the faithful covenant God, in divine long-suffering, granted to His faithless people still another gracious opportunity for repentance and return to Him; He gave them Josiah's reformation, and sent the prophets, because, though resolved to punish the sinful people for its stiff-necked apostasy, He would not make an utter end of it. This gives us a view point from which to consider Jeremiah's mission, and looking hence, we cannot fail to find sufficient light to enable us to understand the whole course of his labours, and the contents of his discourses.

Immediately after his call, he was made to see, under the emblem of a seething caldron, the evil that was about to break from out of the north upon all the inhabitants of the land: the families of the kingdoms of the north are to come and set their thrones before the gates of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, and through them God is to utter judgment upon Judah for its idolatry (i. 13-16). Accordingly, from the beginning of his work in the days of Josiah onwards, the prophet can never be driven from the maintenance of his position, that Judah and Jerusalem will be laid waste by a hostile nation besetting them from the north, that the people of Judah will fall by the enemy's sword, and go forth into captivity; cf. iv. 5 ff., 13 ff., 27 ff.; v. 15 ff., vi. 22 ff., etc. This nation, not particularly specified in the prophecies of the earlier period, is none other than that of the Chaldeans, the king of Babylon and his hosts. It is not the nation of the Scythians, as many commentators suppose; see the comm. on iv. 5 ff. Nevertheless he unremittingly calls upon all ranks of his people to repent, to do away with the abominable idols, and to cease from its wickedness; to plough up a new soil and not sow among thorns, lest the anger of the Lord break forth in fire and burn unquenchably (iv. 1-4; cf. vi. 8, 16, vii. 3 f., etc.). He is never weary of holding up their sins to the view of the people and its leaders, the corrupt priests, the false prophets, the godless kings and princes; this, too, he does amidst much trial both from within and from without, and without seeing any fruit of his labours (cf. xxv. 3-8). After twenty-three years of indefatigable expostulation with the people, the judgment of which he had so long warned them burst upon

the incorrigible race. The fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign (B.C. 606) forms a turning point not only in the history of the kingdom, but also in Jeremiah's work as prophet. In the year in which Jerusalem was taken for the first time, and Judah made tributary to the Chaldeans, those devastations began with which Jeremiah had so often threatened his hardened hearers; and together with it came the fulfilment of what Jeremiah had shortly before foretold, the seventy years' dominion of Babylon over Judah, and over Egypt and the neighbouring peoples (Jer. xxv. 19). For seventy years these nations are to serve the king of Babylon; but when these years are out, the king and land of the Chaldeans shall be visited, Judah shall be set free from its captivity, and shall return into its own land (xxv. 11 f., xxxvii. 6 f., xxix. 10).

The progressive fulfilment of Jeremiah's warning prophecies vindicated his character as prophet of the Lord; yet, notwithstanding, it was now that the sorest days of trial in his calling were to come. At the first taking of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar had contented himself with reducing Jehoiakim under his sway and imposing a tribute on the land, and king and people but waited and plotted for a favourable opportunity to shake off the Babylonian yoke. In this course they were encouraged by the lying prophecies of the false prophets, and the work done by these men prepared for Jeremiah sore controversies and bitter trials. At the very beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, the priests, the prophets, and the people assembled in the temple, laid hands on Jeremiah, because he had declared that Zion should share the fate of Shiloh, and that Jerusalem should be destroyed. He was by them found worthy of death, and he escaped from the power of his enemies only by the mediation of the princes of Judah, who hastened to his rescue, and reminded the people that in Hezekiah's days the prophet Micah had uttered a like prophecy, and yet had suffered nothing at the hand of the king, because he feared God. At the same time, Uriah, who had foretold the same issue of affairs, and who had fled to Egypt to escape Jehoiakim's vengeance, was forced back thence by an envoy of the king and put to death (Jer. xxvi.). Now it was that Jeremiah, by command of God, caused his assistant Baruch to write all the discourses he had

delivered into a roll-book, and to read it before the assembled people on the day of the fast, observed in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim's reign. When the king had word of it, he caused the roll to be brought and read to him. But when two or three passages had been read, he cut the roll in pieces and cast the fragments into a brasier that was burning before him. He ordered Jeremiah and Baruch to be brought; but by the advice of the friendly princes they had concealed themselves, and God hid them so that they were not found (chap. xxxvi.). It does not appear that the prophet suffered any further persecution under Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin. Two years after the fast above mentioned, Jehoiakim rose against Nebuchadnezzar. The result was, that Jerusalem was besieged and taken for the second time in the reign of the next king; Jehoiakim, the leading men, and the flower of the nation were carried into exile to Babylon; and so Jeremiah's prophecy was yet more strikingly affirmed. Jerusalem was saved from destruction this time again, and in Zedekiah, the uncle of the exiled king, who had, of course, to take the oath of fealty, the country had again a king of the old stock. Yet the heavy blow that had now fallen on the nation was not sufficient to bend the stiff neck of the infatuated people and its leaders. Even yet were found false prophets who foretold the speedy overthrow of Chaldean domination, and the return, ere long, of the exiles (chap. xxviii.). In vain did Jeremiah lift up his voice in warning against putting reliance on these prophets, or on the soothsayers and sorcerers who speak like them (chap. xxvii. 9 f., 14). When, during the first years of Zedekiah's reign, ambassadors had come from the bordering nations, Jeremiah, in opposition to the false prophets, declares to the king that God has given all these countries into the hand of the king of Babylon, and that these peoples shall serve him and his son and his grandson. He cries to the king, "Put your necks into the yoke of the king of Babylon, and ye shall live; he that will not serve him shall perish by sword, famine, and pestilence" (chap. xxvii. 12 ff.). This announcement he repeated before the people, the princes, and the king, during the siege by the Chaldeans, which followed on Zedekiah's treacherous insurrection against his liege lord, and he chose for

it the particular time at which the Chaldeans had temporarily raised the siege, in order to meet the Egyptian king in the field, Pharaoh Hophra having advanced to the help of the Jews (Jer. xxxiv. 20 ff.). It was then that, when going out by the city gate, Jeremiah was laid hold of, beaten by the magistrates, and thrown into prison, on the pretext that he wanted to desert to the Chaldeans. After he had spent a long time in prison, the king had him brought to him, and inquired of him secretly for a word of Jahveh; but Jeremiah had no other word from God to give him but, "Thou shalt be given into the hand of the king of Babylon." Favoured by this opportunity, he complained to the king about his imprisonment. Zedekiah gave order that he should not be taken back to the prison, but placed in the court of the prison, and that a loaf of bread should be given him daily until all the bread in Jerusalem was consumed (chap. xxxvii.). Shortly thereafter, however, some of the princes demanded of the king the death of the prophet, on the ground that he was paralysing the courage of soldiers and people by such speeches as, "He that remains in this city shall die by sword, famine, and pestilence; but he that goeth out to the Chaldeans shall carry off his life as a prey from them." They alleged he was seeking the hurt and not the weal of the city; and the feeble king yielded to their demands, with the words: "Behold, he is in your hand, for the king can do nothing against you." Upon this he was cast into a deep pit in the court of the prison, in the slime of which he sank deep, and would soon have perished but for the noble-minded Ethiopian Ebed-melech, a royal chamberlain, who made application to the king on his behalf, and procured his removal out of the dungeon of mire. When consulted privately by the king yet again, he had none other than his former answer to give him, and so he remained in the court of the prison until the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (chap. xxxviii.). After this he was restored to freedom by Nebuzar-adan, the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard, at the command of the king; and being left free to choose his place of residence, he decided to remain at Mizpah with Gedaliah, appointed governor of the land, amongst his own people (chap. xxxix. 11-14, and xl. 1-6). Now it was that he composed the Lamentations upon the fall

of Jerusalem and Judah. After the foul murder of Gedaliah, the people, fleeing through fear of Chaldean vengeance, compelled him to accompany them to Egypt, although he had expressly protested against the flight as a thing displeasing to God (xli. 17—xliii. 7). In Egypt he foretold the conquest of the land by Nebuchadnezzar (xliii. 8—13); and, further on, the judgment of God on his countrymen, who had attached themselves to the worship of the Queen of Heaven (xliv.). Beyond this we are told nothing else about him in Bible records. Neither the time, the place, nor the manner of his death is known. We cannot confidently assert from chap. xlv. that he was still living in B.C. 570, for this [last] discourse of the prophet does not necessarily presume the death of King Hophra (B.C. 570). Only this much is certain, that he lived yet for some years in Egypt, till about 585 or 580; that his labours consequently extended over some fifty years, and so that, presuming he was called to be prophet when a youth of 20 to 25 years old, he must have attained an age of 70 to 75 years. As to his death, we are told in the fathers Jerome, Tertull., Epiph., that he was stoned by the people at Tahpanhes (*Daphne* of Egypt), and accordingly his grave used to be pointed out near Cairo. But a Jewish tradition, in the *Seder ol. rabb. c.* 26, makes him out to have been carried off with Baruch to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar at the conquest of Egypt, in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Isidor Pelusiota, *epist.* i. 298, calls him *πολυπαθέστατος τῶν προφητῶν*; but the greater were the ignominy and suffering endured by Jeremiah in life, the higher was the esteem in which he was held by posterity, chiefly, doubtless, because of the exact fulfilment of his prophecy as to the seventy years' duration of the Babylonian empire (cf. Dan. ix. 2, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20 f., Ezra i. 1). Jesus Sirach, in his *Praise of the Prophets*, Ecclus. c. xlix. 7, does not go beyond what we already know from Jer. i. 10; but as early as the second book of the Maccabees, we have traditions and legends which leave no doubt of the profound veneration in which he was held, especially by the Alexandrian Jews.¹

¹ Thus the vision reported of Judas Maccabæus in 2 Macc. xv. 12 ff., to the effect that in a dream a man appeared to him, standing beside the high

b. HIS CHARACTER AND MENTAL QUALITIES.—If we gather together in one the points of view that are discovered in a summary glance over Jeremiah's work as a prophet, we feel the truth of Ed. Vilmar's statement at p. 38 of his essay on the prophet Jeremiah in the periodical, *Der Beweis des Glaubens*. Bd. v. Gütersloh 1869. "When we consider the prophet's faith in the imperishableness of God's people, in spite of the inevitable ruin which is to overwhelm the race then living, and his conviction, firm as the rock, that the Chaldeans are invincible until the end of the period allotted to them by Providence, it is manifest that his work is grounded in something other and higher than mere political sharp-sightedness or human sagacity." Nor is the unintermitting steadfastness with which, amidst the sorest difficulties from without, he exercised his office to be explained by the native strength of his character. Naturally of a yielding disposition, sensitive and timid, it was with trembling that he bowed to God's call (i. 6); and afterwards, when borne down by the burden of them, he repeatedly entertained the wish to be relieved from his hard duties. "Thou hast persuaded me, Lord," he complains in xx. 7 ff., "and I let myself be persuaded; Thou hast laid hold on me and hast prevailed. I am become a laughing-stock all the day long: the word of Jahveh is become a reproach and a derision. And I thought: I will think no more of Him nor speak more in His name; and it was in my head as burning fire, shut up in my bones, and I become weary of bearing up, and cannot." Though filled with glowing love that sought the salvation of his people, he is compelled, while he beholds their moral corrupt-

priest Onias, while he prayed for his people,—a man marked by his hoary hair and venerableness, engirded by wondrous and glorious majesty, and that Onias said: "This is the *φιλάνθρωπος* that has prayed so much for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah, the prophet of God;" that Jeremiah held out to Judas a golden sword, with the words, "Take this holy sword as a gift from God; therewith thou shalt smite the adversaries." Further, we have in 2 Macc. ii. 4 ff., that at the destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah hid the ark, the holy fire, the incense with its altar and the tabernacle, in a cave of the mountain from which Moses saw the promised land, and that this place will not be found again till the Lord gathers His people and is gracious to it. Hence arose the expectation which we find in Matt. xvi. 14, that Jeremiah will appear again as the forerunner of the Messiah.

ness, to cry out: "O that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfarers! then would I leave my people, and go from them; for they are all adulterers, a crew of faithless men" (ix. 1). And his assurance that the judgment about to burst on the land and people could not be turned aside, draws from him the sigh: "O that mine head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears! then would I weep day and night for the slain of my people" (viii. 23). "He was no second Elijah," as Hgstbg. *Christol.* ii. p. 370 happily puts it. "He had a soft nature, a susceptible temperament; his tears flowed readily. And he who was so glad to live in peace and love with all men, must needs, because he has enlisted in the service of truth, become a second Ishmael, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him; he whose love for his people was so glowing, was doomed to see that love misconstrued, to see himself branded as a traitor by those who were themselves the traitors to the people." Experiences like these raised bitter struggles in his soul, repeatedly set forth by him, especially in xii. and xx. Yet he stands immovably steadfast in the strife against all the powers of wickedness, like "a pillar of iron and a wall of brass against the whole land, the kings of Judah, its rulers and priests, and against the common people," so that all who strove against him could effect nothing, because the Lord, according to His promise, i. 18 f., was with him, stood by his side as a terrible warrior (xx. 11), and showed His power mighty in the prophet's weakness.

This character of Jeremiah is also reflected in his writings. His speech is clear and simple, incisive and pithy, and, though generally speaking somewhat diffuse, yet ever rich in thought. If it lacks the lofty strain, the soaring flight of an Isaiah, yet it has beauties of its own. It is distinguished by a wealth of new imagery which is wrought out with great delicacy and deep feeling, and by "a versatility that easily adapts itself to the most various objects, and by artistic clearness" (Ewald). In the management of his thoughts Jeremiah has more recourse than other prophets to the law and the older sacred writings (cf. Koenig, *das Deuteronom u. der Proph. Jeremia*, Heft ii. of the *Alltstl. Studien*; and A. Küper, *Jeremias librorum sacrr. interpres atque vindex*). And his style of expression is rich in repetitions

and standing phrases. These peculiarities are not, however, to be regarded as signs of the progressive decline of the prophetic gift (Ew.), but are to be derived from deeper foundations, from positive and fundamental causes. The continual recurrence to the law, and the frequent application of the prophetic parts of Deuteronomy, was prompted by the circumstances of the time. The wider the people's apostasy from God's law extended itself, so much the greater became the need for a renewed preaching of the law, that should point to the sore judgments there threatened against hardened sinners, now about to come into fulfilment. And as against the guile of false prophets whose influence with the infatuated people became ever greater, the true witnesses of the Lord could have no more effective means of showing and proving the divineness of their mission and the truth of their testimony than by bringing strongly out their connection with the old prophets and their utterances. On this wise did Jeremiah put in small compass and preserve the spiritual inheritance which Israel had received from Moses a thousand years before, and thus he sent it with the people into exile as its better self (E. Vilm. as above). The numerous repetitions do unquestionably produce a certain monotony, but this monotony is nothing else than the expression of the bitter grief that penetrates the soul; the soul is full of the one thought which takes entire possession of its elastic powers, and is never weary of ever crying out anew the same truth to the people, so as to stagger their assurance by this importunate expostulation (cf. Haevern. *Introd.* p. 196). From the same cause comes the negligence in diction and style, on which Jerome in *Prol. in Jer.* passed this criticism: *Jeremias propheta sermone apud Hebræos Jesaia et Osea et quibusdam aliis prophetis videtur esse rusticior, sed sensibus par est*; and further in the *Proëm.* to lib. iv. of the *Comment.*: *quantum in verbis simplex et facilis, tantum in majestate sensuum profundissimus*. An unadorned style is the natural expression of a heart filled with grief and sadness. "He that is sad and downcast in heart, whose eyes run over with tears (Lam. ii. 2), is not the man to deck and trick himself out in frippery and fine speeches" (Hgsth. as above, p. 372). Finally, as to the language, the influence of the Aramaic upon the Hebrew tongue is already pretty evident.

§ 3. THE BOOK OF THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAH.

a. CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT.—The prophecies of Jeremiah divide themselves, in accordance with their subjects, into those that concern Judah and the kingdom of God, and those regarding foreign nations. The former come first in the book, and extend from chap. i.—xlv.; the latter are comprised in chap. xlv.—li. The former again fall into three groups, clearly distinguishable by their form and subjects. So that the whole book may be divided into *four* sections; while chap. i. contains the account of the prophet's consecration, and chap. lii. furnishes an historical supplement.

The *first* section occupies chap. ii.—xx., and comprises *six* lengthy discourses which contain the substance of Jeremiah's oral preaching during the reign of Josiah. In these the people is brought face to face with its apostasy from the Lord into idolatry; its unrighteousness and moral corruption is set before it, the need of contrition and repentance is brought home, and a race of hardened sinners is threatened with the devastation of their land by a barbarous people coming from afar: while to the contrite the prospect of a better future is opened up. By means of headings, these discourses or compilations of discourses are marked off from one another and gathered into continuous wholes. The *first* discourse, chap. ii. 1—iii. 5, sets forth, in general terms, the Lord's love and faithfulness towards Israel. The *second*, chap. iii. 6—vi. 30, presents in the first half of it (iii. 6—iv. 2) the fate of the ten tribes, their dispersion for their backsliding, and the certainty of their being received again in the event of their repentance, all as a warning to faithless Judah; and in the second half (iv. 3—vi. 30), announces that if Judah holds on in its disloyalty, its land will be ravaged, Jerusalem will be destroyed, and its people cast out amongst the heathen. The *third* discourse, chap. vi.—x., admonishes against a vain confidence in the temple and the sacrifices, and threatens the dispersion of Judah and the spoliation of the country (vii. 1—viii. 3); chides the people for being obstinately averse to all reformation (viii. 4—ix. 21); shows wherein true wisdom consists, and points out the folly of idolatry (ix. 22—x. 25). The *fourth* discourse, chap

xi.-xiii., exhibits the people's disloyalty to the covenant (xi. 1-17); shows by concrete examples their utter corruptness, and tells them that the doom pronounced is irrevocable (xi. 18-xii. 17); and closes with a symbolical action adumbrating the expulsion into exile of the incorrigible race (xiii.). The *fifth*, chap. xiv.-xvii., "the word concerning the droughts," gives illustrative evidence to show that the impending judgment cannot be turned aside by any entreaties; that Judah, for its sins, will be driven into exile, but will yet in the future be brought back again (xiv. 1-xvii. 4); and closes with general animadversions upon the root of the mischief, and the way by which punishment may be escaped (xvii. 5-27). The *sixth* discourse, chap. xviii.-xx., contains two oracles from God, set forth in symbolical actions, which signify the judgment about to burst on Judah for its continuance in sin, and which drew down persecution, blows, and harsh imprisonment on the prophet, so that he complains of his distress to the Lord, and curses the day of his birth. All these discourses have this in common, that threatening and promise are alike general in their terms. Most emphatically and repeatedly is threatening made of the devastation of the land by enemies, of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of Judah amongst the heathen; and yet nowhere is it indicated who are to execute this judgment. Not until the threatening addressed to Pashur in xx. 4 are we told that it is the king of Babylon into whose hand all Judah is to be given, that he may lead them away to Babylon and smite them with the sword. And beyond the general indication, iii. 6, "in the days of Josiah," not even the headings contain any hint as to the date of the several prophecies or of portions of them, or as to the circumstances that called them forth. The quite general character of the heading, iii. 6, and the fact that the tone and subject remain identical throughout the whole series of chapters that open the collected prophecies of Jeremiah, are sufficient to justify Hgstbg. (as above, p. 373) in concluding that "we have here before us not so much a series of prophecies which were delivered precisely as we have them, each on a particular occasion during Josiah's reign, but rather a *resumé* of Jeremiah's entire public work as prophet during Josiah's reign; a summary

of all that, taken apart from the special circumstances of the time, had at large the aim of giving deeper stability to the reformatory efforts Josiah was carrying on in outward affairs." This view is most just, only it is not to be limited to chap. ii.-vii., but is equally applicable to the whole of the first section of the collected prophecies.

The *second* section, chap. xxi.-xxxii., contains special predictions; on the one hand, of the judgment to be executed by the Chaldeans (xxvii.-xxix.); on the other, of Messianic salvation (xxx.-xxxiii.). The predictions of judgment fall into three groups. The central one of these, the announcement of the seventy years' dominion of the Chaldeans over Judah and all nations, passes into a description of judgment to come upon the whole world. As introductory to this, we have it announced in xxi. that Judah and its royal family are to be given into the hands of the king of Babylon; we have in xxii. and xxiii. the word concerning the shepherds and leaders of the people; while in xxiv. comes the statement, illustrated by the emblem of two baskets of figs, as to the character and future fortunes of the Jewish people. The several parts of this group are of various dates. The intimation of the fate awaiting Judah in xxi. is, according to the heading, taken from the answer given to Zedekiah by Jeremiah during the last siege of Jerusalem, when the king had inquired of him about the issue of the war; the denunciation of the people's corrupt rulers, the wicked kings and false prophets, together with the promise that a righteous branch is yet to be raised to David, belongs, if we may judge from what is therein said of the kings, to the times of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin; while the vision of the two baskets of figs in xxiv. dates from the first part of Zedekiah's reign, shortly after Jehoiachin and the best part of the nation had been carried off to Babylon. As this group of prophecies is a preparation for the central prediction of judgment in xxv., so the group that follows, xxvi.-xxix., serves to show reason for the universal judgment, and to maintain it against the contradiction of the false prophets and of the people deluded by their vain expectations. To the same end we are told in xxvi. of the accusation and acquittal of Jeremiah on the charge of his having

foretold the destruction of Jerusalem: this and the supplementary notice of the prophet Urijah fall within the reign of Jehoiakim. The same aim is yet more clearly to be traced in the oracle in xxvii., regarding the yoke of the king of Babylon, which God will lay on the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Phœnicia, on King Zedekiah, the priests and people of Judah; in the threatening against the lying prophet Hananiah in xxviii.; and in Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Babylon in xxix., dating from the earlier years of Zedekiah's reign. From the dark background of these threatenings stands out in chap. xxx.-xxxiii. the comforting promise of the salvation of Israel. The prediction of grace and glory yet in store for Israel and Judah through the Messiah occupies two long discourses. The first is a complete whole, both in matter and in form. It begins with intimating the recovery of both houses of Israel from captivity and the certainty of their being received again as the people of God (xxx. 1-22), while the wicked fall before God's wrath; then xxxi. promises grace and salvation, first to the ten tribes (vers. 1-22), then to Judah (vers. 23-36); lastly, we have (vers. 27-40) intimation that a new and everlasting covenant will be concluded with the whole covenant people. The second discourse in chaps. xxxii. and xxxiii. goes to support the first, and consists of two words of God communicated to Jeremiah in the tenth year of Zedekiah, *i.e.* in prospect of the destruction of Jerusalem; one being in emblematic shape (xxxii.), the other is another explicit prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of blessings yet in store for the race of David and for the Levitical priesthood (xxxiii.).

The *third* section of the book, chap. xxxiv.-xlv., has, in the first place, brief utterances of the prophet, dating from the times of Zedekiah and Jehoiachin, together with the circumstances that called them forth, in xxxiv.-xxxvi.; secondly, in xxxvii.-xxxix., notice of the prophet's experiences, and of the counsels given by him during the siege in Zedekiah's reign up till the taking of the city; finally, in xl.-xlv. are given events that happened and prophecies that were delivered after the siege. So that here there is gathered together by way of supplements all that was of

cardinal importance in Jeremiah's efforts in behalf of the unhappy people, in so far as it had not found a place in the previous sections.

In the *fourth* section, chap. xlv. — li., follow prophecies against foreign nations, uttered partly in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, or rather later, partly in the first year of Zedekiah. And last of all, the conclusion of the whole collective book is formed by chap. lii., an historical supplement which is not the work of Jeremiah himself. In it are notices of the destruction of the city, of the number of the captives taken to Babylon, and of what befell King Jehoiachin there.

b. ORIGIN OF THE COMPILATION OR BOOK of the Prophecies of Jeremiah.—Regarding the composition of the book, all sorts of ingenious and arbitrary hypotheses have been propounded. Almost all of them proceed on the assumption that the longer discourses of the first part of the book consist of a greater or less number of addresses delivered to the people at stated times, and have been arranged partly chronologically, but partly also without reference to any plan whatever. Hence the conclusion is drawn that in the book a hopeless confusion reigns. In proof of this, see the hypotheses of Movers and Hitzig. From the summary of contents just given, it is plain that in none of the four sections of the book has chronological succession been the principle of arrangement; this has been had regard to only in so far as it fell in with the plan chiefly kept in view, which was that of grouping the fragments according to their subject-matter. In the three sections of the prophecies concerning Israel, a general chronological order has to a certain extent been observed thus far, namely, that in the first section (ii. — xx.) are the discourses of the time of Josiah; in the second (xxi. — xxxiii.), the prophecies belonging to the period between the fourth year of Jehoiakim and the siege of Jerusalem under Zedekiah; in the third (xxxiv. — xlv.), events and oracles of the time before and after the siege and capture of the city. But even in those passages in the second and third sections which are furnished with historical references, order in time is so little regarded that discourses of the time of Zedekiah precede those of Jehoiakim's time. And in the

first section the date of the several discourses is a matter of so secondary importance that, beyond the indefinite intimation in iii. 6, there is not to be found in any of the headings any hint of the date; and here, upon the whole, we have not the individual discourses in the form in which they were under various circumstances delivered to the people, but only a *resumé* of his oral addresses arranged with reference to the subject-matter.

The first notice of a written collection of the prophecies occurs in xxxvi. Here we are told that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, Jeremiah, by divine command, caused his assistant Baruch to write in a roll all the words he had spoken concerning Israel and Judah and all nations from the day he was called up till that time, intending them to be read by Baruch to the assembled people in the temple on the approaching fast. And after the king had cut up the roll and cast it into the fire, the prophet caused the words Baruch had taken down to his dictation to be written anew in a roll, with the addition of many words of like import. This fact suggests the idea that the second roll written by Baruch to Jeremiah's dictation formed the basis of the collected edition of all Jeremiah's prophecies. The history makes it clear that till then the prophet had not committed his prophecies to writing, and that in the roll written by Baruch they for the first time assumed a written form. The same account leads us also to suppose that in this roll the prophet's discourses and addresses were not transcribed in the precise words and in the exact order in which he had from time to time delivered them to the people, but that they were set down from memory, the substance only being preserved. The design with which they were committed to writing was to lead the people to humble themselves before the Lord and turn from their evil ways (xxxvi. 3, 7), by means of importunately forcing upon their attention all God's commands and warnings. And we may feel sure that this parenetic aim was foremost not only in the first document (burnt by the king), but in the second also; it was not proposed here either to give a complete and authoritative transcription of all the prophet's sayings and speeches. The assumption of recent critics seems justifiable, that the document composed in Jehoiakim's reign was the foundation of the book handed down

to us, and that it was extended to the compass of the canonical book by the addition of revelations vouchsafed after that time, and of the historical notices that most illustrated Jeremiah's labours. But, however great be the probability of this view, we are no longer in a position to point out the original book in that which we have received, and as a constituent part of the same. At first sight, we might indeed be led to look on the first twenty chapters of our book as the original document, since the character of these chapters rather favours the hypothesis. For they are all lengthy compositions, condensed from oral addresses with the view of reporting mainly the substance of them;¹ nor is there in them anything that certainly carries us beyond the time of Josiah and the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, except indeed the heading of the book, i. 1-3, and this was certainly prefixed only when the book was given forth as a whole. But according to the statement in xxxvi. 2, the original manuscript prepared by Baruch contained not only the words of the prophet which he had up to that time spoken concerning Israel and Judah, but also his words concerning all nations, that is, doubtless, all the prophecies concerning the heathen he had till now uttered, viz. xxv. 15-xxxi., xlii.-xlix. 33. Nor can the most important discourse, chap. xxv., belonging to the beginning of the fourth year of Jehoiakim, have been omitted from the original manuscript; certainly not from the second roll, increased by many words, which was put together after the first was burnt. For of the second manuscript we may say with perfect confidence what Ewald says of the first, that nothing of importance would be omitted from it. If then we may take for granted that the discourse of chap. xxv. was included in the book put together by Baruch, it follows that upon the subsequent expansion of the work that chapter must have been displaced from its original position by

¹ As to the putting together of the seven pieces which occupy chap. ii.-xxiv., Ewald (*Proph.* ii. S. 81, der 2 Ausg.) aptly remarks: "In tracing out these pieces from memory, the prophet manifestly started from a discourse, important in itself or its consequences, which he had delivered in some particular place; this remembrance then became the centre of the piece to be written, and to it he was easily able to attach much that was of kindred import."

the intercalation of chap. xxi. and xxiv., which are both of the time of Zedekiah. But the displacement of xxv. by prophecies of Zedekiah's time, and the arrangement of the several fragments which compose the central sections of the book now in our hands, show conclusively that the method and nature of this book are incompatible with the hypothesis that the existing book arose from the work written down by Baruch to Jeremiah's dictation by the addition and interpolation of later prophetic utterances and historical facts (Ew., Graf). The contents of chap. xxi.-xlv. were unmistakeably disposed according to a definite uniform plan which had regard chiefly to the subject-matter of those chapters, even though we are no longer in a position confidently to discriminate the several constituent parts, or point out the reason for the place assigned to them. The same plan may be traced in the arrangement of the longer compositions in chap. ii.-xx. The consistency of the plan goes to show that the entire collection of the prophecies was executed by *one* editor at *one* time. Ew., Umbr., and Graf conclude that the original book attained its final form by a process of completion immediately after the destruction of the city and the deportation of the people; but it is impossible to admit their conclusion on the grounds they give, namely, the heading at chap. i. 3: "until the carrying away of Jerusalem in the fifth month;" and the fact that what befell the prophet, and what was spoken by him after the city was destroyed, have found a place immediately after chap. xxxix. in chap. xl.-xlv. Both circumstances are sufficiently explained by the fact that with the destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah's work as a prophet, though not absolutely finished, had yet anticipatively come to an end. His later labours at Mizpah and in Egypt were but a continuation of secondary importance, which might consequently be passed over in the heading of the book. See the Comment. on i. 3. We are not sure that the period between the fifth and seventh months, xli. 1, during which Jeremiah and Baruch remained with the governor Gedaliah at Mizpah, was more suitable than any other for looking back over his work which had now extended over more than forty-one years, and by expanding the book he had at an earlier period written, for leaving behind him a

monument for posterity in the record of his most memorable utterances and experiences—a monument that might serve to warn and instruct, as well as to comfort in present suffering means of the treasure of hopes and promises which he has thus laid up (Graf). But, judging from Jeremiah's habit of mind, we imagine that at that time Jeremiah would be disposed rather to indite the Lamentations than to edit his prophecies.

Arguments for repeated editings and transformations of particular chapters have been founded partly on the subject-matter, partly on peculiarities in the form of certain passages, *e.g.* the alternation, in the headings, of the formulas *וַיְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר* or *וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי* or *וַיְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה אֶל יִרְמְיָהוּ לֵאמֹר*; and the title *יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא*, which occurs only in certain chapters, xx. 2, xxv. 2, xxviii. 5, 6, and often, xxix. 1, 29, xxxii. 2. But on deeper investigation these arguments appear inconclusive. If we are desirous not to add by new and uncertain conjectures to the already large number of arbitrary hypotheses as to the compilation and origin of the book before us, we must abide by what, after a careful scrutiny of its subject-matter and form, proves to be certainly established. And the result of our examination may be epitomized in the following propositions:—1. The book in its canonical form has been arranged according to a distinct, self-consistent plan, in virtue of which the preservation of chronological order has been made secondary to the principle of grouping together cognate subjects. 2. The book written by Baruch in the fifth year of Jehoiakim's reign, which contained the oracles spoken by Jeremiah up till that time, is doubtless the basis of the book as finally handed down, without being incorporated with it as a distinct work; but, in accordance with the plan laid down for the compilation of the entire series, was so disposed that the several portions of it were interspersed with later portions, handed down, some orally, some in writing, so that the result was a uniform whole. For that prophecies other than those in Baruch's roll were straightway written down (if they were not first composed in writing), is expressly testified by xxx. 2, xxix. 1, and li. 60. 3. The complete edition of the whole was not executed till after the close of Jeremiah's labours, probably immediately after his death. This work, together with the supplying of the historical notice in chap. lii., was probably the

work of Jeremiah's colleague Baruch, who may have survived the last event mentioned in the book, lii. 31 ff., the restoration of Jehoiakim to freedom after Nebuchadnezzar's death, B.C. 563.

§ 4. THE GENUINENESS OF THE BOOK AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE MASORETIC TEXT.

Jeremiah's prophecies bear everywhere so plainly upon the face of them the impress of this prophet's strongly marked individuality, that their genuineness, taken as a whole, remains unimpugned even by recent criticism. Hitzig, *e.g.*, holds it to be so undoubted that in the prolegomena to his commentary he simply takes the matter for granted. And Ewald, after expounding his view of the contents and origin of the book, observes that so striking a similarity in expression, attitude, and colouring obtains throughout every portion, that from end to end we hear the same prophet speak. Ewald excepts, indeed, the oracle against Babylon in chap. i. and li., which he attributes to an anonymous disciple who had not confidence to write in his own name, towards the end of the Babylonian captivity. He admits that he wrote after the manner of Jeremiah, but with this marked difference, that he gave an entirely new reference to words which he copied from Jeremiah; for example, according to Ewald, the description of the northern enemies, who were in Jeremiah's view first the Scythians and then the Chaldeans, is applied by him to the Medes and Persians, who were then at war with the Chaldeans. But with Ewald, as with his predecessors Eichh., Maur., Knobel, etc., the chief motive for denying the genuineness of this prophecy is to be found in the dogmatic prejudice which leads them to suppose it impossible for Jeremiah to have spoken of the Chaldeans as he does in chap. i. f., since his expectation was that the Chaldeans were to be the divine instruments of carrying out the judgment near at hand upon Judah and the other nations. Others, such as Movers, de Wette, Hitz., have, on the contrary, proposed to get rid of what seemed to them out of order in this prediction by assuming interpolations. These critics believe themselves further able to make out interpolations, on a greater or less scale, in other passages, such as x., xxv., xxvii., xxix., xxx.,

xxxiii., yet without throwing doubt on the genuineness of the book at large. See details on this head in my *Manual of Introduction*, § 75; and the proof of the assertions in the commentary upon the passages in question.

Besides this, several critics have denied the integrity of the Hebrew text, in consideration of the numerous divergencies from it which are to be found in the Alexandrine translation; and they have proposed to explain the discrepancies between the Greek and the Hebrew text by the hypothesis of two recensions, an Alexandrine Greek recension and a Babylonian Jewish. J. D. Mich., in the notes to his translation of the New Testament, i. p. 285, declared the text of the LXX. to be the original, and purer than the existing Hebrew text; and Eichh., Jahn, Bertholdt, Dahler, and, most confident of all, Movers (*de utriusque recensionis vaticiniorum Jer. græcæ Alexandr. et hebraicæ Masor., indole et origine*), have done what they could to establish this position; while de Wette, Hitz., and Bleek (in his *Introd.*) have adopted the same view in so far that they propose in many places to correct the Masoretic text from the Alexandrine. But, on the other hand, Küper (*Jerem. librorum ss. interpretes*), Haevern. (*Introd.*), J. Wichelhaus (*de Jeremiæ versione Alexandr.*), and finally, and most thoroughly, Graf, in his *Comment.* p. 40, have made comparison of the two texts throughout, and have set the character of the Alexandrine text in a clear light; and their united contention is, that almost all the divergencies of this text from the Hebrew have arisen from the Greek translator's free and arbitrary way of treating the Hebrew original. The text given by the Alexandrine is very much shorter. Graf says that about 2700 words of the Masoretic text, or somewhere about the eighth part of the whole, have not been expressed at all in the Greek, while the few additions that occur there are of very trifling importance. The Greek text very frequently omits certain standing phrases, forms, and expressions often repeated throughout the book: e.g. יהוה is dropped sixty-four times; instead of the frequently recurring יהוה צבאות or יהוה יִשְׂרָאֵל there is usually found יהוה. In the historical portions the name of the father of the principal person, regularly added in the Hebrew, is often not given; so with the title הַנְּבִיא, when Jeremiah is mentioned;

in speaking of the king of Babylon, the name Nebuchadnezzar, which we find thirty-six times in the Hebrew text, appears only thirteen times. Such expressions and clauses as seemed synonymous or pleonastic are often left out, frequently to the destruction of the parallelism of the clauses, occasionally to the marring of the sense; so, too, longer passages which had been given before, either literally or in substance. Still greater are the discrepancies in detail; and they are of such a sort as to bring plainly out on all hands the translator's arbitrariness, carelessness, and want of apprehension. All but innumerable are the cases in which gender, number, person, and tense are altered, synonymous expressions interchanged, metaphors destroyed, words transposed; we find frequently inexact and false translations, erroneous reading of the unpointed text, and occasionally, when the Hebrew word was not understood, we have it simply transcribed in Greek letters, etc. See copious illustration of this in Küper, Wichelsh., and Graf, *ll. cc.*, and in my *Manual of Introd.* § 175, N. 14. Such being the character of the Alexandrine version, it is clearly out of the question to talk of the special recension on which it has been based. As Hgstb. *Christol.* ii. p. 461 justly says: "Where it is notorious that the rule is carelessness, ignorance, arbitrariness, and utterly defective notions as to what the translator's province is, then surely those conclusions are beside the mark that take the contrary of all this for granted." None of those who maintain the theory that the Alexandrine translation has been made from a special recension of the Hebrew text, has taken the trouble to investigate the character of that translation with any minuteness, not even Ewald, though he ventures to assert that the mass of slight discrepancies between the LXX. and the existing text shows how far the MSS. of this book diverged from one another at the time the LXX. originated. He also holds that not infrequently the original reading has been preserved in the LXX., though he adds the caveat: "but in very many, or indeed most of these places, the translator has but read and translated too hastily, or again, has simply abbreviated the text arbitrarily." Hence we can only subscribe the judgment passed by Graf at the end of his examination of the Alexandr. translation of the present book: "The proofs of self-confidence

and arbitrariness on the part of the Alexandrian translator being innumerable, it is impossible to concede any critical authority to his version,—for it can hardly be called a translation,—or to draw from it conclusions as to a Hebrew text differing in form from that which has been handed down to us.”

We must maintain this position against Nägelsbach's attempt to explain, by means of discrepancies amongst the original Hebrew authorities, the different arrangement of the prophecies against foreign nations adopted in the LXX., these being here introduced in chap. xxv. between ver. 12 and ver. 14. For the arguments on which Näg., like Movers and Hitz., lays stress in his dissertations on Jeremiah in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, p. 13, and in the exposition of xxv. 12, xxvii. 1, xlix. 34, and in the introduction to chap. xlv. —li., are not conclusive, and rest on assumptions that are erroneous and quite illegitimate. In the first place, he finds in vers. 12–14, which, like Mov., Hitz., etc., he takes to be a later interpolation,¹ a proof that the *Book against the Nations* must have stood in the immediate neighbourhood of chap. xxv. To avoid anticipating the exposition, we must here confine ourselves to remarking that the verses adduced give no such proof: for the grounds for this assertion we must refer to the comment on xxv. 12–14. But besides, it is proved, he says, that the prophecies against the nations must once have come after chap. xxv. and before chap. xxvii., by the peculiar expression τὰ Αἰλάμ at the end of chap. xxv. 13 (Septuag.), by the omission of xxvii. 1

¹ The difference in arrangement may be seen from the following table:—

<i>Septuagint.</i>		<i>Masoretic Text.</i>	
Chap. xxv. 15 ff.,	Prophecy against Elam,	Chap. xlix. 34.	
„ xxvi.,	„ Egypt,	„ xlv.	
„ xxvii. and xxviii.,	„ Babylon,	„ l. and li.	
„ xxix. 1-7,	„ the Philistines,	„ xlvii. 1-7.	
„ xxix. 7-29,	„ Edom,	„ xlix. 7-22.	
„ xxx. 1-5,	„ Ammon,	„ xlix. 1-6.	
„ xxx. 6-11,	„ Kedar,	„ xlix. 28-33.	
„ xxx. 12-16,	„ Damascus,	„ xlix. 23-27.	
„ xxxi.,	„ Moab,	„ xlviii.	
„ xxxii.,		„ xxv. 15-38.	

After which chap. xxxiii. —li. of the LXX. run parallel with chap. xxvi. —xlv. of the Masoretic text.

in Sept., and by the somewhat unexpected date given at xlix. 34. Now the date, "in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah," in the heading of the prophecy against Elam, xlix. 34, found not only in the Masoretic text, but also in the Alexandr. version (where, however, it occurs as a postscript at the end of the prophecy in xxvi. 1), creates a difficulty only if the prophecy be wrongly taken to refer to a conquest of Elam by Nebuchadnezzar. The other two arguments, founded on the τὰ Αἰλάμ of xxv. 13, and the omission of the heading at xxvii. 1 (Heb.) in the LXX., stand and fall with the assumption that the Greek translator adhered closely to the Hebrew text and rendered it with literal accuracy, the very reverse of which is betrayed from one end of the translation to the other. The heading at xxvii. 1, "In the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim* the son of Josiah king of Judah, came this word to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying," coincides word for word with the heading of xxvi. 1, save that in the latter the words "to Jeremiah" do not occur; and this former heading the Greek translator has simply omitted,—holding it to be incorrect, since the prophecy belongs to the time of Zedekiah, and is addressed to him. On the other hand, he has appended τὰ Αἰλάμ to the last clause of xxv. 13, "which Jeremiah prophesied against the nations," taking this clause to be the heading of Jeremiah's prophecies against the nations; this appears from the τὰ Αἰλάμ, manifestly imitated from the ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη. His purpose was to make out the following oracle as against Elam; but he omitted from its place the full title of the prophecy against Elam, because it seemed to him unsuitable to have it come immediately after the (in his view) general heading, ἃ ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἱερεμίας ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, while, however, he introduced it at the end of the prophecy. It is wholly wrong to suppose that the heading at xxvii. 1 of the Hebrew text, omitted in the LXX., is nothing but the postscript to the prophecy against Elam (xxvi. 1 in the LXX. and xlix. 34 in the Heb.); for this postscript runs thus: ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλείου Σεδεκίου βασιλέως ἐγένετο, κ.τ.λ., and is a literal translation of the heading at xlix. 34 of the Heb. It is from this, and not from xxvii. 1 of the Heb., that the translator has manifestly taken his postscript to the prophecy against

Elam ; and if so, the postscript is, of course, no kind of proof that in the original text used by the Greek translator the prophecies against the nations stood before chap. xxvii. The notion we are combating is vitiated, finally, by the fact that it does not in the least explain why these prophecies are in the LXX. placed after xxv. 13, but rather suggests for them a wholly unsuitable position between xxvi. and xxvii., where they certainly never stood, nor by any possibility ever could have stood. From what has been said it will be seen that we can seek the cause for the transposition of the prophecies against the nations only in the Alexandrian translator's arbitrary mode of handling the Hebrew text.

For the exegetical literature on the subject of Jeremiah's prophecies, see my *Introduction to Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 332, English translation (Foreign Theological Library). Besides the commentaries there mentioned, there have since appeared : K. H. Graf, *der Proph. Jeremia erklärt*, Leipz. 1862 ; and C. W. E. Naegelsbach, *der Proph. Jeremia, Theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet*, in J. P. Lange's *Bibelwerk*, Bielefeld and Leipz. 1868 ; translated in Dr. Schaff's edition of Lange's *Bibelwerk*, and published by Messrs. Clark.

EXPOSITION.

CHAP. I.—HEADING. CALL AND CONSECRATION OF JEREMIAH TO BE PROPHET.



VERS. 1-3 contain the heading to the whole book of the prophecies of Jeremiah. The heading runs thus: "Sayings of Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests at Anathoth, in the land of Benjamin, to whom befell the word of Jahveh in the days of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the days of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, unto the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah king of Judah, until the carrying away of Jerusalem captive in the fifth month." The period mentioned in these verses includes the time of Jeremiah's principal labours, while no reference is here made to the work he at a later time wrought amidst the ruins of Judah and in Egypt; this being held to be of but subordinate importance for the theocracy. Similarly, when the names of the kings under whom he laboured are given, the brief reigns of Jehoahaz and of Jehoiachin are omitted, neither reign having lasted over three months. His prophecies are called דְּבָרֵי, words or speeches, as in xxxvi. 10; so with the prophecies of Amos, Am. i. 1. More complete information as to the person of the prophet is given by the mention made of his father and of his extraction. The name יְרֵמְיָהוּ, "Jahveh throws," was in very common use, and is found as the name of many persons; cf. 1 Chron. v. 24, xii. 4, 10, 13, 2 Kings xxiii. 31, Jer. xxxv. 3, Neh. x. 3, xii. 1. Hence we are hardly entitled to explain the name with Hengstb. by Ex. xv. 1, to the effect that whoever bore it was consecrated to the God who with almighty hand dashes to the ground all His foes, so that in his

name the nature of our prophet's mission would be held to be set forth. His father Hilkiah is taken by Clem. Alex., Jerome, and some Rabbins, for the high priest of that name who is mentioned in 2 Chron. xxii. 4; but without sufficient grounds. For Hilkiah, too, is a name that often occurs; and the high priest is sure to have had his home not in Anathoth, but in Jerusalem. But Jeremiah and his father belonged to the priests who lived in Anathoth, now called *Anâta*, a town of the priests, lying $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours north of Jerusalem (see on Josh. xxi. 18), in the land, *i.e.* the tribal territory, of Benjamin. In ver. 2 אֵלָיו belongs to אֶשֶׁר: "to whom befell (to whom came) the word of Jahveh in the days of Josiah, . . . in the thirteenth year of his reign." This same year is named by Jeremiah in chap. xxv. 3 as the beginning of his prophetic labours. וַיְהִי in ver 3 is the continuation of וַיְהִי in ver. 2, and its subject is דְּבַר יְהוָה: and then (further) it came (to him) in the days of Jehoiakim, . . . to the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, etc. In the fifth month of the year named, the eleventh of the reign of Zedekiah, Jerusalem was reduced to ashes by Nebuzar-adan, and its inhabitants carried away to Babylon; cf. lii. 12 ff., 2 Kings xxv. 8 ff. Shortly before, King Zedekiah, captured when in flight from the Chaldeans during the siege of Jerusalem, had been deprived of eyesight at Riblah and carried to Babylon in chains. And thus his kingship was at an end, though the eleventh year of his reign might not be yet quite completed.

Vers. 4-19. THE CALL AND CONSECRATION OF JEREMIAH TO BE A PROPHET OF THE LORD.—The investiture of Jeremiah with the prophetic office follows in four acts: the call on the part of the Lord, vers. 4-8; Jeremiah's consecration for his calling in vers. 9-10; and in two signs, by means of which the Lord assures him of certain success in his work and of powerful support in the exercise of his office (vers. 11-19). The call was given by a word of the Lord which came to him in this form: Ver. 5. "Before I formed thee in the womb I have known thee, and before thou wentest forth from the belly have I consecrated thee, to be prophet to the nations have I set thee. Ver. 6. Then said I, Ah, Lord Jahveh! behold, I know not how to

speak ; for I am too young. Ver. 7. Then said Jahveh to me, Say not, I am too young ; but to all to whom I send thee shalt thou go, and all that I command thee shalt thou speak. Ver. 8. Fear not before them : for I am with thee, to save thee, saith Jahveh." This word came to Jeremiah by means of inspiration, and is neither the product of a reflective musing as to what his calling was to be, nor the outcome of an irresistible impulse, felt within him, to come forward as a prophet. It was a supernatural divine revelation vouchsafed to him, which raised his spiritual life to a state of ecstasy, so that he both recognised the voice of God and felt his lips touched by the hand of God (ver. 9). Further, he saw in spirit, one after another, two visions which God interpreted to him as confirmatory tokens of his divine commission (vers. 11-19). Jeremiah's appointment to be a prophet for the nations follows upon a decree of God's, fixed before he was conceived or born. God in His counsel has not only foreordained our life and being, but has predetermined before our birth what is to be our calling upon this earth ; and He has accordingly so influenced our origin and our growth in the womb, as to prepare us for what we are to become, and for what we are to accomplish on behalf of His kingdom. This is true of all men, but very especially of those who have been chosen by God to be the extraordinary instruments of His grace, whom He has appointed to be instruments for the carrying out of the redemptive schemes of His kingdom ; cf. Jer. xlv. 2, 24, xlix. 5, Gal. i. 15. Thus Samson was appointed to be a Nazarite from the womb, this having been revealed to his mother before he was conceived, Judges xiii. 3 ff. To other men of God such divine predestination was made known for the first time when they were called to that office to which God had chosen them. So was it with our prophet Jeremiah. In such a case a reminder by God of the divine counsel of grace, of old time ordained and provided with means for its accomplishment, should be accepted as an encouragement willingly to take upon one the allotted calling. For the man God has chosen before his birth to a special office in His kingdom He equips with the gifts and graces needed for the exercise of his functions. The three clauses of ver. 5 give the three moments whereof the choosing consists : God has chosen him, has con-

secrated him, and has installed him as prophet. The reference of the words "I have known thee," Calvin limited to the office, *quasi diceret, priusquam te formarem in utero, destinavi te in hunc usum, nempe ut subires docendi munus in populo meo*. Divine knowing is at the same time a singling out; and of this, choosing is the immediate consequence. But the choosing takes place by means of *הִקְדִּישׁ*, sanctifying, *i.e.* setting apart and consecrating for a special calling, and is completed by institution to the office. "To be prophet for the nations have I set thee" (*נָתַן*, *ponere*, not only appoint, but install). The sense has been briefly put by Calv. thus: (*Jer.*) *fuisse hac lege creatum hominem, ut suo tempore manifestaretur propheta*. *לְגוֹיִם*, to the nations = for the nations; not for Judah alone, but for the heathen peoples too; cf. vers. 10, xxv. 9, xlvi. ff. The *Chethibh* *אֲנִירָה* should apparently be read *אֲנִירָה*, from *נָרַר*, equivalent to *נָצַר*; the root-form *נָרַר* being warranted by Ex. xxxii. 4, 1 Kings vii. 15, and being often found in Aramaic. It is, however, possible that the *Chet.* may be only *scriptio plena* of *אֲנִירָה*, *a radice נָצַר*, since the *scriptio pl.* is found elsewhere, *e.g.* Hos. viii. 12, Jer. xlv. 17, Ezek. xxi. 28, etc.—Ver. 6. The divine call throws Jeremiah into terror. Knowing well his too great weakness for such an office, he exclaims: Ah, Lord Jahveh! I know not how to speak; for I am *נָעַר*, *i.e.* young and inexperienced; cf. 1 Kings iii. 7. This excuse shows that *לֹא יָדַעְתִּי דָבָר* means something else than *לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים*, by which Moses sought to repel God's summons. Moses was not ready of speech, he lacked the gift of utterance; Jeremiah, on the other hand, only thinks himself not yet equal to the task by reason of his youth and want of experience.—Ver. 7. This excuse God holds of no account. As prophet to the nations, Jeremiah was not to make known his own thoughts or human wisdom, but the will and counsel of God which were to be revealed to him. This is signified by the clauses: for to all to whom I send thee, etc. The *עָלַי* belonging to *תִּפְּלָה* stands for *אֵל*, and does not indicate a hostile advance against any one. *כֹּל* after *עָלַי* is not neuter, but refers to persons, or rather peoples; since to the relative *אֲשֶׁר* in this connection, *עָלֵיהֶם* is quite a natural completion; cf. Isa. viii. 12, and Ew. § 331, c. Only to those men or peoples is he to go to whom God sends him;

and to them he is to declare only what God commands him. And so he needs be in no anxiety on this head, that, as a youth, he has no experience in the matter of speaking.—Ver. 8. Just as little needs youthful bashfulness or shy unwillingness to speak before high and mighty personages stand as a hindrance in the way of his accepting God's call. The Lord will be with him, so that he needs have no fear for any man. The suffix in מִפְּנֵיהֶם refers to all to whom God sends him (ver. 7). These, enraged by the threatenings of punishment which he must proclaim to them, will seek to persecute him and put him to death (cf. ver. 19); but God promises to rescue him from every distress and danger which the fulfilment of his duties can bring upon him. Yet God does not let the matter cease with this pledge; but, further, He consecrates him to his calling.

Vers. 9 and 10. *The Consecration*.—Ver. 9. "And Jahveh stretched forth His hand, and touched my mouth, and Jahveh said to me, Behold, I put my words into thy mouth. Ver. 10. Behold, I set thee this day over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root up and to ruin, to destroy and to demolish, to build and to plant." In order to assure him by overt act of His support, the Lord gives him a palpable pledge. He stretches out His hand and causes it to touch his mouth (cf. Isa. vi. 7); while, as explanation of this symbolical act, He adds: I have put my words in thy mouth. The hand is the instrument of making and doing; the touching of Jeremiah's mouth by the hand of God is consequently an emblematical token that God frames in his mouth what he is to speak. It is a tangible pledge of *ἐμπνευσις*, *inspiratio*, embodiment of that influence exercised on the human spirit, by means of which the holy men of God speak, being moved by the Holy Ghost, 2 Pet. i. 21 (Nägelsb.). The act is a real occurrence, taking place not indeed in the earthly, corporeal sphere, but experienced in spirit, and of the nature of ecstasy. By means of it God has consecrated him to be His prophet, and endowed him for the discharge of his duties; He may now entrust him with His commission to the peoples and kingdoms, and set him over them as His prophet who proclaims to them His word. The contents of this proclaiming are indicated in the following infinitive clauses. With the words of the Lord he is to destroy and to build up peoples and

kingdoms. The word of God is a power that carries out His will, and accomplishes that whereto He sends it, Isa. lv. 10 ff. Against this power nothing earthly can stand; it is a hammer that breaks rocks in pieces, xxiii. 29. What is here said of the word of Jahveh to be preached by Jeremiah is said of Jahveh Himself in xxxi. 28. Its power is to show itself in two ways, in destroying and in building up. The destroying is not set down as a mere preliminary, but is expressed by means of four different words, whereas the building is given only in two words, and these standing after the four; in order, doubtless, to indicate that the labours of Jeremiah should consist, in the first place and for the most part, in proclaiming judgment upon the nations. The assonant verbs נָחַשׁ and נָחַץ are joined to heighten the sense; for the same reason לְהָרוֹס is added to לְהַאֲבִיר, and in the antithesis לְבָנוֹעַ is joined with לְבָנוֹת.¹

Vers. 11–16. *The Confirmatory Tokens.*—The first is given in vers. 11 and 12: “And there came to me the word of Jahveh, saying, What seest thou, Jeremiah? And I said, I see an almond rod. Then Jahveh said to me, Thou hast seen aright: for I will keep watch over my word to fulfil it.” With the consecration of the prophet to his office are associated two visions, to give him a surety of the divine promise regarding the discharge of the duties imposed on him. First, Jeremiah sees in spirit a rod or twig of an almond tree. God calls his attention to this vision, and interprets it to him as a symbol of the swift fulfilment of His word. The choice of this symbol for the purpose given is suggested by the Hebrew name for the almond tree, שֵׁקֶרֶת, the wakeful, the vigilant; because this tree begins to blossom and expand its leaves in January, when the other trees are still in their winter’s sleep (*florat omnium prima mense Januario, Martio vero poma maturat.* Plin. h. n. xvi. 42, and Von Schubert, *Reise* iii. S. 14), and so of all trees awakes earliest to new life. Without any sufficient reason Graf has combated this meaning for שֵׁקֶרֶת, proposing to change שֵׁקֶרֶת into

¹ The LXX. have omitted לְהָרוֹס, and hence Hitz. infers the spuriousness of this word. But in the parallel passage, xxxi. 28, the LXX. have rendered all the four words by the one καθαιρειν; and Hitz. does not then pronounce the other three spurious.

שֹׁקֵר, and, with Aquil., Sym., and Jerome, to translate שֹׁקֵר מִקָּל watchful twig, *virga vigilans*, i.e. a twig whose eyes are open, whose buds have opened, burst; but he has not even attempted to give any authority for the use of the verb שֹׁקֵר for the bursting of buds, much less justified it. In the explanation of this symbol between the words, thou hast seen aright, and the grounding clause, for I will keep watch, there is omitted the intermediate thought: it is indeed a שֹׁקֵר. The twig thou hast seen is an emblem of what I shall do; for I will keep watch over my word, will be watchful to fulfil it. This interpretation of the symbol shows besides that מִקָּל is not here to be taken, as by Kimchi, Vatabl., Seb. Schmidt, Nägelsb., and others, for a stick to beat with, or as a threatening rod of correction. The reasons alleged by Nägelsb. for this view are utterly inconclusive. For his assertion, that מִקָּל always means a stick, and never a fresh, leafy branch, is proved to be false by Gen. xxx. 37; and the supposed climax found by ancient expositors in the two symbols: rod—boiling caldron, put thus by Jerome: *qui noluerint percutiente virga emendari, mittentur in ollam æneam atque succensam*, is forced into the text by a false interpretation of the figure of the seething pot. The figure of the almond rod was meant only to afford to the prophet surety for the speedy and certain fulfilment of the word of God proclaimed by him. It is the second emblem alone that has anything to do with the contents of his preaching.

Vers. 13-16. *The Seething Pot*.—Ver. 13. "And there came to me the word of Jahveh for the second time, saying, What seest thou? And I said: I see a seething-pot; and it looketh hither from the north. Ver. 14. Then said Jahveh to me: From the north will trouble break forth upon all inhabitants of the land. Ver. 15. For, behold, I call to all families of the kingdoms towards the north, saith Jahveh; that they come and set each his throne before the gates of Jerusalem, and against all her walls round about, and against all cities of Judah. Ver. 16. And I will pronounce judgment against them for all their wickedness, in that they have forsaken me, and have offered odours to other gods, and worshipped the work of their hands." פֶּיַר is a large pot or caldron in which can be cooked vegetables or meat for many persons at once;

cf. 2 Kings iv. 38 ff., Ezek. xxiv. 3 ff. נָפַח, fanned, blown upon, used of fire, Ezek. xxi. 36, xxii. 20 f.; then by transference, seething, steaming, since the caldron under which fire is fanned steams, its contents boil; cf. Job xli. 12. The פָּנִים of the pot is the side turned to the spectator (the prophet), the side towards the front. This is turned from the north this way, *i.e.* set so that its contents will run thence this way. צָפוֹנָה, properly: towards the north; then, that which lies towards the north, or the northerly direction. In the interpretation of this symbol in ver. 14, תַּפְחָה, assonant to נָפַח, is introduced, just as in Amos viii. 2 יֵין is explained by יָיִן; so that there was no occasion for the conjecture of Houbig. and Graf: תַּפַּח, it is fanned up; and against this we have Hitzig's objection that the Hophal of נָפַח never occurs. Equally uncalled for is Hitzig's own conjecture, תַּפִּיחַ, it will steam, fume, be kindled; while against this we have the fact, that as to נָפַח no evidence can be given for the meaning be kindled, and that we have no cases of such a mode of speaking as: the trouble is fuming, steaming up. The Arabian poetical saying: their pot steams or boils, *i.e.* a war is being prepared by them, is not sufficient to justify such a figure. We hold then תַּפְחָה for the correct reading, and decline to be led astray by the paraphrastic ἐκκαυθήσεται of the LXX., since תַּפְחָה gives a suitable sense. It is true, indeed, that פָּתַח usually means open; but an opening of the caldron by the removal of the lid is not (with Graf) to be thought of. But, again, פָּתַח has the derived sig. let loose, let off (cf. פָּתַח בִּימָתָה, Isa. xiv. 17), from which there can be no difficulty in inferring for the Niph. the sig. be let loose, and in the case of trouble, calamity: break forth. That which is in the pot runs over as the heat increases, and pours itself on the hearth or ground. If the seething contents of the pot represent disaster, their running over will point to its being let loose, its breaking out. יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ are the inhabitants of the land of Judah, as the interpretation in ver. 15 shows. In ver. 15 reference to the figure is given up, and the further meaning is given in direct statement. The Lord will call to all families of the kingdoms of the north, and they will come (= that they are to come). The kingdoms of the north are not merely the kingdoms of Syria, but in general those of Upper Asia; since all armies marching

from the Euphrates towards Palestine entered the land from the north. מִשְׁפְּחוֹת, families, are the separate races of nations, hence often used in parallelism with גוֹיִם; cf. x. 25, Nahum iii. 4. We must not conclude from this explanation of the vision seen that the seething pot symbolizes the Chaldeans themselves or the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar; such a figure would be too unnatural. The seething pot, whose contents boil over, symbolizes the disaster and ruin which the families of the kingdoms of the north will pour out on Judah.—Ver. 15 is not the precise interpretation of the picture seen, but a direct statement of the afflictions about to fall on the inhabitants of Judah. “They will set each his throne.” The representatives of the kingdoms are meant, the kings and generals. To set one’s throne (נָתַן or שָׂא; cf. xliii. 10, xlix. 38) is a figure for the establishing of sovereignty. כִּסֵּא, seat or throne, is not the seat of judgment, but the throne of the sovereign; cf. the expression: set the throne upon these stones, xliii. 10; where a passing of judgment on the stones being out of the question, the only idea is the setting up of dominion, as is put beyond doubt by the parallel clause: to spread out his state carpet upon the stones. “Before the gates of Jerusalem:” not merely in order to besiege the city and occupy the outlets from it (Jerome and others), but to lord it over the city and its inhabitants. If we take the figurative expression in this sense, the further statement fits well into it, and we have no need to take refuge in Hitzig’s unnatural view that these clauses are not dependent on נָתַנּוּ וְגוֹ, but on וְכָאֵלֵּי. For the words: they set up their dominion against the walls of Jerusalem, and against all cities of Judah, give the suitable sense, that they will use violence against the walls and cities.—Ver. 16. God holds judgment upon the inhabitants of Judah in this very way, viz. by bringing these nations and permitting them to set up their lordship before the gates of Jerusalem, and against all cities of Judah. The suffix in אֹתָם refers to יְשִׁי הָאָרֶץ, ver. 14, and אֹתָם stands by later usage for אֹתָם, as frequently in Jer.; cf. Ew. § 264, b. דָּבַר מִשְׁפָּטִים אֶת־רַב, speak judgment, properly, have a lawsuit with one, an expression peculiar to Jeremiah,—cf. iv. 12, xii. 1, xxxix. 5, lii. 9, and 2 Kings xxv. 6,—is in substance equivalent to אָתְּ נִשְׁפָּט, plead with one, cf. xii. 1 with ii. 35, Ezek. xx. 35 ff., and

signifies not only remonstrating against wrong doing, but also the passing of condemnation, and so comprehends trial and sentencing; cf. xxxix. 5, lii. 9. "All their wickedness" is more exactly defined in the following relative clauses; it consists in their apostasy from God, and their worship of heathen gods and idols made by themselves; cf. xix. 4, 1 Kings xi. 33, 2 Kings xxii. 17. קִטְר, offer odours, cause to rise in smoke, used not of the burning of incense alone, but of all offerings upon the altar, bloody offerings and meat-offerings; hence frequently in parallelism with זָבַח; cf. Hos. iv. 13, xi. 2, etc. In the Pentateuch the Hiphil is used for this sense. Instead of the plural מַעֲשֵׂי, many mss. give the singular מַעֲשֵׂה as the ordinary expression for the productions of the hand, handiwork; cf. xxv. 6, 7, 14, xxxii. 30, 2 Kings xxii. 17, etc.; but the plural too is found in xlv. 8, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 25, and is approved by these passages. The sense is no way affected by this variation.

Vers. 17-19. The interpretation of the symbols is followed by a charge to Jeremiah to address himself stoutly to his duties, and to discharge them fearlessly, together with still further and fuller assurance of powerful divine assistance.—Ver. 17. "But thou, gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak to them all that I command thee: be not dismayed before them, lest I dismay thee before them. Ver. 18. And I, behold I make thee this day a strong city, an iron pillar, a brazen wall against the whole land, the kings of Judah, its princes, its priests, and the people of the land. Ver. 19. They shall strive against thee, but not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith Jahveh, to save thee." To gird up the loins, *i.e.* to fasten or tuck up with the girdle the long wide garment, in order to make oneself fit and ready for labour, for a journey, or a race (Ex. xii. 11; 1 Kings xviii. 46; 2 Kings iv. 29, ix. 1), or for battle (Job xxxviii. 3, xl. 7). Meaning: equip thyself and arise to preach my words to the inhabitants of the land. In וְאַל-תִּחַתַּח מ' and וְאַחֲזֶקֶת ל' there is a play on words. The Niph. sig. broken in spirit by terror and anxiety; the Hiph. to throw into terror and anguish. If Jer. appears before his adversaries in terror, then he will have cause to be terrified for them; only if by unshaken confidence in the power of the word he preaches in the name of the Lord, will he be able to accomplish anything.

Such confidence he has reason to cherish, for God will furnish him with the strength necessary for making a stand, will make him strong and not to be vanquished. This is the meaning of the pictorial statement in ver. 18. A strong city resists the assaults of the foes; the storm cannot shatter an iron pillar; and walls of brass defy the enemy's missiles. Instead of the plural *חֲמוֹת*, the parallel passage xv. 20 has the sing. *חֹמֶת*, the plural being used as frequently as the singular to indicate the wall encircling the city; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 10 with 1 Kings iii. 1, Neh. ii. 13, iv. 1 with i. 3, and ii. 17, iv. 10. With such invincible power will God equip His prophet "against the whole land," *i.e.* so that he will be able to hold his own against the whole land. The mention of the component parts of "all the land," *i.e.* the several classes of the population, is introduced by *לְמַלְכֵי*, so that "the kings," etc., is to be taken as an apposition to "against all the land." Kings in the plural are mentioned, because the prophet's labours are to extend over several reigns. *שָׂרִים* are the chiefs of the people, the heads of families and clans, and officers, civil and military. "The people of the land" is the rest of the population not included in these three classes, elsewhere called men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem, xvii. 25, xxxii. 32, and frequently. *עָלֶיךָ* for *אֵלֶיךָ*; so in xv. 20, and often. With the promise in ver. 19*b*, cf. ver. 8.

I.—GENERAL ADMONITIONS AND REPROOFS BELONGING TO THE TIME OF JOSIAH.—CHAP. II.—XXII.

If we compare the six longer discourses in these chapters with the sayings and prophecies gathered together in the other portions of the book, we observe between them this distinction in form and matter, that the former are more *general* in their character than the latter. Considered as to their form, these last prophecies have, with few exceptions, headings in which we are told both the date of their composition and the circumstances under which they were uttered; while in the headings of these six discourses, if we except the somewhat indefinite notice, "in the days of Josiah" (iii. 6), we find nowhere mentioned either their date or the circumstances which led to

their composition. Again, both the shorter sayings and the lengthier prophecies between chap. xxi. and the end of the book are unmistakeably to be looked upon as prophetic addresses, separately rounded off; but the discourses of our first part give us throughout the impression that they are not discourses delivered before the people, but treatises compiled in writing from the oral addresses of the prophet. As to their matter, too, we cannot fail to notice the difference that, whereas from chap. xxi. onwards the king of Babylon is named as the executor of judgment upon Judah and the nations, in the discourses of chap. ii.-xx. the enemies who are to execute judgment are nowhere defined, but are only generally described as a powerful and terrible nation coming from the north. And so, in rebuking the idolatry and the prevailing sins of the people, no reference is made to special contemporary events; but there are introduced to a great extent lengthy general animadversions on their moral degeneracy, and reflections on the vanity of idolatry and the nature of true wisdom. From these facts we infer the probable conclusion that these discourses are but comprehensive summaries of the prophet's labours in the days of Josiah. The probability becomes certainty when we perceive that the matters treated in these discourses are arranged according to their subjects. The first discourse (chap. ii. 1-iii. 5) gives, so to speak, the programme of the subjects of all the following discourses: that disloyal defection to idolatry, with which Israel has from of old requited the Lord for His love and faithfulness, brings with it sore chastening judgments. In the second discourse (chap. iii. 6-vi. 30) faithless Judah is shown, in the fall of the ten tribes, what awaits itself in case of stiff-necked persistence in idolatry. In the third (chap. vii.-x.) is torn from it the support of a vain confidence in the possession of the temple and in the offering of the sacrifices commanded by the law. In the fourth (chap. xi.-xiii.) its sins are characterized as a breach of the covenant; and rejection by the Lord is declared to be its punishment. In the fifth (chap. xiv.-xvii.) the hope is destroyed that the threatened chastisement can be turned aside by intercession. Finally, in the sixth (chap. xviii.-xx.) the judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the kingdom of Judah is exhibited in symbolical acts. In this

arrangement and distribution of what the prophet had to announce to the people in his endeavours to save them, if possible, from destruction, we can recognise a progression from general admonitions and threatenings to more and more definite announcement of coming judgments; and when, on the other hand, we see growing greater and bitterer the prophet's complaints against the hatreds and persecutions he has to endure (cf. xii. 1-6, xv. 10, 11, 15-21, xvii. 14-18, xviii. 18-23, xx.), we can gather that the expectation of the people's being saved from impending destruction was growing less and less, that their obduracy was increasing, and that judgment must inevitably come upon them. These complaints of the prophet cease with chap. xx., though later he had much fiercer hatred to endure.

None of these discourses contains any allusions to events that occurred after Josiah's death, or stand in any relation to such events. Hence we believe we are safe in taking them for a digest of the quintessence of Jeremiah's oral preaching in the days of Josiah, and this arranged with reference to the subject-matter. It was by this preaching that Jeremiah sought to give a firm footing to the king's reformatory efforts to restore and inspire new life into the public worship, and to develop the external return to the legal temple worship into an inward conversion to the living God. And it was thus he sought, while the destruction of the kingdom was impending, to save all that would let themselves be saved; knowing as he did that God, in virtue of His unchangeable covenant faithfulness, would sharply chastise His faithless people for its obstinate apostasy from Him, but had not determined to make an utter end of it.

CHAP. II. 1-III. 5. THE LOVE AND FAITHFULNESS OF THE
LORD, AND ISRAEL'S DISLOYALTY AND IDOLATRY.

The Lord has loved Israel sincerely (ii. 2, 3), but Israel has fallen from the Lord its God and followed after imaginary gods (vers. 4-8); therefore He will yet further punish it for this unparalleled sin (vers. 9-19). From of old Israel has been renegade, and has by its idolatry contracted fear-

ful guilt, being led not even by afflictions to return to the Lord (vers. 20-30); therefore must the Lord chastise (vers. 31-37), because they will not repent (iii. 1-5). This discourse is of a quite general character; it only sketches the main thoughts which are extended in the following discourses and prophecies concerning Judah. So that by most critics it is held to be the discourse by which Jeremiah inaugurated his ministry; for, as Hitzig puts it, "in its finished completeness it gives the impression of a first-uttered outpouring of the heart, in which are set forth, without restraint, Jahveh's list of grievances against Israel, which has long been running up." It unquestionably contains the chief of the thoughts uttered by the prophet at the beginning of his ministry.

Vers. 1-3. "And then came to me the word of Jahveh, saying: Go and publish in the ears of Jerusalem, saying: I have remembered to thy account the love of thy youth, the lovingness of thy courtship time, thy going after me in the wilderness, in a land unsown. Holy was Israel to the Lord, his first-fruits of the produce: all who would have devoured him brought guilt upon themselves: evil came upon him, is the saying of Jahveh." The vers. 2 and 3 are not "in a certain sense the text of the following reproof" (Graf), but contain "the main idea which shows the cause of the [following] rebuke" (Hitz.): The Lord has rewarded the people of Israel with blessings for its love to Him. זָכַר with לְ *pers.* and *accus. rei* means: to remember to one's account that it may stand him in good stead afterwards,—cf. Neh. v. 19, xiii. 22, 31, Ps. xcvi. 3, cvi. 45, etc.,—that it may be repaid with evil, Neh. vi. 14, xiii. 29, Ps. lxxix. 8, etc. The perfect זָכַרְתִּי is to be noted, and not inverted into the present. It is a thing completed that is spoken of; what the Lord has done, not what He is going on with. He remembered to the people Israel the love of its youth. אֶהְיֶה, ordinarily, condescending love, graciousness and favour; here, the self-devoting, nestling love of Israel to its God. The youth of Israel is the time of the sojourn in Egypt and of the exodus thence (Hos. ii. 17, xi. 1); here the latter, as is shown by the following: lovingness of the courtship. The courtship comprises the time from the exodus out of Egypt till the concluding of the covenant at Sinai (Ex. xix.

8). When the Lord redeemed Israel with a strong hand out of the power of Egypt, He chose it to be His spouse, whom He bare on eagles' wings and brought unto Himself, Ex. xix. 4. The love of the bride to her Lord and Husband, Israel proved by its following Him as He went before in the wilderness, the land where it is not sown, *i.e.* followed Him gladly into the parched, barren wilderness. "Thy going after me" is decisive for the question so much debated by commentators, whether לְךָ and אֶתְּ stand for the love of Israel to its God, or God's love to Israel. The latter view we find so early as Chrysostom, and still in Rosenm. and Graf; but it is entirely overthrown by the לְךָ אֶתְּ אֶתְּ, which Chrysost. transforms into *ποιήσας ἐξακολουθήσαι μου*, while Graf takes no notice of it. The reasons, too, which Graf, after the example of Rosenm. and Dathe, brings in support of this and against the only feasible exposition, are altogether valueless. The assertion that the facts forbid us to understand the words of the love of Israel to the Lord, because history represents the Israelites, when *vixdum Aegypto egressos*, as *refractarios et ad aliorum deorum cultum pronos*, cannot be supported by a reference to Deut. ix. 6, 24, Isa. xlviii. 8, Amos v. 25 f., Ps. cvi. 7. History knows of no apostasy of Israel from its God and no idolatry of the people during the time from the exodus out of Egypt till the arrival at Sinai, and of this time alone Jeremiah speaks. All the rebellions of Israel against its God fall within the time after the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, and during the march from Sinai to Canaan. On the way from Egypt to Sinai the people murmured repeatedly, indeed, against Moses; at the Red Sea, when Pharaoh was pursuing with chariots and horsemen (Ex. xiv. 11 ff.); at Marah, where they were not able to drink the water for bitterness (xv. 24); in the wilderness of Sin, for lack of bread and meat (xvi. 2 ff.); and at Massah, for want of water (xvii. 2 ff.). But in all these cases the murmuring was no apostasy from the Lord, no rebellion against God, but an outburst of timorousness and want of proper trust in God, as is abundantly clear from the fact that in all these cases of distress and trouble God straightway brings help, with the view of strengthening the confidence of the timorous people in the omnipotence of His helping grace.

Their backsliding from the Lord into heathenism begins with the worship of the golden calf, after the covenant had been entered into at Sinai (Ex. xxxii.), and is continued in the revolts on the way from Sinai to the borders of Canaan, at Taberah, at Kibroth-hattaavah (Num. xi.), in the desert of Paran at Kadesh (Num. xiii., xx.); and each time it was severely punished by the Lord. Neither are we to conclude, with J. D. Mich., that God interprets the journey through the desert *in meliorem partem*, and makes no mention of their offences and revolts; nor with Graf, that Jeremiah looks steadily away from all that history tells of the march of the Israelites through the desert, of their discontent and refractoriness, of the golden calf and of Baal Peor, and, idealizing the past as contrasted with the much darker present, keeps in view only the brighter side of the old times. Idealizing of this sort is found neither elsewhere in Jeremiah nor in any other prophet; nor is there anything of the kind in our verse, if we take up rightly the sense of it and the thread of the thought. It becomes necessary so to view it, only if we hold the whole forty years' sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness to be the espousal time, and make the marriage union begin not with the covenanting at Sinai, but with the entrance of Israel into Canaan. Yet more entirely without foundation is the other assertion, that the words rightly given as the sense is, "stand in no connection with the following, since then the point in hand is the people's forgetfulness of the divine benefits, its thanklessness and apostasy, not at all the deliverances wrought by Jahveh in consideration of its former devotedness." For in ver. 3 it is plainly enough told how God remembered to the people its love. Israel was so shielded by Him, as His sanctuary, that whoever touched it must pay the penalty. קָדְשׁ are all gifts consecrated to Jahveh. The Lord has made Israel a holy offering consecrated to Him in this, that He has separated it to Himself for a סֶגֶלָה, for a precious possession, and has chosen it to be a holy people: Ex. xix. 5 f.; Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2. We can explain from the Torah of offering the further designation of Israel: his first-fruits; the first of the produce of the soil or yield of the land belonged, as קָדְשׁ, to the Lord: Ex. xxiii. 19; Num. viii. 8, etc. Israel, as the chosen people

of God, was such a *consecrated* firstling. Inasmuch as Jahveh is Creator and Lord of the whole world, all the peoples are His possession, the harvest of His creation. But amongst the peoples of the earth He has chosen Israel to Himself for a firstling-people (רֵאשִׁית הָעוֹלָם, Amos vi. 1), and so pronounced it His sanctuary, not to be profaned by touch. Just as each laic who ate of a firstling consecrated to God incurred guilt, so all who meddled with Israel brought guilt upon their heads. The choice of the verb אִכְלִי is also to be explained from the figure of firstling-offerings. The eating of firstling-fruit is appropriation of it to one's own use. Accordingly, by the eating of the holy people of Jahveh, not merely the killing and destroying of it is to be understood, but all laying of violent hands on it, to make it a prey, and so all injury or oppression of Israel by the heathen nations. The practical meaning of יִשְׁמֹי is given by the next clause: mischief came upon them. The verbs יִשְׁמֹי and הִבֵּא are not futures; for we have here to do not with the future, but with what did take place so long as Israel showed the love of the espousal time to Jahveh. Hence rightly Hitz.: "he that would devour it must pay the penalty." An historical proof of this is furnished by the attack of the Amalekites on Israel and its result, Ex. xvii. 8-15.

Vers. 4-8. But Israel did not remain true to its first love; it has forgotten the benefits and blessings of its God, and has fallen away from Him in rebellion.—Ver. 4. "Hear the word of Jahveh, house of Jacob, and all families of the house of Israel. Ver. 5. Thus saith Jahveh, What have your fathers found in me of wrongfulness, that they are gone far from me, and have gone after vanity, and are become vain? Ver. 6. And they said not, Where is Jahveh that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, that led us in the wilderness, in the land of steppes and of pits, in the land of drought and of the shadow of death, in a land that no one passes through and where no man dwells? Ver. 7. And I brought you into a land of fruitful fields, to eat its fruit and its goodness: and ye came and defiled my land, and my heritage ye have made an abomination. Ver. 8. The priests said not, Where is Jahveh? and they that handled the law knew me not: the shepherds fell away from me, and the prophets prophesied by Baal, and after them that

profit not are they gone." The rebuke for ungrateful, faithless apostasy is directed against the whole people. The "house of Jacob" is the people of the twelve tribes, and the parallel member, "all families of the house of Israel," is an elucidative apposition. The "fathers" in ver. 5 are the ancestors of the now living race onwards from the days of the Judges, when the generation arising after the death of Joshua and his contemporaries forsook the Lord and served the Baals (Judg. ii. 10 ff.). עָל, perversity, wrongfulness, used also of a single wicked deed in Ps. vii. 4, the opposite to acting in truth and good faith. Jahveh is a God of faithfulness (אֱמֻנָה); in Him is no iniquity (אֵין עָל), Deut. xxxii. 4. The question, what have they found . . . ? is answered in the negative by ver. 6. To remove far from me and follow after vanity, is tantamount to forsaking Jahveh and serving the false gods (Baals), Judg. ii. 11. הֶבֶל, lit. breath, thence emptiness, vanity, is applied so early as the song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 21, to the false gods, as being nonentities. Here, however, the word means not the gods, but the worship of them, as being groundless and vain; bringing no return to him who devotes himself to it, but making him foolish and useless in thought and deed. By the apostle in Rom. i. 21 יְהִיבֵל is expressed by ἐματαιώθησαν. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 15, where the second hemistich of our verse is applied to the ten tribes.—Ver. 6. They said not, Where is Jahveh? i.e. they have no longer taken any thought of Jahveh; have not recalled His benefits, though they owed to Him all they had become and all they possessed. He has brought them out of Egypt, freed them from the house of bondage (Mic. vi. 4), and saved them from the oppression of the Pharaohs, meant to extirpate them (Ex. iii. 7 ff.). He has led them through pathless and inhospitable deserts, miraculously furnished them with bread and water, and protected them from all dangers (Deut. viii. 15). To show the greatness of His benefits, the wilderness is described as parched unfruitful land, as a land of deadly terrors and dangers. אֶרֶץ עֲרָבָה, land of steppes or heaths, corresponds to the land unsown of ver. 2. "And of pits," i.e. full of dangerous pits and chasms into which one may stumble unawares. Land of drought, where one may have to pine through thirst. And of the shadow of death: so Sheol is named in Job

x. 21 as being a place of deep darkness; here, the wilderness, as a land of the terrors of death, which surround the traveller with darkness as of death: Isa. viii. 22, ix. 1; Job xvi. 16. A land through which no one passes, etc., *i.e.* which offers the traveller neither path nor shelter. Through this frightful desert God has brought His people in safety.—Ver 7. And He has done yet more. He has brought them into a fruitful and well-cultivated land. **בְּרִמָּה**, fruitful fields, the opposite of wilderness, chap. iv. 26; Isa. xxix. 17. To eat up its fruit and its good; cf. the enumeration of the fruits and useful products of the land of Canaan, Dent. viii. 7-9. And this rich and splendid land the ungrateful people have defiled by their sins and vices (cf. Lev. xviii. 24), and idolatry (cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 18); and the heritage of Jahveh they have thus made an abomination, an object of horror. The land of Canaan is called "my heritage," the especial domain of Jahveh, inasmuch as, being the Lord of the earth, He is the possessor of the land and has given it to the Israelites for a possession, yet dwells in the midst of it as its real lord, Num. xxv. 34.—In ver. 8 the complaint briefly given in ver. 6 is expanded by an account of the conduct of the higher classes, those who gave its tone to the spirit of the people. The priests, whom God had chosen to be the ministers of His sanctuary, asked not after Him, *i.e.* sought neither Him nor His sanctuary. They who occupy themselves with the law, who administer the law: these too are the priests as teachers of the law (Mic. iii. 11), who should instruct the people as to the Lord's claims on them and commandments (Lev. x. 11; Dent. xxxiii. 10). They knew not Jahveh, *i.e.* they took no note of Him, did not seek to discover what His will and just claims were, so as to instruct the people therein, and press them to keep the law. The shepherds are the civil authorities, princes and kings (cf. xxiii. 1 ff.): those who by their lives set the example to the people, fell away from the Lord; and the prophets, who should have preached God's word, prophesied **בְּבַעַל**, by Baal, *i.e.* inspired by Baal. Baal is here a generic name for all false gods; cf. xxiii. 13. **לֹא יוֹעִלִי**, those who profit not, are the Baals as unreal gods; cf. Isa. xlv. 9, 1 Sam. xii. 21. The utterances as to the various ranks form a climax, as Hitz. rightly remarks. The ministers of public

worship manifested no desire towards me ; those learned in the law took no knowledge of me, of my will, of the contents of the book of the law ; the civil powers went the length of rising up against my law ; and the prophets fairly fell away to false gods, took inspiration from Baal, the incarnation of the lying spirit.

Vers. 9-13. Such backsliding from God is unexampled and appalling. Ver. 9. "Therefore will I further contend with you, and with your children's children will I contend. Ver. 10. For go over to the islands of the Chittim, and see; and send to Kedar, and observe well, and see if such things have been ; Ver. 11. whether a nation hath changed its gods, which indeed are no gods? but my people hath changed its glory for that which profits not. Ver. 12. Be horrified, ye heavens, at this, and shudder, and be sore dismayed, saith Jahveh. Ver. 13. For double evil hath my people done ; me have they forsaken, the fountain of living waters, to hew out for themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that hold no water." In the preceding verses the fathers were charged with the backsliding from the Lord ; in ver. 9 punishment is threatened against the now-living people of Israel, and on their children's children after them. For the people in its successive and even yet future generations constitutes a unity, and in this unity a moral personality. Since the sins of the fathers transmit themselves to the children and remoter descendants, sons and grandsons must pay the penalty of the fathers' guilt, that is, so long as they share the disposition of their ancestors. The conception of this moral unity is at the foundation of the threatening. That the present race persists in the fathers' backsliding from the Lord is clearly expressed in ver. 17 ff. In "I will further chide or strive," is intimated *implicite* that God had chidden already up till now, or even earlier with the fathers. וַיִּכַּחַד, contend, when said of God, is actual striving or chastening with all kinds of punishment. This must God do as the righteous and holy one ; for the sin of the people is an unheard of sin, seen in no other people. "The islands of the Chittim" are the isles and coast lands of the far west, as in Ezek. xxvii. 6 ; כִּי־תִי־צִיֹן having originally been the name for Cyprus and the city of *Cition*, see in Gen. x. 4. In contrast with these distant western lands, *Kedar* is

mentioned as representative of the races of the east. The Kedarenes lived as a pastoral people in the eastern part of the desert between Arabia Petræa and Babylonia; see in Gen. xxv. 13 and Ezek. xxvii. 21. Peoples in the two opposite regions of the world are individualizingly mentioned instead of all peoples. הַתְּבוֹנֶנֶת, give good heed, serves to heighten the expression. הֵן = אֵם introduces the indirect question; cf. Ew. § 324, c. The unheard of, that which has happened amongst no people, is put interrogatively for rhetorical effect. Has any heathen nation changed its gods, which indeed are not truly gods? No; no heathen nation has done this; but the people of Jahveh, Israel, has exchanged its glory, *i.e.* the God who made Himself known to it in His glory, for false gods that are of no profit. כְּבוֹד is the glory in which the invisible God manifested His majesty in the world and amidst His people. Cf. the analogous title given to God, נֶאֱמָן יִשְׂרָאֵל, Amos viii. 7, Hos. v. 5. The exact antithesis to כְּבוֹדוֹ would be בִּשְׁתָּה, cf. iii. 24, xi. 13; but Jeremiah chose לֹא יוֹעִיל to represent the exchange as not advantageous. God showed His glory to the Israelites in the glorious deeds of His omnipotence and grace, like those mentioned in vers. 5 and 6. The Baals, on the other hand, are not אֱלֹהִים, but אֱלִילִים, nothings, phantoms without a being, that bring no help or profit to their worshippers. Before the sin of Israel is more fully set forth, the prophet calls on heaven to be appalled at it. The heavens are addressed as that part of the creation where the glory of God is most brightly reflected. The rhetorical aim is seen in the piling up of words. חָרֵב, lit. to be parched up, to be deprived of the life-marrow. Israel has committed two crimes: *a.* It has forsaken Jahveh, the fountain of living water. מַיִם חַיִּים, living water, *i.e.* water that originates and nourishes life, is a significant figure for God, with whom is the fountain of life (Ps. xxxvi. 10), *i.e.* from whose Spirit all life comes. Fountain of living water (here and xvii. 13) is synonymous with well of life in Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, Sir. xxi. 13. *b.* The other sin is this, that they hew or dig out wells, broken, rent, full of crevices, that hold no water. The delineation keeps to the same figure. The dead gods have no life and can dispense no life, just as wells with rents or fissures hold no water. The two sins, the forsaking of the living God and the seeking out

of dead gods, cannot really be separated. Man, created by God and for God, cannot live without God. If he forsakes the living God, he passes in spite of himself into the service of dead, unreal gods. Forsaking the living God is *eo ipso* exchanging Him for an imaginary god. The prophet sets the two moments of the apostasy from God side by side, so as to depict to the people with greater fulness of light the enormity of their crime. The fact in ver. 11 that no heathen nation changes its gods for others, has its foundation in this, that the gods of the heathen are the creations of men, and that the worship of them is moulded by the carnal-mindedness of sinful man; so that there is less inducement to change, the gods of the different nations being in nature alike. But the true God claims to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and does not permit the nature and manner of His worship to depend on the fancies of His worshippers; He makes demands upon men that run counter to carnal nature, insisting upon the renunciation of sensual lusts and cravings and the crucifixion of the flesh, and against this corrupt carnal nature rebels. Upon this reason for the fact adduced, Jeremiah does not dwell, but lays stress on the fact itself. This he does with the view of bringing out the distinction, wide as heaven, between the true God and the false gods, to the shaming of the idolatrous people; and in order, at the same time, to scourge the folly of idolatry by giving prominence to the contrast between the glory of God and the nothingness of the idols.

Vers. 14–19. By this double sin Israel has drawn on its own head all the evil that has befallen it. Nevertheless it will not cease its intriguing with the heathen nations. Ver. 14. “Is Israel a servant? is he a home-born slave? why is he become a booty? Ver. 15. Against him roared the young lions, let their voice be heard, and made his land a waste; his cities were burnt up void of inhabitants. Ver. 16. Also the sons of Noph and Tahpanes feed on the crown of thy head. Ver. 17. Does not this bring it upon thee, thy forsaking Jahveh thy God, at the time when He led thee on the way? Ver. 18. And now what hast thou to do with the way to Egypt, to drink the waters of the Nile? and what with the way to Assur, to drink the waters of the river? Ver. 19. Thy wickedness

chastises thee, and thy backslidings punish thee; then know and see that it is evil and bitter to forsake Jahveh thy God, and to have no fear of me, saith the Lord Jahveh of hosts." The thought from vers. 14-16 is this: Israel was plundered and abused by the nations like a slave. To characterize such a fate as in direct contradiction to its destiny is the aim of the question: Is Israel a servant? *i.e.* a slave or a house-born serf. עֶבֶר is he who has in any way fallen into slavery, יָלִיד בֵּית is a slave born in the house of his master. The distinction between these two classes of slaves does not consist in the superior value of the servant born in the house by reason of his attachment to the house. This peculiarity is not here thought of, but only the circumstance that the son of a slave, born in the house, remained a slave without any prospect of being set free; while the man who has been forced into slavery by one of the vicissitudes of life might hope again to acquire his freedom by some favourable turn of circumstances. Another failure is the attempt of Hitz. to interpret עֶבֶר as servant of Jahveh, worshipper of the true God; for this interpretation, even if we take no account of all the other arguments that make against it, is rendered impossible by יָלִיד בֵּית. That expression never means the son of the house, but by unfailing usage the slave born in the house of his master. Now the people of Israel had not been born as serf in the land of Jahveh, but had become עֶבֶר, *i.e.* slave, in Egypt (Deut. v. 15); but Jahveh has redeemed it from this bondage and made it His people. The questions suppose a state of affairs that did not exist. This is shown by the next question, one expressing wonder: Why then is he [it] become a prey? Slaves are treated as a prey, but Israel was no slave; why then has such treatment fallen to his lot? *Propheta per admirationem quasi de re nova et absurda sciscitatur. An servus est Israel? atqui erat liber præ cunctis gentibus, erat enim filius primogenitus Dei; necesse est igitur quærere aliam causam, cur adeo miser sit* (Calv.). Cf. the similar turn of the thought in ver. 31. How Israel became a prey is shown in vers. 15 and 16. These verses do not treat of future events, but of what has already happened, and, according to vers. 18 and 19, will still continue. The imperf. יִשְׁאָנִי and יִרְעִנִי alternate consequently with the perf. נָתַתָּה and נָתַתִּי,

and are governed by *לָבוּ הָיָה*, so that they are utterances regarding events of the past, which have been and are still repeated. Lions are a figure that frequently stands for enemies thirsting for plunder, who burst in upon a people or land; cf. Mic. v. 7, Isa. v. 29, etc. Roared *עָלָיו*, against him, not, over him: the lion roars when he is about to rush upon his prey, Amos iii. 4, 8; Ps. civ. 21; Judg. xiv. 5; when he has pounced upon it he growls or grumbles over it; cf. Isa. xxxi. 4.—In ver. 15*b* the figurative manner passes into plain statement. They made his land a waste; cf. iv. 7, xviii. 16, etc., where instead of *שָׁמָּה* we have the more ordinary *שָׁמָּה*. The Cheth. *נִצְתָה* from *נִצַּת*, not from the Ethiop. *נִצָּה* (Graf, Hitz.), is to be retained; the Keri here, as in xxii. 6, is an unnecessary correction; cf. Ew. § 317, *a*. In this delineation Jeremiah has in his eye chiefly the land of the ten tribes, which had been ravaged and depopulated by the Assyrians, even although Judah had often suffered partial devastations by enemies; cf. 1 Kings xiv. 25.—Ver. 16. Israel has had to submit to spoliation at the hands of the Egyptians too. The present reference to the Egyptians is explained by the circumstances of the prophet's times,—from the fact, namely, that just as Israel and Judah had sought the help of Egypt against the Assyrians (cf. Hos. vii. 11, 2 Kings xvii. 4, and Isa. xxx. 1–5, xxx. 1) in the time of Hezekiah, so now in Jeremiah's times Judah was expecting and seeking help from the same quarter against the advancing power of the Chaldeans; cf. xxxvii. 7. Noph and Tahpanes are two former capitals of Egypt, here put as representing the kingdom of the Pharaohs. *נֹף*, in Hos. ix. 6 *נֹף* contracted from *מִנֹּף*, *Manoph* or *Menoph*, is *Memphis*, the old metropolis of Lower Egypt, made by Psammetichus the capital of the whole kingdom. Its ruins lie on the western bank of the Nile, to the south of Old Cairo, close by the present village of *Mitrahenny*, which is built amongst the ruins; cf. Brugsch *Reiseberichte aus Egypten*, § 60 ff., and the remarks on Hos. ix. 6 and Isa. xix. 13. *תַּחְפְּנִס*, elsewhere spelt as here in the Keri *תַּחְפְּנִס*,—cf. xliii. 7 ff., xliv. 1, xlvi. 14, Ez. xxx. 18,—was a strong border city on the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile, called by the Greeks *Δάφναι* (Herod. ii. 20), by the LXX. *Τάφναι*; see in Ezek. xxx. 18. A part of the Jews who had

remained in the land fled hither after the destruction of Jerusalem, xliii. 7 ff. יָרַעַךְ קִרְיָךְ, feed upon thy crown (lit. feed on thee in respect of thy crown), is a trope for ignominious devastation; for to shave one bald is a token of disgrace and sorrow, cf. xlvii. 5, xlviii. 37, Isa. iii. 17; and with this Israel is threatened in Isa. vii. 20. יָרַעַךְ, to eat up by grazing, as in Job xx. 26 and xxiv. 21; in the latter passage in the sense of *depopulari*. We must then reject the conjectures of J. D. Mich., Hitz., and others, suggesting the sense: crush thy head for thee; a sense not at all suitable, since crushing the head would signify the utter destruction of Israel.—The land of Israel is personified as a woman, as is shown by the fem. suffix in יָרַעַךְ. Like a land closely cropped by herds, so is Israel by the Egyptians. In vi. 3 also the enemies are represented as shepherds coming with their flocks against Jerusalem, and pitching their tents round about the city, while each flock crops its portion of ground. In xii. 10 shepherds lay the vineyard waste.

In ver. 17 the question as to the cause of the evil is answered. זֶה is the above-mentioned evil, that Israel had become a prey to the foe. This thy forsaking of Jahveh makes or prepares for thee. הִתְעַזְּבָה is neuter; the infin. עָזָבָה is the subject of the clause, and it is construed as a neuter, as in 1 Sam. xviii. 23. The fact that thou hast forsaken Jahveh thy God has brought this evil on thee. At the time when He led thee on the way. The participle מוֹלִיךְ is subordinated to עָה in the *stat. constr.* as a *partic.* standing for the *præterit. durans*; cf. Ew. § 337, c. בִּדְרֶךְ is understood by Ros. and Hitz. of the right way (Ps. xxv. 8); but in this they forget that this acceptance is incompatible with the בָּעֵת, which circumscribes the leading within a definite time. God will lead His people on the right way at all times. The way on which He led them at the particular time is the way through the Arabian desert, cf. ver. 6, and בִּדְרֶךְ is to be understood as in Deut. i. 33, Ex. xviii. 8, xxiii. 20, etc. Even thus early their fathers forsook the Lord: at Sinai, by the worship of the golden calf; then when the people rose against Moses and Aaron in the desert of Paran, called a rejecting (נָאָץ) of Jahveh in Num. xiv. 11; and at Shittim, where Israel joined himself to Baal Peor, Num. xxv. 1-3. The forsaking of

Jahveh is not to be limited to direct idolatry, but comprehends also the seeking of help from the heathen; this is shown by the following 18th verse, in which the reproaches are extended to the present bearing of the people. *מִהֲלָךְ לָרֶךְ וְגו'*, lit. what is to thee in reference to the way of Egypt (for the expression, see Hos. xiv. 9), *i.e.* what hast thou to do with the way of Egypt? Why dost thou arise to go into Egypt, to drink the water of the Nile? *שְׁחֹר*, the black, turbid stream, is a name for the Nile, taken from its dark-grey or black mud. The Nile is the life-giving artery of Egypt, on whose fertilizing waters the fruitfulness and the prosperity of the country depend. To drink the waters of the Nile is as much as to say to procure for oneself the sources of Egypt's life, to make the power of Egypt useful to oneself. Analogous to this is the drinking the waters of the river, *i.e.* the Euphrates. What is meant is seeking help from Egyptians and Assyrians. The water of the Nile and of the Euphrates was to be made to furnish them with that which the fountain of living water, *i.e.* Jahveh (ver. 14), supplied to them. This is an old sin, and with it Israel of the ten tribes is upbraided by Hosea (vii. 11, xii. 2). From this we are not to infer "that here we have nothing to do with the present, since the existing Israel, Judah, was surely no longer a suitor for the assistance of Assyria, already grown powerless" (Hitz.). The limitation of the reproach solely to the past is irreconcilable with the terms of the verse and with the context (ver. 19). *מִהֲלָךְ לָרֶךְ* cannot grammatically be translated: What hadst thou to do with the way; just as little can we make *תִּיפְרָה* hath chastised thee, since the following: know and see, is then utterly unsuitable to it. *תִּיפְרָה* and *תִּוְבִיחָהּ* are not futures, but imperfects, *i.e.* expressing what is wont to happen over again in each similar case; and so to be expressed in English by the present: thy wickedness, *i.e.* thy wicked work, chastises thee. The wickedness was shown in forsaking Jahveh, in the *מִיַּבּוֹת*, backslidings, the repeated defection from the living God; cf. iii. 22, v. 6, xiv. 7. As to the fact, we have no historical evidence that under Josiah political alliance with Egypt or Assyria was compassed; but even if no formal negotiations took place, the country was certainly even then not without a party to build its hopes on one or other of

the great powers between which Judah lay, whenever a conflict arose with either of them.—וָרָעִי, with the Vav of consecution (see Ew. § 347, a) : Know then, and at last comprehend, that forsaking the Lord thy God is evil and bitter, *i.e.* bears evil and bitter fruit, prepares bitter misery for thee. “To have no fear of me” corresponds “to forsake,” *lit.* thy forsaking, as second subject; *lit.* : and the no fear of me in thee, *i.e.* the fact that thou hast no awe of me. בְּהִרְיָא, awe of me, like בְּהִרְיָא in Deut. ii. 25.

Vers. 20-25. All along Israel has been refractory; it cannot and will not cease from idolatry. Ver. 20. For of old time thou hast broken thy yoke, torn off thy bands; and hast said : I will not serve; but upon every high hill, and under every green tree, thou stretchedst thyself as a harlot. Ver. 21. And I have planted thee a noble vine, all of genuine stock : and how hast thou changed thyself to me into the bastards of a strange vine? Ver. 22. Even though thou washedst thee with natron and tookest much soap, filthily remains thy guilt before me, saith the Lord Jahveh. Ver. 23. How canst thou say, I have not defiled me, after the Baals have I not gone? See thy way in the valley, know what thou hast done—thou lightfooted camel filly, entangling her ways. Ver. 24. A wild she-ass used to the wilderness, that in her lust panteth for air; her heat, who shall restrain it? all that seek her run themselves weary; in her month they will find her. Ver. 25. Keep thy foot from going barefoot, and thy throat from thirst; but thou sayest, It is useless; no; for I have loved strangers, and after them I go.” Ver. 20. מִעוֹלָם, from eternity, *i.e.* from immemorial antiquity, has Israel broken the yoke of the divine law laid on it, and torn asunder the bands of decency and order which the commands of God, the ordinances of the Torah, put on, to nurture it to be a holy people of the Lord; torn them as an untamed bullock (xxx. 18) or a stubborn cow, Hos. iv. 16. מוֹסְרוֹת, bands, are not the bands or cords of love with which God drew Israel, Hos. xi. 4 (Graf), but the commands of God whose part it was to keep life within the bounds of purity, and to hold the people back from running riot in idolatry. On this head see v. 5; and for the expression, Ps. ii. 3. The Masoretes have taken שְׁבַרְתִּי and נִתְקַתִּי for the 1st person,

pointing accordingly, and for אָנְעִבּוֹר, as unsuitable to this, they have substituted אָנְעִבּוֹר. Ewald has decided in favour of these readings; but he is thus compelled to tear the verse to pieces and to hold the text to be defective, since the words from וְהִנָּחֵרִי onwards are not in keeping with what precedes. Even if we translate: I offend [transgress] not, the thought does not adapt itself well to the preceding; I have of old time broken thy yoke, etc.; nor can we easily reconcile with it the grounding clause; for on every high hill, . . . thou layest a whoring, where Ew. is compelled to force on הִי the adversative sig. Most commentators, following the example of the LXX. and Vulg., have taken the two verbs for 2d person; and thus is maintained the simple and natural thought that Israel has broken the yoke laid on it by God, renounced allegiance to Him, and practised idolatry on every hand. The spelling שָׁבַרְתִּי, נִתְקַחְתִּי, i.e. the formation of the 2d pers. perf. with ך, is frequently found in Jer.; cf. v. 33, iii. 4, iv. 19, xiii. 21, etc. It is really the fuller original spelling הִי which has been preserved in Aramaic, though seldom found in Hebrew; in Jer. it must be accounted an Aramaism; cf. Ew. § 190, c; Gesen. § 44, 2, Rem. 4. With the last clause, on every high hill, etc., cf. Hos. iv. 13 and Ezek. vi. 13 with the comm. on Deut. xii. 2. Stretchest thyself as a harlot or a whoring, is a vivid description of idolatry. אָצָה, bend oneself, lie down *ad coitum*, like *κατακλίνεσθαι*, *inclinari*.—Ver. 21. In this whoring with the false gods, Israel shows its utter corruption. I have planted thee a noble vine; not, with noble vines, as we translate in Isa. v. 2, where Israel is compared to a vineyard. Here Israel is compared to the vine itself, a vine which Jahveh has planted; cf. Ps. lxxx. 9, Hos. x. 1. This vine was all (כֻּלָּהּ, in its entirety, referred to שֹׁרֶק, as *collect.*) genuine seed; a proper shoot which could bear good grapes (cf. Ezek. xvii. 5); children of Abraham, as they are described in Gen. xviii. 19. But how has this Israel changed itself to me (לִי, *dativ. incommodi*) into bastards! סִיחִי is *accus.*, dependent on נִתְקַחְתִּי; for this constr. cf. Lev. xiii. 25, Ps. cxiv. 8. סִיחִים sig. not shoots or twigs, but degenerate sprouts or suckers. The article in הַנֶּחֱזֵק is generic: wild shoots of the species of the wild vine; but this is not the first determining word; cf. for

this exposition of the article xiii. 4, 2 Sam. xii. 30, etc., Ew. § 290, *a*³); and for the omission of the article with נִכְרִיָּה, cf. Ew. § 293, *a*. Thus are removed the grammatical difficulties that led Hitz. to take סִרְי וְנִ quite unnaturally as vocative, and Graf to alter the text. "A strange vine" is an interloping vine, not of the true, genuine stock planted by Jahveh (ver. 10), and which bears poisonous berries of gall, Deut. xxxii. 32.—Ver. 22. Though thou adoptedst the most powerful means of purification, yet couldst thou not purify thyself from the defilement of thy sins. נָתַר, natron, is mineral, and בְּרִית vegetable alkali. נִכְרִיָּה introduces the apodosis; and by the participle a lasting condition is expressed. This word, occurring only here in the O. T., sig. in Aram. to be stained, filthy, a sense here very suitable. לִפְנֵי, before me, i.e. before my eyes, the defilement of thy sins cannot be wiped out. On this head see Isa. i. 18, Ps. li. 4, 9.—Ver. 23. And yet Judah professes to be pure and upright before God. This plea Jeremiah meets by pointing to the open practising of idolatrous worship. The people of Judah personified as a woman—זֹנֶה in ver. 20—is addressed. אֵיךְ is a question expressing astonishment. נִרְמָאָה, of defilement by idolatry, as is shown by the next explanatory clause: the Baals I have not followed. בְּעֵלִים is used generically for strange gods, i. 16. The public worship of Baal had been practised in the kingdom of Judah under Joram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah only, and had been extirpated by Jehu, 2 Kings x. 18 ff. Idolatry became again rampant under Ahaz (by his instigation), Manasseh, and Amon, and in the first year of Josiah's reign. Josiah began to restore the worship of Jahveh in the twelfth year of his reign; but it was not till the eighteenth that he was able to complete the reformation of the public services. There is then no difficulty in the way of our assuming that there was yet public worship of idols in Judah during the first five years of Jeremiah's labours. We must not, however, refer the prophet's words to this alone. The following of Baal by the people was not put an end to when the altars and images were demolished; for this was sufficient neither to banish from the hearts of the people the proneness to idolatry, nor utterly to suppress the secret practising of it. The answer to the protestation of the people, blinded in self-righteousness, shows,

further, that the grosser publicly practised forms had not yet disappeared. "See thy way in the valley." Way, *i.e.* doing and practising. בְּנֵי with the article must be some valley known for superstitions cultivated there; most commentators suggest rightly the valley of *Ben* or *Bne-Hinnom* to the south of Jerusalem, where children were offered to Moloch; see on vii. 31. The next words, "and know what thou hast done," do not, taken by themselves, imply that this form of idol-worship was yet to be met with, but only that the people had not yet purified themselves from it. If, however, we take them in connection with what follows, they certainly do imply the continued existence of practices of that sort. The prophet remonstrates with the people for its passionate devotion to idolatry by comparing it to irrational animals, which in their season of heat yield themselves to their instinct. The comparison gains in pointedness by his addressing the people as a camel-filly and a wild she-ass. בְּנֵי קָ is vocative, co-ordinate with the subject of address, and means the young filly of the camel. קָלָה, running lightly, nimbly, swiftly. מְשַׁרְבֵּת רַר, intertwining, *i.e.* crossing her ways; rushing right and left on the paths during the season of heat. Thus Israel ran now after one god, now after another, deviating to the right and to the left from the path prescribed by the law, Deut. xxviii. 14. To delineate yet more sharply the unruly passionateness with which the people rioted in idolatry, there is added the figure of a wild ass running herself weary in her heat. Hitz. holds the comparison to be so managed that the figure of the she-camel is adhered to, and that this creature is compared to a wild ass only in respect of its panting for air. But this view could be well founded only if the *Keri* נִפְשָׁה were the original reading. Then we might read the words thus: (like) a wild ass used to the wilderness she (the she-camel) pants in the heat of her soul for air. But this is incompatible with the *Cheth* נִפְשֵׁי, since the suffix points back to פָּרָה, and requires נִפְשֵׁי to be joined with פָּרָה, so that שְׂאֵפָה must be spoken of the latter. Besides, taken on its own account, it is a very unnatural hypothesis that the behaviour of the she-camel should be itself compared to the gasping of the wild ass for breath; for the camel is only a figure of the people, and ver. 24 is meant to exhibit the un-

bridled ardour, not of the camel, but of the people. So that with the rest of the comm. we take the wild ass to be a second figure for the people. פָּרָה differs only orthographically from פָּרָא, the usual form of the word, and which many codd. have here. This is the wood ass, or rather wild ass, since the creature lives on steppes, not in woods. It is of a yellowish colour, with a white belly, and forms a kind of link between the deer species and the ass; by reason of its arrow-like speed not easily caught, and untameable. Thus it is used as an emblem of boundless love of freedom, Gen. xvi. 12, and of unbridled licentiousness, see on Job xxiv. 5 and xxxix. 5. פָּרָה as *nom. epicæn.* has the adj. next it, לָמַד, in the masc., and so too in the apposition בְּאֵזֶת נַפְשִׁי; the fem. appears first in the statement as to its behaviour, שָׁאָפָה: she pants for air to cool the glow of heat within. תִּאֲנֶה sig. neither copulation, from אָנָה, approach (Dietr.), nor *æstus libidinosus* (Schroed., Ros.). The sig. approach, meet, attributed to אָנָה, Dietr. grounds upon the Ags. *gelimpan*, to be convenient, opportune; and the sig. glow is derived from the fact that אָנִי is used of the boiling of water.

The root meaning of אָנָה, אָנִי, is, according to Fleischer, *tempestivus fuit*, and the root indicates generally any effort after the attainment of the aim of a thing, or impulse; from which come all the meanings ascribed to the word, and for תִּאֲנֶה in the text before us the sig. heat, *i.e.* the animal instinct impelling to the satisfaction of sexual cravings.

In ver. 24b בְּחֹדֶשָׁה is variously interpreted. Thus much is beyond all doubt, that the words are still a part of the figure, *i.e.* of the comparison between the idolatrous people and the wild ass. The use of the 3d person stands in the way of the direct reference of the words to Israel, since in what precedes and in what follows Israel is addressed (in 2d pers.). חֹדֶשׁ can thus mean neither the new moon as a feast (L. de Dieu, Chr. B. Mich.), still less *tempus menstruum* (Jerome, etc.), but month; and the suffix in חֹדֶשָׁה is to be referred, not with Hitz. to תִּאֲנֶה, but to פָּרָה. The suffixes in מִבְּקִשֶׁיהָ and יִמְצְאוּנָה absolutely demand this. "Her month" is the month appointed for the gratification of the wild ass's natural impulse, *i.e.*, as Bochart rightly explains it (*Hieroz.* ii. p. 230, ed. Ros.), *mensis quo*

solent sylvestres asinæ maris appetitu fervere. The meaning of the comparison is this: the false gods do not need anxiously to court the favour of the people; in its unbridled desires it gives itself up to them; cf. iii. 2, Hos. ii. 7, 15. With this is suitably coupled the warning of ver. 25: hold back, *i.e.* keep thy foot from getting bare (יָרֵךְ is subst. not adjective, which would have had to be fem., since רַגְלָא is fem.), and thy throat from thirst, viz. by reason of the fever of running after the idols. This admonition God addresses by the prophet to the people. It is not to wear the sandals off its feet by running after amours, nor so to heat its throat as to become thirsty. Hitz. proposes unsuitably, because in the face of the context, to connect the going barefoot with the visiting of the sanctuary, and the thirsting of the throat (1 Kings xviii. 26) with incessant calling on the gods. The answer of the people to this admonition shows clearly that it has been receiving an advice against running after the gods. The *Chet.* וַיִּרְוֹקוּ is evidently a copyist's error for וַיִּרְוֹקוּ. The people replies: נִוְאֵשׁ, *desperatum (est)*, *i.e.* hopeless; thy advice is all in vain; cf. xviii. 12, and on Isa. lvii. 10. The meaning is made clearer by לֹא: no; for I love the aliens, etc. אֱלֹהֵי נָכַר are not merely strange gods, but also strange peoples. Although idolatry is the matter chiefly in hand, yet it was so bound up with intriguing for the favour of the heathen nations that we cannot exclude from the words some reference to this also.

Vers. 26-28. And yet idolatry brings to the people only disgrace, giving no help in the time of need. Ver. 26. "As a thief is shamed when he is taken, so is the house of Israel put to shame; they, their kings, their princes, their priests, and their prophets. Ver. 27. Because they say to the wood, Thou art my father; and to the stone, Thou hast borne me: for they have turned to me the back and not the face; but in the time of their trouble they say, Arise, and help us. Ver. 28. Where then are thy gods that thou hast made thee? let them arise, if they can help thee in the time of thy trouble; for as many as are thy cities, so many are thy gods, Judah." The thought in vers. 26 and 27a is this, Israel reaps from its idolatry but shame, as the thief from stealing when he is caught in the act. The comparison in ver. 26 contains a universal truth of force at all times. The perf. הוֹבִישׁוּ is the timeless ex-

pression of certainty (Hitz.), and refers to the past as well as to the future. Just as already in past time, so also in the future, idolatry brings but shame and confusion by the frustration of the hopes placed in the false gods. The "house of Israel" is all Israel collectively, and not merely the kingdom of the ten tribes. To give the greater emphasis to the reproaches, the leading ranks are mentioned one by one. אֲמָרִים, not : who say, but because (since) they say to the wood, etc., *i.e.* because they hold images of wood and stone for the gods to whom they owe life and being; whereas Jahveh alone is their Creator or Father and Genitor, Deut. xxxii. 6, 18; Isa. lxiv. 7; Mal. ii. 10. אִמָּן is fem., and thus is put for mother. The *Keri* יִלְדָתִי is suggested solely by the preceding אֲמָרִים, while the *Chet.* is correct, and is to be read יִלְדָתִי, inasmuch as each one severally speaks thus.—With "for they have turned" follows the reason of the statement that Israel will reap only shame from its idolatry. To the living God who has power to help them they turn their back; but when distress comes upon them they cry to Him for help (קִימָה וְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי as in Ps. iii. 8). But then God will send the people to their gods (idols); then will it discover they will not help, for all so great as their number is. The last clause of ver. 28 runs literally: the number of thy cities are thy gods become, *i.e.* so great is the number of thy gods; cf. xi. 13. Judah is here directly addressed, so that the people of Judah may not take for granted that what has been said is of force for the ten tribes only. On the contrary, Judah will experience the same as Israel of the ten tribes did when disaster broke over it.

Vers. 29-37. Judah has refused to let itself be turned from idolatry either by judgments or by the warnings of the prophets; nevertheless it holds itself guiltless, and believes itself able to turn aside judgment by means of its intrigues with Egypt. Ver. 29. "Wherefore contend ye against me? ye are all fallen away from me, saith Jahveh. Ver. 30. In vain have I smitten your sons; correction have they not taken: your sword hath devoured your prophets, like a devouring lion. Ver. 31. O race that ye are, mark the word of Jahveh. Was I a wilderness to Israel, or a land of dread darkness? Why saith my people, We wander about, come no more to thee? Ver. 32.

Does a maiden forget her ornaments, a bride her girdle? but my people hath forgotten me days without number. Ver. 33. How finely thou trimmest thy ways to seek love! therefore to misdeeds thou accustomest thy ways. Ver. 34. Even in thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the innocent poor ones; not at housebreaking hast thou caught them, but by reason of all this. Ver. 35. And thou sayest, I am innocent, yea His wrath hath turned from me: behold, I will plead at law with thee for that thou hast said, I have not sinned. Ver. 36. Why runnest thou so hard to change thy way? for Egypt too thou shalt come to shame, as thou wast put to shame for Asshur. Ver. 37. From this also shalt thou come forth, beating thy hands upon thy head; for Jahveh rejecteth those in whom thou trustest, and thou shalt not prosper with them." The question in ver. 29, Wherefore contend ye against me? implies that the people contended with God as to His visitations, murmured at the divine chastisements they had met with; not as to the reproaches addressed to them on account of their idolatry (Hitz., Graf). לָקַחְתִּי with אֵל, contend, dispute against, is used of the murmuring of men against divine visitations, xii. 1, Job xxxiii. 13. Judah has no ground for discontent with the Lord; for they have all fallen away from Him, and (ver. 31) let themselves be turned to repentance neither by afflictions, nor by warnings, nor by God's goodness to them. לְשׁוֹן, to vanity, i.e. without effect, or in vain. Hitz. and Graf wish to refer "your sons" to the able-bodied youth who had at different times been slain by Jahveh in war. The LXX. seem to have taken it thus, expressing לָקַחְתִּי by ἐδέξασθε; for the third pers. of the verb will not agree with this acceptation of "your sons," since the reproach of not having taken correction could not apply to such as had fallen in war, but only to those who had escaped. This view is unquestionably incorrect, because, as Hitz. admits, the subject, those addressed in לָקַחְתִּי, must be the people. Hence it follows of necessity that in בְּנֵיכֶם too the people is meant. The expression is similar to בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ, Lev. xix. 18, and is used for the members of the nation, those who constitute the people; or rather it is like בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה, Joel iv. 6, where Judah is looked on by the prophet as a unity, where sons are the members of the people. הָפְקָה, too, is not to be limited

to those smitten or slain in war. It is used of all the judgments with which God visits His people, of sword, pestilence, famine, failure of crops, drought, and of all kinds of diseases; cf. Lev. xxvi. 24 ff., Deut. xxviii. 22, 27 ff. מִוֶּסֶר is instruction by word and by warning, as well as correction by chastisement. Most comm. take the not receiving of correction to refer to divine punitive visitations, and to mean refusal to amend after such warning; Ros., on the other hand, holds the reference to be to the warnings and reproofs of the prophets (מִוֶּסֶר *hic instructionem valet, ut* Prov. v. 12, 23 *et.*). But both these references are one-sided. If we refer "correction have they not taken" to divine chastisement by means of judgments, there will be no connection between this and the following clause: your sword devoured your prophets; and we are hindered from restraining the reference wholly to the admonitions and rebukes of the prophets by the close connection of the words with the first part of the verse, a connection indicated by the omission of all particles of transition. We must combine the two references, and understand מִוֶּסֶר both of the rebukes or warnings of the prophets and of the chastisements of God, holding at the same time that it was the correction of the people by the prophets that Jer. here chiefly kept in view. In administering this correction the prophets not only applied to the hearts of the people as judgments from God all the ills that fell upon them, but declared to the stiff-necked sinners the punishments of God, and by their words showed those punishments to be impending: e.g. Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. and xviii., 2 Kings i. 9 ff.; Elisha, 2 Kings ii. 23; the prophet at Bethel, 1 Kings xiii. 4. Thus this portion of the verse acquires a meaning for itself, which simplifies the transition from the first to the third clause, and we gain the following thought: I visited you with punishments, and made you to be instructed and reprov'd by prophets, but ye have slain the prophets who were sent to you. Nehemiah puts it so in ix. 26; but Jeremiah uses a much stronger expression, Your sword devoured your prophets like a lion which destroys, in order to set full before the sinners' eyes the savage hatred of the idolatrous people against the prophets of God. Historical examples of this are furnished by 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13, xix. 10, 2 Chron. xxiv. 21 ff., 2 Kings xxi. 16,

Jer. xxvi. 23. The prophet's indignation grows hotter as he brings into view God's treatment of the apostate race, and sets before it, to its shame, the divine long-suffering and love. **הָדָר** **אַתֶּם**, O generation ye! English: O generation that ye are! (cf. Ew. § 327, a), is the cry of indignation; cf. Deut. xxxii. 5, where Moses calls the people a perverse foolish generation. **רְאוּ**: see, observe, give heed to the word of the Lord. This verb is often used of perceptions by any sense, as expressive of that sense by which men apprehend most of the things belonging to the outward world. Have I been for Israel a wilderness, *i.e.* an unfruitful soil, offering neither means of support nor shelter? This question contains a litotes, and is as much as to say: have not I richly blessed Israel with earthly goods? Or a land of dread darkness? **מְאֻפֵּלָה**, lit. a darkness sent by Jahveh; cf. the analogous form **שְׁלֵחַבְתִּיהָ**, Cant. viii. 6.¹ The desert is so called not merely because it is pathless (Job iii. 23), but as a land in which the traveller is on all sides surrounded by deadly dangers; cf. ver. 6 and Ps. lv. 5. Why then will His people insist on being quit of Him? We roam about unfettered (as to **דָּר**, see on Hos. xii. 1), *i.e.* we will no longer bear the yoke of His law; cf. ver. 20. By a comparison breathing love and longing sadness, the prophet seeks to bring home to the heart of the people a feeling of the unnaturalness of their behaviour towards the Lord their God. Does a bride, then, forget her ornaments? etc. **קֶשֶׁרִים**, found besides in Isa. iii. 20, is the ornamental girdle with which the bride adorns herself on the wedding-day; cf. Isa. iii. 20 with xlix. 18. God is His people's best adornment; to Him it owes all the precious possessions it has. It should keep fast hold of Him as its most priceless treasure, should prize Him more highly than the virgin her jewels, than the bride her girdle. But instead of this it has forgotten its God, and that not for a brief time, but throughout

¹ Ewald, *Gram.* § 270, c, proposes to read with the LXX. **מְאֻפֵּלָה**, because (he says) it is nowhere possible, at least not in the language of the prophets, for the name *Jah* (God) to express merely greatness. But this is not to the point. Although a darkness sent by *Jah* be a great darkness, it by no means follows that the name *Jah* is used merely to express greatness. But by **תִּרְדֵּמַת יְהוָה**, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, it is put beyond a doubt that darkness of *Jah* means a darkness sent or spread out by *Jah*.

countless days. יָמִים is accus. of duration of time. Jeremiah uses this figure besides, as Calv. observed, to pave the way for what comes next. *Volebat enim Judæos conferre mulieribus adulteris, quæ dum feruntur effreni sua libidine, rapiuntur post suos vagos amores.*

In ver. 33 the style of address is ironical. How good thou makest thy way! i.e. how well thou knowest to choose out and follow the right way to seek love. הֵיטִיב דָּרָךְ sig. usually: strive after a good walk and conversation; cf. vii. 3, 5, xviii. 11, etc.; here, on the other hand, to take the right way for gaining the end in view. "Love" here is seen from the context to be love to the idols, intrigues with the heathen and their gods. Seek love = strive to gain the love of the false gods. To attain this end thou hast taught thy ways misdeeds, i.e. accustomed thy ways to misdeeds, forsaken the commandments of thy God which demand righteousness and the purifying of one's life, and accommodated thyself to the *immoral* practices of the heathen. הָרָעוֹת, with the article as in iii. 5, the evil deeds which are undisguisedly visible; not: the evils, the misfortunes which follow thee closely, as Hitz. interprets in the face of the context. For in ver. 34 we have indisputable evidence that the matter in hand is not evils and misfortunes, but evil deeds or misdemeanours; since there the cleaving of the blood of innocent souls to the hems of the garments is mentioned as one of the basest "evils," and as such is introduced by the זֶם of gradation. The "blood of souls" is the blood of innocent murdered men, which clings to the skirts of the murderers' clothes. כְּנָפִים are the skirts of the flowing garment, Ezek. v. 3; 1 Sam. xv. 27; Zech. viii. 23. The plural נִמְצְאוּ before יָם is explained by the fact that נַפְשׁוֹת is the principal idea. אֲבִיוֹנִים are not merely those who live in straitened circumstances, but pious oppressed ones as contrasted with powerful transgressors and oppressors; cf. Ps. xl. 18, lxxii. 13 f., lxxxvi. 1, 2, etc. By the next clause greater prominence is given to the fact that they were slain being innocent. The words: not בְּפִתְיוֹתָם, at housebreaking, thou tookest them, contain an allusion to the law in Ex. xxii. 1 and onwards; according to which the killing of a thief caught in the act of breaking in was not a cause of blood-guiltiness. The thought runs thus: The poor ones thou

hast slain were no thieves or robbers whom thou hadst a right to slay, but guiltless pious men; and the killing of them is a crime worthy of death. Ex. xxi. 12. The last words **עַל כָּל־אֵלֶּה** are obscure, and have been very variously interpreted. Changes upon the text are not to the purpose. For we get no help from the reading of the LXX., of the Syr. and Arab., which seem to have read **אֵלֶּה** as **אֵלֶּה**, and which have translated *δρυς* oak or terebinth; since "upon every oak" gives no rational meaning. Nor from the connecting of the words with the next verse (Venem., Schnur., Ros., and others): yet with all this, or in spite of all this, thou saidst; since neither does **כִּי** mean *yet*, nor can the **ו** before **הָאֵמָר**, in this connection, introduce the sequel thought. The words manifestly belong to what goes before, and contain a contrast: not in breaking in by night thou tookest them, but upon, or on account of all this. **עַל** in the sig. *upon* gives a suitable sense only if, with Abarb., Ew., Näg., we refer **אֵלֶּה** to **בְּכָנְפוֹךְ** and take **מִצְאָתָיִם** as 1st pers.: I found it (the blood of the slain souls) not on the place where the murder took place, but upon all these, *sc.* lappets of the clothes, *i.e.* borne openly for display. But even without dwelling on the fact that **מִצְאָתָיִם** does not mean the scene of a murder or breaking in, this explanation is wrecked on the unmistakeably manifest allusion to the law, **אִם בַּמִּצְאָתָיִם יִמָּצֵא הַנֶּגֶב**, Ex. xxi. 1, which is ignored, or at least obscured, by that view. The allusion to this passage of the law shows that **מִצְאָתָיִם** is not 1st but 2d pers., and that the suffix refers to the innocent poor who were slain. Therefore, with Hitz. and Graf, we take **עַל כָּל־אֵלֶּה** in the sig. "on account of all this," and refer the "all this" to the idolatry before mentioned. Consequently the words bear this meaning: Not for a crime thou killedst the poor, but because of thine apostasy from God and thy fornication with the idols, their blood cleaves to thy raiment. The words seem, as Calv. surmised, to point to the persecution and slaying of the prophets spoken of in ver. 30, namely, to the innocent blood with which the godless king Manasseh filled Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxi. 16, xxiv. 4; seeking as he did to crush out all opposition to the abominations of idolatry, and finding in his way the prophets and the godly of the land, who by their words and their lives lifted up their common testimony

against the idolaters and their abandoned practices.—Ver. 35. Yet withal the people holds itself to be guiltless, and deludes itself with the belief that God's wrath has turned away from it, because it has for long enjoyed peace, and because the judgment of devastation of the land by enemies, threatened by the earlier prophets, had not immediately received its fulfilment. For this self-righteous confidence in its innocence, God will contend with His people (אֱתֹנֶה for אֶתֶּנָּה as in i. 16).—Ver. 36 f. Yet in spite of its proud security Judah seeks to assure itself against hostile attacks by the eager negotiation of alliances. This thought is the link between ver. 35 and the reproach of ver. 36. Why runnest thou to change thy way? הֲלִילִי for הֲלִילִי, from הָלַךְ, go, with כֹּחַ, go impetuously or with strength, i.e. go in haste, run; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 19. To change, shift (שָׁנֶה) one's way, is to take another way than that on which one has hitherto gone. The prophet's meaning is clear from the second half of the verse: "for Egypt, too, wilt thou come to shame, as for Assyria thou hast come to shame." Changing the way, is ceasing to seek help from Assyria in order to form close relations with Egypt. The verbs הִבֵּשְׁתָּ and בָּשַׁתָּ show that the intrigues for the favour of Assyria belong to the past, for the favour of Egypt to the present. Judah was put to shame in regard to Assyria under Ahaz, 2 Chron. xxviii. 21; and after the experience of Assyria it had had under Hezekiah and Manasseh, there could be little more thought of looking for help thence. But what could have made Judah under Josiah, in the earlier days of Jeremiah, to seek an alliance with Egypt, considering that Assyria was at that time already nearing its dissolution? Graf is therefore of opinion that the prophet is here keeping in view the political relations in the days of Jehoiakim, in which and for which time he wrote his book, rather than those of Josiah's times, when the alliance with Asshur was still in force; and that he has thus in passing cast a stray glance into a time influenced by later events. But the opinion that in Josiah's time the alliance with Asshur was still existing cannot be historically proved. Josiah's invitation to the passover of all those who remained in what had been the kingdom of the ten tribes, does not prove that he exercised a kind of sovereignty over the provinces that had formerly be-

longed to the kingdom of Israel, a thing he could have done only as vassal of Assyria; see against this view the remarks on 2 Kings xxiii. 15 ff. As little does his setting himself against the now mighty Pharaoh Necho at Megiddo show clearly that he remained faithful to the alliance with Asshur in spite of the disruption of the Assyrian empire; see against this the remarks on 2 Kings xxiii. 29 f. Historically only thus much is certain, that Jehoiakim was raised to the throne by Pharaoh Necho, and that he was a vassal of Egypt. During the period of this subjection the formation of alliances with Egypt was for Judah out of the question. Such a case could happen only when Jehoiakim had become subject to the Chaldean king Nebuchadnezzar, and was cherishing the plan of throwing off the Chaldean yoke. But the reference of the words to this design is devoid of the faintest probability, vers. 35 and 36; and the discourse throughout is far from giving the impression that Judah had already lost its political independence; they rather imply that the kingdom was under the sway neither of Assyrians nor Egyptians, but was still politically independent. We may very plausibly refer to Josiah's time the resolution to give up all trust in the assistance of Assyria and to court the favour of Egypt. We need not seek for the outward inducement to this in the recognition of the beginning decline of the Assyrian power; it might equally well lie in the growth of the Egyptian state. That the power of Egypt had made considerable progress in the reign of Josiah, is made clear by Pharaoh Necho's enterprise against Assyria in the last year of Josiah, from Necho's march towards the Euphrates. Josiah's setting himself in opposition to the advance of the Egyptians, which cost him his life at Megiddo, neither proves that Judah was then allied with Assyria nor excludes the possibility of intrigues for Egypt's favour having already taken place. It is perfectly possible that the taking of Manasseh a captive to Babylon by Assyrian generals may have shaken the confidence in Assyria of the idolatrous people of Judah, and that, their thoughts turning to Egypt, steps may have been taken for paving the way towards an alliance with this great power, even although the godly king Josiah took no part in these proceedings. The prophet's warning against confidence in Egypt and against courting its

alliance, is given in terms so general that it is impossible to draw any certain conclusions either with regard to the principles of Josiah's government or with regard to the circumstances of the time which Jeremiah was keeping in view.—Ver. 37. Also from this, *i.e.* Egypt, shalt thou go away (come back), thy hands upon thy head, *i.e.* beating them on thy head in grief and dismay (cf. for this gesture 2 Sam. xiii. 19). מִצְרַיִם refers to Egypt, thought of as a people as in xlv. 8, Isa. xix. 16, 25; and thus is removed Hitz.'s objection, that in that case we must have מִצְרַיִם , objects of confidence. The expression refers equally to Egypt and to Assyria. As God has broken the power of Assyria, so will He also overthrow Egypt's might, thus making all trust in it a shame. לָהֶם , in reference to them.

Chap. iii. 1-5. As a divorced woman who has become another man's wife cannot return to her first husband, so Judah, after it has turned away to other gods, will not be received again by Jahveh; especially since, in spite of all chastisements, it adheres to its evil ways. Ver. 1. "He saith, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, can he return to her again? would not such a land be polluted? and thou hast whored with many partners; and wouldst thou return to me? saith Jahveh. Ver. 2. Lift up thine eyes unto the bare-topped hills and look, where hast thou not been lien with; on the ways thou satest for them, like an Arab in the desert, and pollutedst the land by thy whoredoms and by thy wickedness. Ver. 3. And the showers were withheld, and the latter rain came not; but thou hadst the forehead of an harlot woman, wouldst not be ashamed. Ver. 4. Ay, and from this time forward thou criest to me, My father, the friend of my youth art thou. Ver. 5. Will he alway bear a grudge and keep it up for ever? Behold, thou speakest thus and dost wickedness and carriest it out." This section is a continuation of the preceding discourse in chap. ii., and forms the conclusion of it. That this is so may be seen from the fact that a new discourse, introduced by a heading of its own, begins with ver. 6. The substance of the fifth verse is further evidence in the same direction; for the rejection of Judah by God declared in that verse furnishes the suitable conclusion to the discourse in chap. ii., and briefly shows how the Lord will plead with the people that holds itself blame-

less (ii. 35).¹ But it is somewhat singular to find the connection made by means of לְאָמַר, which is not translated by the LXX. or Syr., and is expressed by Jerome by *vulgo dicitur*. Ros. would make it, after Rashi, *possem dicere*, Rashi's opinion being that it stands for יֵשׁ לִי לֵאמֹר. In this shape the assumption can hardly be justified. It might be more readily supposed that the infinitive stood in the sense: it is to be said, one may say, it must be affirmed; but there is against this the objection that this use of the infinitive is never found at the beginning of a new train of thought. The only alternative is with Maur. and Hitz. to join לְאָמַר with what precedes, and to make it dependent on the verb מָאָס in ii. 37: Jahveh hath rejected those in whom thou trustest, so that thou shalt not prosper with them; for He says: As a wife, after she has been put away from her husband and has been joined to another, cannot be taken back again by her first husband, so art thou thrust away for thy whoredom. The rejection of Judah by God is not, indeed, declared *expressis verbis* in vers. 1–5, but is clearly enough contained there in substance. Besides, “the rejection of the people’s sureties (ii. 37) involves that of the people too” (Hitz.). לְאָמַר, indeed, is not universally used after *verbis dicendi* alone, but frequently stands after very various antecedent verbs, in which case it must be very variously expressed in English; *e.g.* in Josh. xxii. 11 it comes after יִשְׁמְעוּ, they heard: as follows, or these words; in 2 Sam. iii. 12 we have it twice, once after the words, he sent messengers to David to say, *i.e.* and cause them say to him, a second time in the sense of namely; in 1 Sam. xxvii. 11 with the force of: for he said or thought. It is used here in a

¹ The contrary assertion of Ew. and Nägelsb. that these verses do not belong to what precedes, but constitute the beginning of the next discourse (chap. iii.–vi.), rests upon an erroneous view of the train of thought in this discourse. And such meagre support as it obtains involves a violation of usage in interpreting אֵלַי וְשׁוּבָא as: yet turn again to me, and needs further the arbitrary critical assertion that the heading in iii. 6: and Jahveh said to me in the days of Josiah, has been put by a copyist in the wrong place, and that it ought to stand before ver. 1.—Nor is there any reason for the assumption of J. D. Mich. and Graf, that at ver. 1 the text has been mutilated, and that by an oversight יְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה has dropped out; and this assumption also contradicts the fact that vers. 1–5 can neither contain nor begin any new prophetic utterance.

manner analogous to this: he announces to thee, makes known to thee.—The comparison with the divorced wife is suggested by the law in Deut. xxiv. 1-4. Here it is forbidden that a man shall take in marriage again his divorced wife after she has been married to another, even although she has been separated from her second husband, or even in the case of the death of the latter; and re-marriage of this kind is called an abomination before the Lord, a thing that makes the land sinful. The question, May he yet return to her? corresponds to the words of the law: her husband may not again (לְשׁוֹב) take her to be his wife. The making of the land sinful is put by Jer. in stronger words: this land is polluted; making in this an allusion to Lev. xviii. 25, 27, where it is said of similar sins of the flesh that they pollute the land.

With "and thou hast whored" comes the application of this law to the people that had by its idolatry broken its marriage vows to its God. וְנָה is construed with the *accus.* as in Ezek. xvi. 28. רָעִים, comrades in the sense of paramours; cf. Hos. iii. 1. רָבִים, inasmuch as Israel or Judah had intrigued with the gods of many nations. וְשׁוֹב אֵלַי is *infin. abs.*, and the clause is to be taken as a question: and is it to be supposed that thou mayest return to me? The question is marked only by the accent; cf. Ew. § 328, *a*, and Gesen. § 131, 4, *b*. Syr., Targ., Jerome, etc. have taken וְשׁוֹב as imperative: return again to me; but wrongly, since the continuity is destroyed. This argument is not answered by taking וְ *copul.* adversatively with the sig. yet; it is on the contrary strengthened by this arbitrary interpretation. The call to return to God is incompatible with the reference in ver. 2 to the idolatry which is set before the eyes of the people to show it that God has cause to be wroth. "Look but to the bare-topped hills." שְׁפָלִים, bald hills and mountains (cf. Isa. xli. 18), were favoured spots for idolatrous worship; cf. Hos. iv. 13. When hast not thou let thyself be ravished? *i.e.* on all sides. For שְׁפָלִים the Masoretes have here and everywhere substituted שְׂפָפִים, see Deut. xxviii. 30, Zech. xiv. 2, etc. The word is here used for spiritual ravishment by idolatry; here represented as spiritual fornication. Upon the roads thou sittest, like a prostitute, to entice the passers-by; cf. Gen. xxxviii. 14, Prov. vii. 12. This figure corresponds in actual fact to the

erection of idolatrous altars at the corners of the streets and at the gates : 2 Kings xxiii. 8 ; Ezek. xvi. 25. Like an Arab in the desert, *i.e.* a Bedouin, who lies in wait for travellers, to plunder them. The Bedouins were known to the ancients, cf. Diod. Sic. ii. 48, Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 28, precisely as they are represented to this day by travellers.—By this idolatrous course Israel desecrated the land. The plural form of the suffix with the singular **נִיחַ** is to be explained by the resemblance borne both in sound and meaning (an abstract) by the termination **נח** to the plural **נח** ; cf. ver. 8, Zeph. iii. 20, and Ew. § 259, *b*. **רָעָהָהּ** refers to the moral enormities bound up with idolatry, *e.g.* the shedding of innocent blood, ii. 30, 35. The shedding of blood is represented as defilement of the land in Num. xxxv. 33.—Ver. 3. But the idolatrous race was not to be brought to reflection or turned from its evil ways, even when judgment fell upon it. God chastised it by withholding the rain, by drought ; cf. xiv. 1 ff., Amos iv. 7 ff. **רִיבִיִּים**, rain-showers (Deut. xxxii. 2), does not stand for the early rain (**יֹרֵה**), but denotes any fall of rain ; and the late rain (shortly before harvest) is mentioned along with it, as in Hos. vi. 3, Zech. x. 1. But affliction made no impression. The people persisted in its sinful courses with unabashed effrontery ; cf. v. 3, Ezek. iii. 7 f.—Ver. 4. Henceforward, forsooth, it calls upon its God, and expects that His wrath will abate ; but this calling on Him is but lip-service, for it goes on in its sins, amends not its life. **הֲלוֹא**, *nonne*, has usually the force of a confident assurance, introducing in the form of a question that which is held not to be in the least doubtful. **מֵעַתָּה**, henceforward, the antithesis to **מֵעוֹלָם**, ii. 20, 27, is rightly referred by Chr. B. Mich. to the time of the reformation in public worship, begun by Josiah in the twelfth year of his reign, and finally completed in the eighteenth year, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3–33. Clearly we cannot suppose a reference to distress and anxiety excited by the drought ; since, in ver. 3, it is expressly said that this had made no impression on the people. On **אָבִי**, cf. ii. 27. **אֵלֹהֵי נַעֲרִי** (cf. Prov. ii. 17), the familiar friend of my youth, is the dear beloved God, *i.e.* Jahveh, who has espoused Israel when it was a young nation (ii. 2). Of Him it expects that He will not bear a grudge for ever. **נָטַר**, guard, then like **τηρεῖν**, cherish ill-will, keep up, used of anger ; see on Lev.

xix. 18, Ps. ciii. 9, etc. A like meaning has יִשְׁמַר, to which אֵל, *iram*, is to supplied from the context; cf. Amos i. 11.—Thus the people speaks, but it does evil. דְּבַרְתִּי, like קָרָאתִי in ver. 4, is 2d pers. fem.; see in ii. 20. Hitz. connects דְּבַרְתִּי so closely with וַתַּעַשׂ as to make הָרָעוֹת the object to the former verb also: thou hast spoken and done the evil; but this is plainly contrary to the context. “Thou speakest” refers to the people’s saying quoted in the first half of the verse: Will God be angry for ever? What they do is the contradiction of what they thus say. If the people wishes that God be angry no more, it must give over its evil life. הָרָעוֹת, not calamity, but misdeeds, as in ii. 33. הִנֵּכָל, thou hast managed it, properly mastered, *i.e.* carried it through; cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 25, 1 Kings xxii. 22. The form is 2d pers. fem., with the fem. ending dropped on account of the *Vav consec.* at the end of the discourse; cf. Ew. § 191, b. So long as this is the behaviour of the people, God cannot withdraw His anger.

CHAP. III. 6-VI. 30.—THE REJECTION OF IMPENITENT ISRAEL.

These four chapters form a lengthy prophetic discourse of the time of Josiah, in which two great truths are developed: that Israel can become a partaker of promised blessing only through conversion to the Lord, and that by perseverance in apostasy it is drawing on itself the judgment of expulsion amongst the heathen. In the first section, chap. iii. 6-iv. 2, we have the fate of the ten tribes displayed to the faithless Judah, and the future reception again and conversion of Israel announced. In the second section, chap. iv. 3-31, the call to Judah to repent is brought home to the people by the portrayal of the judgment about to fall upon the kingdom, the destruction of Jerusalem and the devastation of the land. In the third section, chap. v., a further description is given of the people’s persistence in unrighteousness and apostasy. And in the fourth section, chap. vi., the impending judgment and its horrors are yet more fully exhibited to a generation blinded by its self-righteous confidence in the external performance of the sacrificial worship.

Eichhorn and Hitz. have separated chap. iii. 6-iv. 2 from

it. The relation of chap. iii. 6 ff. to ii. 1 ff. is not that the prophet desires in chap. iii. 6-iv. 2 to explain or mitigate the harsh utterance in iii. 5, because his own heart could not acquiesce in the thought of the utter rejection of his people, and because the wrath of the seer was here calming down again. This opinion and the reference of the threatened judgment in chap. iv.-vi. to the Scythians are based on unscriptural views of the nature of prophecy. But even if, in accordance with what has been said, these four chapters form one continuous prophetic discourse, yet we are not justified by the character of the whole discourse as a unity in assuming that Jeremiah delivered it publicly in this form before the people at some particular time. Against this tells the indefiniteness of the date given: in the days of Josiah; and of still greater weight is the transition, which we mark repeated more than once, from the call to repentance and the denunciation of sin, to threatening and description of the judgment about to fall on people and kingdom, city and country; cf. iv. 3 with v. 1 and vi. 1, 16. From this we can see that the prophet continually begins again afresh, in order to bring more forcibly home to the heart what he has already said. The discourse as we have it is evidently the condensation into one uniform whole of a series of oral addresses which had been delivered by Jeremiah in Josiah's times.

Chap. iii. 6-iv. 2. THE REJECTION AND RESTORATION OF ISRAEL (OF THE TEN TRIBES).—Hgsth. speaks of this passage as the announcement of redemption in store for Israel. And he so speaks not without good cause; for although in iii. 6-9 the subject is the rejection of Israel for its backsliding from the Lord, yet this introduction to the discourse is but the historical foundation for the declaration of good news (iii. 12-iv. 2), that rejected Israel will yet return to its God, and have a share in the glory of the Messiah. From the clearly drawn parallel between Israel and Judah in iii. 8-11 it is certain that the announcement of Israel's redemption can have no other aim than "to wound Judah." The contents of the whole discourse may be summed up in two thoughts: 1. Israel is not to remain always rejected, as pharisaic Judah imagined; 2. Judah is not to be always spared. When Jeremiah entered upon his office

Israel had been in exile for 94 years, and all hope for the restoration of the banished people seemed to have vanished. But Judah, instead of taking warning by the judgment that had fallen upon the ten tribes, and instead of seeing in the downfall of the sister people the prognostication of its own, was only confirmed by it in its delusion, and held its own continued existence to be a token that against it, as the people of God, no judgment of wrath could come. This delusion must be destroyed by the announcement of Israel's future reinstatement.

Vers. 6-10. *Israel's backsliding and rejection a warning for Judah.*—Ver. 6. "And Jahveh spake to me in the days of King Josiah, Hast thou seen what the backsliding one, Israel, hath done? she went up on every high mountain, and under every green tree, and played the harlot there. Ver. 7. And I thought: After she hath done all this, she will return to me; but she returned not. And the faithless one, her sister Judah, saw it. Ver. 8. And I saw that, because the backsliding one, Israel, had committed adultery, and I had put her away, and had given her a bill of divorce, yet the faithless one, Judah, her sister, feared not even on this account, and went and played the harlot also. Ver. 9. And it befell that for the noise of her whoredom the land was defiled, and she committed adultery with stone and wood. Ver. 10. And yet with all this, the faithless one, her sister Judah, turned not to me with her whole heart, but with falsehood, saith Jahveh." The thought of these verses is this: notwithstanding that Judah has before its eyes the lot which Israel (of the ten tribes) has brought on itself by its obdurate apostasy from the covenant God, it will not be moved to true fear of God and real repentance. Viewing idolatry as spiritual whoredom, the prophet develops that train of thought by representing the two kingdoms as two adulterous sisters, calling the inhabitants of the ten tribes מְשַׁבֵּה, the backsliding, those of Judah בְּנוֹתָהּ, the faithless. On these names Venema well remarks: "*Sorores propter unam eandemque stirpem, unde uterque populus fuit, et arctam ad se invicem relationem appellantur. Utraque fuit adultera propter idololatriam et fœderis violationem; sed Israel vocatur uxor aversa; Juda vero perfida, quia Israel non tantum religionis sed et regni et*

civitatis respectu, adeoque palam erat a Deo alienata, Juda vero Deo et sedi regni ac religionis adfixa, sed nihilominus a Deo et cultu ejus defecerat, et sub externa specie populi Dei fœdus ejus fregerat, quo ipso gravius peccaverat." This representation Ezekiel has in chap. xxiii. expanded into an elaborate allegory. The epithets מְשַׁכֶּה and בְּנוּדָה or בִּנְיָדָה (ver. 11) are coined into proper names. This is shown by their being set without articles before the names; as mere epithets they would stand after the substantives and have the article, since *Israel* and *Judah* as being *nomm. propr.* are definite ideas. מְשַׁכֶּה is elsewhere an abstract substantive: apostasy, defection (viii. 5; Hos. xi. 7, etc.), here concrete, the apostate, so-called for her many מְשֻׁבוֹת, ver. 22 and ii. 19. בְּנוּדָה, the faithless, used of perfidious forsaking of a husband; cf. ver. 20, Mal. ii. 14. הִלְכָה הֵיא, going was she, expressing continuance. Cf. the same statement in ii. 20. וַתֵּנִי, 3d pers. fem., is an Aramaizing form for וַתֵּנֶה or וַתֵּן; cf. Isa. liii. 10.—Ver. 7. And I said, *sc.* to myself, *i.e.* I thought. A speaking by the prophets (Rashi) is not to be thought of; for it is no summons, turn again to me, but only the thought, they will return. It is true that God caused backsliding Israel to be ever called again to repentance by the prophets, yet without effect. Meantime, however, no reference is made to what God did in this connection, only Israel's behaviour towards the Lord being here kept in view. The *Chet.* וַתֵּרְאֶה is the later usage; the *Keri* substitutes the regular contracted form וַתֵּרָא. The object, it (the whoredom of Israel), may be gathered from what precedes.—Ver. 8. Many commentators have taken objection to the וַתֵּרְאֶה, because the sentence, "I saw that I had therefore given Israel a bill of divorce," is as little intelligible as "and the faithless Judah saw it, and I saw it, for," etc. Thus *e.g.* Graf, who proposes with Ew. and Syr. to read וַתֵּרָא, "and she saw," or with Jerome to omit the word from the text. Against both conjectures it is decisive that the LXX. translates *καὶ εἶδον*, and so must have read וַתֵּרְאֶה. To this we may add, that either the change or the omission destroys the natural relation to one another of the clauses. In either case we would have this connection: "and the faithless one, her sister Judah, saw that, because the backslider Israel had committed adultery, I had put her away . . .

yet the faithless one feared not." But thus the gist of the thing, what Judah saw, namely, the repudiation of Israel, would be related but cursorily in a subordinate clause, and the 7th verse would be shortened into a half verse; while, on the other hand, the 8th verse would be burdened with an unnaturally long protasis. Ros. is right in declaring any change to be unnecessary, provided the two halves of vers. 7 and 8 are connected in this sense: *vidi quod quum adulteram Israelitidem dimiseram, tamen non timeret ejus perfida soror Juda*. If we compare vers. 7 and 8 together, the correspondence between the two comes clearly out. In the first half of either verse Israel is spoken of, in the second Judah; while as to Israel, both verses state how God regarded the conduct of Israel, and as to Judah, how it observed and imitated Israel's conduct. וְאִתָּא corresponds to וְאִתָּא in ver. 7. God thought the backsliding Israel will repent, and it did not, and this Judah saw. Thus, then, God saw that even the repudiation of the backsliding Israel for her adultery incited no fear in Judah, but Judah went and did whoredom like Israel. The true sense of ver. 8 is rendered obscure or difficult by the external co-ordination to one another of the two thoughts, that God has rejected Israel just because it has committed adultery, and, that Judah nevertheless feared not; the second thought being introduced by Vav. In reality, however, the first should be subordinated to the second thus: that although I had to reject Israel, Judah yet feared not. What God saw is not the adultery and rejection or divorce of Israel, but that Judah nevertheless had no fear in committing and persisting in the self-same sin. The כִּי belongs properly to לֹא יִרְאַהּ, but this relation is obscured by the length of the prefixed grounding clause, and so לֹא יִרְאַהּ is introduced by וְ. וְעַל-כֵּן-אֵדוֹת וְנִי, literally: that for all the reasons, because the backslider had committed adultery, I put her away and gave her a bill of divorce; yet the faithless Judah feared not. In plain English: that, in spite of all my putting away the backsliding Israel, and my giving her . . . because she had committed adultery, yet the faithless Judah feared not. On כִּפָּר כְּרִיתוֹת, cf. Deut. xxiv. 1, 3.

In ver. 9 Judah's fornication with the false gods is further described. Here כִּקְלָה וְנִתָּה is rather stumbling, since *ob vocem*

scortationis cannot well be simply tantamount to *ob famosam scortationem*; for לִק, voice, tone, sound, din, noise, is distinct from שֵׁמ or שִׁמְע, fame, rumour. All ancient translators have taken לִק from לָלַק, as being formed analogously to דָּח, חָח, רָח; and a Masoretic note finds in the defective spelling לִק an indication of the meaning *levitas*. Yet we occasionally find לִק, *vox*, written defectively, *e.g.* Ex. iv. 8, Gen. xxvii. 22, xlv. 16. And the derivation from לָלַק gives no very suitable sense; neither lightness nor despisedness is a proper predicate for whoredom, by which the land is polluted; only shame or shameful would suit, as it is put by Ew. and Graf. But there is no evidence from the usage of the language that לִק has the meaning of לָלַק. Yet more inadmissible is the conjecture of J. D. Mich., adopted by Hitz., that of reading לִקָּ, stock, for לִקָּ, a stock being the object of her unchastity; in support of which, reference is unfairly made to Hos. iv. 12. For there the matter in hand is rhabdomancy, with which the present passage has evidently nothing to do. The case standing thus, we adhere to the usual meaning of לִק: for the noise or din of her whoredom, not, for her crying whoredom (*de Wette*). Jeremiah makes use of this epithet to point out the open riotous orgies of idolatry. לִקָּ is neither used in the active signification of desecrating, nor is it to be pointed לִקָּ (Hiph.). On the last clause cf. ii. 27.—Ver. 10. But even with all this, *i.e.* in spite of this deep degradation in idolatry, Judah returned not to God sincerely, but in hypocritical wise. “And yet with all this,” Ros., following Rashi, refers to the judgment that had fallen on Israel (ver. 8); but this is too remote. The words can bear reference only to that which immediately precedes: even in view of all these sinful horrors the returning was not “from the whole heart,” *i.e.* did not proceed from a sincere heart, but in falsehood and hypocrisy. For (the returning being that which began with the abolition of idolatrous public worship in Josiah’s reformation) the people had returned outwardly to the worship of Jahveh in the temple, but at heart they still clung to the idols. Although Josiah had put an end to the idol-worship, and though the people too, in the enthusiasm for the service of Jahveh, awakened by the solemn celebration of the passover, had broken in pieces the images and altars of the false

gods throughout the land, yet there was imminent danger that the people, alienated in heart from the living God, should take the suppression of open idolatry for a true return to God, and, vainly admiring themselves, should look upon themselves as righteous and pious. Against this delusion the prophet takes his stand.

Vers. 11–18. *Israel's return, pardon, and blessedness.*—Ver. 11. “And Jahveh said to me, The backsliding one, Israel, is justified more than the faithless one, Judah. Ver. 12. Go and proclaim these words towards the north, and say, Turn, thou backsliding one, Israel, saith Jahveh; I will not look darkly on you, for I am gracious, saith Jahveh; I will not always be wrathful. Ver. 13. Only acknowledge thy guilt, for from Jahveh thy God art thou fallen away, and hither and thither hast thou wandered to strangers under every green tree, but to my voice ye have not hearkened, saith Jahveh. Ver. 14. Return, backsliding sons, saith Jahveh; for I have wedded you to me, and will take you, one out of a city and two out of a race, and will bring you to Zion; Ver. 15. And will give you shepherds according to my heart, and they will feed you with knowledge and wisdom. Ver. 16. And it comes to pass, when ye increase and are fruitful in the land, in those days, saith Jahveh, they will no more say, ‘The ark of the covenant of Jahveh;’ and it will no more come to mind, and ye will no longer remember it nor miss it, and it shall not be made again. Ver. 17. In that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of Jahveh; and to it all peoples shall gather themselves, because the name of Jahveh is at Jerusalem: and no longer shall they walk after the stubbornness of their evil heart. Ver. 18. In those days shall the house of Judah go along with the house of Israel, and together out of the land of midnight shall they come into the land which I have given for an inheritance unto your fathers.” In ver. 11, from the comparison of the faithless Judah with the backsliding Israel, is drawn the conclusion: Israel stands forth more righteous than Judah. The same is said in other words by Ezekiel, xvi. 51 f.; cf. (Ezek.) xxiii. 11. צַדִּיק in *Piel* is to show to be righteous, to justify. נַפְשָׁהּ, her soul, *i.e.* herself. Israel appears more righteous than Judah, not because the apostasy and idolatry of the Israelites was less than that of the people of Judah; in this they are put

on the same footing in vers. 6-10; in the like fashion both have played the harlot, *i.e.* stained themselves with idolatry (while by a rhetorical amplification the apostasy of Judah is in ver. 9 represented as not greater than that of Israel). But it is inasmuch as, in the first place, Judah had the warning example of Israel before its eyes, but would not be persuaded to repentance by Israel's punishment; then again, Judah had more notable pledges than the ten tribes of divine grace, especially in the temple with its divinely-ordained cultus, in the Levitical priesthood, and in its race of kings chosen by God. Hence its fall into idolatry called more loudly for punishment than did that of the ten tribes; for these, after their disruption from Judah and the Davidic dynasty, had neither a lawful cultus, lawful priests, nor a divinely-ordained kingship. If, then, in spite of these privileges, Judah sank as far into idolatry as Israel, its offence was greater and more grievous than that of the ten tribes; and it was surely yet more deserving of punishment than Israel, if it was resolved neither to be brought to reflection nor moved to repentance from its evil ways by the judgment that had fallen upon Israel, and if, on the contrary, it returned to God only outwardly and took the *opus operatum* of the temple-service for genuine conversion. For "the measure of guilt is proportioned to the measure of grace." Yet will not the Lord utterly cast off His people, ver. 12 ff. He summons to repentance the Israelites who had now long been living in exile; and to them, the backsliding sons, who confess their sin and return to Him, He offers restoration to the full favours of the covenant and to rich blessings, and this in order to humble Judah and to provoke it to jealousy. The call to repentance which the prophet is in ver. 12 to proclaim towards the region of midnight, concerns the ten tribes living in Assyrian exile. צַפְנָה, towards midnight, *i.e.* into the northern provinces of the Assyrian empire the tribes had been carried away (2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11). שׁוּבָה, return, *sc.* to thy God. Notwithstanding that the subject which follows, מִשְׁכָּבָה, is fem., we have the masculine form here used *ad sensum*, because the faithless Israel is the people of the ten tribes. לֹא אֶפְיֹל פָּנַי, I will not lower my countenance, is explained by Gen. iv. 5, Job xxix. 24, and means to look darkly, frowningly, as outward expres-

sion of anger; and this without our needing to take פָּנֵי for פָּנֵי as Kimchi does. For I am חַסִּיד, gracious; cf. Ex. xxxiv. 6. As to אָפוּר, see on ver. 5.—Ver. 13. An indispensable element of the return is: Acknowledge thy guilt, thine offence, for grievously hast thou offended; thou art fallen away (פָּשָׁע), and חֲפָצִי אֶת־דִּרְכֵי, lit. hast scattered thy ways for strangers; i.e. hither and thither, on many a track, hast thou run after the strange gods: cf. ii. 23.

The repeated call שׁוּבוּ, ver. 14, is, like that in ver. 12, addressed to Israel in the narrower sense, not to the whole covenant people or to Judah. The “backsliding sons” are “the backsliding Israel” of vers. 7, 8, 11 f., and of ver. 22. In ver. 18 also Judah is mentioned only as it is in connection with Israel. בָּעָלָי בָּכֶם, here and in xxxi. 32, is variously explained. There is no evidence for the meaning loathe, despise, which Ges. and Diet. in the *Lex.*, following the example of Jos. Kimchi, Pococke, A. Schultens, and others, attribute to the word בָּעַל; against this, cf. Hgstb. *Christol.* ii. p. 375; nor is the sig. “rule” certified (LXX. διότι ἐγὼ κατακυριεύσω ὑμῶν); it cannot be proved from Isa. xxvi. 13. בָּעַל means only, own, possess; whence come the meanings, take to wife, have oneself married, which are to be maintained here and in xxxi. 32. In this view Jerome translates, *quia ego vir vester*; Luther, *denn ich will euch mir vertrauen*; Hgstb., *denn ich traue euch mir an*;—the reception anew of the people being given under the figure of a new marriage. This acceptance is, however, not suitable to the perf. בָּעָלָי, for this, even if taken prophetically, cannot refer to a renewal of marriage which is to take place in the future. The perf. can be referred only to the marriage of Israel at the conclusion of the covenant on Sinai, and must be translated accordingly: I am your husband, or: I have wedded you to me. This is demanded by the grounding פִּי; for the summons to repent cannot give as its motive some future act of God, but must point to that covenant relationship founded in the past, which, though suspended for a time, was not wholly broken up.¹ The promise of what

¹ Calvin gives it rightly: “*Dixerat enim, se dedisse libellum repudiū h. e. quasi publicis tabulis se testatum fuisse, nihil amplius sibi esse conjunctionis cum populo illo. Nam exilium erat instar divortii. Jam dicit: Ego sum*

God will do if Israel repents is given only from *וְלִקְחֶנִּי* (with *consec.*) onwards. The words, I take you, one out of a city, two out of a race, are not with Kimchi to be so turned: if even a single Israelite dwelt in a heathen city; but thus: if from amongst the inhabitants of a city there returns to me but one, and if out of a whole race there return but two, I will gather even these few and bring them to Zion. Quite aside from the point is Hitz.'s remark, that in Mic. v. 1, too, a city is called *אֶלֶף*, and is equivalent to *מִשְׁפָּחָה*. The numbers one and two themselves show us that *מִשְׁפָּחָה* is a larger community than the inhabitants of one town, *i.e.* that it indicates the great subdivisions into which the tribes of Israel were distributed. The thought, then, is this: Though but so small a number obey the call to repent, yet the Lord will save even these; He will exclude from salvation no one who is willing to return, but will increase the small number of the saved to a great nation. This promise is not only not contradictory of those which declare the restoration of Israel as a whole; but it is rather a pledge that God will forget no one who is willing to be saved, and shows the greatness of the divine compassion.—As to the historical reference, it is manifest that the promise cannot be limited, as it is by Theodrt. and Grot., to the return from the Assyrian and Babylonian exile; and although the majority of commentators take it so, it can as little be solely referred to the Messianic times or to the time of the consummation of the kingdom of God. The fulfilment is accomplished gradually. It begins with the end of the Babylonian exile, in so far as at that time individual members of the ten tribes may have returned into the land of their fathers; it is continued in Messianic times during the lives of the apostles, by the reception, on the part of the Israelites, of the salvation that had appeared in Christ; it is carried on throughout the whole history of the Church, and attains its completion in the final conversion of Israel. This Messianic reference of the words is here the ruling one. This we may see from “bring you to Zion,” which is intelligible

maritus vester. Nam etiamsi ego tam graviter læsus a vobis fuerim, quia fefellistis fidem mihi datam, tamen maneo in proposito, ut sim vobis maritus; . . . et perinde ac si mihi semper fidem præstitissetis, iterum assumam vos, inquit.”

only when we look on Zion as the seat of the kingdom of God; and yet more clearly is it seen from the further promise, vers. 15-17, I will give you shepherds according to my heart, etc. By shepherds we are not to understand prophets and priests, but the civil authorities, rulers, princes, kings (cf. ii. 8, 26). This may not only be gathered from the parallel passage, chap. xxiii. 4, but is found in the בָּלָקִי, which is an unmistakeable allusion to 1 Sam. xiii. 14, where David is spoken of as a man whom Jahveh has sought out for Himself after His heart (בָּלָבִי), and has set to be prince over His people. They will feed you דָּעָה וְהִצְבִּיל. Both these words are used adverbially. דָּעָה is a noun, and הִצְבִּיל an *infin.*: deal wisely, possess, and show wisdom; the latter is as noun generally הִצְבִּיל, Dan. i. 17, Prov. i. 3, xxi. 16, but is found also as *infin. absol.* ix. 23. A direct contrast to these shepherds is found in the earlier kings, whom Israel had itself appointed according to the desire of its heart, of whom the Lord said by Hosea, They have set up kings (to themselves), but not by me (viii. 4); kings who seduced the people of God to apostasy, and encouraged them in it. "In the whole of the long series of Israelitish rulers we find no Jehoshaphat, no Hezekiah, no Josiah; and quite as might have been expected, for the foundation of the throne of Israel was insurrection" (Hgsth.). But if Israel will return to the Lord, He will give it rulers according to His heart, like David (cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 23, Hos. iii. 5), who did wisely (מִצְבִּיל) in all his ways, and with whom Jahveh was (1 Sam. xviii. 14 f.; cf. 1 Kings ii. 3). The knowledge and wisdom consists in the keeping and doing of the law of God, Deut. iv. 6, xxix. 8. As regards form, the promise attaches itself to the circumstances of the earlier times, and is not to be understood of particular historical rulers in the period after the exile; it means simply that the Lord will give to Israel, when it is converted to Him, good and faithful governors who will rule over it in the spirit of David. But the Davidic dynasty culminates in the kingship of the Messiah, who is indeed named David by the prophets; cf. xxii. 4.

In vers. 16 and 17 also the thought is clothed in a form characteristic of the Old Testament. When the returned Israelites shall increase and be fruitful in the land, then shall they no

more remember the ark of the covenant of the Lord or feel the want of it, because Jerusalem will then be the throne of the Lord. The fruitfulness and increase of the saved remnant is a constant feature in the picture of Israel's Messianic future; cf. xxiii. 3, Ezek. xxxvi. 11, Hos. ii. 1. This promise rests on the blessing given at the creation, Gen. i. 28. God as creator and preserver of the world increases mankind together with the creatures; even so, as covenant God, He increases His people Israel. Thus He increased the sons of Israel in Egypt to be a numerous nation, Ex. i. 12; thus, too, He will again make fruitful and multiply the small number of those who have been saved from the judgment that scattered Israel amongst the heathen. In the passages which treat of this blessing, פָּרַר generally precedes רָבָה; here, on the contrary, and in Ezek. xxxvi. 11, the latter is put first. The words לֹא יֵאָמְרוּ וְגו' must not be translated: they will speak no more of the ark of the covenant; אָמַר *c. accus.* never has this meaning. They must be taken as the substance of what is said, the predicate being omitted for rhetorical effect, so that the words are to be taken as an exclamation. Hgstb. supplies: It is the aim of all our wishes, the object of our longing. Mov. simply: It is our most precious treasure, or the glory of Israel, 1 Sam. iv. 21 f.; Ps. lxxviii. 61. And they will no more remember it. Ascend into the heart, *i.e.* come to mind, joined with יָזַכַּר here and in Isa. lxv. 17; cf. Jer. vii. 31, xxxii. 35, li. 50, 1 Cor. ii. 9. וְלֹא יִפְקְרוּ, and they will not miss it; cf. Isa. xxxiv. 16, 1 Sam. xx. 6, etc. This meaning is called for by the context, and especially by the next clause: it will not be made again. Hitz.'s objection against this, that the words cannot mean this, is an arbitrary dictum. *Non fiet amplius* (Chr. B. Mich.), or, it will not happen any more, is an unsuitable translation, for this would be but an unmeaning addition; and the expansion, that the ark will be taken into the battle as it formerly was, is such a manifest rabbinical attempt to twist the words, that it needs no further refutation. Luther's translation, nor offer more there, is untenable, since עָשָׂה by itself never means offer. The thought is this: then they will no longer have any feeling of desire or want towards the ark. And wherefore? The answer is contained in ver. 17a: At that time will they

call Jerusalem the throne of Jahveh. The ark was the throne of Jahveh, inasmuch as Jahveh, in fulfilment of His promise in Ex. xxv. 22, and as covenant God, was ever present to His people in a cloud over the extended wings of the two cherubim that were upon the covering of the ark of the law; from the mercy-seat too, between the two cherubs, He spake with His people, and made known to them His gracious presence: Lev. xvi. 2; cf. 1 Chron. xiii. 6, Ps. lxxx. 2, 1 Sam. iv. 4. The ark was therefore called the footstool of God, 1 Chron. xxviii. 2; Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; Lam. ii. 1. But in future Jerusalem is to be, and to be called, the throne of Jahveh; and it is in such a manner to take the place of the ark, that the people will neither miss it nor make any more mention of it. The promise by no means presumes that when Jeremiah spoke or wrote this prophecy the ark was no longer in existence; "was gone out of sight in some mysterious manner," as Movers, *Chron. S.* 139, and Hitz. suppose,¹ but only that it will be lost or destroyed. This could happen only at and along with the destruction of Jerusalem; and history testifies that the temple after the exile had no ark. Hence it is justly concluded that the ark had perished in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and that upon the rebuilding of the temple after the exile, the ark was not restored, because the nucleus of it, the tables of the law written by the finger of God, could not be constructed by the hand of man. Without the ark the second temple was also without the gracious presence of Jahveh, the Shechinah or dwelling-place of God; so that this temple was no longer the throne of God, but only a seeming temple, without substance or reality. And thus the Old Testament covenant

¹ Against this Hgstb. well says, that this allegation springs from the incapacity of modern exegesis to accommodate itself to the prophetic anticipation of the future; and that we might as well infer from iii. 18, that at the time these words were spoken, the house of Judah must already in some mysterious manner have come into the land of the north. 2 Chron. xxxv. 3 furnishes unimpeachable testimony to the existence of the ark in the 18th year of Josiah. And even Graf says he cannot find anything to justify Movers' conclusion, since from the special stress laid on the fact that at a future time they will have the ark no longer, it might more naturally be inferred that the ark was still in the people's possession, and was an object of care to them.

had come to an end. "We have here then before us," Hgstb. truly observes, "the announcement of an entire overthrow of the earlier form of the kingdom; but it is such an overthrow of the form that it is at the same time the highest perfection of the substance—a process like that in seed-corn, which only dies in order to bring forth much fruit; like that in the body, which is sown a corruptible that it may rise an incorruptible." For the dwelling and enthronement of the Lord amidst His people was again to come about, but in a higher form. Jerusalem is to become the throne of Jahveh, *i.e.* Jerusalem is to be for the renewed Israel that which the ark had been for the former Israel, the holy dwelling-place of God. Under the old covenant Jerusalem had been the city of Jahveh, of the great King (Ps. xlviii. 3); because Jerusalem had possessed the temple, in which the Lord sat enthroned in the holy of holies over the ark. If in the future Jerusalem is to become the throne of the Lord instead of the ark, Jerusalem must itself become a sanctuary of God; God the Lord must fill all Jerusalem with His glory (כְּבוֹד), as Isaiah prophesied He would in chap. lx., of which prophecy we have the fulfilment portrayed in Apoc. xxi. and xxii. Jeremiah does not more particularly explain how this is to happen, or how the raising of Jerusalem to be the throne of the Lord is to be accomplished; for he is not seeking in this discourse to proclaim the future reconstitution of the kingdom of God. His immediate aim is to clear away the false props of their confidence from a people that set its trust in the possession of the temple and the ark, and further to show it that the presence of the temple and ark will not protect it from judgment; that, on the contrary, the Lord will reject faithless Judah, destroying Jerusalem and the temple; that nevertheless He will keep His covenant promises, and that by receiving again as His people the repentant members of the ten tribes, regarded by Judah as wholly repudiated, with whom indeed He will renew His covenant.

As a consequence of Jerusalem's being raised to the glory of being the Lord's throne, all nations will gather themselves to her, the city of God; cf. Zech. ii. 15. Indeed in the Old Testament every revelation of the glory of God amongst His people attracted the heathen; cf. Jos. ix. 9 ff. לָשֶׁם יְהוָה, not, to the

name of Jahveh towards Jerusalem (Hitz.), but, because of the name of Jahveh at Jerusalem (as in Jos. ix. 9), *i.e.* because Jahveh reveals His glory there; for the name of Jahveh is Jahveh Himself in the making of His glorious being known in deeds of almighty power and grace. לִירוּשָׁלַם, prop. belonging to Jerusalem, because the name makes itself known there; cf. xvi. 19, Mic. iv. 2, Zech. viii. 22.—The last clause, they will walk no more, etc., refers not to the heathen peoples, but to the Israelites as being the principal subject of the discourse (cf. v. 16), since שְׁרָרָתָאֵל is used of Israel in all the cases (vii. 24, ix. 13, xi. 8, xiii. 10, xvi. 12, xviii. 12, xxiii. 17, and Ps. lxxxi. 13), thus corresponding to the original in Deut. xxix. 18, whence it is taken. שְׁרָרִית, prop. firmness, but in Hebr. always *sensu malo*: obstinacy, obduracy of heart, see in Deut. *l.c.*; here strengthened by the adjective הָרַע belonging to לָבָם.—Ver. 18. In those days when Jerusalem is glorified by being made the throne of the Lord, Judah along with Israel will come out of the north into the land which the Lord gave to their fathers. As the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple is foretold *implicite* in ver. 16, so here the expulsion of Judah into exile is assumed as having already taken place, and the return not of Israel only, but of Judah too is announced, as in Hos. ii. 2, and more fully in Ezek. xxvii. 16 ff. We should note the arrangement, the house of Judah with (עַל, prop. on) the house of Israel; this is as much as to say that Israel is the first to resolve on a return and to arise, and that Judah joins itself to the house of Israel. Judah is thus subordinated to the house of Israel, because the prophet is here seeking chiefly to announce the return of Israel to the Lord. It can surely not be necessary to say that, as regards the fulfilment, we are not entitled hence to infer that the remnant of the ten tribes will positively be converted to the Lord and redeemed out of exile sooner than the remnant of Judah. For more on this point see on xxxi. 8.

Vers. 19–25. *The return of Israel to its God.*—Ver. 19. “I thought, O how I will put thee among the sons, and give thee a delightful land, a heritage of the chiefest splendour of the nations! and thought, ‘My Father,’ ye will cry to me, and not turn yourselves away from me. Ver. 20. Truly as a wife faith-

lessly forsakes her mate, so are ye become faithless towards me, house of Israel, saith Jahveh. Ver. 21. A voice upon the bare-topped hills is heard, suppliant weeping of the sons of Israel; for that they have made their way crooked, forsaken Jahveh their God. Ver. 22. 'Return, ye backsliding sons, I will heal your backslidings.' Behold, we come to thee; for Thou Jahveh art our God. Ver. 23. Truly the sound from the hills, from the mountains, is become falsehood: truly in Jahveh our God is the salvation of Israel. Ver. 24. And shame hath devoured the gains of our fathers from our youth on; their sheep and their oxen, their sons and their daughters. Ver. 25. Let us lie down in our shame, and let our disgrace cover us; for against Jahveh our God have we sinned, we and our fathers, from our youth even unto this day, and have not listened to the voice of our God." Hitz. takes vers. 18 and 19 together, without giving an opinion on *וְאֶנְכִי אֶמְרָתִי*. Ew. joins ver. 19 to the preceding, and begins a new strophe with ver. 21. Neither assumption can be justified. With ver. 18 closes the promise which formed the burden of the preceding strophe, and in ver. 19 there begins a new train of thought, the announcement as to how Israel comes to a consciousness of sin and returns penitent to the Lord its God (vers. 21-25). The transition to this announcement is formed by vers. 19 and 20, in which the contrast between God's fatherly designs and Israel's faithless bearing towards God is brought prominently forward; and by *וְאֶנְכִי אֶמְרָתִי* it is attached to the last clause of the 18th verse. His having mentioned the land into which the Israelites would again return, carries the prophet's thoughts back again to the present and the past, to the bliss which Jahveh had designed for them, forfeited by their faithless apostasy, and to be regained only by repentant return (Graf). "I thought," refers to the time when God gave the land to their fathers for an inheritance. Then spake, *i.e.* thought, I; cf. Ps. xxxi. 23. How I will set thee or place thee among the sons! *i.e.* how I will make thee glorious among the sons (*שִׁיתָ* *c. accus.* and *בְּ*, as in 2 Sam. xix. 29). No valid objection against this is founded by Hitz.'s plea that in that case we must read *שִׁיתָ*, and that by Jeremiah, the teacher of morals, no heathen nation, or any but Israel, can ever be regarded as a son of God (xxx. 9, 20). The fem. *שִׁיתָ* is explained by the

personification of Judah and Israel as two sisters, extending throughout the whole prophecy. The other objection is erroneous as to the fact. In xxxi. 9 Jahveh calls Ephraim, = Israel, his first-born son, as all Israel is called by God in Ex. iv. 22. But the conception of first-born has, as necessary correlate, that of other "sons." Inasmuch as Jahveh the God of Israel is creator of the world and of all men, all the peoples of the earth are His בְּנֵי; and from amongst all the peoples He has made choice of Israel as סִגְלָה, or chosen him for His first-born son. Hitz.'s translation: how will I endow thee with children, is contrary to the usage of the language.—The place which God willed to give Israel amongst His children is specified by the next clause: and I willed to give thee a delightful land (אֶרֶץ הַמְּנוּחָה) as in Zech. vii. 14, Ps. cvi. 24). זִכְרֹת, or ornament of ornaments, *i.e.* the greatest, most splendid ornament. For there can be no doubt that זִכְרֹת does not come from זָכַר, but, with Kimchi after the Targum, is to be derived from זָכַר; for the plural זְכוֹרִים from זָכַר may pass into זִכְרֹת, cf. Gesen. § 93. 6b, as Ew., too, in § 186, *e*, admits, though he takes our זִכְרֹת from זָכַר, and strains the meaning into: an heirloom-adornment amidst the hosts of heathen. After such proofs of a father's love, God expected that Israel would by a true cleaving to Him show some return of filial affection. To cry, "My father," is a token of a child's love and adherence. The *Chet*. הִקְרָאתִי and הִשְׁוִי are not to be impugned; the *Keris* are unnecessary alterations.—Ver. 20. But Israel did not meet the expectation. Like a faithless wife from her husband, Israel fell away from its God. The particle of comparison כִּי־כֵן is omitted before the verb, as in Isa. lv. 9, cf. 10 and 11. רֵץ does not precisely mean husband, nor yet paramour, but friend and companion, and so here is equal to wedded husband. מִן כִּי, withdraw faithlessly from one, faithlessly forsake,—*c.* כִּי, be faithless, deal faithlessly with one.

Yet Israel will come to a knowledge of its iniquity, and bitterly repent it, ver. 21. From the heights where idolatry was practised, the prophet already hears in spirit the lamentations and supplications of the Israelites entreating for forgiveness. עַל שְׁפָיִים points back to ver. 2, when the naked heights were mentioned as the scenes of idolatry. From these places is heard the supplicating cry for pardon. כִּי הִשְׁוִי, because (for that) they

had made their way crooked, *i.e.* had entered on a crooked path, had forgotten their God.—Ver. 22. The prophet further overhears in spirit, as answer to the entreaty of the Israelites, the divine invitation and promise: Return, ye backsliding children (cf. ver. 14), I will heal your backslidings. אָרְפָּה for אָרְפָּה. Backslidings, *i.e.* mischief which backsliding has brought, the wounds inflicted by apostasy from God; cf. Hos. xiv. 5, a passage which was in the prophet's mind; and for the figure of healing, cf. Jer. xxx. 17, xxxiii. 6. To this promise they answer: Behold, we come to Thee (אָתָּה for אָתָּה from אָתָּה, Isa. xxi. 12, for אָתָּה), for Thou art Jahveh, art our God. Of this confession they further state the cause in vers. 23-25.—Ver. 23. From the false gods they have gained but disgrace; the salvation of Israel is found only in Jahveh their God. The thought now given is clearly expressed in the second clause of the verse; less clear is the meaning of the first clause, which tells what Israel had got from idolatry. The difficulty lies in הָמוֹן הָרִים, which the early commentators so joined together as to make הָמוֹן *stat. constr.* (הָמוֹן). LXX.: εἰς ψεῦδος ἦσαν οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ ἡ δύναμις τῶν ὀρέων. Jerome: mendaces erant colles et multitudo (*s. fortitudo*) montium. Similarly Hitz. and Graf: from the hills the host (or tumult) of the mountains is (for) a delusion; Hitz. understanding by the host of the mountains the many gods, or the numerous statues of them that were erected at the spots where they were worshipped, while Graf takes the tumult of the mountains to mean the turmoil of the pilgrims, the exulting cries of the celebrants. But it is as impossible that “the sound of the hills” should mean the multitude of the gods, as that it should mean the tumult of the pilgrims upon the mountains. Besides, the expression, “the host or tumult of the mountains comes from the hills,” would be singularly tautological. These reasons are enough to show that הָרִים cannot be a genitive dependent on הָמוֹן, but must be taken as co-ordinate with מַצְבֵּעוֹת, so that the preposition מֵן will have to be repeated before הָרִים. But הָמוֹן must be the subject of the clause, else there would be no subject at all. הָמוֹן means bustle, eager crowd, tumult, noise, and is also used of the surging mass of earthly possessions or riches, Ps. xxxvii. 16, Isa. lx. 5. Schnur., Ros., Maur., de W., have preferred the last meaning,

and have put the sense thus: *vana est ex collibus, vana ex montibus affluentia*, or: delusive is the abundance that comes from the hills, from the mountains. This view is not to be overthrown by Graf's objection, that we cannot here entertain the idea of abundance, however imaginary, acquired by the Israelites through idolatry, seeing that in the next verses it is declared that the false gods have devoured the wealth which the Israelites had inherited and received from God. For in the present connection the abundance would be not a real but expected or imagined abundance, the delusiveness of which would be shown in the next verse by the statement that the false gods had devoured the acquisitions of Israel. But to take הָמוֹן in the sense of *affluentia* seems questionable here, when the context makes no reference to wealth or earthly riches, and where the abundance of the hills and mountains cannot be understood to mean their produce; the abundance is that which the idolatry practised upon the hills and mountains brought or was expected to bring to the people. Hence, along with Ew., we take this word in the sig. tumult or noise, and by it we understand the wild uproarious orgies of idolatry, which, according to vers. 2 and 6, were practised on the hills and mountains (הָמוֹן, ver. 9). Thus we obtain the sense already given by the Targ.: *in vanum coluimus super collibus et non in utilitatem congregavimus nos* (אַתְּרִיגְיִשְׁנָא, prop. *tumultuati sumus*) *super montibus, i.e.* delusive and profitless were our idolatrous observances upon the heights.

In ver. 24 we are told in what particulars idolatry became to them לְשֹׁקֶר הַבִּשְׁתָּה, the shame, opprobrious expression for הַבִּעַל, equal to shame-god, cf. xi. 13 and Hos. ix. 10; since the worship of Baal, *i.e.* of the false gods, resulted in disgrace to the people. He devoured the wealth of our fathers, namely, their sheep and oxen, mentioned as a specimen of their wealth, and their sons and daughters. The idols devoured this wealth, not in respect that sheep and oxen, and, on Moloch's altar, children too, were sacrificed, for sheep and oxen were offered to Jahveh; but because idolatry drew down judgments on the people and brought about the devastation of the land by enemies who devoured the substance of the people, and slew sons and daughters, Deut. xxviii. 30, 33. From our youth on;—the youth of the people is the period of the judges.—Ver. 25. The

people does not repudiate this shame and disgrace, but is willing to endure it patiently, since by its sin it has fully deserved it. **נִשְׁכַּבְּהָ**, not: we lie, but: we will lay us down in our shame, as a man in pain and grief throws himself on the ground, or on his couch (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 16, xiii. 31, 1 Kings xxi. 4), in order wholly to give way to the feelings that crush him down. And let our disgrace cover us, *i.e.* enwrap us as a mourning robe or cloak; cf. Ps. xxxv. 26, cix. 29, Mic. vii. 10, Obad. ver. 10.

Chap. iv. 1, 2. *The answer of the Lord.*—Ver. 1. "If thou returnest, Israel, saith Jahveh, returnest to me; and if thou putttest away thine abominations from before my face, and strayest not, Ver. 2. And swearest, As Jahveh liveth, in truth, with right, and uprightness; then shall the nations bless themselves in Him, and in Him make their boast." Graf errs in taking these verses as a wish: if thou wouldst but repent . . . and swear . . . and if they blessed themselves. His reason is, that the conversion and reconciliation with Jahveh has not yet taken place, and are yet only hoped for; and he cites passages for **אֵל** with the force of a wish, as Gen. xiii. 3, xxviii. 13, where, however, **אֵל** or **אֱלֹהִים** is joined with it. But if we take all the verbs in the same construction, we get a very cumbrous result; and the reason alleged proceeds upon a prosaic misconception of the dramatic nature of the prophet's mode of presentation from iii. 21 onwards. Just as there the prophet hears in spirit the penitent supplication of the people, so here he hears the Lord's answer to this supplication, by inward vision seeing the future as already present. The early commentators have followed the example of the LXX. and Vulg. in construing the two verses differently, and take **אֵל** and **אֱלֹהִים** as apodoses: if thou returnest, Israel, then return to me; or, if thou, Israel, returnest to me, then shalt thou return, *sc.* into thy fatherland; and if thou putttest away thine abominations from before mine eyes, then shalt thou no longer wander; and if thou swearest . . . then will they bless themselves. But by reason of its position after **נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה** it is impossible to connect **אֵל** with the protasis. It would be more natural to take **אֵל** as apodosis, the **אֱלֹהִים** being put first for the sake of emphasis. But if we take it as apodosis at all, the apodosis of the second half of the verse does not rightly corre-

spond to that of the first half. **לֹא תָנוּד** would need to be translated, "then shalt thou no longer wander without fixed habitation," and so would refer to the condition of the people as exiled. But for this **נָד** is not a suitable expression. Besides, it is difficult to justify the introduction of **אֵם** before **וְנִשְׁבְּעָה**, since an apodosis has already preceded. For these reasons we are bound to prefer the view of Ew. and Hitz., that vers. 1 and 2a contain nothing but protases. The removal of the abominations from before God's face is the utter extirpation of idolatry, the negative moment of the return to the Lord; and the swearing by the life of Jahveh is added as a positive expression of their acknowledgment of the true God. **תָּנוּד** is the wandering of the idolatrous people after this and the other false god, ii. 23 and iii. 13. "And strayest not" serves to strengthen "puttest away thine abominations." A sincere return to God demanded not only the destruction of images and the suppression of idol-worship, but also the giving up of all wandering after idols, *i.e.* seeking or longing after other gods. Similarly, swearing by Jahveh is strengthened by the additions: **בְּאֱמֶת**, in truth, not deceptively (**לִשְׁקֶר**, v. 2), and with right and uprightness, *i.e.* in a just cause, and with honest intentions.—The promise, "they shall bless themselves," etc., has in it an allusion to the patriarchal promises in Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, but it is not, as most commentators, following Jerome, suppose, a direct citation of these, and certainly not "a learned quotation from a book" (Ew.), in which case **בּוֹ** would be referable, as in those promises, to Israel, the seed of Abraham, and would stand for **בְּךָ**. This is put out of the question by the parallel **וּבּוֹ יִתְהַלְּלוּ**, which never occurs but with the sense of glorying in God the Lord; cf. Isa. xli. 16, Ps. xxxiv. 3, lxiv. 11, cv. 3, and Jer. ix. 22. Hence it follows that **בּוֹ** must be referred, as Calv. refers it, to **יְהוָה**, just as in Isa. lxxv. 16: the nations will bless themselves in or with Jahveh, *i.e.* will desire and appropriate the blessing of Jahveh and glory in the true God. Even under this acceptation, the only one that can be justified from an exegetical point of view, the words stand in manifest relation to the patriarchal blessing. If the heathen peoples bless themselves in the name of Jahveh, then are they become partakers of the salvation

that comes from Jahveh; and if this blessing comes to them as a consequence of the true conversion of Israel to the Lord, as a fruit of this, then it has come to them through Israel as the channel, as the patriarchal blessings declare *disertis verbis*. Jeremiah does not lay stress upon this intermediate agency of Israel, but leaves it to be indirectly understood from the unmistakeable allusion to the older promise. The reason for the application thus given by Jeremiah to the divine promise made to the patriarchs is found in the aim and scope of the present discourse. The appointment of Israel to be the channel of salvation for the nations is an outcome of the calling grace of God, and the fulfilment of this gracious plan on the part of God is an exercise of the same grace—a grace which Israel by its apostasy does not reject, but helps onwards towards its ordained issue. The return of apostate Israel to its God is indeed necessary ere the destined end be attained; it is not, however, the ground of the blessing of the nations, but only one means towards the consummation of the divine plan of redemption, a plan which embraces all mankind. Israel's apostasy delayed this consummation; the conversion of Israel will have for its issue the blessing of the nations.

Chap. iv. 3-31. THREATENING OF JUDGMENT UPON JERUSALEM AND JUDAH.—If Judah and Jerusalem do not reform, the wrath of God will be inevitably kindled against them (vers. 3, 4). Already the prophet sees in spirit the judgment bursting in upon Judah from the north, to the dismay of all who were accounting themselves secure (vers. 5-10). Like a hot tempest-blast it rushes on, because of the wickedness of Jerusalem (vers. 11-18), bringing desolation and ruin on the besotted people, devastating the whole land, and not to be turned aside by any meretricious devices (vers. 19-31).

Ver. 3. "For thus hath Jahveh spoken to the men of Judah and to Jerusalem: Break up for yourselves new ground, and sow not among thorns. Ver. 4. Circumcise yourselves to Jahveh, and take away the foreskins of your heart, men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem, lest my fury break forth like fire and burn unquenchably, because of the evil of your doings." The exhortation to a reformation of life is attached by *וְ*, as being

the ground of it, to the preceding exhortation to return. The אִם הָשֹׁב, ver. 1, contained the indirect call to repent. In ver. 1 this was addressed to Israel. In ver. 3 the call comes to Judah, which the prophet had already in his eye in chap. iii.; cf. iii. 7, 8, 10, 11. The transition from Israel to Judah in the phrase: *for thus saith Jahveh*, is explained by the introduction of a connecting thought, which can without difficulty be supplied from the last clause of ver. 2; the promise that the nations bless themselves in Jahveh will come to be fulfilled. The thought to be supplied is: this conversion is indispensable for Judah also, for Judah too must begin a new life. Without conversion there is no salvation. The evil of their doings brings nought but heavy judgments with it. אִשׁ, as often, in collective sense, since the plural of this word was little in use, see in Josh. ix. 6. נִיר לֹא יִיר, as in Hos. x. 12, plough up new land, to bring new untilled soil under cultivation—a figure for the reformation of life; as much as to say, to prepare new ground for living on, to begin a new life. Sow not among thorns. The seed-corns are the good resolutions which, when they have sunk into the soil of the mind, should spring up into deeds (Hitz.). The thorns which choke the good seed as it grows (Mat. xiii. 7) are not *mala vestra studia* (Ros.), but the evil inclinations of the unrenewed heart, which thrive luxuriantly like thorns. “Circumcise you to the Lord” is explained by the next clause: remove the foreskins of your heart. The stress lies in לִיהוה; in this is implied that the circumcision should not be in the flesh merely. In the flesh all Jews were circumcised. If they then are called to circumcise themselves to the Lord, this must be meant spiritually, of the putting away of the spiritual impurity of the heart, *i.e.* of all that hinders the sanctifying of the heart; see in Deut. x. 16. The plur. עֲרֻלֹת is explained by the figurative use of the word, and the reading עֲרֻלָּה, presented by some codd., is a correction from Deut. x. 16. The foreskins are the evil lusts and longings of the heart. Lest my fury break forth like fire; cf. vii. 20, Amos v. 6, Ps. lxxxix. 47. מִפְּנֵי רָעַ מִ as in Deut. xxviii. 20. This judgment of wrath the prophet already in spirit sees breaking on Judah.

Vers. 5–10. *From the north destruction approaches.*—Ver. 5. “Proclaim in Judah, and in Jerusalem let it be heard, and say,

Blow the trumpet in the land; cry with a loud voice, and say, Assemble, and let us go into the defenced cities. Ver. 6. Raise a standard toward Zion: save yourselves by flight, linger not: for from the north I bring evil and great destruction. Ver. 7. A lion comes up from his thicket, and a destroyer of the nations is on his way, comes forth from his place, to make thy land a waste, that thy cities be destroyed, without an inhabitant. Ver. 8. For this gird you in sackcloth, lament and howl, for the heat of Jahveh's anger hath not turned itself from us. Ver. 9. And it cometh to pass on that day, saith Jahveh, the heart of the king and the heart of the princes shall perish, and the priests shall be confounded and the prophets amazed." The invasion of a formidable foe is here represented with poetic animation; the inhabitants being called upon to publish the enemy's approach throughout the land, so that every one may hide himself in the fortified cities.¹ The ו before תִּקְעִי

¹ By this dreaded foe the older commentators understand the Chaldeans; but some of the moderns will have it that the Scythians are meant. Among the latter are Dahler, Hitz., Ew., Bertheau (z. *Gesch. der Isr.*), Movers, and others; and they have been preceded by Eichhorn (*Hebr. Proph.* ii. 96 f), Cramer (in the Comm. on Zephaniah, under the title *Scythische Denkmäler in Palästina*, 1777). On the basis of their hypothesis, M. Duncker (*Gesch. des Alterth.* S. 751 ff.) has sketched out a minute picture of the inundation of Palestine by hordes of Scythian horsemen in the year 626, according to the prophecies of Jeremiah and Zephaniah. For this there is absolutely no historical support, although Roesch in his archæological investigations on Nabopolassar (*Deutsch-morgld. Ztschr.* xv. S. 502 ff.), who, according to him, was a Scythian king, alleges that "pretty nearly all (?) exegetical authorities" understand these prophecies of the Scythians (S. 536). For this view can be neither justified exegetically nor made good historically, as has been admitted and proved by A. Kueper (*Jerem. libr. ss. int.* p. 13 sq.), and Ad. Strauss (*Vaticin. Zeph.* p. xviii. sq.), and then by Tholuck (*die Propheten u. ihre Weiss.* S. 94 ff.), Graf (*Jer.* S. 16 ff.), Näg., and others. On exegetical grounds the theory is untenable; for in the descriptions of the northern foe, whose invasion of Judah Zephaniah and Jeremiah threaten, there is not the faintest hint that can be taken to point to the Scythian squadrons, and, on the contrary, there is much that cannot be suitable to these wandering hordes. The enemies approaching like clouds, their chariots like the whirlwind, with horses swifter than eagles (*Jer.* iv. 13), every city fleeing from the noise of the horsemen and of the bowmen (*iv.* 29), and the like, go to form a description obviously founded on Deut. xxviii. 49 ff., and on the account of the Chaldeans (בְּשָׂרִים) in Hab. i. 7-11,—a fact which leads Roesch to suppose Habakkuk meant Scythian by בְּשָׂרִים.

in the *Chet.* has evidently got into the text through an error in transcription, and the *Keri*, according to which all the old versions translate, is the only correct reading. "Blow the trumpet in the land," is that which is to be proclaimed or published, and the blast into the far-sounding שופר is the signal of alarm by which the people was made aware of the danger that threatened it; cf. Joel ii. 1, Hos. v. 8. The second clause expresses the same matter in an intensified form and

All the Asiatic world-powers had horsemen, war-chariots, and archers, and we do not know that the Scythians fought on chariots. Nor was it at all according to the plan of Scythian hordes to besiege cities and carry the vanquished people into exile, as Jeremiah prophesies of these enemies. Again, in chap. xxv., where he expressly names Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babel as the fulfiller of judgment foretold, Jeremiah mentions the enemy in the same words as in i. 15, כָּל-מִשְׁפַּחַת יָבֵן (xxv. 9), and represents the accomplishment of judgment by Nebuchadnezzar as the fulfilment of all the words he had been prophesying since the 13th year of Josiah. This makes it as clear as possible that Jeremiah regarded the Chaldeans as the families of the peoples of the north who were to lay Judah waste, conquer Jerusalem, and scatter its inhabitants amongst the heathen. In a historical reference, also, the Scythian theory is quite unfounded. The account in Herod. i. 103-105 of the incursion of the Scythians into Media and of domination exercised over Asia for 28 years by them, does say that they came to Syrian Palestine and advanced on Egypt, but by means of presents were induced by King Psammetichus to withdraw, that they marched back again without committing any violence, and that only ἐλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν plundered the temple of Venus Urania at Ascalon on the way back. But these accounts, taken at their strict historical value, tell us nothing more than that one swarm of the Scythian hordes, which overspread Media and Asia Minor, entered Palestine and penetrated to the borders of Egypt, passing by the ancient track of armies across the Jordan at Bethshan, and through the plain of Jezreel along the Philistine coast; that here they were bought off by Psammetichus and retired without even so much as touching on the kingdom of Judah on their way. The historical books of the Old Testament have no knowledge whatever of any incursion into Judah of Scythians or other northern nations during the reign of Josiah. On the other hand, we give no weight to the argument that the march of the Scythians through Syria against Egypt had taken place in the 7th or 8th year of Josiah, a few years before Jeremiah's public appearance, and so could be no subject for his prophecies (Thol., Graf, Näg.). For the chronological data of the ancients as to the Scythian invasion are not so definite that we can draw confident conclusions from them; cf. M. v. Niebuhr, *Ges. Assurs u. Babels*, S. 67 ff.

All historical evidence for a Scythian inroad into Judah being thus en-

with plainer words. Cry, make full (the crying), *i.e.* cry with a full clear voice; gather, and let us go into the fortified cities; cf. viii. 14. This was the meaning of the trumpet blast. Raise a banner pointing towards Zion, *i.e.* showing the fugitives the way to Zion as the safest stronghold in the kingdom. עֲלֵה, a lofty pole with a waving flag (Isa. xxxiii. 23; Ezek. xxvii. 7), erected upon mountains, spread the alarm farther than even the sound of the pealing trumpet; see in Isa. v. 26. וְהָיָה,

tirely wanting, the supporters of this hypothesis can make nothing of any point save the Greek name Scythopolis for Bethshan, which Dunck. calls "a memorial for Judah of the Scythian raid." We find the name in Judges i. 27 of the LXX., Βαιθαν ἣ ἐστὶ Σκυθῶν πόλις, and from this come the Σκυθόπολις of Judith iii. 10, 2 Macc. xii. 29, and in Joseph. *Antt.* v. 1. 22, xii. 8. 5, etc. Even if we do not hold, as Reland, *Pal. ill.* p. 992, does, that the gloss, ἣ ἐστὶ Σκυθῶν πόλις, Judges i. 27, has been interpolated late into the LXX.; even if we admit that it originated with the translator, the fact that the author of the LXX., who lived 300 years after Josiah, interpreted Σκυθόπολις by Σκυθῶν πόλις, does by no means prove that the city had received this Greek name from a Scythian invasion of Palestine, or from a colony of those Scythians who had settled down there. The Greek derivation of the name shows that it could not have originated before the extension of Greek supremacy in Palestine—not before Alexander the Great. But there is no historical proof that Scythians dwelt in Bethshan. Duncker *e.g.* makes the inference simply from the name Σκυθῶν πόλις and Σκυθοπολίταις, 2 Macc. xii. 29 f. His statement: "Josephus (*Antt.* xii. 5. 8) and Pliny (*Hist. n.* v. 16) affirm that Scythians had settled down there," is wholly unfounded. In Joseph. *l.c.* there is no word of it; nor will a critical historian accept as sufficient historical evidence of an ancient Scythian settlement in Bethshan, Pliny's *l.c.* aphoristic notice: *Scythopolin (antea Nysam a Libero Patre, sepulta nutrice ibi) Scythis deductis*. The late Byzantine author, George Syncellus, is the first to derive the name Scythopolis from the incursion of the Scythians into Palestine; cf. Reland, p. 993. The origin of the name is obscure, but is not likely to be found, as by Reland, Gesen., etc., in the neighbouring Succoth. More probably it comes from a Jewish interpretation of the prophecy of Ezekiel, chap. xxxix. 11, regarding the overthrow of Gog in the valley of the wanderers eastwards from the sea. This is Hävernicks view, suggested by Bochart.

Taking all into consideration, we see that the reference of our prophecy to the Scythians is founded neither on exegetical results nor on historical evidence, but wholly on the rationalistic prejudice that the prophecies of the biblical prophets are nothing more than either disguised descriptions of historical events or threatenings of results that lay immediately before the prophet's eyes, which is the view of Hitz., Ew., and others.

secure your possessions by flight; cf. Isa. x. 31. The evil which Jahveh is bringing on the land is specified by שָׁבַר גְּדוֹל, after Zeph. i. 10, but very frequently used by Jeremiah; cf. vi. 1, xlviii. 3, l. 22, li. 54. שָׁבַר, breaking (of a limb), Lev. xxi. 19, then the upbreking of what exists, ruin, destruction. In ver. 7 the evil is yet more fully described. A lion is come up from his thicket (סִבְבּוֹ with *dag. forte dirim.*, from סָבַף [שׁוֹבֵף, 2 Sam. xviii. 9], or from סָבַף, Ps. lxxiv. 5; cf. Ew. § 255, *d*, and Olsh. § 155, *b*), going forth for prey. This lion is a destroyer of the nations (not merely of individual persons as the ordinary lion); he has started (נָסַע, of striking tents for the march), and is come out to waste the land and to destroy the cities. The infin. is continued by the *temp. fin.* הַעֲיִירָה, and the Kal of נָצַח is here used in a passive sense: to be destroyed by war.—Ver. 8. For this calamity the people was to mourn deeply. For the description of the mourning, cf. Joel i. 13, Mic. i. 8. For the wrath of the Lord has not turned from us, as in blind self-delusion ye imagine, ii. 35. The heat of Jahveh's anger is the burning wrath on account of the sins of Manasseh, with which the people has been threatened by the prophets. This wrath has not turned itself away, because even under Josiah the people has not sincerely returned to its God.—Ver. 9. When this wrath bursts over them, the rulers and leaders of the people will be perplexed and helpless. The heart, *i.e.* the mind, is lost. For this use of לֵב, cf. Job xii. 3, xxxiv. 10, Prov. vii. 7, etc. נִשְׁמָו, be paralyzed by terror, like the Kal in ii. 12. The prophets are mentioned last, because ver. 10 cites a word of prophecy whereby they seduced the people into a false security.

Ver. 10. "Then said I, Ah, Lord Jahveh, truly Thou hast deceived this people and Jerusalem in saying, Peace shall be to you, and the sword is reaching unto the soul." This verse is to be taken as a sigh addressed to God by Jeremiah when he heard the announcement of the judgment about to fall on Judah, contained in vers. 5–9. The Chald. has well paraphrased נִאֲמַר thus: *et dixi: suscipe deprecationem meam, Jahveh, Deus.* But Hensler and Ew. wish to have נִאֲמַר changed to וְנִאֲמַר, "so that they say," quite unnecessarily, and indeed unsuitably, since הָשִׁאתָ, thou hast deceived, is out of place either in the mouth of the people or of the lying prophets. That the

word quoted, "Peace shall be to you," is the saying of the false prophets, may be gathered from the context, and this is directly supported by xiv. 13, xxiii. 17. The deception of the people by such discourse from the false prophets is referred back to God: "Lord, Thou hast deceived," inasmuch as God not only permits these lying spirits to appear and work, but has ordained them and brought them forth for the hardening of the people's heart; as He once caused the spirit of prophecy to inspire as a lying spirit the prophets of Ahab, so that by promises of victory they prevailed upon him to march to that war in which, as a punishment for his godlessness, he was to perish; 1 Kings xxii. 20-23. Umbr. takes the words less correctly as spoken in the name of the people, to whom the unexpected turn affairs had now taken seemed a deception on the part of God; and this, although it was by itself it had been deceived, through its revolt from God. For it is not the people's opinion that Jeremiah expresses, but a truth concerning which his wish is that the people may learn to recognise it, and so come to reflect and repent before it be too late. On the use of the *perf. consec.* וַיִּנָּעַר, see Ew. § 342, b. As to the fact, cf. v. 18, Ps. lxix. 2.

Vers. 11-18. *Description of the impending ruin, from which nothing can save but speedy repentance.*—Ver. 11. "At that time shall it be said to this people and to Jerusalem, A hot wind from the bleak hills in the wilderness cometh on the way toward the daughter of my people, not to winnow and not to cleanse. Ver. 12. A wind fuller than for this shall come to me; now will I also utter judgments upon them. Ver. 13. Behold, like clouds it draws near, and like the storm are its chariots, swifter than eagles its horses. Woe unto us! for we are spoiled. Ver. 14. Wash from wickedness thy heart, Jerusalem, that thou mayest be saved. How long shall thine iniquitous thoughts lodge within thee? Ver. 15. For a voice declareth from Dan, and publisheth affliction from the Mount Ephraim. Ver. 16. Tell it to the peoples; behold, publish it to Jerusalem: Besiegers come from a far country, and let their voice ring out against the cities of Judah. Ver. 17. As keepers of a field, they are against her round about; for against me hath she rebelled, saith Jahveh. Ver. 18. Thy way and thy doings

have wrought thee this. This is thy wickedness; yea, it is bitter, yea, it reacheth unto thine heart."

A more minute account of the impending judgment is introduced by the phrase: at that time. It shall be said to this people; in other words, it shall be said of this people; substantially, that shall fall upon it which is expressed by the figure following, a hot wind blowing from the naked hills of the wilderness. רוח is *stat. constr.*, and שפאים its genitive, after which latter the adjective צר should be placed; but it is interpolated between the *nomen regens* and the *n. rectum* by reason of its smallness, and partly, too, that it may not be too far separated from its *nomen*, while צמרבר belongs to שפאים. The wind blowing from the bleak hills in the wilderness, is the very severe east wind of Palestine. It blows in incessant gusts, and cannot be used for winnowing or cleansing the grain, since it would blow away chaff and seed together; cf. Wetzst. in Del., *Job*, S. 320. הנה is universally taken adverbially: is on the way, *i.e.* comes, moves in the direction of the daughter of Zion. The daughter of Zion is a personification of the inhabitants of Zion or Jerusalem. This hot blast is a figure for the destruction which is drawing near Jerusalem. It is not a chastisement to purify the people, but a judgment which will sweep away the whole people, carry away both wheat and chaff—a most effective figure for the approaching catastrophe of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the carrying away captive of its inhabitants. Hitz. and Graf have, however, taken הנה as subject of the clause: the path, *i.e.* the behaviour of my people, is a keen wind of the bare hills in the wilderness. Thus the conduct of the people would be compared with that wind as unprofitable, inasmuch as it was altogether windy, empty, and further as being a hurtful storm. But the comparison of the people's behaviour with a parched violent wind is a wholly unnatural one, for the justification of which it is not sufficient to point to Hos. viii. 7: sow wind and reap storm. Besides, upon this construction of the illustration, the description: not to winnow and not to cleanse, is not only unmeaning, but wholly unsuitable. Who is to be winnowed and cleansed by the windy ways of the people? Jahveh?! Ver. 14 is indeed so managed by Hitz. and Graf that the tempestuous wind blows against God,

"is directed against Jahveh like a blast of defiance and hostility." But this argument is sufficient to overthrow that unnatural view of the figure, which, besides, obtains no support from ver. 12. מֵאֵלָה cannot refer to בְּתֶ-עָמִי: a full wind from these, *i.e.* the sons of my people; and יָבוֹא לִי, in spite of the passages, xxii. 23, l. 26, li. 48, Job iii. 25, does not mean: comes towards me, or: blows from them on me; for in all these passages לִי is *dativ. commodi* or *incommodi*. Here, too, לִי is dative, used of the originator and efficient cause. The wind comes for me,—in plainer English: from me. Properly: it comes to God, *i.e.* at His signal, to carry out His will. מֵלֵא מֵאֵלָה is comparative: fuller than these, namely, the winds useful for winnowing and cleansing. Now will I *too* utter. The intensifying נָם does not point to a contrast in the immediately preceding clause: because the people blows against God like a strong wind, He too will utter judgment against it. The נָם refers back to the preceding לִי: the storm comes from me; for now will I on my side hold judgment with them. The contrast implied in נָם lies in the wider context, in the formerly described behaviour of the people, particularly in the sayings of the false prophets mentioned in ver. 10, that there will be peace. On דָּבַר מְשַׁפְּטִים, cf. i. 16.

These judgments are already on the way in ver. 13. "Like clouds it draws near." The subject is not mentioned, but a hostile army is meant, about to execute God's judgments. "Like clouds," *i.e.* in such thick dark masses; cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 16. The war-chariots drive with the speed of the tempest; cf. Isa. v. 28, lxvi. 15. The running of the horses resembles the flight of the eagle; cf. Hab. i. 8, where the same is said of the horsemen of the hostile people. Both passages are founded on Deut. xxviii. 49; but Jeremiah, while he had the expression קָלָי מִנְּמָרִים סוּפִי, Hab. i. 8, in his mind, chose נְשָׂרִים instead of leopards (נְמָרִים), in this following the original in Deut.; cf. 2 Sam. i. 23 and Lam. iv. 19. Already is heard the cry of woe: we are spoiled; cf. ver. 20, ix. 18, xlviii. 1.—Ver. 14. If Jerusalem wishes to be saved, it must thoroughly turn from its sin, wash its heart clean; not merely abstain outwardly from wickedness, but renounce the evil desires of the heart. In the question: How long shall . . . remain? we have

implied the thought that Jerusalem has already only too long cherished and indulged wicked thoughts. הָלֵךְ is 3d pers. imperf. Kal, not 2d pers. Hiph. : wilt thou let remain (Schnur. and others). For the Hiphil of לָךְ is not in use, and besides, would need to be הָלִיךְ . The מַחֲשָׁבוֹתֶיךָ , as in Prov. vi. 18, Isa. lix. 7, refer chiefly to sins against one's neighbour, such as are reckoned up in vii. 5 f., 8 f.—Ver. 15. It is high time to cleanse oneself from sin, *periculum in mora est*; for already calamity is announced from Dan, even from the Mount Ephraim. קוֹל מִנִּיר , the voice of him who gives the alarm, *sc.* הַשָּׁמַע , is heard; cf. iii. 21, xxxi. 15. That of which the herald gives warning is not given till the next clause. רָעָה , mischief, *i.e.* calamity. מִשְׁמַעַי is still dependent on קוֹל . “From Dan,” *i.e.* the northern boundary of Palestine; see on Judg. xx. 1. “From Mount Ephraim,” *i.e.* the northern boundary of the kingdom of Judah, not far distant from Jerusalem. The alarm and the calamity draw ever nearer. “The messenger comes from each successive place towards which the foe approaches” (Hitz.). In ver. 16 the substance of the warning message is given, but in so animated a manner, that a charge is given to make the matter known to the peoples and in Jerusalem. Tell to the peoples, behold, cause to be heard. The הִנֵּה in the first clause points forward, calling attention to the message in the second clause. A similar charge is given in ver. 5, only “to the peoples” seems strange here. “The meaning would be simple if we could take ‘the peoples’ to be the Israelites,” says Graf. But since גוֹיִם in this connection can mean only the other nations, the question obtrudes itself: to what end the approach of the besiegers of Jerusalem should be proclaimed to the heathen peoples. Jerome remarks on this: *Vult omnes in circuitu nationes Dei nosse sententiam, et flagellatâ Jerusalem cunctos recipere disciplinam.* In like manner, Chr. B. Mich., following Schmid: *Gentibus, ut his quoque innotescat severitatis divinæ in Judæos exemplum.* Hitz. and Gr. object, that in what follows there is no word of the taking and destruction of Jerusalem, but only of the siege; that this could form no such *exemplum*, and that for this the issue must be awaited. But this objection counts for little. After the description given of the enemies (cf. ver. 13), there can be no doubt as to the issue of the siege, that is, as to the

taking of Jerusalem. But if this be so, then the warning of the heathen as to the coming catastrophe, by holding the case of Jerusalem before them, is not so far-fetched a thought as that it should be set aside by Hitz.'s remark: "So friendly an anxiety on behalf of the heathen is utterly unnatural to a Jew, especially seeing that the prophet is doubly absorbed by anxiety for his own people." Jeremiah was not the narrow-minded Jew Hitz. takes him for. Besides, there is no absolute necessity for holding "Tell to the peoples" to be a warning of a similar fate addressed to the heathen. The charge is but a rhetorical form, conveying the idea that there is no doubt about the matter to be published, and that it concerned not Jerusalem alone, but the nations too. This objection settled, there is no call to seek other interpretations, especially as all such are less easily justified. By changing the imper. הַנְּבִירִי and הַשְּׁמִיעִי into perfects, Ew. obtains the translation: "they say already to the peoples, behold, they come, already they proclaim in Jerusalem," etc.; but Hitz. and Graf have shown the change to be indefensible. Yet more unsatisfactory is the translation, "declare of the heathen," which Hitz. and Graf have adopted, following the LXX., Kimchi, Vat., and others. This destroys the parallelism, it is out of keeping with the הִנֵּה, and demands the addition (with the LXX.) of בָּאוּ thereto to complete the sense. Graf and Hitz. have not been able to agree upon the sense of the second member of the verse. If we make לְנָתִים *de gentibus*, then הַשְּׁמִיעִי וְנֹא' ought to be: proclaim upon (*i.e.* concerning) Jerusalem. Hitz., however, translates, in accordance with the use of מְשַׁמֵּעַ in vers. 5 and 15: Cry it aloud in Jerusalem (prop. over Jerusalem, Ps. xlix. 12, Hos. viii. 1); but this, though clearly correct, does not correspond to the first part of the verse, according to Hitz.'s translation of it. Graf, on the other hand, gives: Call them (the peoples) out against Jerusalem—a translation which, besides completely destroying the parallelism of the two clauses, violently separates from the proclamation the thing proclaimed: Besiegers come, etc. Nor can הַשְּׁמִיעִי be taken in the sense: call together, as in l. 29, li. 27, 1 Kings xv. 22; for in that case the object could not be omitted, those who are to be called together would need to be mentioned; and it is too much to assume נָתִים from the לְנָתִים for

an object. The warning cry to Jerusalem runs : לְצָרִים, besiegers, (acc. to Isa. i. 8) come from the far country (cf. v. 15), and give their voice (cf. ii. 15); *i.e.* let the tumult of a besieging army echo throughout the cities of Judah. These besiegers will be like field-keepers round about Jerusalem (עֲלִיָּה refers back to Jerus.), like field-keepers they will pitch their tents round the city (cf. i. 15) to blockade it. For against me (Jahveh) was she refractory (מָרָה *c. acc. pers.*, elsewhere with בָּ, Hos. xiv. 1, Ps. v. 11, or with אָתָּה, Num. xx. 24, and often). This is expanded in ver. 18. Thy way, *i.e.* thy behaviour and thy doings, have wrought thee this (calamity). This is thy wickedness, *i.e.* the effect or fruit of thy wickedness, yea, it is bitter, cf. ii. 19; yea, it reacheth unto thine heart, *i.e.* inflicts deadly wounds on thee.

Vers. 19–26. *Grief at the desolation of the land and the infatuation of the people.*—Ver. 19. “My bowels, my bowels! I am pained! the chambers of my heart—my heart rages within me! I cannot hold my peace! for thou hearest (the) sound of the trumpet, my soul, (the) war-cry. Ver. 20. Destruction upon destruction is called; for spoiled is the whole land; suddenly are my tents spoiled, my curtains in a moment. Ver. 21. How long shall I see (the) standard, hear (the) sound of the trumpet? Ver. 22. For my people is foolish, me they know not; senseless children are they, and without understanding; wise are they to do evil, but to do good they know not. Ver. 23. I look on the earth, and, lo, it is waste and void; and towards the heavens, and there is no light in them. Ver. 24. I look on the mountains, and, lo, they tremble, and all the hills totter. Ver. 25. I look, and, lo, no man is there, and all the fowls of the heavens are fled. Ver. 26. I look, and, lo, Carmel is the wilderness, and all the cities thereof are destroyed before Jahveh, before the heat of His anger.”

To express the misery which the approaching siege of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah is about to bring, the prophet breaks forth into lamentation, vers. 19–21. It is a much debated question, whether the prophet is the speaker, as the Chald. has taken it, *i.e.* whether Jeremiah is uttering his own (subjective) feelings, or whether the people is brought before us speaking, as Grot., Schnur., Hitz., Ew. believe. The

answer is this : the prophet certainly is expressing his personal feelings regarding the nearing catastrophe, but in doing so he lends words to the grief which all the godly will feel. The lament of ver. 20, suddenly are *my* tents spoiled, is unquestionably the lament not of the prophet as an individual, but of the congregation, *i.e.* of the godly among the people, not of the mass of the blinded people. The violence of the grief finds vent in abrupt ejaculations of distress. "My bowels, my bowels!" is the cry of sore pain, for with the Hebrews the bowels are the seat of the deepest feelings. The *Chet.* אֲחֻלָּה is a monstrosity, certainly a copyist's error for אֲחֻלָּה, as it is in many MSS. and edd., from חָל : I am driven to writhe in agony. The *Keri* אֲחֻלָּה, I will wait (cf. Mic. vii. 7), yields no good sense, and is probably suggested merely by the cohortative form, a cohortative being regarded as out of place in the case of חָל. But that form may express also the effort to incite one's own volition, and so would here be rendered in English by : I am bound to suffer pain, or must suffer ; cf. Ew. § 228, *a.*—קִירוֹת לִבִּי, prop. the walls of my heart, which quiver as the heart throbs in anguish. הוֹמָה לִי is not to be joined with the last two words as if it were part of the same clause ; in that case we should expect הוֹמָה. But these words too are an ejaculation. The subject of הוֹמָה is the following לִבִּי ; cf. xlvi. 36. In defiance of usage, Hitz. connects לִבִּי with אֲחֻלָּה : my heart can I not put to silence. But this verb in Hiph. means always : be silent, never : put to silence. Not even in Job xi. 3 can it have the latter meaning ; where we have the same verb construed with *acc. rei*, as in Job xli. 4, and where we must translate : at thy harangues shall the people be silent. The heart cannot be silent, because the soul hears the peal of the war-trumpet. שְׁמַעְתִּי is 2d pers. fem., as in ii. 20, 33, and freq., the soul being addressed, as in Ps. xvi. 2 (in אֲמַרְתָּ), Ps. xlii. 6, 12. This apostrophe is in keeping with the agitated tone of the whole verse.—Ver. 20. One destruction after another is heralded (on שָׁבַר, see ver. 6). Ew. translates loosely : wound upon wound meet one another. For the word does not mean wound, but the fracture of a limb ; and it seems inadmissible to follow the Chald. and Syr. in taking נִקְרָא here in the sense of נִקְרָה, since the sig. "meet" does not suit שָׁבַר. The thought is this :

tidings are brought of one catastrophe after another, for the devastation extends itself over the whole land and comes suddenly upon the tents, *i.e.* dwellings of those who are lamenting. Covers, curtains of the tent, is used as synonymous with tents; cf. x. 20, Isa. liv. 2. How long shall I see the standard, etc. ! is the cry of despair, seeing no prospect of the end to the horrors of the war. The standard and the sound of the trumpet are, as in ver. 5, the alarm-signals on the approach of the enemy.

There is no prospect of an end to the horrors, for (ver. 22) the people is so foolish that it understands only how to do the evil, but not the good; cf. for this v. 21, Isa. i. 3, Mic. vii. 3. Ver. 21 gives God's answer to the woful query, how long the ravaging of the land by war is to last. The answer is: as long as the people persists in the folly of its rebellion against God, so long will chastising judgments continue. To bring this answer of God home to the people's heart, the prophet, in vers. 23-26, tells what he has seen in the spirit. He has seen (רָאִיתִי, *perf. proph.*) bursting over Judah a visitation which convulses the whole world. The earth seemed waste and void as at the beginning of creation, Gen. i. 2, before the separation of the elements and before the creation of organic and living beings. In heaven no light was to be seen, earth and heaven seemed to have been thrown back into a condition of chaos. The mountains and hills, these firm foundations of the earth, quivered and swayed (הִתְקַלְקַל, be put into a light motion, cf. Nah. i. 5); men had fled and hidden themselves from the wrath of God (cf. Isa. ii. 19, 21), and all the birds had flown out of sight in terror at the dreadful tokens of the beginning catastrophe (ix. 9). The fruitful field was the wilderness,—not a wilderness, but "changed into the wilderness with all its attributes" (Hitz.). הַרְצִמֶּל is not *appell.* as in ii. 7, but *nom. prop.* of the lower slopes of Carmel, famed for their fruitfulness; these being taken as representatives of all the fruitful districts of the land. The cities of the Carmel, or of the fruitful-field, are manifestly not to be identified with the store cities of 1 Kings ix. 19, as Hitz. supposes, but the cities in the most fertile districts of the country, which, by reason of their situation, were in a prosperous condition, but now are destroyed. "Before the heat of His

anger," which is kindled against the foolish and godless race; cf. Nah. i. 6, Isa. xiii. 13.

Vers. 27-31. *The devastation of Judah, though not its utter annihilation, is irrevocably decreed, and cannot be turned away by any meretricious expedients.*—Ver. 27. "For thus saith Jahveh, A waste shall the whole land be, yet will I not make an utter end. Ver. 28. For this shall the earth mourn, and the heaven above darken, because I have said it, purposed it, and repent it not, neither will I turn back from it. Ver. 29. For the noise of the horseman and bowman every city flees; they come into thickets, and into clefts of the rock they go up; every city is forsaken, and no man dwells therein. Ver. 30. And thou, spoiled one, what wilt thou do? Though thou clothest thyself in purple, though thou deckest thee with ornaments of gold, though thou tearest open thine eyes with paint, in vain thou makest thyself fair; the lovers despise thee, they seek thy life. Ver. 31. For I hear a voice as of a woman in travail, anguish as of one who bringeth forth her first-born, the voice of the daughter of Zion; she sigheth, she spreadeth out her hands: Woe is me! for my soul sinketh powerless beneath murderers."

Vers. 27 and 28 confirm and explain what the prophet has seen in spirit in vers. 23-26. A waste shall the land become; but the wasting shall not be a thorough annihilation, not such a destruction as befell Sodom and Gomorrah. עֲשָׂה כָּלָה, as in Nah. i. 8 f., Isa. x. 23, and freq. This limitation is yet again in v. 10, 18 made to apply to Jerusalem, as it has done already to the people at large. It is founded on the promise in Lev. xxvi. 44, that the Lord will punish Israel with the greatest severity for its stubborn apostasy from Him, but will not utterly destroy it, so as to break His covenant with it. Accordingly, all prophets declare that after the judgments of punishment, a remnant shall be left, from which a new holy race shall spring; cf. Amos ix. 8, Isa. vi. 13, xi. 11, 16, x. 20 ff., Mic. ii. 12, v. 6, Zeph. iii. 13, etc. "For this" refers to the first half of ver. 27, and is again resumed in the וְלָכֵן following: for this, because Jahveh hath purposed the desolation of the whole land. The earth mourns, as in Hos. iv. 3, because her productive power is impaired by the ravaging of the land. The heaven blackens itself, *i.e.* shrouds itself in dark clouds

(1 Kings xviii. 45), so as to mourn over the desolated earth. The vividness of the style permits "have decreed it" to be appended as asyndeton to "I have said it," for the sake of greater emphasis. God has not only pronounced the desolation of the land, but God's utterance in this is based upon a decree which God does not repent, and from which He will not turn back. The LXX. have placed the נִחַמְתִּי after נִפְתִּי , and have thus obtained a neater arrangement of the clauses; but by this the force of expression in "I have said it, decreed it," is weakened. In ver. 29 the desolation of the land is further portrayed, set forth in ver. 30 as inevitable, and exhibited in its sad consequences in ver. 31. On the approach of the hostile army, all the inhabitants flee into inaccessible places from the clatter or noise of the horsemen and archers. He that casts the bow, the Bowman; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 9. כָּל־הָעִיר means, in spite of the article, not the whole city, but every city, all cities, as may be gathered from the כָּל , which points back to this. So frequently before the definite noun, especially when it is further defined by a relative clause, as *e.g.* Ex. i. 22, Dent. iv. 3, 1 Sam. iii. 17; cf. Ew. § 290, *c.* For the first כָּל־הָעִיר the LXX. have $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\ \eta\ \chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$, and accordingly J. D. Mich., Hitz., and Graf propose to amend to כָּל־הָאָרֶץ , so as to avoid "the clumsy repetition." But we cannot be ruled here by æsthetic principles of taste. Clearly the first "every city" means the populace of the cities, and so בָּנָי is: they (*i.e.* the men) come, pouring forth. עָבִים is not here clouds, but, according to its etymology, to be dark, means the dark thickets or woods; cf. the Syr. ܥܒܝܡ , wood. סִלְסִלִּים , rocks, here clefts in the rocks, as is demanded by the בָּ . For this state of things, cf. Isa. ii. 19, 21, and the accounts of Judg. vi. 2, 1 Sam. xiii. 6, where the Israelites hide themselves from the invading Midianites in caves, ravines, thorn-thickets, rocks, and natural fastnesses.—Ver. 30. In vain will Jerusalem attempt to turn away calamity by the wiles of a courtesan. In ver. 31 the daughter of Zion is addressed, *i.e.* the community dwelling around the citadel of Zion, or the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom, regarded as a female personality (as to בִּתְּצִיֹן , see on Isa. i. 8). "Spoiled one" is in apposition not to the אִשָּׁה , but to the person in the verb;

it is regarded as adverbial, and so is without inflexion: if thou art spoiled, like עָרִים, Job xxiv. 7, 10; cf. Ew. § 316, *b*. The following clauses introduced by וְ are not so connected with the question, what wilt thou do? as that וְ should mean *that*: what wilt thou do, devise to the end that thou mayest clothe thee? (Graf); the וְ means *if* or *though*, and introduces new clauses, the apodosis of which is: "in vain," etc. If thou even clothest thyself in purple. צָרָה, the crimson dye, and stuffs or fabrics dyed with it, see in Ex. xxv. 4. כּוֹחַל is a pigment for the eye, prepared from silver-glance, sulphur-antimony—the *Cohol*, yet much esteemed by Arab women, a black powder with a metallic glitter. It is applied to the eyelids, either dry or reduced to a paste by means of oil, by means of a blunt-pointed style or eye-pencil, and increases the lustre of dark eyes so that they seem larger and more brilliant. See the more minute account in Hille, on the eye-paint of the East, in ref. to 2 Kings ix. 30. קָרַע, tear asunder, not, prick, puncture, as Ew., following J. D. Mich., makes it. This does not answer the mode of using the eye-paint, which was this: the style rubbed over with the black powder is drawn horizontally through between the closed eyelids, and these are thus smeared with the ointment. This proceeding Jeremiah sarcastically terms rending open the eyes. As a wife seeks by means of paint and finery to heighten the charms of her beauty in order to please men and gain the favour of lovers, so the woman Jerusalem will attempt by like stratagems to secure the favour of the enemy; but in vain, like Jezebel in 2 Kings ix. 30. The lovers will despise her. The enemies are called lovers, paramours, just as Israel's quest for help amongst the heathen nations is represented as intrigue with them; see on ii. 33, 36.—Ver. 31, as giving a reason, is introduced by כִּי. Zion's attempts to secure the goodwill of the enemy are in vain, for already the prophet hears in spirit the agonized cry of the daughter of Zion, who beseechingly stretches out her hands for help, and falls exhausted under the assassin's strokes. הוֹלָה, *partic. Kal fœm.* from הָלַל; see Ew. § 151, *b*, and Gesen. § 72, Rem. 1. צָרָה, in parallelism with קוֹל and dependent on "I hear," means cry of anguish. הִתְיַבֵּחַ, breathe heavily, pant, sigh. הִתְפַּרֵּשׁ is joined asynd. with the preceding word, but is in sense subordinate to it: she sighs with hands spread out;

a pleading gesture expressing a prayer for protection. נָפַץ, be exhausted, here = sink down, faint, succumb to the murderers.

Chap. v. THE CAUSES WHICH CALLED DOWN THE JUDGMENT PRONOUNCED: THE TOTAL CORRUPTION OF THE PEOPLE.—Chr. B. Mich. has excellently summed up thus the contents of this chapter: *Deus judicia sua, quæ cap. IV. prædixerat, justificat ostendens, se quamvis invitum, tamen non aliter posse quam punire Judæos propter præfractam ipsorum malitiam.* The train of thought in this chapter is the following: God would pardon if there were to be found in Jerusalem but one who practised righteousness and strove to keep good faith; but high and low have forsaken God and His law, and serve the false gods. This the Lord must punish (vers. 1–9). Judah, like Israel, disowns the Lord, and despises the words of His prophets; therefore the Lord must affirm His word by deeds of judgment (vers. 10–18). Because they serve the gods of strangers, He will throw them into bondage to strange peoples, that they may learn to fear Him as the Almighty God and Lord of the world, who withholds His benefits from them because their sins keep them far from Him (vers. 19–25); for wickedness and crime have acquired a frightful predominance (vers. 26–31).

Vers. 1–9. *By reason of the universal godlessness and moral corruption the Lord cannot pardon.*—Ver. 1. “Range through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek upon her thoroughfares, if ye find any, if any doth judgment, seeketh after faithfulness, and I will pardon her. Ver. 2. And if they say, ‘As Jahveh liveth,’ then in this they swear falsely. Ver. 3. Jahveh, are not Thine eyes upon faithfulness? Thou smitest them, and they are not pained; thou consumest them, they will take no correction; they make their face harder than rock, they will not turn. Ver. 4. And I thought, It is but the baser sort, they are foolish; for they know not the way of Jahveh, the judgment of their God. Ver. 5. I will get me then to the great, and will speak with them, for they know the way of Jahveh, the judgment of their God; yet together have they broken the yoke, burst the bonds. Ver. 6. Therefore a lion out of the wood smiteth them, a wolf of the deserts

spoileth them, a leopard lieth in wait against their cities : every one that goeth out thence is torn in pieces ; because many are their transgressions, many their backslidings. Ver. 7. Wherefore should I pardon thee ? thy sons have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods. I caused them to swear, but they committed adultery, and crowd into the house of the harlot. Ver. 8. Like well-fed horses, they are roaming about ; each neigheth after the other's wife. Ver. 9. Shall I not punish this ? saith Jahveh ; or shall not my soul be avenged on such a people as this ? ”

The thought of ver. 1, that in Jerusalem there is not to be found one solitary soul who concerns himself about uprightness and sincerity, does not, though rhetorically expressed, contain any rhetorical hyperbole or exaggeration such as may have arisen from the prophet's righteous indignation, or have been inferred from the severity of the expected judgment (Hitz.) ; it gives but the simple truth, as is seen when we consider that it is not Jeremiah who speaks according to the best of his judgment, but God, the searcher of hearts. Before the all-seeing eye of God no man is pure and good. They are all gone astray, and there is none that doeth good, Ps. xiv. 2, 3. And if anywhere the fear of God is the ruling principle, yet when the look falls on the mighty hosts of the wicked, even the human eye loses sight of the small company of the godly, since they are in no case to exert an influence on the moral standing of the whole mass. “ If ye find any ” is defined by, “ if there is a worker of right ; ” and the doing of right or judgment is made more complete by “ that seeketh faithfulness,” the doing being given as the outcome of the disposition. אֱמֻנָה is not truth (אֱמֶת), but sincerity and good faith. On this state of affairs, cf. Hos. iv. 1, Mic. vii. 2, Isa. lxiv. 5f. The pledge that God would pardon Jerusalem if He found but one righteous man in it, recalls Abraham's dealing with God on behalf of Sodom, Gen. xviii. 23. In support of what has been said, it is added in ver. 2, that they even abuse God's name for lying purposes ; cf. Lev. xix. 12. Making oath by the life of Jahveh is not looked on here as a confession of faith in the Lord, giving thus as the sense, that even their worship of God was but the work of the lips, not of the heart (Ros.) ; but the

solemn appeal to the living God for the purpose of setting the impress of truth on the face of a lie, is brought forward as evidence that there is none that strives after sincerity. The antithesis forced in here by Hitz. and Graf is foreign to text and context both, viz. that between swearing by Jahveh and by the false gods, or any other indifferent name. The emphasis lies on swearing לְשׁוּרִי , as opposed to swearing in the way demanded by God, $\text{בְּאֵמֶת וּבְיִשְׁעִים וּבְיִדְדָהָ}$, iv. 2. לָלוּ , therein, *i.e.* yet even in this, or nevertheless.—Ver. 3. The eye of the Lord is directed towards faithfulness, which is not to be found in Jerusalem (ver. 1), לֵב showing the direction toward person or thing, as in Ps. xxxiii. 18, where לֵב alternates with לֵב . Hitz. is wrong in translating: are not thine eyes faithful, *i.e.* directed according to faithfulness; a sense quite unsuitable here, since the matter in hand is not the character or direction of the eye of God, but that on which God looks. But because God desired sincerity, and there was none in the people of Jerusalem, He has smitten them, chastised them, but they felt no pain ($\text{לֹא$ from לֵב , the tone being drawn back by reason of the לֵב); the chastisement made no impression. Thou consumedst them, exterminatedst them, *i.e.* “Thou hast utterly exterminated multitudes and swarms of them” (Hitz.), but they refused to receive correction; cf. ii. 30. They made their face harder than rock, *i.e.* hardened themselves by obstinately setting the divine chastisements at naught; cf. Ezek. iii. 7, 8.—Ver. 4 f. This total want of good faith and uprightness is found not only in the lower orders of the populace, amongst the mean and ignorant rabble, but in the higher ranks of the educated. This is rhetorically put in this shape, that Jeremiah, believing that only the common people are so deeply sunk in immorality, turns to the great to speak to them, and amongst them discovers a thorough-going renunciation of the law of God. רָעִים , weak, are the mean and poor of the people, who live from hand to mouth in rudeness and ignorance, their anxieties bent on food and clothing (cf. xxxix. 10, xl. 7). These do foolishly (כְּחֵלְבִים as in Num. xii. 11), from want of religious training. They know not the way of Jahveh, *i.e.* the way, the manner of life, prescribed to men by God in His word; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 22, Ps. xxv. 9, etc. The judgment of their God, *i.e.* that

which God demanded as right and lawful, 2 Kings xvii. 26, etc. The great, *i.e.* the wealthy, distinguished, and educated. Yet even these have broken the yoke of the law, *i.e.* have emancipated themselves from obedience to the law (Hitz.); cf. ii. 20. Therefore they must be visited with punishment.—Ver. 6. This verse is neither a threatening of future punishments, nor is to be taken figuratively (lion, bear, leopard, as figures for dreadful enemies). The change from the perf. הִכָּם to the imperf. יִשְׁרֹם and יִטָּרַף tells against the future construction, showing as it does that the verbs are used aoristically of chastisements which have partly already taken place, which may be partly yet to come. And the figurative explanation of the beasts of prey by hostile peoples—found so early as the Chald.—is not in the least called for by the text; nor is it easy to reconcile it with the specification of various kinds of wild beasts. The words are a case of the threatening of the law in Lev. xxvi. 22, that God will chasten the transgressors of His law by sending beasts of prey which shall rob them of their children. Cf. with the promise, that if they keep His commandments, He will destroy the wild beasts out of the land. Cf. also the fact given in 2 Kings xvii. 25, that God sent lions amongst the heathen colonists who had been transplanted into the depopulated kingdom of the ten tribes, lions which slew some of them, because they served not Jahveh. The true conception of the words is confirmed by Ezek. xiv. 15, when in like manner the sending of evil (ravening) beasts is mentioned as an example of God's punishments. הִכָּה, smite, is a standing expression for the lion's way of striking down his prey with his paws; cf. 1 Kings xx. 36. זֶאֵב עֶרְבוֹת is not wolf of the evening, as Chald., Syr., Hitz. explain it, following Hab. i. 8 and Zeph. iii. 3; for עֶרְבוֹת is not the plural of עֶרֶב, but of עֶרְבָה, steppe: the wolf that lives in the steppe, and thence makes its raids on inhabited spots. The reference of the words to place is suggested plainly by the parallel, the lion out of the wood. The leopard (panther) watches, *i.e.* lies lurking in wait against their cities, to tear those that come out. The panther is wont to lie in wait for his prey, and to spring suddenly out on it; cf. Hos. xiii. 7. With "because many are thy transgressions," cf. xxx. 14 f.

Since these chastisements have profited nothing God cannot pardon the people. This is the meaning of the question in ver. 7, **לָמָּה**, wherefore should I then pardon? not, should I then pardon for this? for **לָמָּה** by itself does not stand for **interrog.**, but is set before the *pronom. demonstr.* to give it the force of an interrogative adjective; cf. Ew. § 326, *a*. The *Cheth*. **לָמָּה** *est obsoletum adeoque genuinum* (Ros.); the *Keri* substitutes the usual form. To justify the question with a negative answer implied, the people's fall into idolatry is again set up before it in strong colours. Thy sons (the sons of the daughter of Zion, *i.e.* of the national congregation, and so the individual members of the nation; cf. Lev. xix. 18) have forsaken me, and swear by them that are not gods, *i.e.* the idols; cf. ii. 11. For **אֲשָׁרֵי אֱלֹהִים**, I caused them to swear, the old translators have **אֲשָׁרֵי**, I filled them to the full, and so it is read in many codd. and edd. This reading is preferred by most of the ancient commentators, and they appeal for a parallel to ver. 28, and Deut. xxxii. 15 ("when Jeshurun waxed fat, he kicked"), Hos. xiii. 6, Neh. ix. 25, etc., where apostasy from God is chidden as a consequence of superfluity of earthly goods. So Luther: "and now that I have filled them full, they committed adultery." Now possibly it is just the recollection of the passages cited that has suggested the reading **אֲשָׁרֵי**. The apodosis, they committed adultery, forms no antithesis to filling full. Adultery presupposes a marriage vow, or troth plighted by an oath. God caused Israel to swear fidelity when He made the covenant with it at Sinai, Ex. xxiv. This oath Israel repeated at each renewal of the covenant, and last under Josiah: 2 Kings xxiii. 3; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31 f. Hence we must not wholly restrict the swearing to the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, nor wholly to the renewal of it under Josiah. We must refer it to both acts, or rather to the solemnity at Sinai, together with all solemn renewals of it in after times; while at the same time the reference to the renewal under Josiah, this being still fresh in memory, may have been the foremost. We must not confine the reference of **אֲשָׁרֵי** to spiritual adultery (= a fall away from Jahveh into idolatry); the context, especially the next clause, and yet more unmistakably ver. 8, refers to carnal uncleanness. This too was a breach

of the covenant, since in taking it the people bound itself not only to be faithful to God, but to keep and follow all the laws of His covenant. That the words, crowd into the house of the harlot, *i.e.* go thither in crowds, are to be taken of carnal uncleanness, may be gathered from ver. 8*b*: each neighs after the wife of his neighbour. Fornication is denounced as a desecration of the name of the Lord in Amos ii. 7. The first clause of ver. 8 suggests a comparison: well-fed horses are they, *i.e.* they resemble such. On the lechery of horses, see on Ezek. xxiii. 20. The *Cheth*. מִזְנוֹנִים is partic. Hoph. of זָן, in Aram. feed, fatten, here most suitable. The *Keri* מִזְנוֹנִים would be the partic. Pu. from זָן, the meaning of which is doubtful, given arbitrarily by Kimchi and others as *armati sc. membro genitali*. מִזְנוֹנִים, too, is derived from מִזְנוֹן, and given by Jerome *sensu obscæno: trahentes sc. genitalia*; but מִזְנוֹנִים cannot come from מִזְנוֹן, מִזְנוֹנִים being the only possible form in that case. Nor does *trahentes*, "draught-horses" (Hitz.), give a sense at all in point for the comparison. A better view is that of those who follow Simonis, in holding it to be partic. Hiph. of שָׁכַח, in Aethiop. *oberravit, vagatus est*. The participle is not to be joined with "horses" as a second qualifying word, but to be taken with הָיִי, the periphrastic form being chosen to indicate the enduring chronic character of the roaming.—Ver. 9. Such abandoned behaviour the Lord must punish.

Vers. 10-18. *In spite of the feeling of security fostered by the false prophets, the Lord will make good His word, and cause the land and kingdom to be laid waste by a barbarous people.*—

Ver. 10. "Go ye up upon her walls, and destroy, but make not a full end: tear away her tendrils; for they are not Jahveh's. Ver. 11. For faithless to me is the house of Israel become and the house of Judah, saith Jahveh. Ver. 12. They deny Jahveh, and say, He is not; and evil shall not come upon us, and sword and famine we shall not see. Ver. 13. And the prophets shall become wind, and he that speaketh is not in them: so may it happen unto them. Vers. 14. Therefore thus saith Jahveh the God of hosts: Because ye speak this word, behold, I make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them. Ver. 15. Behold, I bring upon you a nation from far, house of Israel, saith Jahveh, a people that is strong,

a people that is from of old, a people whose speech thou knowest not, and understandest not what it saith. Ver. 16. Its quiver is as an open grave, they are all mighty men. Ver. 17. It shall eat up thy harvest and thy bread; they shall eat up thy sons and thy daughters; it shall eat up thy flocks and thy cattle, eat up thy vine and thy fig-tree; it shall break down thy fenced cities, wherein thou trustest, with the sword. Ver. 18. But yet in those days, saith Jahveh, I will not make a full end with you."

To give emphasis to the threat, that the Lord will avenge Himself on such a people, we have immediately following, in ver. 10, the summons given to the enemy to subdue the land. *עָלֵי בְּשָׂרוֹתֶיהָ* is variously explained. The old translators took *שָׂרוֹת* to mean walls; but the second clause, tear away the tendrils, seems not to suit this well. And then this word occurs but once again, and with the meaning "caravan," while walls are *שָׂרוֹת* in Job xxiv. 11. But this reason is not strong enough to throw any doubt on the rendering: walls, supported as it is by the old versions. The form *שָׂרוֹת* from *שָׂר* is contracted from a form *שָׂרוֹרִים*, constructed analogously to *נְשָׂרוֹת*. The second clause would be unsuitable to the first only in the case that walls were to mean exclusively town walls or fortifications. But this is not the case. Even if the suffix here referred to Jerusalem, mentioned in ver. 1, which is very doubtful, still then the city would be looked on not in the light of a stronghold, but only as representative of the kingdom or of the theocracy. Probably, however, the suffix refers to the daughter of Zion as seat of the kingdom of God, and the idea of a vineyard was in the prophet's mind (cf ii. 21), under which figure Isaiah (v. 1-7) set forth the kingdom of God founded on Mount Zion; so that under walls, the walls of the vineyard are to be thought of. Elsewhere, indeed, these are called *גְּרִיזֹת* (also in xlix. 3), but only where the figure of a vineyard is further developed, or at least is brought more plainly and prominently forward. Here, again, where the enemy is summoned to go upon the walls, this figure is mixed up with that of a city; and so the word *שָׂרוֹת*, as indicating walls of any kind, seems most fitting. Graf has overthrown, as being unfounded, Hitz.'s assertion, that *עָלָה בְּ* signified only, to go up against a thing; and that

accuracy and elegance required that the destruction should be of the walls, not of the vineyard itself. עָלָה *c. ב.* means also: to go up upon a thing, *e.g.* Ps. xxiv. 3, Deut. v. 5; and the verb שָׁחַת stands quite absolutely, so that it cannot be restricted to the walls. "And destruction can only take place when, by scaling the walls, entrance has been obtained into that which is to be destroyed, be it city or vineyard." We therefore adhere to the sig. walls, especially since the other translations attempted by Ew. and Hitz. are wholly without foundation. Hitz. will have us read שְׂרוּתֶיהָ, and take this as plural of שְׂרוּתָהּ; next he supposes a row of vines to be intended, but he obtains this sense only by arbitrarily appending the idea of vines. Ew. endeavours, from the Aram. and Arab., to vindicate for the word the meaning: clusters of blossom, and so to obtain for the whole the translation: push in amidst the blossom-spikes. A singular figure truly, which in no way harmonizes with עָלָה בָּ. "Destroy" is restricted by the following "but make not," etc.; see on iv. 27. On "tear away her tendrils," cf. Isa. xviii. 5. The spoilers are not to root up the vine itself, but to remove the tendrils, which do not belong to Jahveh. Spurious members of the nation are meant, those who have degenerated out of their kind.

The reasons of this command are given in ver. 11 ff., by a renewed exposure of the people's apostasy. The house of Israel and the house of Judah are become faithless. On this cf. iii. 6 ff. The mention of Israel along with Judah gives point to the threatening, since judgment has already been executed upon Israel. Judah has equalled Israel in faithlessness, and so a like fate will be its lot. Judah shows its faithlessness by denying the Lord, by saying לֹא הוּא. This Ew. translates: not so, after the οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα of the LXX.; but he is certainly wrong in this. Even though הוּא may be used in place of the neuter, yet it cannot be so used in this connection, after the preceding כִּי־אֵין בַּיהוָה. Better to take it: He is not, as the fools speak in Ps. xiv. 1: there is no God, *i.e.* go on in their lives as if God were not. "Jahveh is not" is therefore in other words: there exists not a God such as Jahveh is preached to us, who is to visit His people with sore punishments. This view is not open to the objection, *quod pro lubitu supplent*, which

Ros. raises against the interpretation : *non est is, qualem prophetæ describunt*. For we take יהוה not as *is qualem*, but as *est sc. Jahveh*; and we explain the meaning of Jahveh only in that reference in which He is disowned by these men, namely, as God who visits His people with punishments. In this character He was preached by the prophets. This appears from what is further said by these disowners of God : evil or mischief will not come on us. To a saying of this kind they could have been provoked only by threatenings of punishments. The prophets were not indeed the first to announce judgments; Moses in the law threatened transgressors with the sorest punishments. But the context, the threatening against the false prophets in ver. 13, suggests that here we are to think of announcements by the prophets. Doubtless the false prophets assured the people: evil shall not come upon you, in opposition to the true prophets, who threatened the sinful race with the judgments of God. Such prophets are to become wind, *sc.* with their utterances. הִרְפֵּי is not a noun: the word, but a verb, with the article instead of the relative pronoun, as in Josh. x. 24, 1 Chron. xxvi. 28, and often: He who speaks is not in them, *i.e.* in them there is none other speaker than themselves; the Spirit of God is not in them. הֵא, "there is none," is stronger than אֵל, meaning: they speak out of their own hearts. The threat, *so* be it unto them, may be most simply referred to the first clause: they become wind. Let the emptiness of their prophecies fall on their own heads, so that they themselves may come to nought.—Ver. 14. But the people is to have proof of the truth of the word of the Lord. Because it, despising the threatening of punishment, says: Misfortune shall not light upon us, the Lord will make the word in the mouth of Jeremiah a fire, and the people wood, that the fire may consume it. On this figure, cf. Isa. i. 31, x. 17. Ver. 15 ff. explain this, and announce the inroad of a dreadful enemy that is to lay waste the land and consume the people. "A people from far," as in iv. 16. Judah is called "house of Israel," not so much because it is what remains of Israel, but because, after the captivity of the ten tribes, Judah regarded itself as the only true Israel or people of God. Further description of the hostile people is intended to show its formidable power, and to inspire dread. הִנֵּה, en-

during, firm, strong; cf. Gen. xlix. 24, Mic. vi. 2. קְדוֹמִים, dating from eternity, *i.e.* very ancient, not of recent origin, but become mighty in immemorial antiquity. A people speaking a language unfamiliar to the Jews, to comprehend whom is impossible, *i.e.* barbarous; cf. Deut. xxviii. 49. Further (ver. 16), it is a race of very heroes, fully furnished with deadly weapons. J. D. Mich. took objection to the figure, "its quiver is as an open grave;" but his conjecture שֵׁפֶתִי put nothing better in place of it. The link of comparison is this: as an open grave is filled with dead men, so the quiver of this enemy is filled with deadly missiles.—Ver. 17. This people will devour the harvest and the bread, the children, the cattle, and the best fruits of the land. Devour, here as often, in the wider sense, destroy; cf. *e.g.* iii. 24 and x. 25, where the first half of the present verse is compressed into the words: they ate up Jacob. We need not wait to refute Hitz.'s absurd remark, that the author imagined the enemy, the assumed Scythians, to be cannibals. In the second half of the verse the words, "the fenced cities wherein thou trustest," are a reminiscence of Deut. xxviii. 52; and hence we may see, that while our prophet is describing the enemy in vers. 15-18, Moses' threatening, Deut. xxviii. 49-52, was in his mind. שֶׁשֶׁשׁ, break in pieces, as in Mal. i. 4. With the sword, *i.e.* by force of arms; the sword, as principal weapon, being named, instead of the entire apparatus of war. In ver. 18 the restriction of ver. 10 (cf. iv. 27) is repeated, and with it the threatening of judgment is rounded off.

Vers. 19-31. *This calamity Judah is preparing for itself by its obduracy and excess of wickedness.*—Ver. 19. "And if ye then shall say, Wherefore hath Jahveh our God done all this unto us? then say to them, Like as ye have forsaken me and served strange gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours. Ver. 20. Declare this in the house of Jacob, and publish it in Judah, saying, Ver. 21. Hear now this, foolish people without understanding, that have eyes and see not, have ears and hear not. Ver. 22. Me will ye not fear, saith Jahveh, nor tremble before me? who have set the sand for a bound to the sea, an everlasting boundary that it passes not, and its waves toss themselves and cannot, and roar and pass not over. Ver. 23. But this people hath a stubborn and

rebellious heart; they turned away and went. Ver. 24. And said not in their heart: Let us now fear Jahveh our God, who giveth rain, the early rain and the late rain, in its season; who keepeth for us the appointed weeks of the harvest. Ver. 25. Your iniquities have turned away these, and your sins have withholden the good from you. Ver. 26. For among my people are found wicked men; they lie in wait as fowlers stoop; they set a trap, they catch men. Ver. 27. As a cage full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit; therefore are they become great and rich. Ver. 28. They are grown fat and sleek, they go beyond bound in wickedness; the cause they try not, the cause of the orphans, that they might have prosperity; and the right of the needy they judge not. Ver. 29. Shall I not punish this? saith Jahveh; shall not my soul be avenged on such a people as this? Ver. 30. The appalling and horrible is done in the land. Ver. 31. The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule under their lead, and my people loves it so. But what will ye do in the end thereof?"

The thought of ver. 19, that the people, by its apostasy, draws down this judgment on itself, forms the transition from the threat of punishment to the reproof of sins. The penalty corresponds to the sin. Because Judah in its own land serves the gods of foreigners, so it must serve strangers in a foreign land.—Ver. 20 f. The reproof of sins is introduced by an apostrophe to the hardened race. The exhortation, "Publish this," is addressed to all the prophet's hearers who have the welfare of the people at heart. "This," in vers. 20 and 21, refers to the chiding statement from ver. 23 onwards, that the people fears not God. The form of address, people foolish and without understanding (cf. iv. 22, Hos. vii. 11), is made cutting, in order, if possible, to bring the people yet to their senses. The following clauses, "they have eyes," etc., depict spiritual blindness and deafness, as in Ezek. xii. 22; cf. Deut. xxix. 3. Blindness is shown in that they see not the government of God's almighty power in nature; deafness, in that they hear not the voice of God in His word. They have no fear even of the God whose power has in the sand set an impassable barrier for the mighty waves of the sea. "Me" is put first for emphasis. The waves beat against their appointed barrier, but are

not able, *sc.* to pass it.—Ver. 23. But this people has a stubborn and rebellious heart; it bows not beneath the almighty hand of God. “Stubborn and rebellious,” joined as in Deut. xxi. 18, 20. Hence the following קָרַר is not to be taken from קָרַר : they defy (Hitz.), but from סָר : they turn away and go off, and consider not that they owe their daily bread to the Lord. Neither does God’s power move the obdurate people to the fear of Him, nor do the proofs of His love make any impression. They do not consider that God gives them the rain which lends the land its fruitfulness, so that at the fixed time they may gather in the harvest. The ו *cop.* before יוֹרֶה is rejected by the Masoretes in the *Keri* as out of place, since מְשֶׁם is not any special rain, co-ordinate to the early and late rain (Hitz.), or because they had Deut. xi. 14, Joel ii. 23 before them. But in this they failed to notice that the ו before יוֹרֶה and that before מְשֶׁם are correlative, having the force of *et—et*. שְׁבַעַת is *stat. constr.* from שְׁבַעַת, weeks, and to it חֳקוֹת is co-ordinated in place of an adjective, so that קָצִיר is dependent on two co-ordinate *stat. constr.*, as in xlv. 9, 11, Zeph. ii. 6. But the sense is not, the weeks, the statutes, of the harvest, *i.e.* the fixed and regulated phenomena which regulate the harvest (Graf), but, appointed weeks of harvest. The seven weeks between the second day of the passover and the feast of harvest, or of weeks, Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22, Deut. xvi. 9 f., are what is here meant. We must reject the rendering, “oath as to the harvest-time” (L. de Dieu, J. D. Mich., and Ew.), since Scripture knows nothing of oaths taken by God as to the time of harvest; in Gen. viii. 22 there is no word of an oath.—Ver. 25. The people has by its sins brought about the withdrawal of these blessings (the withholding of rain, etc.). הִטָּו, turned away, as in Amos v. 12, Mal. iii. 5. “These,” *i.e.* the blessings mentioned in ver. 24. The second clause repeats the same thing. The good, *i.e.* which God in His goodness bestowed on them.

This is established in ver. 26 f. by bringing home to the people their besetting sins. In (amidst) the people are found notorious sinners. יֹשִׁיר in indefinite generality: they spy about, lie in wait; cf. Hos. xiii. 7. The singular is chosen because the act described is not undertaken in company, but by individuals. שָׁךְ from שָׁכַךְ, bend down, stoop, as bird-catchers hide

behind the extended nets till the birds have gone in, so as then to draw them tight. "They set;" not the fowlers, but the wicked ones. מַשְׁחִית, destroyer (Ex. xii. 23, and often), or destruction (Ezek. xxi. 36); here, by virtue of the context, a trap which brings destruction. The men they catch are the poor, the needy, and the just; cf. ver. 28 and Isa. xxix. 21. The figure of bird-catching leads to a cognate one, by which are set forth the gains of the wicked or the produce of their labours. As a cage is filled with captured birds, so the houses of the wicked are filled with deceit, *i.e.* possessions obtained by deceit, through which they attain to credit, power, and wealth. Graf has overthrown Hitz.'s note, that we must understand by מְרֻמָּה, not riches obtained by deceit, but the means and instruments of deceit; and this on account of the following: therefore they enrich themselves. But, as Graf shows, it is not the possession of these appliances, but of the goods acquired by deceit, that has made these people great and rich, "as the birds that fill the cage are not a means for capture, but property got by cunning." כְּלִיב, cage, is not strictly a bird-cage, but a bird-trap woven of willows (Amos viii. 1), with a lid to shut down, by means of which birds were caught.—Ver. 28. Through the luxurious living their wealth makes possible to them, they are grown fat and sleek. עֲשָׂרָה, in graphic description, is joined asynd. to the preceding verb. It is explained by recent comm. of fat bodies, become glossy, in keeping with the noun עֲשָׂה, which in Cant. v. 14 expresses the glitter of ivory; for the meaning *cogitare*, think, meditate, which עֲשָׂה bears in Chald., yields no sense available here. The next clause is variously explained. נָם points to another, yet worse kind of behaviour. It is not possible to defend the translation: they overflow with evil speeches, or swell out with evil things (Umbr., Ew.), since עָבַר *c. accus.* does not mean to overflow *with* a thing. Yet more arbitrary is the assumption of a change of the subject: (their) evil speeches overflow. The only possible subject to the verb is the wicked ones, with whom the context deals before and after. דְּבָרֵי־רָע are not words of wickedness = what may be called wickedness, but things of wickedness, wicked things. דְּבָרֵי serves to distribute the idea of רָע into the particular cases into which it falls, as in Ps. lxxv. 4, cv. 27, and elsewhere, where it is commonly

held to be pleonastic. Hitz. expounds truly: the individual wickednesses in which the abstract idea of wicked manifests itself. Sense: they go beyond all that can be conceived as evil, *i.e.* the bounds of evil or wickedness. The cause they plead not, namely, the cause of the orphans. וְיִצְלִיחֻם, *imperf. c. 1 consec.*: that so they might have prosperity. Hitz. regards the wicked men as the subject, and explains the words thus: such justice would indeed be a necessary condition of their success. But that the wicked could attain to prosperity by seizing every opportunity of defending the rights of the fatherless is too weak a thought, coming after what has preceded, and besides it does not fit the case of those who go beyond all bounds in wickedness. Ew. and Graf translate: that they (the wicked) might make good the rightful cause (of the orphan), help the poor man to his rights. But even if הִצְלִיחַ seems in 2 Chron. vii. 11, Dan. viii. 25, to have the signif. carry through, make good, yet in these passages the sig. carry through with success is fundamental; where, as here, this will not suit, הִצְלִיחַ being in any case applicable only to doubtful and difficult causes—a thought foreign to the present context. Blame is attached to the wicked, not because they do not defend the orphan's doubtful pleas, but because they give no heed at all to the orphan's rights. We therefore hold with Raschi that the orphans are subject to this verb: that the orphans might have had prosperity. The plural is explained when we note that יְהוֹם is perfectly general, and may be taken as collective. The accusation in this verse shows further that the prophet had the godless rulers and judges of the people in his eye.—Ver. 29 is a refrain-like repetition of ver. 9.—The vers. 30 and 31 are, as Hitz. rightly says, “a sort of *epimetrum* added after the conclusion in ver. 29,” in which the already described moral depravity is briefly characterized, and is asserted of all ranks of the people. Appalling and horrible things happen in the land; cf. ii. 12, xxiii. 14, xviii. 13, Hos. vi. 10. The prophets prophesy with falsehood, בִּשְׁקֶר, as in xx. 6, xxix. 9; more fully בִּשְׁמִי לְשֹׁקֶר, xxiii. 25, xxvii. 15. The priests rule עַל יְדֵיהֶם, at their (the prophets') hands, *i.e.* under their guidance or direction; cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 2 ff., 2 Chron. xxiii. 18; not: go by their side (Ges., Dietr.), for דָּרָה is not: go, march on, but: trample down.

My people loves it so, yields willingly to such a lead; cf. Amos iv. 5. What will ye do לֹא-תַעֲזֹב, as to the end of this conduct? The *suff. form.* with neuter force. The end thereof will be the judgment; will ye be able to turn it away?

Chap. vi. THE JUDGMENT IS IRREVOCABLY DECREED.—A hostile army approaches from the north, and lays siege to Jerusalem, in order to storm the city (vers. 1–8). None is spared, since the people rejects all counsels to reform (vers. 9–15). Since it will not repent, it will fall by the hands of the enemy, in spite of the outward sacrificial service (vers. 16–21). The enemy will smite Zion without mercy, seeing that the trial of the people has brought about no change for the better in them (vers. 22–30).

Vers. 1–8. *The judgment breaking over Jerusalem.*—Ver. 1. “Flee, ye sons of Benjamin, out of the midst of Jerusalem, and in Tekoa blow the trumpet, and over Beth-haccerem set up a sign; for evil approacheth from the north, and great destruction. Ver. 2. The comely and the delicate—I lay waste the daughter of Zion. Ver. 3. To her come shepherds with their flocks, pitch their tents about her round about, and devour each his portion. Ver. 4. Sanctify war against her; arise, let us go up at noon. Woe unto us! for the day declineth; for the shadows of evening lengthen. Ver. 5. Arise, let us go up by night, and destroy her palaces. Ver. 6. For thus hath Jahveh of hosts spoken, Hew down wood, and pile up against Jerusalem a rampart; she is the city that is (to be) punished, she is all full of oppression in her midst. Ver. 7. As a fountain pours forth its water, so pours she forth her wickedness: violence and spoiling is heard in her; before my face continually, wounds and smiting. Ver. 8. Be warned, Jerusalem, lest my soul tear herself from thee, lest I make thee a waste, a land uninhabited.”

In graphic delineation of the enemy's approach against Jerusalem, the prophet calls on the people to flee. As regarded its situation, Jerusalem belonged to the tribe of Benjamin; the boundary between the tribal domain of Judah and Benjamin passed through the valley of Ben-Hinnom on the south side of Jerusalem, and then ran northwards to the west of the city (Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16 f.). The city was inhabited by Judeans

and Benjamites, 1 Chron. ix. 2 ff. The summons is addressed to the Benjamites as the prophet's fellow-countrymen. Tekoa lay about two hours' journey southwards from Bethlehem, according to Jerome, on a hill twelve Roman miles south of Jerusalem; see on Josh. xv. 59. This town is mentioned because its name admits of a play on the word תְּקוּאָה. The alarm is given in the country south of Jerusalem, because the enemy is coming from the north, so that the flight will be directed southwards. Beth-haccerem, acc. to Jerome, was a hamlet (*vicus*) between Jerusalem and Tekoa, *qui lingua Syra et Hebraica Bethacharma nominatur, et ipse in monte positus*, apparently on what is now called the Frank's Hill, *Jebel Fureidis*; see on Neh. iii. 14. הִנֵּמָה, the lifting up, that which raises itself up, or is raised; here a lofty beacon or signal, the nature of which is not further made known. The meaning, fire-signal, or ascending column of smoke, cannot be made good from Judg. xx. 38, 40, since there שָׁן is appended; nor from the statements of classical authors (in Ros.), that in time of war bodies of troops stationed in different places made their positions known to one another by masses of rising flame during the night, and by columns of smoke in the day time. As to the last clause, cf. i. 14. "Great destruction," as in iv. 6.—In ver. 2 the impending judgment is further described. It falls on the daughter of Zion, the capital and its inhabitants, personified as a beautiful and delicately reared woman. יְפֵה, defectively written for יְפֵהָ, contracted from יְפֵהָה, lovely, beautiful. The words are not vocatives, O fair and delicate, but accusatives made to precede their governing verb absolutely, and are explained by "the daughter of Zion," dependent on "I destroy:" the fair and the delicate, namely, the daughter of Zion, I destroy. הִנֵּמָה as in Hos. iv. 5. The other meaning of this verb, to be like, to resemble, is wholly unsuitable here; and, besides, in this signification it is construed with כְּ or כִּי. Ew.'s translation, I mean the daughter of Zion, is not justifiable by the usage of the word, the Piel only, and not the Kal, being capable of this interpretation.—Ver. 3. The destruction comes about by means of shepherds with their flocks, who set up their tents round the city, and depasture each his portion. We need hardly observe that the shepherds and their flocks are a figure

for princes, who with their peoples besiege and sack Jerusalem with this cf. i. 15. The figure does not point to a nomad swarm, or the Scythian people, as Ew. supposes. "Each his hand," *i.e.* what lies to his hand, or next him.—Ver. 4. The description passes from figure to reality, and the enemies appear before us as speaking, inciting one another to the combat, encouraging one another to storm the city. To sanctify a war, *i.e.* prepare themselves for the war by religious consecration, inasmuch as the war was undertaken under commission from God, and because the departure of the army, like the combat itself, was consecrated by sacrifice and other religious ceremonies; see on Joel iv. 9. לָעָלֶה, to go up against a place as an enemy, not, go up upon, in which case the object, them (the city or walls), could not be omitted. It is plainly the storming or capture of the town that is meant by the going up; hence we may understand what follows: and we will destroy her palaces. We have a rousing call to go up at noon or in clear daylight, joined with "woe to us," a cry of disappointment that they will not be able to gain their ends so soon, not indeed till night; in these we see the great eagerness with which they carry on the assault. יוֹם פָּנָה, the day turns itself, declines towards its end; cf. Ps. xc. 9. The enemies act under a commission from God, who has imposed on them the labour of the siege, in order to punish Jerusalem for her sins. Jahveh is here most fittingly called the God of hosts; for as God of the world, obeyed by the armies of heaven, He commands the kings of the earth to chastise His people. Hew wood, *i.e.* fell trees for making the siege works, cf. Deut. xx. 20, both for raising the attacking ramparts,¹ and for the entire apparatus necessary for storming the town. עֵץ is not a collective form from עֵצִים, like רֶגֶל from רַגְלִים; but the ־ is a suffix in spite of the omission of the Mappik, which is given by but a few of the *codd.*, eastern and western, for we know that Mappik is sometimes omitted, *e.g.* Num. xv. 28, 31; cf. Ew. § 247, *d.* We are encouraged to take it so by Deut. xx. 19, where עֵצֵי are the trees in the vicinity of the town, of which only the fruit trees were to be spared in case of siege, while those which did not bear eatable fruit were to be

¹ *Agger ex terra lignisque attollitur contra murum, de quo tela jactantur. Veget. de re milit. iv. 15.*

made use of for the purposes of the siege. And thus we must here, too, read עֲצָה, and refer the suffix to the next noun (Jerusalem). On "pile up a rampart," cf. 2 Sam. xx. 15, Ezek. iv. 2, etc. הַפָּקֵר is used as passive of Kal, and impersonally. The connection with הָעִיר is to be taken like הָהָרָה הַזֶּה in Isa. xxix. 1: the city where it is punished, or perhaps like Ps. lix. 6, the relative being supplied: that is punished. הַפָּקֵר is not to be joined, contrary to the accents, with הַפָּקֵר (Ven., J. D. Mich.), a connection which, even if it were legitimate, would give but a feeble thought. It belongs to what follows, "she is wholly oppression in her midst," i.e. on all sides in her there is oppression. This is expanded in ver. 7. LXX. and Jerome have taken הָקִיר from קִר, and translate: like as a cistern keeps its water cool (*ψύχει, frigidam facit*), so she keeps her wickedness cool. Hitz. has pronounced in favour of this interpretation, but changes "keep cool" into "keep fresh," and understands the metaphor thus: they take good care that their wickedness does not stagnate or become impaired by disuse. But it would be a strange metaphor to put "keep wickedness cool," for "maintain it in strength and vigour." We therefore, along with Luth. and most commentators, prefer the rabbinical interpretation: as a well makes its water to gush out, etc.; for there is no sufficient force in the objection that מְקוֹר from קוֹר, dig, is not a spring but a well, that הָקִיר has still less the force of making to gush forth, and that בּוֹר wholly excludes the idea of causing to spring out. The first assertion is refuted by ii. 13, מְקוֹר, fountain of living water; whence it is clear that the word does mean a well fed by a spring. It is true, indeed, that the word בּוֹר, a later way of writing בְּאֵר (cf. 1 Chron. xi. 17 f. 22 with 2 Sam. xxiii. 15 f. 20), means usually, a pit, a cistern dug out; but this form is not substantially different from בְּאֵר, well, *puteus*, which is used for בּוֹר in Ps. lv. 24 and lxix. 16. Accordingly, this latter form can undoubtedly stand with the force of בְּאֵר, as has been admitted by the Masoretes when they substituted for it

בֵּיר = בְּאֵר; cf. the Arab. بئر. The noun מְקוֹר puts beyond doubt the legitimacy of giving to הָקִיר, from קוֹר, to dig a well, the signification of making water to gush forth. The form הַקָּרָה is indeed referable to קִר, but only shows, as is otherwise

well known, that no very strict line of demarcation can be drawn between the forms of verbs עָע and עָ; קָרִי, again, is formed regularly from קָר. Violence and spoiling; cf. xx. 8, and Amos iii. 10, Hab. i. 3. "Before my face," before mine eyes, corresponds to "is heard," as wounds and smittings are the consequences of violence. On that head, cf. Ps. lv. 10–12.—Ver. 8. If Jerusalem cease not from these sins and crimes, the Lord must devote it to spoliation. Let thyself be corrected, warned; cf. Ps. ii. 10, Lev. xxvi. 23. תָּעַר from תָּע, tear oneself loose, estrange oneself, as in Ezek. xxiii. 17 ff. "A land uninhabited" is an apposition giving greater expressiveness to "a waste," xxii. 6.

Vers. 9–15. *This judgment will fall unsparingly on Jerusalem, because they listen to no warning, but suffer themselves to be confirmed in their shameless courses by false prophets and wicked priests.*—Ver. 9. "Thus hath Jahveh of hosts said: They shall have a gleaning of the remnant of Israel as of a vine: lay thine hand again as a vine-dresser on the shoots. Ver. 10. To whom shall I speak, and testify, that they may hear? Behold, uncircumcised is their ear, and they cannot give heed: behold, the word of Jahveh is become to them a reproach; they have no pleasure in it. Ver. 11. But of the fury of Jahveh am I full, am weary with holding it in. Pour it out upon the child on the street, and upon the group of young men together; for even the husband with the wife shall be taken, the old man with him that is full of days. Ver. 12. And their houses shall pass unto others, fields and wives together; for I stretch out mine hand against the inhabitants of the land, saith Jahveh. Ver. 13. For great and small are all of them greedy for gain; and from the prophet to the priest, all use deceit. Ver. 14. And they heal the breach of the daughter of my people lightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Ver. 15. They are put to shame because they have done abomination, yet they take not shame to themselves, neither know they disgrace; therefore they shall fall among them that fall: at the time that I visit them they shall stumble, hath Jahveh said."

The threatening of ver. 9 is closely connected with the foregoing. The Lord will make Jerusalem an uninhabited waste, because it will not take warning. The enemy will make

a gleanings like vine-dressers, *i.e.* they will yet search out even that which is left of the people, and crush it or carry it captive. This still sterner threat does come into contradiction with the repeated pledge, that Israel is not to be wholly extirpated, not to be made an utter end of (iv. 27, v. 10, 18). For even at the gleanings odd clusters are left, which are not noticed or set store by. The words convey the idea that the enemy will not have done with it after one devastating campaign, but will repeat his inroads. עוֹלֵל is construed with the accus. of the vineyard in Lev. xix. 10. The "remnant of Israel" is not the kingdom of Judah at large, but Judah already reduced by judgments. In the second clause the idea of the first is repeated in the form of a command to the gleaners. The command is to be looked on as addressed to the enemy by God; and this turn of the expression serves to put the thought with a positiveness that excludes the faintest doubt. To bring back the hand means: yet again to turn it, stretch it out against a person or thing; cf. Amos i. 8, Isa. i. 25. סִלְסִלֹת is not baskets, like סִלִּים, Gen. xl. 16, but like עֲלֵלִים, Isa. xviii. 5, vine-shoots, prop. waving twigs, like תִּלְתָּלִים, Cant. v. 11, from לָלַץ = לָלַץ and לָלַץ, wave (Ew., Hitz.).—Ver. 10 f. Well might Jeremiah warn the people once more (cf. ver. 8), in order to turn sore judgment away from it; but it cannot and will not hear, for it is utterly hardened. Yet can he not be silent; for he is so filled with the fury of God, that he must pour it forth on the depraved race. This is our view of the progress of the thought in these verses; whereas Hitz. and Graf make what is said in ver. 11 refer to the utterance of the dreadful revelation received in ver. 9. But this is not in keeping with "testify that they may hear," nor with the unmistakable contrast between the pouring out of the divine fury, ver. 11, and the testifying that they may hear, ver. 10. Just because their ear is uncircumcised so that they cannot hear, is it in vain to speak to them for the purpose of warning them; and the prophet has no alternative left but to pour out on the deaf and seared people that fury of the Lord with which he is inwardly filled. The question: to whom should I speak? etc. (עַל for עָלַי, as xi. 2 and often), is not to be taken as a question to God, but only as a rhetorical turn of the thought, that all further speaking or warning is in vain.

“Testify,” lay down testimony by exhibiting the sin and the punishment it brings with it. “That they may hear,” *ut audiant*, the Chald. has well paraphrased: *ut accipiant doctrinam*. Uncircumcised is their ear, as it were covered with a foreskin, so that the voice of God’s word cannot find its way in; cf. v. 24, iv. 4. The second clause, introduced by הִנֵּה, adduces the reason of their not being able to hear. The word of God is become a reproach to them; they are determined not to hearken to it, because it lashes their sins. Ver. 11 comes in adversatively: But the fury of the Lord drives him to speak. הַמַּת יְהוָה is not a holy ardour for Jahveh (Graf and many ancient comm.), but the wrath of God against the people, which the prophet cannot contain, *i.e.* keep to himself, but must pour out. Because they will not take correction, he must inflict the judgment upon them, not merely utter it. The imper. שִׁפֹּךְ is to be taken like הִשִּׁיב, ver. 9, not as an expression of the irresistible necessity which, in spite of all his efforts against it, compels the prophet to pour forth, in a certain sense, the wrath of the Lord on all classes of the people by the very publishing of God’s word (Graf); but it is the command of God, to be executed by him, as is shown by “for I stretch out mine hand,” ver. 12. The prophet is to pour out the wrath of God by the proclamation of God’s word, which finds its fulfilment in judgments of wrath; see on i. 10. Upon all classes of the people: the children that play in the street (cf. ix. 20), the young men gathered together in a cheerful company, the men and women, old men and them that are full of days, *i.e.* those who have reached the furthest limit of old age. וְיֵי tells why the prophet is so to speak: for upon the whole population will God’s wrath be poured out. וְיִלְכָּד, not, be taken captive, but, be taken, overtaken by the wrath, as in viii. 9; cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 41.—Ver. 12*a* gives the result of being thus taken: their houses, fields, and wives will be handed over to others, descend to others. Wives are mentioned along with houses and fields, as in the commandment, Ex. xx. 17; cf. Dent. v. 18. The loss of all one’s possessions is mentioned in connection with reproof, following in ver. 13, of greed and base avarice. The threatening is confirmed in ver. 12*b* by the clause: for I (Jahveh) stretch my hand out, etc. Then in vers. 13 and 14 the cause of the judg-

ment is adduced. The judgment falls upon all, for all, great and little, *i.e.* mean and powerful (cf. vers. 4, 5), go after base gain; and the teachers, who ought to lead the people on the true way (Isa. xxx. 21), use deceit and dishonesty. They heal the breach of the daughter of my people, *i.e.* the infirmities and injuries of the state, after a light and frivolous fashion (הַלֵּךְ is *partic.* *Niph. fœm.*, and לֵּךְ is of the thing that covers another);—in this, namely, that they speak of peace and healing where there is no peace; that they do not uncover the real injuries so as to heal them thoroughly, but treat them as if they were trifling and in no way dangerous infirmities.—Ver. 15. For this behaviour they are put to shame, *i.e.* deceived in their hope. The perf. is prophetic, representing the matter as being equally certain as if it had been already realized. It cannot bear to be translated either: they should be ashamed (Ros., Umbr. after the Chald.), or: they would be ashamed (Ew.). The following grounding clause adduces the cause of their being put to shame: because they have done abomination; and the next clauses bring in a contrast: yet on the contrary, shame and disgrace they know not; therefore on the day of visitation they will fall with the rest. When these verses are repeated in chap. viii. 12, the *Niph.* הִלָּכְתִּי is used in place of the *Hiph.* הִלָּכְתִּי. It does not, however, follow from this that the *Hiph.* has here the force of the *Niph.*, but only thus much, that the *Hiph.* is here used, not in a transitive, but in a simply active meaning: to have shame or disgrace. For הִלָּכְתִּי with the relative omitted, time when I visit, we have in viii. 12 the simpler form of the noun הִלָּכְתִּי, as in x. 15, xli. 21, and often. Such divergencies do not justify the accommodation of the present passage to these others, since on occasions of repetitions the expression in matters of subordinate importance is often varied. The perf. of the verb has here the force of the *fut. exact.*

Vers. 16-21. *The judgment cannot be turned aside by mere sacrifice without a change of heart.*—Ver. 16. “Thus hath Jahveh said: Stand on the ways, and look, and ask after the everlasting paths, which (one) is the way of good, and walk therein; so shall ye find rest for your souls. But they say, We will not go. Ver. 17. And I have set over you watchmen, (saying): Harken to

the sound of the trumpet; but they say, We will not hearken. Ver. 18. Therefore hear, ye peoples, and know, thou congregation, what happens to them. Ver. 19. Hear, O earth! Behold, I bring evil on this people, the fruit of their thoughts; for to my words they have not hearkened, and at my law they have spurned. Ver. 20. To what end, then, is there incense coming to me from Sheba, and the good spice-cane from a far land? Your burnt-offerings are not a pleasure, and your slain-offerings are not grateful to me. Ver. 21. Therefore thus hath Jahveh said: Behold, I lay stumbling-blocks for this people, that thereon fathers and sons may stumble, at once the neighbour and his friend shall perish."

Ver. 16 f. The Lord has not left any lack of instruction and warning. He has marked out for them the way of salvation in the history of the ancient times. It is to this reference is made when they, in ignorance of the way to walk in, are called to ask after the everlasting paths. This thought is clothed thus: they are to step forth upon the ways, to place themselves where several ways diverge from one another, and inquire as to the everlasting paths, so as to discover which is the right way, and then on this they are to walk. נְתִיבוֹת עוֹלָם are paths that have been trod in the hoary time of old, but not all sorts of ways, good and bad, which they are to walk on indiscriminately, so that it may be discovered which of them is the right one (Hitz.). This meaning is not to be inferred from the fact, that in xviii. 15 everlasting paths are opposed to untrodden ways; indeed this very passage teaches that the everlasting ways are the right ones, from which through idolatry the people have wandered into unbeaten paths. Thus the paths of the old time are here the ways in which Israel's godly ancestors have trod; meaning substantially, the patriarchs' manner of thinking and acting. For the following question, "which is the way," etc., does not mean, amongst the paths of old time to seek out that which, as the right one, leads to salvation, but says simply thus much: ask after the paths of the old time, so as thus to recognise the right way, and then, when ye have found it, to walk therein. דֶּרֶךְ הַטוֹב, not, the good way; for הַטוֹב cannot be an objective appended to דֶּרֶךְ, since immediately after, the latter word is construed in בָּהּ as *fæm*. "The good" is the genitive dependent on "way:" way

of the good, that leads to the good, to salvation. This way Israel might learn to know from the history of antiquity recorded in the Torah. Graf has brought the sense well out in this shape: "Look inquiringly backwards to ancient history (Deut. xxxii. 7), and see how success and enduring prosperity forsook your fathers when they left the way prescribed to them by God, to walk in the ways of the heathen (xviii. 15); learn that there is but one way, the way of the fear of Jahveh, on which blessing and salvation are to be found (xxxii. 39, 40)." Find (with ו consec.), and find thus=so shall ye find; cf. Ew. § 347, *b*; Ges. § 130, 2. To "we will not go," we may supply from the context: on the way of good.—Ver. 17. But God does not let the matter end here. He caused prophets to rise up amongst them, who called their attention to the threatening evil. Watchers are prophets, Ezek. iii. 17, who stand upon the watch-tower to keep a lookout, Hab. ii. 1, and to give the people warning, by proclaiming what they have seen in spirit. "Hearken to the sound," etc., are not the words of the watchmen (prophets), for it is they who blow the trumpet, but the words of God; so that we have to supply, "and I said." The comparison of the prophets to watchmen, who give the alarm of the imminent danger by means of the sound of the trumpet, involves the comparison of the prophets' utterances to the clang of the signal-horn,—suggested besides by Amos iii. 6.—Ver. 18. Judah being thus hardened, the Lord makes known to the nations what He has determined regarding it; cf. Mic. i. 2. The sense of "Know, thou congregation," etc., is far from clear, and has been very variously given. Ros., Dahl., Maur., Umbr., and others, understand עֲרֵה of the congregation or assembly of the foreign nations; but the word cannot have this meaning without some further qualifying word. Besides, a second mention of the nations is not suitable to the context. The congregation must be that of Israel. The only question can be, whether we are by this to think of the whole people (of Judah), (Chald., Syr., Ew., and others), or whether it is the company of the ungodly that is addressed, as in the phrase עֲרֵה קִיָּה (Hitz.). But there is little probability in the view, that the crew of the ungodly is addressed along with the nations and the earth. Not less open to debate is the construc-

tion of אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־בָּם. In any case little weight can be attached to Hitz.'s assumption, that אֶת is used only to mark out the אֲשֶׁר as relative pronoun: observe it, O company that is amidst them. The passages, xxxviii. 16 (*Chet.*), and Eccles. iv. 3, where אֶת seems to have this force, are different in kind; for a definite noun precedes, and to it the relation אֶת־אֲשֶׁר is subjoined. And then what, on this construction, is the reference of בָּם, *amidst them*? Hitz. has said nothing on this point. But it could only be referred to "peoples:" the company which is amidst the peoples; and this gives no reasonable sense. These three words can only be object to "know:" know what is amongst (in) them; or: what is or happens to them (against them). It has been taken in the first sense by Chald. (their sins), Umbr., Manr.: what happens in or amongst them; in the second by Ros., Dahl.: what I shall do against them. Ewald, again, without more ado, changes בָּם into בָּא: know, thou congregation, what is coming. By this certainly a suitable sense is secured; but there are no sufficient reasons for a change of the text, it is the mere expedient of embarrassment. All the ancient translators have read the present text; even the translation of the LXX.: καὶ οἱ ποιμαίνοντες τὰ ποίμνια αὐτῶν, has been arrived at by a confounding of letters (רעי ערה with רעי ער). We understand "congregation" of Israel, *i.e.* not of the whole people of Judah, but of those to whom the title "congregation" was applicable, *i.e.* of the godly, small as their number might be. Accordingly, we are not to refer אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־בָּם to "peoples:" what is occurring amidst the peoples, *viz.* that they are coming to besiege Jerusalem, etc. (ver. 3 ff.). Nor is it to be referred to those in Judah who, according to vers. 16 and 17, do not walk in the right way, and will not give ear to the sound of the trumpet. The latter reference, acc. to which the disputed phrase would be translated: what will happen to them (against them), seems more feasible, and corresponds better to the parallelism of vers. 18 and 19, since this same phrase is then explained in ver. 19 by: I bring evil upon this people.¹

¹ So that we cannot hold, with Graf, that the reading of the text is "manifestly corrupted;" still less do we hold as substantiated or probable his conjectural reading: בָּם יִדְעֵנִי אֲשֶׁר הָעֵרָתִי בָם, and know what I have testified against them.

In ver. 19 the evil is characterized as a punishment drawn down by them on themselves by means of the apposition: fruit of their thoughts. "Fruit of their thoughts," not of their deeds (Isa. iii. 10), in order to mark the hostility of the evil heart towards God. God's law is put in a place of prominence by the turn of the expression: My law, and they spurned at it; cf. Ew. § 344, *b*, with 309, *b*.—Ver. 20. The people had no shortcoming in the matter of sacrifice in the temple; but in this service, as being mere outward service of works, the Lord has no pleasure, if the heart is estranged from Him, rebels against His commandments. Here we have the doctrine, to obey is better than sacrifice, 1 Sam. xv. 22. The Lord desires that men do justice, exercise love, and walk humbly with Him, Mic. vi. 8. Sacrifice, as *opus operatum*, is denounced by all the prophets: cf. Hos. vi. 6, Amos v. 21 ff., Isa. i. 11, Ps. l. 8 ff. Incense from Sheba (see on Ezek. xxvii. 22) was required partly for the preparation of the holy incense (Ex. xxx. 34), partly as an addition to the meat-offerings, Lev. ii. 1, 15, etc. Good, precious cane, is the aromatic reed, *calamus odoratus* (Ex. xxx. 23), *calamus* from a far country,—namely, brought from India,—and used in the preparation of the anointing oil; see on Ex. xxx. 23. לִרְצוֹן is from the language of the Torah; cf. Lev. i. 3 ff., xxii. 19 ff., Ex. xxviii. 38; and with לֹא: not to well-pleasing, *sc.* before Jahveh, *i.e.* they cannot procure for the offerers the pleasure or favour of God. With לֹא עָרְבוּ לִי cf. Hos. ix. 4.—Ver. 21. Therefore the Lord will lay stumbling-blocks before the people, whereby they all come to grief. The stumbling-blocks by which the people are to fall and perish, are the inroads of the enemies, whose formidableness is depicted in ver. 22 ff. The idea of totality is realized by individual cases in "fathers and sons, neighbour and his friend." יָחִיד belongs to the following clause, and not the *Keri*, but the *Cheth*. יֵאָבְדוּ, is the true reading. The *Keri* is formed after the analogy of xlv. 6 and l. 32; but it is unsuitable, since then we would require, as in the passages cited, to have נָפַל in direct connection with בָּשָׁל.

Vers. 22-30. *A distant, cruel people will execute the judgment, since Judah, under the trial, has proved to be worthless metal.*—Ver. 22. "Thus hath Jahveh said: Behold, a people cometh

from the land of the north, and a great nation raises itself from the furthestmost sides of the earth. Ver. 23. Bows and javelins they bear; cruel it is, and they have no mercy; their voice roareth like the sea; and on horses they ride, equipped as a man for the war against thee, daughter of Zion. Ver. 24. We heard the rumour thereof: weak are our hands: anguish hath taken hold of us, and pain, as of a woman in travail. Ver. 25. Go not forth into the field, and in the way walk not; for a sword hath the enemy, fear is all around. Ver. 26. O daughter of my people, gird thee with sackcloth, and besprinkle thee with ashes; make mourning for an only son, bitter lamentation: for suddenly shall the spoiler come upon us. Ver. 27. For a trier have I set thee among my people as a strong tower, that thou mightest know and try their way. Ver. 28. They are all revolvers of revolvers; go about as slanderers; brass and iron; they are all dealing corruptingly. Ver. 29. Burned are the bellows by the fire, at an end is the lead; in vain they melt and melt; and wicked ones are not separated. Ver. 30. Rejected silver they call them, for Jahveh hath rejected them."

In ver. 22 the stumbling-blocks of ver. 21 are explained. At the end of this discourse yet again the invasion of the enemy from the far north is announced, cf. iv. 13 and v. 15, and its terribleness is portrayed with new colours. The farther the land is from which the enemy comes, the more strange and terrible he appears to the imagination. The farthest (hind-most) sides of the earth (cf. xxv. 32) is only a heightening of the idea: land of the north, or of the far distance (v. 15); in other words, the far uttermost north (cf. Isa. xiv. 13). In this notice of their home, Hitz. finds a proof that the enemies were the Scythians, not the Chaldeans; since, acc. to Ezek. xxxviii. 6, 15, and xxxix. 2, Gog, *i.e.* the Scythians, come "from the sides of the north." But "sides of the earth" is not a geographical term for any particular northern country, but only for very remote lands; and that the Chaldeans were reckoned as falling within this term, is shown by the passage xxxi. 8, according to which Israel is to be gathered again from the land of the north and from the sides of the earth. Here any connection with Scythia in "sides of the earth" is not to be thought of, since prophecy knows nothing of a captivity of

Israel in Scythia, but regards Assur and Babylon alone as the lands of the exile of Israelites and Jews. As weapons of the enemy then are mentioned bows (cf. iv. 29, v. 16), and the javelin or lance (בִּירֹן, not shield; see on 1 Sam. xvii. 6). It is cruel, knows no pity, and is so numerous and powerful, that its voice, *i.e.* the tumult of its approach, is like the roaring of the sea; cf. Isa. v. 30, xvii. 12. On horses they ride; cf. iv. 13, viii. 16, Hab. i. 8. עֲרוֹךְ in the singular, answering to "cruel it is," points back to גַּי or עֵם. בְּאִישׁ אֶחָד is not for בְּאִישׁ אֶחָד (Ros.), but for בְּאִישׁ מִלְחָמָה, cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 33, Isa. xlii. 13; and the genitive is omitted only because of the מִלְחָמָה coming immediately after (Graf). "Against thee" is dependent on עֲרוֹךְ: equipped as a warrior is equipped for the war, against the daughter of Zion. In vers. 24-26 are set forth the terrors and the suspense which the appearance of the foe will spread abroad. In ver. 24 the prophet, as a member of the people, gives utterance to its feelings. As to the sense, the clauses are to be connected thus: As soon as we hear the rumour of the people, *i.e.* of its approach, our hands become feeble through dread, all power to resist vanishes: cf. Isa. xlii. 7; and for the metaphor of travail, Isa. xlii. 8, Mic. iv. 9, etc. In ver. 28 the inhabitants of Jerusalem, personified as the daughter of Zion, are warned not to go forth of the city into the field or about the country, lest they fall into the enemies' hands and be put to death. מִגֹּר מִפְּנֵי, often used by Jeremiah, cf. xx. 3, 10, xli. 5, xlix. 29, and, as xx. 10 shows, taken from Ps. xxxi. 14. Fear or terrors around, *i.e.* on all sides danger and destruction threaten.—Ver. 26. Sorest affliction will seize the inhabitants of Jerusalem. As to "daughter of my people," cf. iv. 11; on "gird thee with sackcloth," cf. iv. 8. To bestrew the head with ashes is a mode of expressing the greatest affliction; cf. Ezek. xxvii. 30, Mic. i. 10. יָהִי as in Amos viii. 10, Zech. xii. 10.

The closing verses of this discourse (27-30) are regarded by Hitz. as a meditation upon the results of his labours. "He was to try the people, and he found it to be evil." But in this he neglects the connection of these verses with the preceding. From the conclusion of ver. 30, "Jahveh hath rejected them," we may see that they stand connected in matter with the threatening of the spoiler; and the fact is put beyond a doubt

when we compare together the greater subdivisions of the present discourse. The vers. 27-30 correspond in substance with the view given in v. 30, 31 of the moral character of the people. As that statement shows the reasons for the threatening that God must take vengeance on such a people (v. 29), so what is said in the verses before us explain why it is threatened that a people approaching from the north will execute judgment without mercy on the daughter of Zion. For these verses do not tell us only the results of the prophet's past labours, but they at the same time indicate that his further efforts will be without effect. The people is like copper and iron, unproductive of either gold or silver; and so the smelting process is in vain. The illustration and the thing illustrated are not strictly discriminated in the statement. **בָּהֶן** is *adject. verb.* with active force: he that tries metal, that by smelting separates the slag from the gold and silver ore; cf. Zech. xiii. 9, Job xxiii. 10. **מִבְצָר** creates a difficulty, and is very variously understood. The ancient comm. have interpreted it, according to i. 18, as either in a fortress, or as a fortress. So the Chald., changing **בָּהֶן** for **בְּחֹר**: *electum dedi te in populo meo, in urbe munita forti*. Jerome: *datur propheta populo incredulo probator robustus, quod ebraice dicitur מִבְצָר, quod vel munitum juxta Aquil., vel clausum atque circumdatum juxta Symm. et LXX. sonat*. The extant text of the LXX. has ἐν λαοῖς δεδοκιμασμένοις. Following the usage of the language, we are justified only in taking **מִבְצָר** as apposition to **בָּהֶן**, or to the suffix in **נִחְתִּיד**; in which case Luther's connection of it with **עַמִּי**, "among my people, which is so hard," will appear to be impossible. But again, it has been objected, not without reason, that the reference of "fortress" to Jeremiah is here opposed to the context, while in i. 18 it falls well in with it; consequently other interpretations have been attempted. Gaab, Maur., Hitz., have taken note of the fact that **בָּצָר** occurs in Job xxxvi. 19, like **בָּצָר** in the signification of gold; they take **מִבְצָר** as a contraction for **בִּצָר**, and expound: without gold, *i.e.* although then was there no gold, to try for which was thy task. To this view Graf has objected: the testing would be wholly purposeless, if it was already declared beforehand that there was no noble metal in the people. But this objection is not con-

clusive; for the testing could only have as its aim to exhibit the real character of the people, so as to bring home to the people's apprehension what was already well known to God. These are weightier considerations: 1. We cannot make sure of the meaning gold-ore for **בָּצֵר** by means of Job xxxvi. 19, since the interpretation there is open to dispute; and **בָּצֵר**, Job xxii. 24, does not properly mean gold, but unworked ore, though in its connection with the context we must understand virgin gold and silver ore in its natural condition. Here, accordingly, we would be entitled to translate only: without virgin ore, native metal. 2. The choice of a word so unusual is singular, and the connection of **מְבַצֵּר** with **עַמִּי** is still very harsh. Yet less satisfactory is the emendation defended by J. D. Mich., Dahl, Ew., and Graf, **מְבַצֵּר**: "for a trier have I made thee among my people, for a separator;" for **בָּצֵר** has in Heb. only the meaning cut off and fortify, and the Pi. occurs in Isa. xxii. 10 and Jer. li. 53 in the latter meaning, whereas the signif. separate, discriminate, can be maintained neither from Hebrew nor Arabic usage. The case being so, it seems to us that the interpretation acc. to i. 18 has most to be said for it: To be a trier have I set thee amid my people "as a strong tower;" and to this Ges., Dietr. in *Lex. s.v.*, adhere.—Ver. 28 gives a statement as to the moral character of the people. "Revolters of revolters" is a kind of superlative, and **פָּרַר** is to be derived from **פָּרַר**, not from **פָּרַר**, perverse of perverse; or, as Hitz., imitating the Heb. phrase, rebels of the rebellious. Going about as slanderers, see on Lev. xix. 16, in order to bring others into difficulties; cf. Ezek. xxii. 9. To this is subjoined the figurative expression: brass and iron, *i.e.* ignoble metal as contrasted with gold and silver, cf. Ezek. xxii. 18; and to this, again, the unfigurative statement: they are all dealing corruptingly. **בְּשִׁחָתֵיהֶם**, cf. Isa. i. 4, Deut. xxxi. 29. There is no sufficient reason for joining **בָּלָם** with the preceding: brass and iron, as Hitz. and Graf do in defiance of the accents.—Ver. 29. The trial of the people has brought about no purification, no separation of the wicked ones. The trial is viewed under the figure of a long-continued but resultless process of smelting. **נָחַר**, Niph. from **נָחַר**, to be burnt, scorched, as in Ezek. xv. 4. **מֵאֲשָׁתָם** is to be broken up, as in the *Keri*, into two words: **מֵאֵשׁ** and **תָּם** (from **תָּמַם**). For

there does not occur any feminine form אֵשׁ from אֵש , nor any plural אֵשִׁים (even אֵשִׁים forms the plur. אֵשִׁים), so as to admit of our reading מִאֵשָׁתָם or מִאֵשִׁתָּם . Nor would the plur., if there were one, be suitable; Ew.'s assertion that אֵשִׁים means flames of fire is devoid of all proof. We connect אֵשִׁים with what precedes: Burnt are the bellows with fire, at an end is the lead. Others attach "by the fire" to what follows: By the fire is the lead consumed. The thought is in either case the same, only אֵשִׁים is not the proper word for: to be consumed. Sense: the smelting has been carried on so perseveringly, that the bellows have been scorched by the heat of the fire, and the lead added in order to get the ore into fusion is used up; but they have gone on smelting quite in vain. אֲרָא with indefinite subject, and the *inf. absol.* added to indicate the long duration of the experiment. In the last clause of the verse the result is mentioned in words without a figure: The wicked have not been separated out (prop., torn asunder from the mass).—Ver. 30. The final statement of the case: They call them (the whole people) rejected silver, *i.e.* they are recognised as such; for Jahveh has rejected them, has given over trying to make anything of them.

CHAP. VII.—X.—THE VANITY OF PUTTING TRUST IN THE
TEMPLE AND IN THE SACRIFICIAL SERVICE, AND THE
WAY TO SAFETY AND LIFE.

This discourse divides itself into three sections. Starting with the people's confident reliance in the possession of the temple and the legal sacrificial worship, Jeremiah in the first section, by pointing to the destruction of Shiloh, where in the old time the sanctuary of the ark of the covenant had been, shows that Jerusalem and Judah will not escape the fate of Shiloh and the kingdom of Ephraim, in case they persist in their stiffneckedness against the Lord their God (ch. vii. 1–viii. 3). For the confirmation of this threatening he goes on, in the second section, further to tell of the people's determined resistance to all reformation, and to set forth the terrible visitation which hardened continuance in sin draws down on itself (ch. viii. 4–ix. 21). To the same end he finally, in the third

section, points out the means of escape from impending destruction, showing that the way to safety and life lies in acknowledging the Lord as the only, everlasting, and almighty God, and in seeing the nothingness of the false gods; and, as the fruit of such knowledge, he inculcates the fear of the Lord, and self-humiliation under His mighty hand (ch. ix. 22-x. 25).

This discourse also was not uttered at any one particular time before the people in the temple, and in the shape in which it comes before us; but it has been gathered into one uniform whole, out of several oral addresses delivered in the temple by Jeremiah upon various occasions in the days of Josiah. According to ch. xxvi., Jeremiah, at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, and in the court of the temple before the people, uttered the threatening that if they would not hear the words addressed to them by the prophets, nor reform their lives, the Lord would make the temple like Shiloh, and make the city a curse to all nations. For this speech he was found worthy of death by the priests and false prophets, and was saved only through the interference of the princes of the people. Now the present discourse opposes to the people's vain confidence in the temple the solemn warning that the temple will share the fate of Shiloh; and hence many commentators, especially Graf and Näg., have inferred the identity of this with the discourse in ch. xxvi., and have referred its composition to the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign. But the agreement of the two chapters on this one point is not sufficient to justify such an inference. Jeremiah is wont often to repeat his leading thoughts in his discourses; and so it is not unlikely that more than once, during the eighteen years of his ministry under Josiah, he may have held up the fate of Shiloh and the sanctuary there, as a warning to the people which built its confidence on the possession of the temple and the performance of the legal cultus. If the foundation even of the first section of the present discourse were to be found in that given in ch. xxvi., taken in connection with the impression it made on the priests and prophets, with the violent feeling it excited, and the storm against Jeremiah which it called forth, then certainly the continuation of this discourse from vii. 16 onwards would have been something different from what we find it. In writing down the discourse,

Jeremiah would certainly not have passed immediately from threatening the people with the fate of Shiloh to the repudiation of all intercessory prayers, and to the statement there made as to the sacrificial service. This we mention without entering on the discussion of the other portions of the discourse. In the whole of the rest of the discourse, as continued ch. viii.-x., there is not the least trace of hostility against Jeremiah on the part of priests or people, or any hint of anything that would carry us beyond the time of Josiah into the reign of Jehoiakim.

Chap. vii. 1-viii. 3. WARNING AGAINST A FALSE TRUST IN THE TEMPLE AND THE SACRIFICIAL SERVICE.—The temple does not afford protection from the threatened punishment. If Judah does not change its manner of life, the temple will suffer the fate of Shiloh, and Judah will, like Ephraim, be rejected by the Lord (vers. 1-15). Neither intercession on behalf of the corrupt race, nor the multitude of its burnt and slain offerings, will turn aside from Jerusalem the visitation of wrath (vers. 16-28); for the Lord has cast away the hardened sinners on account of their idolatry, and will make Jerusalem and Judah a field of death (ver. 29-viii. 3).

Vers. 1-15. *The vanity of trusting in the temple.*—Ver. 1. "The word that came to Jeremiah from Jahveh, saying, Ver. 2. Stand in the gate of the house of Jahveh, and proclaim there this word, and say, Hear the word of Jahveh, all ye of Judah, that enter these gates to worship before Jahveh: Ver. 3. Thus hath spoken Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, Make your ways and your doings good, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Ver. 4. Trust ye not in lying words, when they say, The temple of Jahveh, the temple of Jahveh, the temple of Jahveh, is this. Ver. 5. But if ye thoroughly make your ways good, and your doings; if ye thoroughly execute right amongst one another; Ver. 6. Oppress not stranger, fatherless, and widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither follow after other gods to your hurt; Ver. 7. Then I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land which I have given unto your fathers, from eternity unto eternity. Ver. 8. Behold, ye trust in lying words, though they profit not. Ver. 9. How? to steal, to murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and offer

odours to Baal, and to walk after other gods whom ye know not? Ver. 10. And then ye come and stand before my face in this house, upon which my name is named, and think, We are saved to do all these abominations. Ver. 11. Is then this house become a den of murderers, over which my name is named, in your eyes? I too, behold, have seen it, saith Jahveh. Ver. 12. For go ye now to my place which was at Shiloh, where I formerly caused my name to dwell, and see what I have done unto it for the wickedness of my people Israel. Ver. 13. And now, because ye do all these deeds, saith Jahveh, and I have spoken to you, speaking from early morning on, and ye have not heard; and I have called you, and ye have not answered; Ver. 14. Therefore I do unto this house, over which my name is named, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I have given to you and to your fathers, as I have done unto Shiloh. Ver. 15. And cast you away from my face, as I have cast away all your brethren, the whole seed of Ephraim."

Ver. 2. The gate of the temple into which the prophet was to go and stand, is doubtless one of the three gates of the inner or upper court, in which he could stand and address the people gathered before him in the outer court; perhaps the same in which Baruch read Jeremiah's prophecies to the people, xxxvi. 10 (Schnid, Hitz.). The gates through which the people entered to worship are those of the outer court. The form of address: All Judah, ye who enter, etc., warrant us in assuming that Jeremiah delivered this discourse at one of the great annual festivals, when the people were wont to gather to Jerusalem from the length and breadth of the land.—Ver. 3 contains the central idea of the discourse: it is only morally good endeavours and deeds that give the people a sure title to a long lease of the land. *הַיִּטִּיב דֶּרֶךְ* is not merely, amend one's conduct; but, make one's way good, *i.e.* lead a good life. The "ways" mean the tendency of life at large, the "doings" are the individual manifestations of that tendency; cf. xviii. 11, xxvi. 13. "In this place," *i.e.* in the land that I have given to your fathers; cf. ver. 7 and xiv. 13 with ver. 15, xxiv. 5, 6. Positive exhortation to a pure life is followed by negative dehortation from putting trust in the illusion: The temple, etc. The threefold repetition of the same word is the most marked way

of laying very great emphasis upon it; cf. xxii. 29, Isa. vi. 3. "These," these halls, the whole complex mass of buildings (Hitz.), as in 2 Chron. viii. 11; and here הֵמָּה has the force of the neuter; cf. Ew. § 318, *b*. The meaning of this emphatic way of mentioning the temple of the Lord is, in this connection, the following: Jerusalem cannot be destroyed by enemies, because the Lord has consecrated for the abode of His name that temple which is in Jerusalem; for the Lord will not give His sanctuary, the seat of His throne, to be a prey to the heathen, but will defend it, and under its protection we too may dwell safely. In the temple of the Lord we have a sure pledge for unbroken possession of the land and the maintenance of the kingdom. Cf. the like discourse in Mic. iii. 11, "Jahveh is in our midst, upon us none evil can come." This passage likewise shows that the "lying words" quoted are the sayings of the false prophets, whereby they confirmed the people in their secure sinfulness; the mass of the people at the same time so making these sayings their own as to lull themselves into the sense of security.—Ver. 5. Over against such sayings Jeremiah puts that which is the indispensable condition of continued sojourn in the land. וְ, ver. 5, after a preceding negative clause, means: but on the contrary. This condition is a life morally good, that shall show itself in doing justice, in putting away all unrighteousness, and in giving up idolatry. With אֲנִי begins a list of the things that belong to the making of one's ways and doings good. The adjunct to בֵּין יָדָיו, right, "between the man and his neighbour," shows that the justice meant is that they should help one man to his rights against another. The law attached penalties to the oppression of those who needed protection—strangers, orphans, widows; cf. Ex. xxii. 21 ff., Deut. xxiv. 17 ff., xxvii. 19; and the prophets often denounce the same; cf. Isa. i. 17, 23, x. 2, Ezek. xxii. 7, Zech. vii. 10, Mal. iii. 5, Ps. xciv. 6, etc. אֶל-תִּשְׁפֹּךְ for 'לֹא-תִ' is noteworthy, but is not a simple equivalent for it. Like οὐ μὴ, אֶל implies a deeper interest on the part of the speaker, and the sense here is: and ye be really determined not to shed innocent blood (cf. Ew. § 320, *b*). Hitz.'s explanation, that אֶל is equal to לֹא-תִשְׁפֹּךְ or לֹא-תִשְׁפֹּךְ, and that it here resumes again the now remote אֲנִי, is overturned by the consideration that אֶל is not at the be-

ginning of the clause; and there is not the slightest probability in Graf's view, that the **ל** must have come into the text through the copyist, who had in his mind the similar clause in xxii. 3. Shedding innocent blood refers in part to judicial murders (condemnation of innocent persons), in part to violent attacks made by the kings on prophets and godly men, such as we hear of in Manasseh's case, 2 Kings xxi. 16. In this place (ver. 7), *i.e.* first and foremost Jerusalem, the metropolis, where moral corruption had its chief seat; in a wider sense, however, it means the whole kingdom of Judah (vers. 3 and 7). "To your hurt" belongs to all the above-mentioned transgressions of the law; cf. xxv. 7. "In the land," etc., explains "this place." "From eternity to eternity" is a rhetorically heightened expression for the promise given to the patriarchs, that God would give the land of Canaan to their posterity for an everlasting possession, Gen. xvii. 8; although here it belongs not to the relative clause, "that I gave," but to the principal clause, "cause you to dwell," as in Ex. xxxii. 13.

In ver. 8 there is a recurrence to the warning of ver. 4, under the form of a statement of fact; and in vers. 9-11 it is expanded to this effect: The affirmation that the temple of the Lord affords protection is a sheer delusion, so long as all God's commandments are being audaciously broken. **לֹא יִנְּצֶינָהּ הוֹעֵל**, lit. to no profiting: ye rely on lying words, without there being any possibility that they should profit you.—Ver. 9. The query before the *infin. absol.* is the expression of wonder and indignation; and the infinitives are used with special emphasis for the *verb. fin.*: How? to steal, kill, etc., is your practice, and then ye come. . . .—Ver. 10. Breaches of almost all the commandments are specified; first the eighth, sixth, and seventh of the second table, and then two commandments of the first table; cf. Hos. iv. 2. Swearing falsely is an abuse of God's name. In "offer odours to Baal," Baal is the representation of the false gods. The phrase, *other* gods, points to the first commandment, Ex. xx. 3; and the relative clause: whom ye knew not, stands in opposition to: I am Jahveh your God, who hath brought you out of Egypt. They knew not the other gods, because they had not made themselves known to them in benefits and blessings; cf. xix. 4. While they so daringly

break all God's commands, they yet come before His face in the temple which Jahveh has chosen to reveal His name there. 'אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא בּוֹ is not: which bears my name (Hitz.); or: on which my name is bestowed, which is named after me (Graf). The name of Jahveh is the revelation of Himself, and the meaning is: on which I have set my glory, in which I have made my glorious being known; see on Deut. xxviii. 10 and Amos ix. 12. We are saved, *sc.* from all the evils that threaten us, *i.e.* we are concealed, have nothing to fear; cf. Ezek. xiv. 16, 18, Amos iii. 12. The perfect *denotat firmam persuasionem incolumitatis*. Ch. B. Mich. By changing נִצְּלֵנִי into נִצְּלֵנִי, as Ewald, following the Syr., reads, the sense is weakened. לְמַעַן יִשְׁלַח יְיָ is neither: as regards what we have done, nor: because = while or whereas ye have done (Hitz.), but: in order to do, that ye may do. לְמַעַן with the *infin.*, as with the *perf.*, has never the signif., because of or in reference to something past and done, but always means, with the view of doing something; English: to the end that. The thought is simply this: Ye appear in my temple to sacrifice and worship, thinking thus to appease my wrath and turn aside all punishment, that so ye may go on doing all these (in ver. 9 enumerated) abominations. By frequenting the temple, they thought to procure an indulgence for their wicked ongoings, not merely for what they had already done, but for what they do from day to day.—Ver. 11. To expose the senselessness of such an idea, God asks if they take the temple for a den of robbers? "In your eyes" goes with הֲיָה: is it become in your eyes, *i.e.* do ye take it for such? If thieves, murderers, adulterers, etc., gathered to the temple, and supposed that by appearing there they procured the absolution of their sins, they were in very act declaring the temple to be a robbers' retreat. פֶּרֶץ, the violent, here: the house-breaker, robber. I, too, have seen, *sc.* that the temple is made by you a den of thieves, and will deal accordingly. This completion of the thought appears from the context.—Ver. 12. The temple is to undergo the fate of the former sanctuary at Shiloh. This threat is introduced by a grounding כִּי, for. This *for* refers to the central idea of the last verse, that they must not build their expectations on the temple, hold it to be a pledge for their safety. For since the Lord has seen

how they have profaned and still profane it, He will destroy it, as the sanctuary at Shiloh was destroyed. The rhetorical mode of utterance, Go to the place, etc., contributes to strengthen the threatening. They were to behold with their own eyes the fate of the sanctuary at Shiloh, that so they might understand that the sacredness of a place does not save it from overthrow, if men have desecrated it by their wickedness. We have no historical notice of the event to which Jeremiah refers. At Shiloh, now *Seilân* (in ruins), the Mosaic tabernacle was erected after the conquest of Canaan (Josh. xviii. 1), and there it was still standing in the time of the high priest Eli, 1 Sam. i. 1-3; but the ark, which had fallen into the hands of the Philistines at the time of their victory (1 Sam. iv.), was not brought back to the tabernacle when it was restored again to the Israelites. In the reign of Saul we find the tabernacle at Nob (1 Sam. xxi. 2 ff.). The words of ver. 12 intimate, that at that time "the place of God at Shiloh" was lying in ruins. As Hitz. justly remarks, the destruction of it is not to be understood of its gradual decay after the removal of the ark (1 Sam. iv. 11, vii. 1 ff.); the words imply a devastation or destruction, not of the place of God at Shiloh only, but of the place Shiloh itself. This is clearly seen from ver. 14: I will do unto this house (the temple), and the place which I gave to your fathers, as I have done unto Shiloh. This destruction did not take place when the Assyrians overthrew the kingdom of the ten tribes, but much earlier. It may, indeed, be gathered from Judg. xviii. 20, 31 (see the comment. on this passage), that it was as early as the time of Saul, during a Syrian invasion. By the destruction of the place of God at Shiloh, we need not understand that the tabernacle itself, with its altar and other sacred furniture (except the ark), was swept away. Such a view is contradicted by the statement in 1 Chron. xxi. 29, 2 Chron. i. 3, according to which the tabernacle built by Moses in the wilderness was still standing at Gibeon in David's time, and in the beginning of Solomon's reign; cf. with 2 Chron. i. 5, when the brazen altar of burnt-offering is expressly mentioned as that which was made by Bezaleel. Hence it is clear that the Mosaic tabernacle, with its altar of burnt-offering, had been preserved, and consequently that it must have been moved first from

Shiloh to Nob, and then, when Saul sacked this town (1 Sam. xxii.), to Gibeon. The destruction of the place of God in Shiloh must accordingly have consisted in this, that not only was the tabernacle with the altar carried off from thence, but the buildings necessary in connection with the maintenance of the public worship which surrounded it were swept away when the city was plundered, so that of the place of the sanctuary nothing was left remaining. It is clear that about the tabernacle there were various buildings which, along with the tabernacle and its altars, constituted "the house of God at Shiloh;" for in 1 Sam. iii. we are told that Samuel slept in the temple of Jahveh (ver. 3), and that in the morning he opened the doors of the house of God (ver. 15). Hence we may gather, that round about the court of the tabernacle there were buildings erected, which were used partly as a dwelling-place for the officiating priests and Levites, and partly for storing up the heave-offerings, and for preparing the thank-offerings at the sacrificial meals (1 Sam. ii. 11-21). This whole system of buildings surrounding the tabernacle, with its court and altar of burnt-offering, was called the "house of God;" from which name Graf erroneously inferred that there was at Shiloh a temple like the one in Jerusalem. The wickedness of my people, is the Israelites' fall into idolatry in Eli's time, because of which the Lord gave up Israel into the power of the Philistines and other enemies (Judg. xiii. 1; cf. 1 Sam. vii. 3). "These deeds" (ver. 13) are the sins named in ver. 9. וַאֲרָבִיר is a continuation of the infinitive sentence, and is still dependent on וַיִּשְׁמַע. Speaking from early morn, *i.e.* speaking earnestly and unremittingly; cf. Gesen. § 131, 3, *b*. I have called you, *i.e.* to repent, and ye have not answered, *i.e.* have not repented and turned to me.—Ver. 15. I cast you out from my sight, *i.e.* drive you forth amongst the heathen; cf. Deut. xxix. 27; and with the second clause cf. 2 Kings xvii. 20. The whole seed of Ephraim is the ten tribes.

Vers. 16-28. *This punishment will be turned aside, neither by intercession, because the people refuses to give up its idolatry, nor by sacrifice, which God desires not, because for long they have turned to Him the back and not the face, and have not hearkened to His words.*—Ver. 16. "But thou, pray not for this people,

and lift not up for them cry and prayer ; and urge me not, for I do not hear thee. Ver. 17. Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem? Ver. 18. The sons gather sticks, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead dough, to make cakes for the Queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods, to provoke me. Ver. 19. Provoke they me, saith Jahveh, not themselves, to the shaming of their face? Ver. 20. Therefore thus saith the Lord Jahveh, Behold, mine anger and my fury shall be poured out on this place, upon man, upon beast, upon the trees of the field, and upon the fruit of the ground ; and shall burn, and not be quenched. Ver. 21. Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel : Your burnt-offerings add to your slain-offerings, and eat flesh. Ver. 22. For I spake not with your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning the matters of burnt-offering or slain-offering. Ver. 23. But this word commanded I them, saying, Hearken to my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people ; and walk in the way which I command you, that it may be well with you. Ver. 24. But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear, and walked in the counsels, in the stubbornness of their evil heart, and turned to me the back, and not the face. Ver. 25. Since the day that your fathers went forth of the land of Egypt until this day, I sent to you all my servants the prophets, daily from early morn sending them ; Ver. 26. But they hearkened not to me, nor inclined their ear, and were stiffnecked, and did worse than their fathers. Ver. 27. And though thou speakest all these words unto them, yet will they not hearken unto thee ; and though thou callest unto them, yet will they not answer thee. Ver. 28. Thus speak to them : This is the people that hearken not unto the voice of Jahveh its God, and that receive not correction. Perished is faithfulness, cut off from their mouth."

The purport of ver. 16, that God will not suffer Himself to be moved by any entreaties to revoke the doom pronounced on the wicked people, is expressed by way of a command from God to the prophet not to pray for the people. That Jeremiah did sometimes pray thus, however, we see from xiv. 19 ff. (cf. xviii. 20), when to his prayer the same answer is given as we have

here, and all intercession for the corrupt race is characterized as in vain. The second clause: lift not up for them crying, *i.e.* supplicatory prayer, expresses the same, only more strongly; while the third clause: urge me not, cuts off all hope of success from even the most importunate intercession. The reason for this command to desist is shown in ver. 17, by a reference to the idolatry which was openly practised throughout the land by young and old, men and women. Each takes part according to strength and capacity: the sons gather wood together, the fathers set the fire in order, etc. The deity so zealously worshipped by the people is called the Queen of heaven, and is mentioned only by Jeremiah. Besides here, there is reference to her in xlv. 17, where we see that her worship was very diligently cultivated, and that she was adored as the bestower of earthly possessions. (מַלְכַּת is *stat. constr.*, either from the Chald. form מַלְכָּה, or from מְלִיכָה, after the analogy of נְבִרָת, *st. constr.* of נְבִירָה; but perhaps it has מַלְכַּת in *stat. abs.*) This worship was combined with that of the stars, the host of heaven, which especially prevailed under Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 5). Thence it may be presumed that the Queen of heaven was one of the deities who came to Western Asia with the Assyrians, and that she corresponds to the Assyrian-Persian *Tanis* and *Artemis*, who in the course of time took the place once occupied by the closely related Phœnician *Astarte*. She is originally a deification of the moon, the Assyrian *Selene* and *Virgo cœlestis*, who, as supreme female deity, was companion to *Baal-Moloch* as sun-god; cf. Movers, *Phœnizier*, i. S. 623 ff. With this accords the statement of Steph. Byz., that *σελήνη* is also *πήπανόν τι τῷ ἄστρῳ παραπλήσιον*. The offerings which, acc. to this verse and ch. xlv. 19, were brought to her, are called כִּנִּיִּם, a word which would appear to have come to the Hebrews along with the foreign cultus. By the LXX. it was Grecized into *χαυῶνας*, for which we find in glossators and *codd.* *καυῶνας* and *χαβῶνας*. They were, acc. to the *Etymol. magn.* and Suidas, *ἄρτοι ἐλαίῳ ἀναφυραθέντες* or *λάχανα ὄπτα* (? cooked vegetables); acc. to Jerome, *χαυῶνας*, *quas nos placentas interpretati sumus*. In any case, they were some kind of sacrificial cakes, which Vit. put alongside of the *πόπανα* of Aristophanes and Lucian; cf. the various interpretations in Schleussner, *Lexic. in LXX.*

s.v. *χαιών*. These cakes were kindled on the altar (cf. מִקְטָרִים, xliv. 19) as a kind of *Minchah* (meat-offering), and with this *Minchah* a libation or drink-offering (נִסְכִּים) was combined. הִפֵּךְ corresponds to לַעֲשׂוֹת, so that לֵץ has to be repeated; cf. xliv. 19, 25, where we find libations poured out to the Queen of heaven. In the 18th verse the expression is generalized into "other gods," with reference to the fact that the service of the Queen of heaven was but one kind of idolatry along with others, since other strange gods were worshipped by sacrifices and libations. To provoke me; cf. Deut. xxxi. 29, xxxii. 16, etc.—Ver. 19. But instead of vexing Him (Jahveh) they rather vex themselves, inasmuch as God causes the consequences of their idolatry to fall on their own head. אָתָם is used reflexively: *se ipsos*; cf. Ew. § 314, c; Gesen. § 124, 1, b. For the cause of the shame of their face, i.e. to prepare for themselves the shame of their face, to cover their face with shame; cf. iii. 25.—For (ver. 20) because of this idolatrous work, the wrath of the Lord will pour itself over the land in the consuming fire of war (cf. iv. 4 with v. 17, Nah. i. 6, etc.), so as to cut off men and beasts, trees and fruit.—Ver. 21. The multiplication of burnt and slain offerings will not avert judgment. Your burnt-offerings add to your slain-offerings. In the case of the זִבְחֵיהֶם, the greater part of the flesh was eaten at the sacrificial meals by those who brought them. Along with these they might put the burnt-offerings, which were wont to be burnt entire upon the altar, and eat them also. The words express indignation at the sacrifices of those who were so wholly alienated from God. God had so little pleasure in their sacrifices, that they might eat of the very burnt-offerings.

To show the reason of what is here said, Jeremiah adds, in ver. 22, that God had not commanded their fathers, when He led them out of Egypt, in the matter of burnt and slain offerings, but this word: "Hearken to my voice, and I will be your God," etc. The *Keri* הוֹצִיאִי is a true exegesis, acc. to xi. 4, xxxiv. 13, but is unnecessary; cf. Gen. xxiv. 30, xxv. 26, etc. This utterance has been erroneously interpreted by the majority of commentators, and has been misused by modern criticism to make good positions as to the late origin of the Pentateuch. To understand it aright, we must carefully take

into consideration not merely the particular terms of the present passage, but the context as well. In the two verses as they stand there is the antithesis: Not *עַל דְּבַרִּי עוֹלָה חֶבֶה* did God speak and give command to the fathers, when He led them out of Egypt, but commanded the word: Harken to my voice, etc. The last word immediately suggests Ex. xix. 5: If ye will hearken to my voice, then shall ye be my peculiar treasure out of all peoples; and it points to the beginning of the law-giving, the decalogue, and the fundamental principles of the law of Israel, in Ex. xx.-xxiii., made known in order to the conclusion of the covenant in xxiv., after the arrival at Sinai of the people marching from Egypt. The promise: Then will I be your God, etc., is not given in these precise terms in Ex. xix. 5 ff.; but it is found in the account of Moses' call to be the leader of the people in their exodus, Ex. vi. 7; and then repeatedly in the promises of covenant blessings, if Israel keep all the commandments of God, Lev. xxvi. 12, Deut. xxvi. 18. Hence it is clear that Jeremiah had before his mind the taking of the covenant, but did not bind himself closely to the words of Ex. xix. 5, adopting his expression from the passages of Leviticus and Deuteronomy which refer to and reaffirm that transaction. If there be still any doubt on this head, it will be removed by the clause: and walk in *all* the way which I command you this day (*והלכתם* is a continuation of the imper. *שִׁמְעוּ*). The expression: to walk in *all* the way God has commanded, is so unusual, that it occurs only once besides in the whole Old Testament, viz. Deut. v. 30, after the renewed inculcation of the ten commandments. And they then occur with the addition *לִמְעַן תַּחֲיוּ וְטוֹב לָכֶם*, in which we cannot fail to recognise the *לִמְעַן יִיטֵב לָכֶם* of our verse. Hence we assume, without fear of contradiction, that Jeremiah was keeping the giving of the law in view, and specially the promulgation of the fundamental law of the book, namely of the decalogue, which was spoken by God from out of the fire on Sinai, as Moses in Deut. v. 23 repeats with marked emphasis. In this fundamental law we find no prescriptions as to burnt or slain offerings. On this fact many commentators, following Jerome, have laid stress, and suppose the prophet to be speaking of the first act of the law-giving, arguing that the Torah of offering in the Pentateuch was called for first by the worship of the

golden calf, after which time God held it to be necessary to give express precepts as to the presenting of offerings, so as to prevent idolatry. But this view does not at all agree with the historical fact. For the worship of the calf was subsequent to the law on the building of the altar on which Israel was to offer burnt and slain offerings, Ex. xx. 24; to the institution of the daily morning and evening sacrifice, Ex. xxix. 38 ff.; and to the regulation as to the place of worship and the consecration of the priests, Ex. xxv.-xxxi. But besides, any difficulty in our verses is not solved by distinguishing between a first and a second law-giving, since no hint of any such contrast is found in our verse, but is even entirely foreign to the precise terms of it. The antithesis is a different one. The stress in ver. 23 lies on: hearken to the voice of the Lord, and on walking in all the way which God commanded to the people at Sinai. "To walk in all the way God commanded" is in substance the same as "not to depart from all the words which I command you this day," as Moses expands his former exhortation in Deut. xxviii. 14, when he is showing the blessings of keeping the covenant. Harkening to God's voice, and walking in all His commandments, are the conditions under which Jahveh will be a God to the Israelites, and Israel a people to Him, *i.e.* His peculiar people from out of all the peoples of the earth. This word of God is not only the centre of the act of taking the covenant, but of the whole Sinaitic law-giving; and it is so both with regard to the moral law and to the ceremonial precepts, of which the law of sacrifice constituted the chief part. If yet the words demanding the observance of the whole law be set in opposition to the commandments as to sacrifices, and if it be said that on this latter head God commanded nothing when He led Israel out of Egypt, then it may be replied that the meaning of the words cannot be: God has given no law of sacrifice, and desires no offerings. The sense can only be: When the covenant was entered into, God did not speak על דְּבָרֵי, *i.e.* as to the matters of burnt and slain offerings. על דְּבָרֵי עֹלָה is not identical with על דְּבָרֵי. על דְּבָרֵי עֹלָה are words or things that concern burnt and slain offerings; that is, practically, detailed prescriptions regarding sacrifice.

The purport of the two verses is accordingly as follows:

When the Lord entered into covenant with Israel at Sinai, He insisted on their hearkening to His voice and walking in all His commandments, as the condition necessary for bringing about the covenant relationship, in which He was to be God to Israel, and Israel a people to Him; but He did not at that time give all the various commandments as to the presenting of sacrifices. Such an intimation neither denies the divine origin of the Torah of sacrifice in Leviticus, nor discredits its character as a part of the Sinaitic legislation.¹ All it implies is, that the giving of sacrifices is not the thing of primary importance in the law, is not the central point of the covenant laws, and that so long as the cardinal precepts of the decalogue are freely transgressed, sacrifices neither are desired by God, nor secure covenant blessings for those who present them. That this is what is meant is shown by the connection in which our verse stands. The words: that God did not give command as to sacrifice, refer to the sacrifices brought by a people that recklessly broke all the commandments of the decalogue (ver. 9 f.), in the thought that by means of these sacrifices they were proving themselves

¹ After Vatke's example, Hitz. and Graf find in our verses a testimony against the Mosaic origin of the legislation of the Pentateuch as a whole, and they conclude "that at the time of Jeremiah nothing was known of a legislation on sacrifice given by God on Sinai." Here, besides interpreting our verses erroneously, they cannot have taken into account the fact that Jeremiah himself insists on the law of the Sabbath, xvii. 20 ff.; that amongst the blessings in which Israel will delight in Messianic times yet to come, he accounts the presenting of burnt, slain, and meat offerings, xvii. 26, xxxi. 14, xxxiii. 11, 18. It is consequently impossible that, without contradicting himself, Jeremiah could have disallowed the sacrificial worship. The assertion that he did so is wholly incompatible with the fact recorded in 2 Kings xxii., the discovery of the book of the law of Moses in the temple, in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign; and that, too, whether, justly interpreting the passage, we hold the book of the law to be the Pentateuch, or whether, following the view maintained by the majority of modern critics, we take it to be the book of Deuteronomy, which was then for the first time composed and given to the king as Moses' work. For in Deuteronomy also the laws on sacrifice are set forth as a divine institution. Is it credible or conceivable, that in a discourse delivered, as most recent commentators believe, in the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, Jeremiah should have spoken of the laws on sacrifice as not commanded by God? For in so doing he would have undermined the authority of the book of the law, on which his entire prophetic labours were based.

to be the covenant people, and that to them as such God was bound to bestow the blessings of His covenant. It is therefore with justice that Oehler, in Herzog's *Realencykl.* xii. S. 228, says: "In the sense that the righteousness of the people and the continuance of its covenant relationship were maintained by sacrifice as such—in this sense Jahveh did not ordain sacrifices in the Torah." Such a soulless service of sacrifice is repudiated by Samuel in 1 Sam. xv. 22, when he says to Saul: Hath Jahveh delight in burnt and slain offerings, as in hearkening to the voice of Jahveh? Behold, to hearken is better than sacrifice, etc. So in Ps. xl. 7, l. 8 ff., li. 18, and Isa. i. 11 f., Jer. vi. 20, Amos v. 22. What is here said differs from these passages only in this: Jeremiah does not simply say that God has no pleasure in such sacrifices, but adds the inference that the Lord does not desire the sacrifices of a people that have fallen away from Him. This Jeremiah gathers from the history of the giving of the law, and from the fact that, when God adopted Israel as His people, He demanded not sacrifices, but their obedience to His word and their walking in His ways. The design of Jeremiah's addition was the more thoroughly to crush all such vain confidence in sacrifices.

Ver. 24 ff. But they have not regarded that which was foremost and most cardinal in the law. They hearkened not, *sc.* to my voice; and instead of walking in the ways commanded, they walked in the counsels of the stubbornness of their evil heart. *בְּמַעֲצוֹת* is *stat. absol.*, and *בְּשִׁירְרוֹת* is co-ordinated with it in apposition, instead of being subordinated; cf. Ew. § 289, c. The LXX. have not seen their way to admit such a co-ordination, and so have omitted the second term; and in this, Movers, Hitz., and Graf have followed them, deleting the word as a mere gloss. As to "the stubbornness of their evil heart," see on iii. 17. *יָהִי לְאָחֹזֶר*, they were backwards, not forwards, *i.e.* they so walked as to turn to me the back and not the face. *הָיָה* with *ל* expresses the direction or aim of a thing. The subject to these clauses is the Israelites from the time of Moses down to that of Jeremiah. This is shown by the continuation of the same idea in vers. 25 and 26. From the time the fathers were led out of Egypt till the present time, God has with anxious care been sending prophets to exhort and warn them;

but they have not hearkened, they have made their neck hard, *i.e.* were stiffnecked, and did worse than their fathers, *i.e.* each succeeding generation did more wickedly than that which preceded it. On לַיָּמִים הַזֵּה, (the period) from the day . . . until . . . cf. the remarks on Hagg. ii. 18. The לַיָּמִים gives to the mention of the time the value of an independent clause, to which that which is said regarding that time is joined by ו consec. יוֹם is adverbial accusative: by the day, *i.e.* daily, in early morn, *i.e.* with watchful care sending (on this expression, see at ver. 13). יוֹם acquires this sense, not in virtue of its standing for יוֹם יוֹם, but by reason of its connection with the two infinitives *absoll.*—Ver. 27. Just as little will they listen to Jeremiah's words. וְיִפְרָק with ו consec. is properly: Speak to them, and they will not hearken to thee, for: Even if thou speakest to them, they will not hearken to thee.—Ver. 28. Hence the prophet will be bound to say to them: This is the people that hath not hearkened to the voice of God. On this Chr. B. Mich. makes this remark: *Etsi adhortationibus tuis non obedient, tamen, ut sciant quales sint et quæ pænæ ipsos maneant, dicas eis.* Perished or gone is faithfulness, and cut off out of their mouth. They have violated the fidelity they owed to God, by not hearkening to His voice, by breaking all His commandments (cf. vers. 23 and 9). "Out of their mouth" is used instead of "out of the heart," because they continually make profession with their mouth of their devotion to God, *e.g.* swear by Jahveh, but always lyingly, ver. 2.

Ver. 29—chap. viii. 3. *Therefore the Lord has rejected the backsliding people, so that it shall perish shamefully.*—Ver. 29. "Cut off thy diadem (daughter of Zion), and cast it away, and lift up a lamentation on the bald peaked mountains; for the Lord hath rejected and cast out the generation of His wrath. Ver. 30. For the sons of Judah have done the evil in mine eyes, saith Jahveh, have put their abominations in the house on which my name is named, to pollute it; Ver. 31. And have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of Benhinnom, to burn their sons and daughters in the fire; which I have not commanded, neither came it into my heart. Ver. 32. Therefore, behold, the days come, saith Jahveh, that they shall no longer say, Tophet and Valley of Benhinnom, but, The valley of slaughter, and they shall bury in Tophet for want of room. Ver. 33. And

the carcases of this people shall be meat for the fowls of heaven and the beasts of the earth, with no one to fray them away. Ver. 34. And I make to cease out of the cities of Judah and from the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride; for a waste shall the land become. Chap. viii. 1. At that time, saith Jahveh, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah and the bones of his princes, the bones of the priests and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves. Ver. 2. And they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, which they have loved, and which they have served, after which they have walked, and which they have sought and worshipped: they shall not be gathered nor buried; for dung upon the face of the earth shall they be. Ver. 3. And death shall be chosen rather than life by all the residue which is left of this evil race, in all the places whither I have driven them that are left, saith Jahveh of hosts."

In these verses the judgment of ver. 20 is depicted in all its horror, and the description is introduced by a call upon Zion to mourn and lament for the evil awaiting Jerusalem and the whole land. It is not any particular woman that is addressed in ver. 29, but the daughter of Zion (cf. vi. 23), *i.e.* the capital city personified as a woman, as the mother of the whole people. Cut off תַּקַּח, thy diadem. There can be no doubt that we are by this to understand the hair of the woman; but the current opinion, that the word simply and directly means the hair, is without foundation. It means crown, originally the diadem of the high priest, Ex. xxix. 6; and the transference of the same word to the hair of the head is explained by the practice of the Nazarites, to wear the hair uncut as a mark of consecration to the Lord, Num. vi. 5. The hair of the Nazarite is called in Num. vi. 7 the consecration (נִזְר) of his God upon his head, as was the anointing oil on the head of the high priest, Lev. xxi. 12. In this sense the long hair of the daughter of Zion is called her diadem, to mark her out as a virgin consecrated to the Lord. Cutting off this hair is not only in token of mourning, as in Job i. 20, Mic. i. 16, but in token of the loss of the consecrated character. The Nazarite, defiled by the sudden

occurrence of death near to his person, was bound to cut off his long hair, because by this defilement his consecrated hair had been defiled; and just so must the daughter of Zion cut off her hair and cast it from her, because by her sins she had defiled herself, and must be held as unconsecrated. Venema and Ros. object to this reference of the idea to the consecrated hair of the Nazarite: *quod hoc non quadrat, nec in fœminis adeo suetum erat*; but this objection is grounded on defective apprehension of the meaning of the Nazarite's vow, and on misunderstanding of the figurative style here employed. The allusion to the Nazarite order, for the purpose of representing the daughter of Zion as a virgin consecrated to the Lord, does not imply that the Nazarite vow was very common amongst women. Deprived of her holy ornament, Zion is to set up a lament upon bare hill-tops (cf. iii. 21), since the Lord has rejected or cast out (ver. 30) the generation that has drawn His wrath down on it, because they have set idols in the temple in which He has revealed His glory, to profane it. The abominations are the image of Asherah which Manasseh set up in the temple, and the altars he had built to the host of heaven in both the courts (2 Kings xxi. 5, 7). Besides the desecration of the temple of the Lord by idolatry, Jeremiah mentions in ver. 31, as an especially offensive abomination, the worship of Moloch practised in the valley of Benhinnom. Here children were burnt to this deity, to whom Manasseh had sacrificed his son, 2 Kings xxi. 6. The expression "high altars of *Tophet*" is singular. In the parallel passages, where Jeremiah repeats the same subject, xix. 5 and xxxii. 35, we find mentioned instead high altars of Baal; and on this ground, Hitz. and Graf hold תַּחֲתָא in our verse to be a contemptuous name for Baal Moloch. תַּחֲתָא is not derived from the Persian; nor is it true that, as Hitz. asserts, it does not occur till after the beginning of the Assyrian period, since we have it in Job xvii. 6. It is formed from תָּהַךְ, to spit out, like נָפַת from נָהַךְ; and means properly a spitting out, then that before or on which one spits (as in Job xvii. 6), object of deepest abhorrence. It is transferred to the worship of Moloch here and xix. 6, 13 ff., and in 2 Kings xxiii. 10. In the latter passage the word is unquestionably used for the place in the valley of Benhinnom where children were offered to

Moloch. So in Jer. xix. 6, 13 (the place of Tophet), and 14; and so also, without a doubt, in ver. 32 of the present chapter. There is no valid reason for departing from this well-ascertained local signification; "high altars of Tophet" may perfectly well be the high altars of the place of abominable sacrifices. With the article the word means the ill-famed seat of the Moloch-worship, situated in the valley of Ben or Bne Hinnom, to the south of Jerusalem. *Hinnom* is *nomen propr.* of a man of whom we know nothing else, and בְּנֵי הִנּוֹם (בְּנֵי) is not an appellative: son of sobbing, as Hitz., Graf, Böttcher explain (after Rashi), rendering the phrase by "Valley of the weepers," or "of groaning, sobbing," with reference to the cries of the children slain there for sacrifices. For the name *Ben-Hinnom* is much older than the Moloch-worship, introduced first by Ahaz and Manasseh. We find it in Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16, in the topographical account of the boundaries of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. As to Moloch-worship, see on Lev. xviii. 21 and Ezek. xvi. 20 f. At the restoration of the public worship of Jahveh, Josiah had extirpated Moloch-worship, and had caused the place of the sacrifice of abominations in the valley of Ben-Hinnom to be defiled (2 Kings xxiii. 20); so that it is hardly probable that it had been again restored immediately after Josiah's death, at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign. Nor does the present passage imply this; for Jer. is not speaking of the forms of idolatry at that time in favour with the Jews, but of the abominations they had done. That he had Manasseh's doings especially in view, we may gather from chap. xv. 4, where the coming calamities are expressly declared to be the punishment for Manasseh's sins. Neither is it come into my heart, *i.e.* into my mind, goes to strengthen: which I have not commanded.—Ver. 32. Therefore God will make the place of their sins the scene of judgment on the sinners. There shall come days when men will call the valley of these abominations the valley of slaughter, *i.e.* shall make it into such a valley. Where they have sacrificed their children to Moloch, they shall themselves be slaughtered, massacred by their enemies. And in this valley, as an unclean place (xix. 13), shall they be buried "for want of room;" since, because of the vast numbers of the slain, there will be nowhere else to put

them.—Ver. 33. Even the number of the dead will be so great that the corpses shall remain unburied, shall become food for beasts of prey, which no one will scare away. This is taken almost literally from Deut. xxviii. 26.—Ver. 34. Thus the Lord will put an end to all joyfulness in life throughout the land: cf. Hos. ii. 13; Ezek. xxvi. 13. The voice of the bridegroom and the bride is a circumlocution for the mirth of marriage festivities; cf. 1 Macc. ix. 39. All joy will be dumb, for the land shall become a waste; as the people had been warned, in Lev. xxvi. 31, 33, would be the case if they forsook the Lord.

Chap. viii. 1–3. But even then the judgment has not come to a height. Even sinners long dead must yet bear the shame of their sins. “At that time” points back to “days come” in vii. 32. The Masoretes wished to have the לִפְנֵי before לְעֹלָם deleted, apparently because they took it for לְעֹלָם *consec.* But it here stands before the jussive, as it does frequently, *e.g.* xiii. 10, Ex. xii. 3. They will take the bones of the kings, princes, priests, and prophets, the rulers and leaders of the people (cf. ii. 26), and the bones of the other inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves, and spread them out before the sun, the moon, and the stars, *i.e.* expose them under the open sky to the influence of the heavenly bodies, so that they shall rot away, become “dung on the face of the earth.” The worst dishonour that could be done to the dead, a just return in kind for their worship of sun, moon, and stars: cf. vii. 18; 2 Kings xxi. 5, xxiii. 11. This worship the prophet describes in its various stages: “Inclination of the heart, the act of devoting and dedicating themselves to the service, the frequenting of the gods’ sanctuary in order to worship and to obtain oracles; while he strives to bring out in strong relief the contrast between the zeal of their service and the reward they get by it” (Hitz.). They shall not be gathered, *i.e.* for burial: cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 13 f.; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13. The dead shall suffer this at the hands of enemies despoiling the land. The reason for so doing was, as Jerome observes, the practice of burying ornaments and articles of value along with the dead. Seeking for such things, enemies will turn up the graves (cf. acts of this kind in the case of Ibn Chaldun, in Sylv. de Sacy, *Abdollar.* p. 561), and, in

their hatred and insolence, scatter the bones of the dead all about.—Ver. 3. Not less dreadful will be the fate of those who remain in life; so appalling that they will prefer death to life, since every kind of hardship in exile and imprisonment amongst the heathen is awaiting them: cf. Lev. xxvi. 36-39, Dent. xxviii. 65-67. הַמְקֻמֹּת הַנִּשְׁאָרִים strikes us as peculiar, seeing that the latter word cannot be adjective to the former; for “in all the remaining places of Judah” (Umbr.) gives no suitable sense, and “in all remaining places outside of Judah” is contrary to usage. But הַנִּשְׁאָרִים may be taken as genitive, in spite of the article prefixed to the *stat. constr.* מְקֻמֹּת; and we may then translate, with Maur.: in all the places of those who remain whither I have driven them. The LXX. have omitted the second word; and it is possible it may have found its way hither from the preceding line by an error of transcription. And so Hitz., Ew., and Graf have deleted it as a gloss; but the arguments adduced have little weight. The LXX. have also omitted “and say to them,” ver. 4, have changed בָּה into יִי, and generally have treated Jeremiah in a quite uncritical fashion: so that they may have omitted the word from the present verse because it seemed awkward to them, and was not found in the parallel passages, xxix. 14, xxiii. 3, which are not, however, precisely similar to the present verse.

Chap. viii. 4-23. THE PEOPLE'S OBSTINACY IN WICKEDNESS, AND THE DREADFULNESS OF THE JUDGMENT.—Since the people cleaves stedfastly to its sin (vers. 4-13), the Lord must punish sorely (vers. 14-23).—Vers. 4-13. “And say to them, Thus hath the Lord said: Doth one fall, and not rise again? or doth one turn away, and not turn back again? Ver. 5. Why doth this people of Jerusalem turn itself away with a perpetual turning? They hold fast by deceit, they refuse to return. Ver. 6. I listened and heard; they speak not aright; no one repenteth him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? They all turn to their course again, like a horse rushing into the battle. Ver. 7. Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and turtle-dove, and swallow, and crane, keep the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of Jahveh. Ver. 8. How can

ye say, Wise are we, and the law of Jahveh we have? Certainly the lying pen of the scribes hath made it a lie. Ver. 9. Ashamed the wise men become, confounded and taken; lo, the word of Jahveh they spurn at; and whose wisdom have they? Ver. 10. Therefore will I give their wives unto others, their fields to new heirs: for from the small to the great, they are all greedy for gain; from the prophet even unto the priest, they all use deceit. Ver. 11. And they heal the hurt of the daughter of my people as it were a light matter, saying, Peace, peace; and yet there is no peace. Ver. 12. They have been put to shame because they have done abomination; yet they take not shame to themselves, ashamedness they know not. Therefore they shall fall amongst them that fall: in the time of their visitation they shall stumble, hath Jahveh said. Ver. 13. Away, away will I sweep them, saith Jahveh: no grapes on the vine, and no figs on the fig-tree, and the leaf is withered; so I appoint unto them those that shall pass over them."

This strophe connects itself with what precedes. A judgment, dreadful as has been described in vii. 32–viii. 3, will come on Judah, because the people cleaves stiffneckedly to its sins. The וְאַמְרָתָּ of ver. 4 corresponds to that in vii. 28. The questioning clauses in ver. 4 contain universal truths, which are applied to the people of Judah in ver. 5. The subjects to יִפְּלוּ and יִשׁוּב are indefinite, hence singular and plural with like significance: cf. Gesen. § 137, 3; Ew. § 294, *b*. The verb יִשׁוּב, turn oneself, turn about, is here used in a double sense: first, as turn away from one; and then turn towards him, return again. In the application in ver. 5, the Pilel is used for to turn away from, and strengthened by: with perpetual turning away or backsliding. נִצַּחַת is not *partic. Niph. fem.* from נִצַּח, but an adjectival formation, continual, enduring, from נִצַּח, continuance, durableness. "Jerusalem" belongs to "this people:" this people of Jerusalem; the close grammatical connection by means of the *stat. constr.* not being maintained, if the first idea gives a sense intelligible by itself, so that the second noun may then be looked on rather in the light of an apposition conveying additional information; cf. Ew. § 290, *c*. תִּרְמִית, equivalent to מִרְמָה, deceit against God. They refuse to return. Sense: they will not receive the truth, repent and

return to God. The same idea is developed in ver. 6. The first person : I have listened and heard, Hitz. insists, refers to the prophet, "who is justified as to all he said in ver. 5 by what he has seen." But we cannot account that even an "apt" view of the case, which makes the prophet cite his own observations to show that God had not spoken without cause. It is Jahveh that speaks in ver. 5 ; and seeing that ver. 6 gives not the slightest hint of any change in the speaker, we are bound to take ver. 6 also as spoken by God. Thus, to prove that they cleave unto deceit, Jahveh says that He has given heed to their deeds and habits, and heard how they speak the לֹא־יָכֵן, the not right, *i.e.* lies and deceit. The next clause : not one repents him of his wickedness, corresponds to : they refuse to return ; cf. ver. 5 (נָחַם is *partic.*). Instead of this, the whole of it, *i.e.* all of them, turn again to their course. שׁוּב with כִּי, construed as in Hos. xii. 7 : turn oneself to a thing, so as to enter into it. For מְרֻצָּה, the sig. course is certified to by 2 Sam. xviii. 27. The *Chet.* מְרֻצָּתָם is doubtless merely an error of transcription for מְרֻצָּתָם, as is demanded by the *Keri*. Turn again into their course. The thought is : instead of considering, of becoming repentant, they continue their evil courses. This, too, is substantially what Hitz. gives. Ros., Graf, and others, again, take this in the sense of turning themselves away in their course ; but it is not fair to deduce this sense for שׁוּב without מִן from ver. 4 ; nor is the addition of "from me" justifiable. Besides, this explanation does not suit the following comparison with the horse. It is against analogy to derive מְרֻצָּתָם from רָצָה with the sig. desire, cupidity. Ew., following the *Chald.*, adopts this sense both here and in xxii. 17 and xxiii. 10, though it is not called for in any of these passages, and is unsuitable in xxii. 17. As a horse rusheth into the battle. שָׁטַף, pour forth, overflow, hence rush on impetuously ; by Jerome rightly translated, *cum impetu vadens*. Several commentators compare the Latin *se effundere* (Cæs. Bell. Gall. v. 19) and *effundi* (Liv. xxviii. 7) ; but the cases are not quite in point, since in both the words are used of the cavalry, and not of the steed by itself. This simile makes way for more in ver. 7. Even the fowls under the heaven keep the time of their coming and departure, but Israel takes no concern for the

judgment of its God; cf. Isa. i. 3. הַסִּירָה, (*avis*) *pia*, is the stork, not the heron; see on Lev. xi. 19. "In the heaven" refers to the flight of the stork. All the birds mentioned here are birds of passage. תּוֹר and כּוֹס are turtle-dove and pigeon. For כּוֹס the Masoretes read סִים, apparently to distinguish the word from that for horse; and so the oriental *Codd.* propose to read in Isa. xxxviii. 14, although they wrote כּוֹס. עֲנִיָּר is the crane (acc. to Saad. and Rashi), both here and in Isa. xxxviii. 14, where Gesen., Knob., and others, mistaking the asyndeton, take it as an adjective in the sig. sighing.¹ מוֹעֲדִים are the fixed times for the arrival and departure of the birds of passage.—Ver. 8. In spite of this heedlessness of the statutes, the judgment of God, they vainly boast in their knowledge and possession of God's law. Those who said, We are wise, are mainly the priests and false prophets; cf. ver. 10, ii. 8, v. 31. The wisdom these people claimed for themselves is, as the following clause shows, the knowledge of the law. They prided themselves on possessing the law, from which they conceived themselves to have drawn their wisdom. The second clause, as Hitz. observed, shows that it is the written law that is meant. The law is with us. This is not to be understood merely of the outward possession of it, but the inward, appropriated knowledge, the mastery of the law. The law of Jahveh, recorded in the Pentateuch, teaches not only the bearing towards God due by man, but the bearing of God towards His people. The knowledge of this law begets the wisdom for ruling one's life, tells

¹ Starting from this unproved interpretation of Isa. xxxviii. 14, and supporting their case from the LXX. translation of the present passage, τρυγῶν καὶ χελιδὼν ἀγροῦ σπουθία, Hitz. and Graf argue that עֲנִיָּר is not the name of any particular bird, but only a qualifying word to כּוֹס, in order to distinguish the swallow from the horse, the sense more commonly attached to the same word. But that confused text of the LXX. by no means justifies us in supposing that the ἡ cop. was introduced subsequently into the Heb. text. It is possible that ἀγροῦ is only a corrupt representation of עֲנִיָּר, and that σπουθία came into the LXX. text in consequence of this corruption. But certainly the fact that the LXX., as also Aquil. and Symm., both here and in Isa. xxxviii. 14, did not know what to make of the Hebrew word, and so transcribed it in Greek letters, leads us to conclude that these translators permitted themselves to be guided by Isa. xxxviii., and omitted here also the copula, which was there omitted before עֲנִיָּר.

how God is to be worshipped, how His favour is to be procured and His anger appeased.

As against all this, Jeremiah declares : Assuredly the lying pen (style) of the scribes hath made it a lie. Ew., Hitz., Graf, translate סִפְּרִים, authors, writers ; and the two latter of them take עָשָׂה = labour : "for a lie (or for deception) hath the lying style (pen) of the writers laboured." This transl. is feasible ; but it seems simpler to supply "תּוֹרַת : hath made it (the law) ; and there is no good reason for confining סִפְּרִים to the original composers of works. The words are not to be limited in their reference to the efforts of the false prophets, who spread their delusive prophecies by means of writings : they refer equally to the work of the priests, whose duty it was to train the people in the law, and who, by false teaching as to its demands, led the people astray, seduced them from the way of truth, and deceived them as to the future. The labours both of the false prophets and of the wicked priests consisted not merely in authorship, in composing and circulating writings, but to a very great extent in the oral teaching of the people, partly by prophetic announcements, partly by instruction in the law ; only in so far as it was necessary was it their duty to set down in writing and circulate their prophecies and interpretations of the law. But this work by word and writing was founded on the existing written law, the Torah of Moses ; just as the true prophets sought to influence the people chiefly by preaching the law to them, by examining their deeds and habits by the rule of the divine will as revealed in the Torah, and by applying to their times the law's promises and threatenings. For this work with the law, and application of it to life, Jer. uses the expression "style of the Shoferim," because the interpretation of the law, if it was to have valid authority as the rule of life, must be fixed by writing. Yet he did not in this speak only of authors, composers, but meant such as busied themselves about the book of the law, made it the object of their study. But inasmuch as such persons, by false interpretation and application, perverted the truth of the law into a lie, he calls their work the work of the lying style (pen).—Ver. 9. Those who held themselves wise will come to shame, will be dismally disabused of their hopes. When the great calamity

comes on the sin-hardened people, they shall be confounded and overwhelmed in ruin (cf. vi. 11). They spurn at the word of Jahveh; whose wisdom then have they? None; for the word of the Lord alone is Israel's wisdom and understanding, Deut. iv. 6.

The threatening in ver. 10 includes not only the wise ones, but the whole people. "Therefore" attaches to the central truth of vers. 5 and 6, which has been elucidated in vers. 7-9. The first half of ver. 10 corresponds, in shorter compass, to what has been said in vi. 12, and is here continued in vers. 10b-12 in the same words as in vi. 13-15. יֹרְשִׁים are those who take possession, make themselves masters of a thing, as in xlix. 2 and Mic. i. 15. This repetition of the three verses is not given in the LXX., and Hitz. therefore proposes to delete them as a supplementary interpolation, holding that they are not only superfluous, but that they interrupt the sense. For he thinks ver. 13 connects remarkably well with ver. 10a, but, taken out of its connection with what precedes as we have it, begins baldly enough. To this Graf has made fitting answer: This passage is in no respect more superfluous or awkward than vi. 13ff.; nor is the connection of ver. 13 with ver. 10a at all closer than with ver. 12. And Hitz., in order to defend the immediate connection between ver. 13 and ver. 10, sees himself compelled, for the restoration of equilibrium, to delete the middle part of ver. 13 (from "no grapes" to "withered") as spurious; for which proceeding there is not the smallest reason, since this passage has neither the character of an explanatory gloss, nor is it a repetition from any place whatever, nor is it wanting in the LXX. Just as little ground is there to argue against the genuineness of the two passages from the variations found in them. Here in ver. 10 we have מִקְטָן וְעַד-גָּדוֹל instead of the מִקְטָנָם וְעַד-גְּדֹלָם of vi. 13; but the suffix, which in the latter case pointed to the preceding "inhabitants of the land," was unnecessary here, where there is no such reference. In like manner, the forms הַבָּלִים for הַבָּלָם, and עַתְּ פִּגְרָתָם for עַתְּ פִּגְרָתֵם, are but the more usual forms used by Jeremiah elsewhere. So the omission of the ך in יִרְבּוּ for יִרְבּוּךָ, as coming either from the writer or the copyist, clearly does not make against the genuineness of the verses. And there is the less

reason for making any difficulty about the passage, seeing that such repetitions are amongst the peculiarities of Jeremiah's style : cf. *e.g.* vii. 31-33 with xix. 5-7; x. 12-16 with li. 15-19; xv. 13, 14, with xvii. 3, 4; xvi. 14, 15, with xxiii. 7, 8; xxiii. 5, 6, with xxxiii. 15, 16; xxiii. 19, 20, with xxx. 23, 24, and other shorter repetitions.—Ver. 13. The warning of coming punishment, reiterated from a former discourse, is strengthened by the threatening that God will sweep them utterly away, because Judah has become an unfruitful vine and fig-tree. In **וְהָיָה כְּצִדְיָהּ** we have a combination of **צִדַּף**, gather, glean, carry away, and **הָיָה**, Hiph. of **סָף**, make an end, sweep off, so as to heighten the sense, as in Zeph. i. 2 f.,—a passage which was doubtless in the prophet's mind : wholly will I sweep them away. The circumstantial clauses : no grapes—and the leaves are withered, show the cause of the threatening : The people is become an unfruitful vine and fig-tree, whose leaves are withered. Israel was a vineyard the Lord had planted with noble vines, but which brought forth sour grapes, ii. 21, Isa. v. 2. In keeping with this figure, Israel is thought of as a vine on which are no grapes. With this is joined the like figure of a fig-tree, to which Micah in vii. 1 makes allusion, and which is applied by Christ to the degenerate race of His own time in His symbolical act of cursing the fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 19). To exhaust the thought that Judah is ripe for judgment, it is further added that the leaves are withered. The tree whose leaves are withered, is near being parched throughout. Such a tree was the people of Judah, fallen away from its God, spurning at the law of the Lord; in contrast with which, the man who trusts in the Lord, and has delight in the law of the Lord, is like the tree planted by the water, whose leaves are ever green, and which bringeth forth fruit in his season, xvii. 8, Ps. i. 1-3. Ros. and Mov. are quite wrong in following the Chald., and in taking the circumstantial clauses as a description of the future; Mov. even proceeds to change **וְהָיָה כְּצִדְיָהּ** into **וְהָיָה כְּצִדְיָהּ**. The interpretation of the last clause is a disputed point. Ew., following the old translators (Chald., Syr., Aq., Symm., Vulg.; in the LXX. they are omitted), understands the words of the transgression of the commands of God, which they seem to have received only in order to break them. **וְהָיָה כְּצִדְיָהּ**

seems to tell in favour of this, and it may be taken as *præter.* with the translation: and I gave to them that which they transgress. But unless we are to admit that the idea thus obtained stands quite abruptly, we must follow the Chald., and take it as the reason of what precedes: They are become an unfruitful tree with faded leaves, because they have transgressed my law which I gave them. But יִצְחָק with יִּ consec. goes directly against this construction. Of less weight is the other objection against this view, that the plural suffix in יִצְחָקִים has no suitable antecedent; for there could be no difficulty in supplying "judgments" (cf. ver. 8). But the abrupt appearance of the thought, wholly unlooked for here, is sufficient to exclude that interpretation. We therefore prefer the other interpretation, given with various modifications by Ven., Ros., and Maur., and translate: so I appoint unto them those that shall pass over them. The *imperf. c.* יִּ consec. attaches itself to the circumstantial clauses, and introduces the resulting consequence; it is therefore to be expressed in English by the present, not by the *præter.*: therefore I gave them (Näg.). יִצְחָק in the general sig. appoint, and the second verb with the *pron. rel.* omitted: *illos qui eos invadent.* יִצְחָק, to overrun a country or people, of a hostile army swarming over it, as *e.g.* Isa. viii. 8, xxviii. 15. For the construction *c. accus.* cf. Jer. xxiii. 9, v. 22. Hitz.'s and Graf's mode of construction is forced: I deliver them up to them (to those) who pass over them; for then we must not only supply an object to יִצְחָק, but adopt the unusual arrangement by which the pronoun לָהֶם is made to stand before the words that explain it.

Vers. 14–23. *The horrors of the approaching visitation.*—Ver. 14. "Why do we sit still? Assemble yourselves, and let us go into the defenced cities, and perish there; for Jahveh our God hath decreed our ruin, and given us water of gall to drink, because we have sinned against Jahveh. Ver. 15. We looked for safety, and there is no good; for a time of healing, and behold terrors. Ver. 16. From Dan is heard the snorting of his horses; at the loud neighing of his steeds the whole earth trembles: they come, and devour the land and its fulness, the city and those that dwell therein. Ver. 17. For, behold, I send among you serpents, vipers, of which there is no charming,

which shall sting you, saith Jahveh. Ver. 18. Oh my comfort in sorrow, in me my heart grows too sick. Ver. 19. Behold, loud sounds the cry of the daughter from out of a far country : 'Is Jahveh not in Zion, nor her King in her?' Why provoked they me with their images, with vanities of a foreign land? Ver. 20. Past is the harvest, ended is the fruit-gathering, and we are not saved. Ver. 21. For the breaking of the daughter of my people am I broken, am in mourning; horror hath taken hold on me. Ver. 22. Is there no balm in Gilead, or no physician there? why then is no plaster laid upon the daughter of my people? Ver. 23. Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears! then would I weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people."

In spirit the prophet sees the enemy forcing his way into the country, and the inhabitants fleeing into the fortified cities. This he represents to his hearers with graphic and dramatic effect. In ver. 14 the citizens of Judah are made to speak, calling on one another to flee and give up hope of being saved. "Why do we sit still?" *i.e.* remain calmly where we are? We will withdraw into the strong cities (cf. iv. 5), and perish there by famine and disease (נִדְמָה for נִרְמָה, imperf. Niph., from דָּמָם: cf. Gesen. § 67, 5, Rem. 11; in Niph. be destroyed, perish). The fortresses cannot save them from ruin, since they will be besieged and taken by the enemy. For our sin against Him, God has decreed our ruin. The Hiph. from דָּמָם, prop. put to silence, bring to ruin, here with the force of a decree. מֵי רָאשׁ, bitter waters; רָאשׁ or רוֹשׁ, Deut. xxxii. 32, is a plant with a very bitter taste, and so, since bitterness and poison were to the Jews closely connected, a poisonous plant; see on Deut. xxix. 17. So they call the bitter suffering from the ruin at hand which they must undergo. Cf. the similar figure of the cup of the anger of Jahveh, ch. xxv. 15 ff.—Ver. 15. Instead of peace and safety hoped for, there is calamity and terror. The infin. abs. נִרְיָה is used emphatically for the imperf.: We looked for safety, and no good has come to us: for healing, *sc.* of our injuries, and instead comes terror, by reason of the appearance of the foe in the land. This hope has been awakened and cherished in the people by false prophets (see on iv. 10), and now, to their sore suffering, they must feel the

contrary of it. The same idea is repeated in xiv. 19. מִרְפָּה is a mis-spelling of מִרְבָּה, xiv. 19, etc.—Ver. 16. From the northern borders of Canaan (from Dan; see on iv. 15) is already heard the dreadful tumult of the advancing enemy, the snorting of his horses. The suffix in סוֹבְיוֹ refers to the enemy, whose invasion is threatened in vi. 22, and is here presumed as known. אֲבִירָיו, his strong ones, here, as in xlvii. 3, l. 11, a poetical name for strong horses, stallions; elsewhere for strong animals, *e.g.* Ps. xxii. 13, l. 13. The whole earth, not the whole land. With “devour the land,” cf. v. 17. עִיר and אֶרֶץ have an indefinite comprehensive force; town and country on which the enemy is marching.—Ver. 17. The terribleness of these enemies is heightened by a new figure. They are compared to snakes of the most venomous description, which cannot be made innocuous by any charming, whose sting is fatal. “Vipers” is in apposition to “serpents;” serpents, namely basilisks. צִפְעִי is, acc. to Aqu. and Vulg. on Isa. xi. 8, *serpens regulus*, the basilisk, a small and very venomous species of viper, of which there is no charming. Cf. for the figure, Cant. x. 11; and for the enemies’ cruelty thereby expressed, cf. vi. 23, Isa. xiii. 18.

The hopeless ruin of his people cuts the prophet to the very heart. In vers. 18–23 his sore oppressed heart finds itself vent in bitter lamentations. Oh my comfort in sorrow! is the cry of sore affliction. This may be seen from the second half of the verse, the sense of which is clear: sick (faint) is my heart upon me. עָלַי shows that the sickness of heart is a sore burden on him, crushes him down; cf. Ew. § 217, i. “My comfort” is accordingly vocative: Oh my comfort concerning the sorrow! Usually הֵן עֵי is supplied: Oh that I had, that there were for me comfort! The sense suits, but the ellipse is without parallel. It is simpler to take the words as an exclamation: the special force of it, that he knows not when to seek comfort, may be gathered from the context. For other far-fetched explanations, see in Ros. *ad h. l.* The grief which cuts so deeply into his heart that he sighs for relief, is caused by his already hearing in spirit the mourning cry of his people as they go away into captivity.—Ver. 19. From a far country he hears the people complain: Is Jahveh not in Zion? is He no longer the King of His people there? The suffix in מִלְכֵה refers to

“daughter of my people,” and the King is Jahveh; cf. Isa. xxxiii. 22. They ask whether Jahveh is no longer King in Zion, that He may release His people from captivity and bring them back to Zion. To this the voice of God replies with the counter-question: Why have they provoked me with their idolatry, *sc.* so that I had to give them over into the power of the heathen for punishment? “Images” is expounded by the apposition: vanities (no-gods; for הָבֵל, see on ii. 5) of a foreign land. Because they have chosen the empty idols from abroad (xiv. 22) as their gods, Jahveh, the almighty God of Zion, has cast them out into a far country amidst strange people. The people goes on to complain in ver. 20: Past is the harvest . . . and we are not saved. As Schnur. remarked, these words have something of the proverb about them. As a countryman, hoping for a good harvest, falls into despair as to his chances, so the people have been in vain looking for its rescue and deliverance. The events, or combinations of events, to which it looked for its rescue are gone by without bringing any such result. Many ancient commentators, following Rashi, have given too special a significance to this verse in applying it to the assistance expected from Egypt in the time of Jehoiakim or Zedekiah. Hitz. is yet more mistaken when he takes the saying to refer to an unproductive harvest. From ver. 19 we see that the words are spoken by the people while it pines in exile, which sets its hopes of being saved not in the productiveness of the harvest, but in a happy turn of the political situation.—Ver. 21. The hopeless case of the people and kingdom moves the seer so deeply, that he bursts forth with the cry: For the breaking of my people I am broken (the Hoph. הִשְׁבַּרְתִּי, of the breaking of the heart, only here; in this sig. usu. the Niph., *e.g.* xxiii. 9, Ps. lxix. 21). קָרַךְ, to be black, used of wearing mourning, in other words, to be in mourning; cf. Ps. xxxv. 14, xxxviii. 7. Horror hath taken hold on me, is stronger than: Anguish hath taken hold on me, vi. 24, Mic. iv. 9. Help is nowhere to be found. This thought is in ver. 22 clothed in the question: Is there no balm in Gilead, or no physician there? “There” points back to Gilead. Graf’s remark, that “it is not known that the physicians were got from that quarter,” shows nothing more than that its author has

mistaken the figurative force of the words. בָּשֶׁלְמַן, balsam, is mentioned in Gen. xxxvii. 25 as an article of commerce carried by Midianite merchants to Egypt (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 17), but is hardly the real balsam from Mecca (*amyris opobalsamum*), which during the Roman sovereignty was grown under culture in the gardens of Jericho, and which only succeeds in a climate little short of tropical. It was more likely the *resina* of the ancients, a gum procured from the terebinth or mastic tree (*lentiscus*, σχιῖνος), which, acc. to Plin. *h. nat.* xxiv. 22, was held in esteem as a medicament for wounds (*resolvitur resina ad vulnerum usus et malagmata oleo*). Acc. to our passage and xlv. 11, cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25, it was procured chiefly from Gilead; cf. Movers, *Phöniz.* ii. 3, S. 220 ff., and the remarks on Gen. xxxvii. 25. To these questions a negative answer is given. From this we explain the introduction of a further question with וְיָ: if there were balm in Gilead, and a physician there, then a plaister would have been laid on the daughter of my people, which is not the case. As to עֲלֶתָהּ אֶרְבָּה, lit. a plaister comes upon, see on xxx. 17. The calamity is so dreadful, that the prophet could weep about it day and night. To express the extremity of his grief, he wishes that his head were water, *i.e.* might be dissolved into water, and that his eye might become an inexhaustible fountain of tears. וְיִתֵּן, who might give, make my head water, *i.e.* would that it were water!

Chap. ix. 1–21. LAMENT FOR THE FAITHLESSNESS AND FOLLY OF THE PEOPLE, INFATUATED REGARDING THEIR SIN.—Upon the lament for the ruin of the kingdom, follows in vers. 1–8 the lament for the wickedness which rendered judgment necessary, which is further gone into in vers. 9–21.

Vers. 1–8. “Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfarers! then would I leave my people, and go away from them. For they be all adulterers, a crew of faithless ones. Ver. 2. They bend their tongue like their bow with lying; and not according to faithfulness do they manage in the land, but go on from evil to evil, and me they know not, saith Jahveh. Ver. 3. Beware each of his neighbour, and trust not in any brother; for every brother supplanteth, and every friend goeth slandering. Ver. 4. And one overreacheth the other, and truth they speak

not; they teach their tongue to speak lies, to deal perversely they weary themselves. Ver. 5. Thy dwelling is in the midst of deceit; in deceit they refuse to know me, saith Jahveh. Ver. 6. Therefore thus hath spoken Jahveh of hosts: Behold, I will melt them, and try them; for how should I deal in regard to the daughter of my people? Ver. 7. A deadly arrow is their tongue; they speak deceit; with his mouth one speaketh peace with his neighbour, and inwardly within him he layeth ambush. Ver. 8. Shall I not visit this upon them? saith Jahveh; or on such a people as this shall not my soul take vengeance?"

Jeremiah would flee into the wilderness, far away from his people; because amidst such a corrupt, false, and cunning people, life had become unbearable, ver. 1. מִי יִתֵּנִי, as in Isa. xxvii. 4, equivalent to מִי יִתֵּן לִי, Ps. lv. 7: who would give me = Oh that I had! The "lodging-place" is not a resting-place under the open sky, but a harbour for travellers,—a building (khan) erected on the route of the caravans, as a shelter for travellers. Adultery and faithlessness are mentioned as cardinal sins. The first sin has been rebuked in v. 7, the second is exposed in vers. 2-4. בֹּוֹגֵד, faithless either towards God or one's fellow-men; here in the latter sense. The account of the unfaithful conduct is introduced in ver. 2 by the imperf. with *consec.*, and is carried on in the perf. Manifestations of sin are the issue of a sinful state of heart; the perfects are used to suggest the particular sins as accomplished facts. In the clause, "they bend," etc., שָׁקַר is the second object; and "their bow" is in apposition to "their tongue:" they bend their tongue, which is their bow, with lying. For this construction the Hiph. is the proper form, and this is not to be changed into the Kal (as by Hitz., Gr., Näg.). In Job xxviii. 8 the Hiph. is used instead of the Kal in the sense of tread upon, walk upon; here it is used of the treading of the bow to bend it, and lying is looked upon as the arrow with which the bow is stretched or armed for shooting. If the verb be changed into the Kal, we must join שָׁקַר with קִשְׁתָּם: their lying-bow. For this connection בִּרְכֹשׁ זָמָה, Ezek. xvi. 27, may be cited; but it gives us the unnatural figure: their tongue as a bow, which is lying. It is neither the tongue nor the bow which is lying, but that which they shoot with their tongue as with a bow. According to faithfulness; לֵף of the rule,

norm, as in v. 3. Not faithfulness to their convictions (Hitz.), but in their behaviour towards their fellow-men. נָכַר, be strong, exercise strength, rule, and manage. The prophet has in view the great and mighty who had power in their hands, and who misused it to oppress their inferiors. From evil to evil they go on, *i.e.* they proceed from one sin to another; but God the Lord they know not, *i.e.* are determined to know nothing of Him; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 12, Job xviii. 21. Hence each must keep himself on his guard against the other. To express this in the most emphatic manner, Jeremiah gives it the form of a command: Beware each of his neighbour, trust not in a brother; for each seeks to overreach and trip up the other. In the words יַעֲקֹב יַעֲקֹב there seems to be an allusion to Jacob's underhand dealing with his brother Esau, Gen. xxvii. 36. On "goes slandering," cf. vi. 28, and cf. also the similar description in Mic. vii. 5, 6. In ver. 4 these sinful ways are exposed in yet stronger words. יִהְיֶה, uncontracted form of the imperf. Hiph. of הָלַל, trip up, deceive. On the infin. הָעֵתָּה, cf. *Ew.* § 238, *e*, and *Gesen.* § 75, Rem. 17. They weary themselves out, put themselves to great labour, in order to deal corruptly; יִלָּא as in xx. 9, Isa. xvi. 12, elsewhere to be weary of a thing; cf. vi. 11, xv. 6.—In ver. 5 the statement returns to the point at which it commenced: thy sitting (dwelling) is in the midst of deceit. In deceit, *i.e.* in the state of their mind, directed as it is by deceit and cheating, they refuse to know me, *i.e.* they are resolved to have nothing to do with the knowledge of God, because in that case they must give up their godless ways.¹ By reason of this depravity, the Lord must purge His people by sore judgments.

¹ The LXX. have not understood שָׁבַתָּה. They have split it up into שָׁב, joined to שָׁבַתָּה, and translated, after adding וְלֹא: καὶ οὐ δέλιπον τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι. τόκος ἐπὶ τόκῳ (*i.e.* usury upon usury) καὶ δόλος ἐπὶ δόλῳ. οὐκ ἠθέλον εἰδέναι με. *Ew.* has adopted this construction, and so translates: "have accustomed their tongue to speak lies, to do perversity, are weary of turning again; wrong upon wrong, deceit upon deceit, they are not willing to know me." But this text is not better, but worse, than the Masoretic: for, 1st, the perverse dealing or action is attributed to the tongue; 2d, the thought, they are weary of turning again, does not suit the context, since the persons described here have never sought to return or repent, and so cannot have become weary of it. For these reasons, neither Hitz. nor Graf has given countenance to the LXX. text.

He will melt it in the fire of affliction (Isa. xlviii. 10), to separate the wicked : cf. Isa. i. 25, Zech. xiii. 9 ; and on בָּרָץ, Jer. vi. 27. For how should I do, deal? Not : what dreadful judgments shall I inflict (Hitz., Gr.), in which case the grounding יִ would not have its proper force ; but : I can do none otherwise than purge. Before the face of, *i.e.* by reason of, the daughter, because the daughter of my people behaves herself as has been described in vers. 2-4, and as is yet to be briefly repeated in ver. 7. The LXX. have paraphrased כִּפְּזִי : ἀπὸ προσώπου πονηρίας. This is true to the sense, but it is unfair to argue from it, as Ew., Hitz., Gr. do, that רָעַת has been dropped out of the Hebrew text and should be restored.—In ver. 7 what has been said is recapitulated shortly, and then in ver. 8 the necessity of the judgment is shown. חֵץ שְׂחֹט, a slaying, slaughtering, *i.e.* murderous arrow. Instead of this *Chet.*, which gives a good sense, the *Keri* gives שְׂחֹט, which, judging from the Chald. translation, is probably to be translated sharpened. But there is no evidence for this sig., since שְׂחֹט occurs only in connection with זָהָב, 1 Kings x. 16, and means beaten, lit. spread gold. At בְּרִמָּה רִבֵּר the plural passes into the singular : he (one of them) speaks ; cf. Ps. lv. 22. אָרָב for insidious scheming, as in Hos. vii. 6. With ver. 8 cf. v. 9, 29.

Vers. 9-15. *The land laid waste, and the people scattered amongst the heathen.*—Ver. 9. “For the mountains I take up a weeping and wailing, and for the pastures of the wilderness a lament ; for they are burnt up so that no man passeth over them, neither hear they the voice of the flock ; the fowls of the heavens and the cattle are fled, are gone. Ver. 10. And I make Jerusalem heaps, a dwelling of jackals ; and the cities of Judah I make a desolation, without an inhabitant. Ver. 11. Who is the wise man, that he may understand this ? and to whom the mouth of Jahveh hath spoken, that he may declare it ? Wherefore doth the land come to ruin, is it burnt up like the wilderness, that none passeth through ? Ver. 12. Jahveh said : Because they forsake my law which I set before them, and have not hearkened unto my voice, neither walked therein, Ver. 13. But went after the stubbornness of their heart, and after the Baals, which their fathers have taught them. Ver. 14. Therefore thus hath Jahveh of hosts spoken,

the God of Israel: Behold, I feed this people with wormwood, and give them water of gall to drink, Ver. 15. And scatter them among the nations which they knew not, neither they nor their fathers, and send the sword after them, until I have consumed them."

Already in spirit Jeremiah sees God's visitation come upon the land, and in vers. 9 and 10 he raises a bitter lamentation for the desolation of the country. The mountains and meadows of the steppes or prairies are made so desolate, that neither men nor beasts are to be found there. Mountains and meadows or pastures of the steppes, as contrasted with the cities (ver. 10), represent the remoter parts of the country. עַל is here not local: *upon*, but causal, *concerning* = because of, cf. iv. 24 ff., as is usual with נָשָׂא נְהִי (קִינָה); cf. 2 Sam. i. 17, Amos v. 1, Ezek. xxvi. 17, etc. נִצְתָּה, kindled, burnt up, usually of cities (cf. ii. 15), here of a tract of country with the sig. be parched by the glowing heat of the sun, as a result of the interruption of agriculture. מְרִבֶּר is steppe, prairie, not suitable for tillage, but well fitted for pasturing cattle, as *e.g.* the wilderness of Judah; cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 28. With מִבְּלִי עֲבָר, ver. 11, cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 28. Not only have the herds disappeared that used to feed there, but the very birds have flown away, because the parched land no longer furnishes food for them; cf. iv. 25. To "are fled," which is used most properly of birds, is added: are gone away, departed, in reference to the cattle.—Ver. 10. Jerusalem is to become stone-heaps, where only jackals dwell. אַיִים is jackals (*canis aureus*), in Isa. xiii. 22 called אַיִים from their cry; see on Isa. *l.c.*, and Gesen. *thes. s.v.* מִבְּלִי יִשָּׁב as in ii. 15, iv. 7.—That such a judgment will pass over Judah every wise man must see well, and every one enlightened by God is to declare it; for universal apostasy from God and His law cannot but bring down punishment. But such wisdom and such spiritual enlightenment is not found in the infatuated people. This is the idea of vers. 11–13. The question: Who is the wise man? etc., reminds us of Hos. xiv. 10, and is used with a negative force: unhappily there is none so wise as to see this. "This" is explained by the clause, Wherefore doth the land, etc.: this, *i.e.* the reason why the land is going to destruction. The second clause, "and to whom," etc., is dependent on the

י, which is to be repeated in thought : and who is he that, etc. Jeremiah has the false prophets here in view, who, if they were really illumined by God, if they really had the word of God, could not but declare to the people their corruptness, and the consequences which must flow from it. But since none is so wise . . . Jeremiah proposes to them the question in ver. 11b, and in ver. 12 tells the answer as given by God Himself. Because they have forsaken my law, etc. נָתַן לִפְנֵי, to set before ; as in Deut. iv. 8, so here, of the oral inculcation of the law by the prophets. "Walketh therein" refers to the law. The stubbornness of their heart, as in iii. 17, vii. 24. After the Baals, ii. 23. The relative clause, "which their fathers," etc., refers to both clauses of the verse ; יָאָשָׁר with a neuter sense : which their fathers have taught them.—Ver. 14. The description of the offence is again followed by the threatening of judgment. To feed with wormwood and give gall to drink is a figure for sore and bitter suffering at the overthrow of the kingdom and in exile. The meaning of the suffix in מֵאֲרֵיָלָם is shown by the apposition : this people. On water of gall see viii. 14, and for the use of לָעֵנָה and רָאָשׁ together see Deut. xxix. 17.—וְהַפְּצוּתִים וְהַפְּצוּתִים implies a verbal allusion to the words of Deut. xxviii. 64 and 36, cf. Lev. xxvi. 33. With this latter passage the second clause : I send the sword after them, has a close affinity. The purport of it is : I send the sword after the fugitives, to pursue them into foreign lands and slay them ; cf. xlii. 16, xliv. 27. Thus it is indicated that those who fled into Egypt would be reached by the sword there and slain. This does not stand in contradiction to what is said in iv. 27, v. 18, etc., to the effect that God will not make an utter end of them (Graf's opinion). This appears from xliv. 27, where those that flee to Egypt are threatened with destruction by famine and sword עַד בָּלֹותִי אוֹתָם, while ver. 28 continues : but they that have escaped the sword shall return. Hence we see that the terms of the threatening do not imply the extirpation of the people to the last man, but only the extirpation of all the godless, of this wicked people.

Vers. 16-21. *Zion laid waste*.—Ver. 16. "Thus hath Jahveh of hosts said : Give heed and call for mourning women, that they may come, and send to the wise women, that they may

come, Ver. 17. And may make haste and strike up a lamentation for us, that our eyes may run down with tears and our eyelids gush out with water. Ver. 18. For loud lamentation is heard out of Zion: How are we spoiled, sore put to shame! because we have left the land, because they have thrown down our dwellings. Ver. 19. For hear, ye women, the word of Jahveh, and let your ear receive the word of His mouth, and teach your daughters lamentation, and let one teach the other the song of mourning! Ver. 20. For death cometh up by our windows, he entereth into our palaces, to cut off the children from the streets, the young men from the thoroughfares. Ver. 21. Speak: Thus runs the saying of Jahveh: And the carcasses of men shall fall as dung upon the field, and as a sheaf behind the shearer, which none gathereth."

In this strophe we have a further account of the execution of the judgment, and a poetical description of the vast harvest death is to have in Zion. The citizens of Zion are called upon to give heed to the state of affairs now in prospect, *i.e.* the judgment preparing, and are to assemble mourning women that they may strike up a dirge for the dead. הִתְבּוֹנֵן, to be attentive, give heed to a thing; cf. ii. 10. Women cunning in song are to come with speed (תִּמְהִירָה takes the place of an adverb). The form תִּבְּוֹיִינָה (Ps. xlv. 16, 1 Sam. x. 7) alternates with תִּבְּוֹנָה, the usual form in this verb, *e.g.* Gen. xxx. 38, 1 Kings iii. 16, etc., in order to produce an alternating form of expression. "For us" Näg. understands of those who call the mourning women, and in it he finds "something unusual," because ordinarily mourners are summoned to lament for those already dead, *i.e.* others than those who summon them. "But here they are to raise their laments for the very persons who summon them, and for the death of these same, which has yet to happen." There is a misunderstanding at the bottom of this remark. The "for us" is not said of the callers; for these are addressed in the second person. If Näg.'s view were right, it must be "for you," not "for us." True, the LXX. has ἐφ' ὑμᾶς; but Hitz. has rejected this reading as a simplification and weakening expression, and as disturbing the plan. "For us" is used by the people taken collectively, the nation as such, which is to be so sorely afflicted and chastised by death

that it is time for the mourning women to raise their dirge, that so the nation may give vent to its grief in tears. We must also take into account, that even although the lamentations were for the dead, they yet chiefly concerned the living, who had been deeply afflicted by the loss of beloved relations; it would not be the dead merely that were mourned for, but the living too, because of their loss. It is this reference that stands here in the foreground, since the purpose of the chanting of dirges is that our eyes may flow with tears, etc. Zion will lament the slain of her people (viii. 23), and so the mourning women are to strike up dirges. *הַשְׁמִינָהּ* for *הַשְׁמִינָהּ*, as in Ruth i. 14; cf. Ew. § 198, *b*. On the use of *יָרַד* and *נָלַל* with the *accus.*: flow down in tears, cf. Gesen. § 138, 1, Rem. 2, Ew. § 281, *b*.—Ver. 18 gives the reason why the mourning women are to be called: Loud lamentation is heard out of Zion. Ew. takes “out of Zion” of the Israelites carried away from their country—a view arbitrary in itself, and incompatible with ver. 20. “How are we spoiled!” cf. iv. 13; brought utterly to shame, because we have left the land, *i.e.* have been forced to leave it, and because they (the enemies) have thrown down our dwellings! *הִשְׁלִיךְ*, cast down, overthrow, Job xviii. 7, cf. Ezek. xix. 12, and of buildings, Dan. viii. 11. Kimchi and Hitz., again, take “our dwellings” as subject: our dwellings have cast us out, and appeal to Lev. xviii. 25: The land vomited out its inhabitants. But the figurative style in this passage does not justify us in adopting so unnatural a figure as this, that the dwellings cast out their occupants. Nor could the object be omitted in such a case. The passages, Isa. xxxiii. 9, Mic. ii. 4, to which Hitz. appeals, are not analogous to the present one. The subject, not expressed, *acc.* to our view of the passage, is readily suggested by the context and the nature of the case. The “for” in ver. 19 gives a second reason for calling the mourning women together. They are to come not only to chant laments for the spoiling of Zion, but that they may train their daughters and other women in the art of dirge-singing, because the number of deaths will be so great that the existing number of mourning women will not be sufficient for the task about to fall on them. This thought is introduced by a command of God, in order to certify that this great

harvest of death will without fail be gathered. **אֲזַנְכֶם** and **בְּנִיכֶם** have masc. suffixes instead of feminine, the masc. being often thus used as the more general form; cf. *Ew.* § 184, c. In the last clause the verb "teach" is to be supplied from the preceding context.—Ver. 20. Death comes in through (in at) the windows, not because the doors are to be thought of as barricaded (*Hitz.*), but as a thief in the night, *i.e.* suddenly, in an unexpected way. Perhaps Jeremiah was here thinking of *Joel* ii. 9. And comes into the palaces, *i.e.* spares no house, but carries off high and low. The second clause is not to be very closely joined with the first, thus: Death comes into the houses and palaces, to sweep the children from off the streets; this would be self-contradictory. We must rather repeat "comes" from the first clause: He comes to sweep off the streets the child at play. That is: In the houses and palaces, as upon the streets and highways, he will seize his prey.—Ver. 21. The numbers of the dead will be so great, that the bodies will be left lying unburied. The concluding touch to this awful picture is introduced by the formula, "Speak: Thus saith the Lord," as a distinct word from God to banish all doubt of the truth of the statement. This formula is interposed parenthetically, so that the main idea of the clause is joined by **וְ** *cop.* to ver. 20. This **וְ** is not to be deleted as a gloss, as it is by *Ew.* and others, because it is not found in the **LXX.** With "as dung," cf. *viii.* 2, *xvi.* 4. **עָמִיר**, prop. a bundle of stalks, grasped by the hand and cut, then = **עֶמְרָה**, sheaf. As a sheaf behind the reaper, which nobody gathers, *i.e.* which is left to lie unheeded, is not brought by the reaper into the barn. The point of the simile is in the lying unheeded. Strange to say, *Graf* and *Näg.* propose to refer the "none gathereth" not to the sheaf of the shearer, but to the dead bodies: whereas the reaper piles the sheaves upon the waggon and brings them to the threshing-floor, the corpses are left ungathered.

Chap. ix. 22—x. 25. THE TRUE WISDOM.—It is not a reliance on one's own wisdom and strength that brings well-being, but the knowledge of the Lord and of His dealings in grace and justice (*ix.* 22—25). Idolatry is folly, for the idols are the mere work of men's hands; whereas *Jahveh*, the Almighty God, is

ruler of the world (x. 1-16). Israel will be made to understand this by the coming judgment (vers. 17-25).

Vers. 22-25. *The way of safety*.—Ver. 22. “Thus hath Jahveh said: Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, and let not the strong man glory in his strength; let not the rich man glory in his riches: Ver. 23. But let him that glorieth glory in this, in having understanding, and in knowing me, that I am Jahveh, dealing grace, right, and justice upon earth; for therein have I pleasure, saith Jahveh. Ver. 24. Behold, days come, saith Jahveh, that I punish all the circumcised (who are) with foreskin, Ver. 25. Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the sons of Ammon, Moab and them that have their hair-corners polled, that dwell in the wilderness; for all the heathen are uncircumcised, and the whole house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart.”

After having overturned the foundations of the people's false reliance on the temple, or the sacrifices, and in the wisdom of its leaders, Jeremiah finally points out the way that leads to safety. This consists solely in the true knowledge of the Lord who doth grace, right, and justice, and therein hath pleasure. In ver. 23 he mentions the delusive objects of confidence on which the children of this world are wont to pride themselves: their own wisdom, strength, and riches. These things do not save from ruin. Safety is secured only by “having understanding and knowing me.” These two ideas are so closely connected, that the second may be looked on as giving the nearer definition of the first. The having of understanding must manifest itself in the knowing of the Lord. The two verbs are in the *infin. abs.*, because all that was necessary was to suggest the idea expressed by the verb; cf. Ew. § 328, *b*. The knowledge of God consists in knowing Him as Him who doth grace, right, and justice upon earth. חֶסֶד, grace, favour, is the foundation on which right and justice are based; cf. xxxii. 18, Ps. xxxiii. 5, xcix. 4, ciii. 6. He who has attained to this knowledge will seek to practise these virtues towards his fellow-men, because only therein has God pleasure (עָנָה pointing back to the objects before mentioned); cf. xxii. 3, Ps. xi. 7, xxxvii. 28. But because the Lord has pleasure in right and justice, He will punish all peoples that do not practise justice.

Thus vers. 24 and 25 are connected with what precedes. The lack of righteousness is indicated by the idea מִלִּבּוֹ בְּעֶרְלָה: circumcised with foreskin, *i.e.* not, circumcised in the foreskin (LXX., Vulg.), but circumcised and yet possessed of the foreskin. It is incorrect to translate: circumcised together with the uncircumcised (Kimchi, de W.). This is not only contrary to the usage of the language, but inconsistent with the context, since in ver. 25 uncircumcisedness is predicated of the heathen and of Judah. The expression is an *oxymoron*, thus: uncircumcised-circumcised (Ew.), intended to gather Jews and heathen into one category. This is shown by the order of the enumeration in ver. 24: Egypt, Judah, Edom, etc.; whence we may see that in this reference the prophet puts Judah on the same footing with the heathen, with the Egyptians, Edomites, etc., and so mentions Judah between Egypt and Edom. From the enumeration Ew. and Näg., following the example of Jerome,¹ conclude that all the peoples named along with Judah practised circumcision. But neither on exegetical nor on historical grounds can this be confidently asserted. Considered from the exegetical point of view, it is contradictory of the direct statement in ver. 25, that all the nations are uncircumcised. We must certainly not take the words כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם as: all these peoples, giving the article then the force of a retrospective demonstrative; still less can they mean "all the other nations" besides those named. "All the nations" are all nations besides Israel. When these are called "uncircumcised," and Israel "uncircumcised in heart," it is as clear as can be that all nations, and so Egyptians, Edomites, etc., are called uncircumcised, *i.e.* in the flesh; while Israel—the whole house of Israel, *i.e.* Judah and the other tribes—are set over against the nations in contrast to them as being uncircumcised in heart, *i.e.* spiritually. From the historical view-point, too, it is impossible to prove that circumcision was in use amongst all the nations mentioned along with Judah. Only of the Egyptians does Herod. ii. 36 f., 104, record that they practised

¹ Jerome writes: *multarum ex quadam parte gentium, et maxime quæ Judææ Palæstinæque confines sunt, usque hodie populi circumciduntur, et præcipue Ægyptiî et Idumæi, Ammonitæ et Moabitæ et omnis regio Saracenorum, quæ habitat in solitudine*

circumcision; and if we accept the testimony of all other ancient authors, Herod.'s statement concerns only the priests and those initiated into the mysteries of Egypt, not the Egyptian people as a whole; cf. my *Bibl. Archæol.* i. S. 307 f. The only ground for attributing the custom of circumcision to the Moabites and Arabs, is the fact that Esau and Ishmael, the ancestors of these peoples, were circumcised. But the inference drawn therefrom is not supported by historical testimony. Indeed, so far as the Edomites are concerned, Josephus testifies directly the contrary, since in *Antt.* xiii. 9. 1, he tells us that when John Hyrcanus had conquered this people, he offered them the choice of forsaking their country or adopting circumcision, and that they chose the latter alternative. As to the ancient Arabs, we find in the *Ztschr. für die Kunde des Morgl.* iii. S. 230, a notice of the tribe 'Advân, where we are told that the warriors of this tribe consist of uncircumcised young men along with those already circumcised. But this gives us no certain testimony to the universal prevalence of circumcision; for the notice comes from a work in which pre- and post-Mohammedan traditions are confounded. Finally, there is no historical trace of the custom of circumcision amongst the Ammonites and Moabites. חֲפֵצֵי here, and xxv. 23, xlix. 32: those polled, cropped at the edges of the beard and sides of the head, are such as have the hair cut from off the temples and the forehead, observing a custom which, according to Herod. iii. 8,¹ was usual amongst some of the tribes of the Arabian Desert. The imitation of this practice was forbidden to the Israelites by the law, Lev. xix. 27; from which passage we may see that חֲפֵצֵי refers to the head and the beard. Acc. to xlix. 32, cf. with ver. 28, the tribes meant belonged to the Kedarenes, descended according to Gen. xxv. 13 from Ishmael. In the wilderness, i.e. the Arabian Desert to the east of Palestine. By means of the predicate "uncircumcised in heart," the whole house of Israel, i.e. the whole covenant people, is put in contrast with the heathen. Circumcision involved the obligation to walk blameless before God (Gen. xvii. 1), and, as sign of the covenant, to keep God's commandments. If this condition was not

¹ Τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαί Φασι, καθάπερ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι, κείρονται δὲ ὑποτρόχαλα, περιξηρῶντες τοὺς κροτάφους.

fulfilled, if the heart remained uncircumcised, Israel lost all pre-eminence over the heathen, and was devoid of all room for glorying in the sight of God, just as the heathen were, who know not God the Lord, who have turned the truth of God into unrighteousness, and in their unrighteousness have become liable to the judgment of God.

Chap. x. 1-16. Warning against idolatry by means of a view of the nothingness of the false gods (vers. 1-5), and a counter-view of the almighty and everlasting God (vers. 6-11) and of His governing care in the natural world. This warning is but a further continuation of the idea of ix. 23, that Israel's glory should consist in Jahveh who doth grace, right, and justice upon earth. In order thoroughly to impress this truth on the backsliding and idolatrous people, Jeremiah sets forth the nullity of the gods feared by the heathen, and, by showing how these gods are made of wood, plated with silver and gold, proves that these dead idols, which have neither life nor motion, cannot be objects of fear; whereas Jahveh is God in truth, a living and everlasting God, before whose anger the earth trembles, who has created the earth, and rules it, who in the day of visitation will also annihilate the false gods.¹

¹ This whole passage is declared by Movers (*de utr. rec. Jer.* p. 43), de W., Hitz., and Näg. to be spurious and a late interpolation; because, as they allege, it interrupts the continuity, because its matter brings us down to the time of the Babylonian exile, and because the language of it diverges in many respects from Jeremiah's. Against these arguments Küper, Haev., Welte, and others have made a stand. See my *Manual of Introd.* § 75, 1.—By the exhibition of the coherence of the thought given in the text, we have already disposed of the argument on which most stress is laid by the critics referred to, the alleged interruption of the connection. How little weight this argument is entitled to, may over and above be seen from the fact that Graf holds ix. 22-25 to be an interpolation, by reason of the want of connection; in which view neither Movers preceded him, nor has Hitz. or Näg. followed him. The second reason, that the subject-matter brings us down to the time of the exile, rests upon a misconception of the purpose in displaying the nothingness of the false gods. In this there is presupposed neither a people as yet unspotted by idolatry, nor a people purified therefrom; but, in order to fill the heart with a warmer love for the living God and Lord of the world, Israel's own God, the bias towards the idols, deep-seated in the hearts of the people, is taken to task and attacked in that which lies at its root, namely, the fear of the power of the heathen's gods. Finally, as to the language of the passage, Movers tried to show

Vers. 1-5. *The nothingness of the false gods.*—Ver. 1. “Hear the word which Jahveh speaketh unto you, house of Israel! Ver. 2. Thus saith Jahveh: To the ways of the heathen use yourselves not, and at the signs of the heaven be not dismayed, because the heathen are dismayed at them. Ver. 3. For the ordinances of the peoples are vain. For it is wood, which one hath cut out of the forest, a work of the craftsman’s hands with the axe. Ver. 4. With silver and with gold he decks it, with nails and hammers they fasten it, that it move not. Ver. 5. As a lathe-wrought pillar are they, and speak not; they are borne, because they cannot walk. Be not afraid of them; for they do not hurt, neither is it in them to do good.”

This is addressed to the house of Israel, *i.e.* to the whole covenant people; and “house of Israel” points back to “all the house of Israel” in ix. 25. **אֱלֹהֵיכֶם** for **עֲלֵיכֶם**, as frequently in Jeremiah. The way of the heathen is their mode of life, espe-

that the whole not only belonged to the time of the pseudo-Isaiah, but that it was from his hand. Against this Graf has pronounced emphatically, with the remark that the similarity is not greater than is inevitable in the discussion of the same subject; whereas, he says, the diversity in expression is so great, that it does not even give us any reason to suppose that the author of this passage had the pseudo-Isaiah before him when he was writing. This assertion is certainly an exaggeration; but it contains thus much of truth, that along with individual similarities in expression, the diversities are so great as to put out of the question all idea of the passage’s having been written by the author of Isa. xl.-lxvi. In several verses Jeremiah’s characteristic mode of expression is unmistakeable. Such are the frequent use of **הַבֵּל** for the idols, vers. 3 and 15, cf. viii. 19, xiv. 22, and **עַת פִּקְדָתָם**, ver. 15, cf. viii. 12, xlvi. 21, l. 27, neither of which occurs in the second part of Isaiah; and **הוֹבִישׁ**, ver. 14, for which Isaiah uses **בֹּוֹשׁ**, xlii. 17, xlv. 11. Further, in passages cognate in sense the expression is quite different; cf. 4 and 9 with Isa. xl. 19, 20, xli. 7, where we find **יָמוּט** instead of **יָפִיק**, which is not used by Isaiah in the sense of “move;” cf. ver. 5 with Isa. xlvi. 7 and xli. 23; ver. 12 with Isa. xlv. 18. Finally, the two common expressions cannot prove anything, because they are found in other books, as **שֹׁבֶט נְחֹלֶתוֹ**, ver. 16 and Isa. lxiii. 17, derived from Deut. xxxii. 9; or **יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ**, which is used frequently by Amos; cf. Amos iv. 13, v. 27, v. 8, ix. 6, cf. with Jer. xxxiii. 2.—Even **נָפֶךְ** in the sense of molten image in ver. 14, as in Isa. xli. 29, xlviii. 5, is found also in Dan. xi. 8; consequently this use of the word is no peculiarity of the second part of Isaiah.

cially their way of worshipping their gods; cf. ἡ ὁδὸς, Acts ix. 2, xix. 9. לָמַד c. לָ, accustom oneself to a thing, used in xiii. 21 with the synonymous לָ, and in Ps. xviii. 35 (Piel) with לָ. The signs of heaven are unwonted phenomena in the heavens, eclipses of the sun and moon, comets, and unusual conjunctions of the stars, which were regarded as the precursors of extraordinary and disastrous events. We cannot admit Hitz.'s objection, that these signs in heaven were sent by Jahveh (Joel iii. 3, 4), and that before these, as heralds of judgment, not only the heathen, but the Jews themselves, had good cause to be dismayed. For the signs that marked the dawning of the day of the Lord are not merely such things as eclipses of sun and moon, and the like. There is still less ground for Näg.'s idea, that the signs of heaven are such as, being permanently there, call forth religious adoration from year to year, the primitive constellations (Job ix. 9), the twelve signs of the zodiac; for נִתַּח (נִתְחַח), to be in fear, *consternari*, never means, even in Mal. ii. 5, regular or permanent adoration. "For the heathen," etc., gives the cause of the fear: the heathen are dismayed before these, because in the stars they adored supernatural powers.—Ver. 3. The reason of the warning counsel: The ordinances of the peoples, *i.e.* the religious ideas and customs of the heathen, are vanity. הֵוָה refers to and is in agreement with the predicate; cf. Ew. § 319, c. The vanity of the religious ordinances of the heathen is proved by the vanity of their gods. "For wood, which one has hewn out of the forest," *sc.* it is, *viz.* the god. The predicate is omitted, and must be supplied from הֵבֶל, a word which is in the plural used directly for the false gods; cf. viii. 19, Deut. xxxii. 21, etc. With the axe, *sc.* wrought. מַעֲצָוֶיךָ Rashi explains as axe, and suitably; for here it means in any case a carpenter's tool, whereas this is doubtful in Isa. xlv. 12. The images were made of wood, which was covered with silver plating and gold; cf. Isa. xxx. 22, xl. 19. This Jeremiah calls adorning them, making them fair with silver and gold. When the images were finished, they were fastened in their places with hammer and nails, that they might not tumble over; cf. Isa. xli. 7, xl. 20. When thus complete, they are like a lathe-wrought pillar. In Judg. iv. 5, where alone this word elsewhere occurs, תְּמָר means palm-tree (= תְּמָרָה).

here, by a later, derivative usage, = pillar, in support of which we can appeal to the Talmudic *תָּמִיר*, *columnam facere*, and to the O. T. *תִּימָרָה*, pillar of smoke. *מְקִשָּׁה* is the work of the turning-lathe, Ex. xxv. 18, 31, etc. Lifeless and motionless as a turned pillar.¹ Not to be able to speak is to be without life; not to walk, to take not a single step, *i.e.* to be without all power of motion; cf. Isa. xlvi. 7. The *Chald.* paraphrases correctly: *quia non est in iis spiritus vitalis ad ambulandum*. The incorrect form *יִנְשְׂאוּ* for *יִנְשְׂאוּ* is doubtless only a copyist's error, induced by the preceding *נִשְׂאוּ*. They can do neither good nor evil, neither hurt nor help; cf. Isa. xli. 23. *אֹהֶם* for *אֵתָם*, as frequently; see on i. 16.

Vers. 6-11. *The almighty power of Jahveh, the living God.*—Ver. 6. "None at all is like Thee, Jahveh; great art Thou, and Thy name is great in might. Ver. 7. Who would not fear Thee, Thou King of the peoples? To Thee doth it appertain; for among all the wise men of the peoples, and in all their kingdoms, there is none at all like unto Thee. Ver. 8. But they are all together brutish and foolish; the teaching of the vanities is wood. Ver. 9. Beaten silver, from Tarshish it is brought, and gold from Uphaz, work of the craftsman and of the hands of the goldsmith; blue and red purple is their clothing; the work of cunning workmen are they all. Ver. 10. But Jahveh is God in truth, He is living God and everlasting King; at His wrath the earth trembles, and the peoples abide not His indignation. Ver. 11. Thus shall ye say unto them:

¹ Ew., Hitz., Graf, Näg. follow in the track of Movers, *Phöniz.* i. S. 622, who takes *מְקִשָּׁה* acc. to Isa. i. 8 for a cucumber garden, and, acc. to *Epist. Jerem.* v. 70, understands by *מְקִשָּׁה* the figure of Priapus in a cucumber field, serving as a scare-crow. But even if we admit that there is an allusion to the verse before us in the mockery of the gods in the passage of *Epist. Jerem.* quoted, running literally as follows: *ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐν σικυηράτῳ προβάσσάνιον οὐδὲν φυλάσσει, οὕτως οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν εἰσὶ ξύλινοι καὶ περίχρυσοι καὶ περιάργυροι*; and if we further admit that the author was led to make his comparison by his understanding *מְקִשָּׁה* in Isa. i. 8 of a cucumber garden;—yet his comparison has so little in common with our verse in point of form, that it cannot at all be regarded as a translation of it, or serve as a rule for the interpretation of the phrase in question. And besides it has yet to be proved that the Israelites were in the habit of setting up images of Priapus as scare-crows.

The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, these shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens."

In this second strophe Jahveh is contrasted, as the only true God and Lord of the world, with the lifeless gods. There is no need to fear, but it behoves all to fear the almighty God, since in His wrath He can destroy nations. When compared with Ps. lxxxvi. 8, the לֹא in לֹא־יֵשׁ seems redundant,—so much so, that Ven. pronounces it a copyist's error, and Hitz. sets it aside by changing the vowels. The word as it stands contains a double negation, and is usually found only in dependent clauses with a strong negative force: so that there is none. Here it has the same force, but at the beginning of the sentence: none at all is as Thou; cf. Ew. § 323, *a*. Great is Thy name, *i.e.* the manifestation of Thee in the world, in Thy government of the earth. "In (or with) might" belongs to "great:" great with might, displaying itself in acts of might; cf. xvi. 21. Who would not fear Thee? a negative setting of the thought: every one must fear Thee. King of the nations; cf. Ps. xxii. 29, xlvii. 8 f., xcvi. 10. לֹא־יֵשׁ from לֹא־יֵשׁ , *ἀπ. λεγ.* equivalent to לֹא־יֵשׁ (whence לֹא־יֵשׁ), to be seemly, suitable. Among the wise men of the peoples none is like Thee, so as that any should be able to make head against Thee by any clever stroke; cf. Isa. xix. 12, xxix. 14. Nor is there in any kingdom of the peoples any one like Jahveh, *i.e.* in might. It is not merely earthly kings that are meant, but the gods of the heathen as well. In no heathen kingdom is there any power to be compared with Jahveh. We are led here to think also of the pagan gods by ver. 8, where the wisdom and almighty power of the living God are contrasted with foolishness and vanity of the false gods. בְּאַחַת is not: *in uno* = *in una re*, *sc. idololatria* (Rabb.); nor is it, as Hitz. in most strained fashion makes it: by means of one thing, *i.e.* by (or at) a single word, the word which comes immediately after: it is wood. אֶחָד is unquestionably neuter, and the force of it here is collective, = all together, like the Chald. בְּחֶרֶד . The nominative to "are brutish" is "the peoples." The verb בָּעִיר is denom. from בָּעִיר , to be brutish, occurring elsewhere in the Kal only in Ps. xciv. 8, Ezek. xxi. 36; in the Niph. vers. 14, 21, li. 17, Isa. xix. 11. בָּסִי as verb is found only here; elsewhere we have בָּסִיל , foolish, and בָּסִל , folly (Cant. vii. 25), and,

as a verb, the transposed form כָּבֵל. The remaining words of the verse make up one clause; the construction is the same as in ver. 3a, but the sense is not: "a mere vain doctrine is the wood," *i.e.* the idol is itself but a doctrine of vanities. In this way Ew. takes it, making "wood" the subject of the clause and מוֹסֵר the predicate. מוֹסֵר הַבָּלִים is the antithesis to יהוה, Deut. xi. 2, Prov. iii. 11, Job v. 17. As the latter is the *παιδεία* of the Lord, so the former is the *παιδεία* of the false gods (הַבָּלִים, cf. viii. 19.) The *παιδεία* of Jahveh displayed itself, acc. to Deut. xi. 2, in deeds of might by means of which Jahveh set His people Israel free from the power of Egypt. Consequently it is the education of Israel by means of acts of love and chastenings, or, taken more generally, the divine leading and guidance of the people. Such a *παιδεία* the null and void gods could not give to their worshippers. Their *παιδεία* is wood, *i.e.* not: wooden, but nothing else than that which the gods themselves are—wood, which, however it be decked up (ver. 9), remains a mere lifeless block. So that the thought of ver. 8 is this: The heathen, with all their wise men, are brutish; since their gods, from which they should receive wisdom and instruction, are wood. Starting from this, ver. 9 continues to this effect: However much this wood be decked out with silver, gold, and purple raiment, it remains but the product of men's hands; by no such process does the wood become a god. The description of the polishing off of the wood into a god is loosely attached to the predicate עֵץ, by way of an enumeration of the various things made use of therefor. The specification served to make the picture the more graphic; what idols were made of was familiar to everybody. מִרְקָע, beat out into thin plates for coating over the wooden image; cf. Ex. xxxix. 3, Num. xvii. 3 f. As to תַּרְטֶשֶׁשׁ, *Tartessus* in Spain, the source of the silver, see on Ezek. xxvii. 12. Gold from Ophir; אֹפִיר here and Dan. x. 5 is only a dialectical variety of אֹפִיר, see on 1 Kings ix. 27. As to blue and red purple, see on Ex. xxv. 4, *הַכֶּמֶם*, skilful artisans, cf. Isa. xl. 20. They all, *i.e.* all the idols.—Ver. 10. Whereas Jahveh is really and truly God. אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת (standing in apposition), God in truth, "truth" being strongly contrasted with "vanity," and "living God" (cf. Deut. v. 23) with the dead gods (vers. 5, 8); and everlasting King of the whole world

(cf. Ps. x. 16, xxix. 10, Ex. xv. 18), before whose wrath the earth trembles and the peoples quake with terror; cf. Nah. i. 5, Joel ii. 11, Ps. xcvi. 5. לֹא יִכְלֶי (written as in ii. 13), they hold not, do not hold out, do not endure.

Ver. 11 is Chaldee. But it must not be regarded as a gloss that has found its way into the text, on the grounds on which Houb., Ven., Ros., Ew., Hitz., Gr., etc., so regard it, namely, because it is Chaldee, and because there is an immediate connection between vers. 10 and 12. Both the language in which the verse is written, and the subject-matter of it, are unfavourable to this view. The latter does not bear the character of a gloss; and no copyist would have interpolated a Chaldee verse into the Hebrew text. Besides, the verse is found in the Alexandrian version; and in point of sense it connects very suitably with ver. 10: Jahveh is everlasting King, whereas the gods which have not made heaven and earth shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens. This the Israelites are to say to the idolaters. אֱלֹהֵי is the harder form for אֱלֹהִים. The last word, אֱלֹהֵי, is Hebrew; it does not belong to אֱלֹהִים, but serves to emphasize the subject: the gods—these shall perish. Jeremiah wrote the verse in Chaldee, *ut Judæis suggerat, quomodo Chaldæis (ad quos non nisi Chaldaice loqui poterant) paucis verbis respondendum sit*, as Seb. Schm. has remarked. The thought of this verse is a fitting conclusion to the exhortation not to fear the gods of the heathen; it corresponds to the 5th verse, with which the first strophe concludes the warning against idolatry. The Israelites are not only not to fear the null and void gods of the heathen, but they are to tell the heathen that their gods will perish from the earth and from under the heavens.

Vers. 12-16. *The third strophe.*—In it the almighty power of the living God is shown from His providential government of nature, the overthrow of the false gods in the time of judgment is declared, and, finally, the Creator of the universe is set forth as the God of Israel.—Ver. 12. "That made the earth by His power, that founded the world by His wisdom, and by His understanding stretched out the heavens. Ver. 13. When He thundering makes the roar of waters in the heavens, He causes clouds to rise from the ends of the earth, makes lightnings

for the rain, and brings the wind forth out of His treasures. Ver. 14. Brutish becomes every man without knowledge; ashamed is every goldsmith by reason of the image, for falsehood is his molten image, and there is no spirit in them. Ver. 15. Vanity are they, a work of mockery; in the time of their visitation they perish. Ver. 16. Not like these is the portion of Jacob: the framer of (the) all is He, and Israel is the stock of His inheritance: Jahveh of hosts is His name."

In point of form, "that made the earth," etc., connects with "Jahveh God," ver. 10; but in respect of its matter, the description of God as Creator of heaven and earth is led up to by the contrast: The gods which have not made the heaven and the earth shall perish. The subject to עֲשֶׂה and the following verbs is not expressed, but may be supplied from the contrasted statement of ver. 11, or from the substance of the several statements in ver. 12. The connection may be taken thus: The true God is the one making the earth by His power = is He that made, etc. As the creation of the earth is a work of God's almighty power, so the establishing, the founding of it upon the waters (Ps. xxiv. 2) is an act of divine wisdom, and the stretching out of the heavens over the earth like a tent (Isa. xl. 22; Ps. civ. 2) is a work of intelligent design. On this cf. Isa. xlii. 5, xlv. 24, xlv. 18, li. 13. Every thunder-storm bears witness to the wise and almighty government of God, ver. 13. The words קוֹל ה' are difficult. Acc. to Ew. § 307, *b*, they stand for קוֹל ה' : when He gives His voice, *i.e.* when He thunders. In support of this it may be said, that the mention of lightnings, rain, and wind suggests such an interpretation. But the transposition of the words cannot be justified. Hitz. has justly remarked: The putting of the accusative first, taken by itself, might do; but not when it must at the same time be *stat. constr.*, and when its genitive thus separated from it would assume the appearance of being an accusative to ה'. Besides, we would expect לְהַתְּתוֹ קוֹל rather than לְהַתְּתוֹ קוֹל ה'. קוֹל ה' cannot grammatically be rendered: the voice which He gives, as Nög. would have it, but: the voice of His giving; and "roar of waters" must be the accusative of the object, governed by ה'. Hence we must protest against the explanation of L. de Dien: *ad vocem dationis ejus multitudo aquarum est in cælo*, at least if

ad vocem dationis is tantamount to *simul ac dat.* Just as little can קול taken by itself mean thunder, so that *ad vocem* should, with Schnur., be interpreted by *tonitru est dare ejus multitudinem aquæ.* The only grammatically feasible explanation is the second of those proposed by L. de Dieu: *ad vocem dandi ipsum, i.e. qua dat vel ponit multitudinem aquarum.* So Hitz.: at the roar of His giving wealth of waters. Accordingly we expound: at the noise, when He gives the roar of waters in heaven, He raises up clouds from the ends of the earth; taking, as we do, the יַעֲלֶה to be a *consec.* introducing the supplementary clause. The voice or noise with which God gives the roar or the fulness of waters in the heaven, is the sound of the thunder. With this the gathering of the dark thunder-clouds is put into causal connection, as it appears to be to the eye; for during the thunder we see the thunder-clouds gather thicker and darker on the horizon. אֲשַׁן, the ascended, poetic word for cloud. Lightnings for the rain; *i.e.* since the rain comes as a consequence of the lightning, for the lightning seems to rend the clouds and let them pour their water out on the earth. Thunder-storms are always accompanied by a strong wind. God causes the wind to go forth from His store-chambers, where He has it also under custody, and blow over the earth. See a like simile of the store-chambers of the snow and hail, Job xxxviii. 22 f. From יַעֲלֶה onwards, this verse is repeated in Ps. cxxxv. 7.—Ver. 14 f. In presence of such marvels of divine power and wisdom, all men seem brutish and ignorant (away from knowledge = without knowledge), and all makers of idols are put to shame “because of the image” which they make for a god, and which is but a deception, has no breath of life. נִסָּךְ, prop. drink-offering, *libamen*, cf. vii. 15; here molten image = מַסֵּכָה, as in Isa. xli. 29, xlviii. 5, Dan. xi. 8. Vanity they are, these idols made by the goldsmith. A work of mockings, *i.e.* that is exposed to ridicule when the nullity of the things taken to be gods is clearly brought to light. Others: A work which makes mockery of its worshippers, befools and deludes them (Hitz., Näg.). In the time of their visitation, cf. vi. 15.—Ver. 16. Quite other is the portion of Jacob, *i.e.* the God who has fallen to the lot of Jacob (the people of Israel) as inheritance. The expression is formed after Deut.

iv. 19, 20, where it is said of sun, moon, and stars that Jahveh has apportioned (חָלַק) them to the heathen as gods, but has taken Israel that it may be to Him לְעַם נַחֲלָה; accordingly Israel is in Deut. xxxii. 9 called חֵלֶק יְהוָה, while in Ps. xvi. 5 David praises Jahveh as מְנַחֵלֵינוּ. For He is the framer הַבֵּל, *i.e.* of the universe. Israel is the stock of His inheritance, *i.e.* the race which belongs to Him as a peculiar possession. שְׁבֵט נַחֲלָתוֹ is like הַבֵּל נַחֲלָתוֹ, Deut. xxxii. 9; in Ps. lxxiv. 2 it is said of Mount Zion, and in Isa. lxiii. 17 it is used in the plural, שְׁבֵטֵי נִי, of the godly servants of the Lord. The name of this God, the framer of the universe, is Jahveh of hosts—the God whom the hosts of heaven, angels and stars, serve, the Lord and Ruler of the whole world; cf. Isa. liv. 5, Amos iv. 13.

Vers. 17-25. *The captivity of the people, their lamentation for the devastation of the land, and entreaty that the punishment may be mitigated.*—Ver. 17. "Gather up thy bundle out of the land, thou that sittest in the siege. Ver. 18. For thus hath Jahveh spoken: Behold, I hurl forth the inhabitants of the land this time, and press them hard, that they may find them. Ver. 19. Woe is me for my hurt! grievous is my stroke! yet I think: This is my suffering, and I will bear it! Ver. 20. My tent is despoiled, and all my cords are rent asunder. My sons have forsaken me, and are gone: none stretches forth my tent any more, or hangs up my curtains. Ver. 21. For the shepherds are become brutish, and have not sought Jahveh; therefore they have not dealt wisely, and the whole flock is scattered.—Ver. 22. Hark! a rumour: behold, it comes, and great commotion from the land of midnight, to make the cities of Judah a desolation, an abode of jackals.—Ver. 23. I know, Jahveh, that the way of man is not in himself, nor in the man that walketh to fix his step. Ver. 24. Chasten me, Jahveh, but according to right; not in Thine anger, lest Thou make me little. Ver. 25. Pour out Thy fury upon the peoples that know Thee not, and upon the races that call not upon Thy name! for they have devoured Jacob, have devoured him and made an end of him, and laid his pastures waste."

In ver. 17 the congregation of the people is addressed, and captivity in a foreign land is announced to them. This announcement stands in connection with ix. 25, in so far as

captivity is the accomplishment of the visitation of Judah threatened in ix. 24. That connection is not, however, quite direct; the announcement is led up to by the warning against idolatry of vers. 1-16, inasmuch as it furnishes confirmation of the threat uttered in ver. 15, that the idols shall perish in the day of their visitation, and shows besides how, by its folly in the matter of idolatry, Judah has drawn judgment down on itself. The confession in ver. 21: the shepherds are become brutish, points manifestly back to the description in ver. 14 of the folly of the idolaters, and exhibits the connection of vers. 17-25 with the preceding warning against idolatry. For "gather up," etc., Hitz. translates: gather thy trumpery from the ground; so that the expression would have a contemptuous tone. But the meaning of rubbish cannot be proved to belong to רָבָעָה; and the mockery that would lie in the phrase is out of place. רָבָעָה, from كَنَعَ, *contrahere*, *con-*

stipare, means that which is put together, packed up, one's bundle. The connection of אָסַף and מֵאַרְץ is pregnant: put up thy bundle and carry it forth of the land. As N. G. Schröder suspected, there is about the expression something of the nature of a current popular phrase, like the German *Schnür dein Bündel*, pack up, *i.e.* make ready for the road. She who sits in the siege. The daughter of Zion is meant, but we must not limit the scope to the population of Jerusalem; as is clear from "inhabitants of the land," ver. 18, the population of the whole land are comprised in the expression. As to the form יִשְׁבְּתִי, see at xxii. 23. אָסַף with *dag. lene* after the sibilant, as in Isa. xlvii. 2. "I hurl forth" expresses the violent manner of the captivity; cf. Isa. xxii. 17 f. "This time;" hitherto hostile invasions ended with plundering and the imposition of a tribute: 2 Kings xiv. 14, xvi. 5, xviii. 13 f.—And I press them hard, or close them in, לִמְעַן יִמָּצְאוּ. These words are variously explained, because there is no object expressed, and there may be variety of opinion as to what is the subject. Hitz., Umbr., Näg., take the verb *find* in the sense of *feel*, and so the object צָרָה would easily be supplied from the verb הִצְרִיתִי: so that they may feel it, *i.e.* I will press them sensibly. But we cannot make sure of this meaning for מָצָא either from xvii. 9 or from

Eccles. viii. 17, where know (יָדַע) and מָצָא are clearly identical conceptions. Still less is Graf entitled to supply as object: that which they seek and are to find, namely, God. His appeal in support of this to passages like Ps. xxxii. 6, Deut. iv. 27 and 29, proves nothing; for in such the object is manifestly suggested by the context, which is not the case here. A just conclusion is obtained when we consider that הִצִּירְתִּי contains a play on בְּמִצּוֹר in ver. 17, and cannot be understood otherwise than as a hemming in by means of a siege. The aim of the siege is to bring those hemmed in under the power of the besiegers, to get at, reach them, or find them. Hence we must take the enemy as subject to "find," while the object is given in לָהֶם: so that they (the enemy) may find them (the besieged). Thus too Jerome, who translates the disputed verb passively: *et tribulabo eos ut inveniantur*; while he explains the meaning thus: *sic eos obsideri faciam, sicque tribulabo et coangustabo, ut omnes in urbe reperiantur et effugere nequeant malum*. Taken thus, the second clause serves to strengthen the first: I will hurl forth the inhabitants of this land into a foreign land, and none shall avoid this fate, for I will so hem them in that none shall be able to escape.

This harassment will bring the people to their senses, so that they shall humble themselves under the mighty hand of God. Such feelings the prophet utters at ver. 19 ff., in the name of the congregation, as he did in the like passage iv. 19 f. As from the hearts of those who had been touched by their affliction, he exclaims: Woe is me for my breach! *i.e.* my crushing overthrow. The breach is that sustained by the state in its destruction, see at iv. 6. נִחָלָה, grown sick, *i.e.* grievous, incurable is the stroke that has fallen upon me. For this word we have in xv. 18 אֲנִיָּשָׁה, which is explained by "refuseth to be healed." וְאֵנִי introduces an antithesis: but I say, *sc.* in my heart, *i.e.* I think. Hitz. gives אֵי the force of a limitation = nothing further than this, but wrongly; and, taking the perf. אֲמַרְתִּי as a preterite, makes out the import to be: "in their state of careless security they had taken the matter lightly, saying as it were, If no further calamity than this menace us, we may be well content;" a thought quite foreign to the context. For "this my suffering" can be nothing else than the "hurt" on

account of which the speaker laments, or the stroke which he calls dangerous, incurable. אֲנִי has, besides, frequently the force of positive asseveration: yea, certainly (cf. Ew. § 354, a), a force readily derived from that of only, nothing else than. And so here: only this, *i.e.* even this is my suffering. מַחְלָה , sickness, here suffering in general, as in Hos. v. 13, Isa. liii. 3 f., etc. The old translators took the Yod as pronoun (my suffering), whence it would be necessary to point אֲנִי , like אֲנִי , Zeph. ii. 9; cf. Ew. § 293, b, Rem.—The suffering which the congregation must bear consists in the spoliation of the land and the captivity of the people, represented in ver. 20 under the figure of a destruction of their tent and the disappearance of their sons. The Chald. has fairly paraphrased the verse thus: my land is laid waste and all my cities are plundered, my people has gone off (into exile) and is no longer here. אֲנִי construed with the accus. like *egredi urbem*; cf. Gen. xlv. 4, etc.—From “my sons have forsaken me” Næg. draws the inference that vers. 19 and 20 are the words of the country personified, since neither the prophet could so speak, nor the people, the latter being indeed identical with the sons, and so not forsaken, but forsaking. This inference rests on a mistaken view of the figure of the daughter of Zion, in which is involved the conception of the inhabitants of a land as the children of the land when personified as mother. Nor is there any evidence that the land is speaking in the words: I think, This is my suffering, etc. It is besides alleged that the words give no expression to any sense of guilt; they are said, on the contrary, to give utterance to a consolation which only an innocent land draws from the fact that a calamity is laid upon it, a calamity which must straightway be borne. This is neither true in point of fact, nor does it prove the case. The words, This is my suffering, etc., indicate resignation to the inevitable, not innocence or undeserved suffering. Hereon Graf remarks: “The suffering was unmerited, in so far as the prophet and the godly amongst the people were concerned; but it was inevitable that he and they should take it upon their shoulders, along with the rest.” Asserted with so great width, this statement cannot be admitted. The present generation bears the punishment not only for the sins of many past generations, but for its own

sins; nor were the godly themselves free from sin and guilt, for they acknowledge the justice of God's chastisement, and pray God to chasten them בְּמִשְׁפָּט, not in anger (ver. 24). Besides, we cannot take the words as spoken by the prophet or by the godly as opposed to the ungodly, since it is the sons of the speaker ("my sons") that are carried captive, who can certainly not be the sons of the godly alone.—Ver. 21. The cause of this calamity is that the shepherds, *i.e.* the princes and leaders of the people (see on ii. 8, iii. 15), are become brutish, have not sought Jahveh, *i.e.* have not sought wisdom and guidance from the Lord. And so they could not deal wisely, *i.e.* rule the people with wisdom. הַשְׂבִּיל is here not merely: have prosperity, but: show wisdom, deal wisely, securing thus the blessed results of wisdom. This is shown both by the contrasted "become brutish" and by the parallel passage, iii. 15. מִרְעִיתָם, their pasturing, equivalent to "flock of their pasturing," their flock, xxiii. 1.

The calamity over which the people mourns is drawing near, ver. 22. Already is heard the tremendous din of a mighty host which approaches from the north to make the cities of Judah a wilderness. קוֹל שְׁמוּעָה is an exclamation: listen to the rumour, it is coming near. From a grammatical point of view the subject to "comes" is "rumour," but in point of sense it is that of which the rumour gives notice. Graf weakens the sense by gathering the words into one assertory clause: "They hear a rumour come." The "great commotion" is that of an army on the march, the clattering of the weapons, the stamping and neighing of the war-horses; cf. vi. 23, viii. 16. From the land of midnight, the north, cf. i. 14, iv. 6, etc. "To make the cities," etc., cf. iv. 7, ix. 10.—The rumour of the enemy's approach drives the people to prayer, vers. 23-25. The prayer of these verses is uttered in the name of the congregation. It begins with the confession: Not with man is his way, *i.e.* it is not within man's power to arrange the course of his life, nor in the power of the man who walks to fix his step (! before הֵבִינִי merely marking the connection of the thought; cf. Ew. § 348, a). The antithesis to לֹא־אִדָּם and לֹא־אִשׁ is לִיהוָה, with God; cf. Ps. xxxvii. 23, Prov. xvi. 9: Man's heart deviseth his way, but Jahveh establisheth the steps. The

thought is not : it is not in man's option to walk in straight or crooked, good or evil ways, but : the directing of man, the way by which he must go, lies not in his own but in God's power. Hitz. justly finds here the wisdom that admits : "*Mit unserer Macht ist nichts getan*,"—man's destiny is ordained not by himself, but by God. Upon this acquiescence in God's dispensation of events follows the petition : Chasten me, for I have deserved punishment, but chasten *צדקתך*, acc. to right, not in Thine anger ; cf. Ps. vi. 2, xxxviii. 2. A chastening in anger is the judgment of wrath that shall fall on obstinate sinners and destroy them. A chastening acc. to right is one such as is demanded by right (judgment), as the issue of God's justice, in order to the reclamation and conversion of the repentant sinner. "Lest Thou make me little," insignificant, puny ; not merely, diminish me, make me smaller than I now am. For such a decrease of the people would result even from a gentle chastisement. There is no comparative force in the words. To make small, in other words, reduce to a small, insignificant people. This would be at variance with "right," with God's ordained plan in regard of His people. The expression is not equivalent to : not to make an utter end, xxx. 11, etc. The people had no call to pray that they might escape being made an utter end of ; thus much had been promised by God, iv. 27, v. 10.—God is asked to pour forth His fury upon the heathen who know not the Lord nor call upon His name, because they seek to extirpate Jacob (the people of Israel) as the people of God, at this time found in Judah alone. The several words in ver. 25*b* suggest the fury with which the heathen proceed to the destruction of Israel. The present verse is reproduced in Ps. lxxix. 6, 7, a psalm written during the exile, or at least after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans ; but in the reproduction the energetic expansion of the "devoured" is omitted.

CHAP. XI.—XIII.—JUDAH'S FAITHLESSNESS TO COVENANT
OBLIGATIONS, AND THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

In the first part of this compilation of discourses (ch. xi. 1–17) Judah is upbraided for disloyalty to the covenant, on account of which people and kingdom are threatened with sore

disaster. In the second part (xi. 18-xii. 17), the murderous attempt of the people of Anathoth against the prophet's life (xi. 18-23) gives occasion for a description of Judah's irreclaimable perverseness; while Jeremiah's expostulation with God as to the prosperity of godless men, and the reproof therefor received by him from God (xii. 1-6), call forth an announcement that, in spite of God's long-suffering, judgment on Judah and all nations will not be for ever deferred (xii. 7-17). Finally, in the third part, ch. xiii., we have first a further account, by means of a symbolical action to be performed by the prophet, of the abasement of Judah's pride in banishment to the Euphrates (vers. 1-11); and next, an account of the judgment about to fall on Judah in the destruction of Jerusalem, and this both in figurative and in direct language (vers. 12-27).

From the contents of the discourses it appears unquestionable that we have here, gathered into the unity of a written record, various oral addresses of Jeremiah, together with some of the experiences that befell him in the exercise of his calling. There is no foundation for the assertion, that xii. 7-17 is a self-complete prophetic discourse (Hitz.), or a supplement to the rest, written in the last years of Jehoiakim (Graf); nor for the assumption of several commentators, that the composition of ch. xiii. falls into the time of Jehoiachin,—as will be shown when we come to expound the passages referred to. The discourse throughout contains nothing that might not have been spoken or have happened in the time of Josiah; nor have we here any data for determining precisely the dates of the several portions of the whole discourse.

Chap. xi. 1-17. JUDAH'S DISLOYALTY TO THE COVENANT, WITH THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.—In vers. 2-8 is a short summary of the covenant made with the fathers; in vers. 9-13 is an account of the breaking of this covenant by Judah, and of the calamity which results therefrom; and in vers. 14-17 further description of this calamity.

Vers. 1-8. "The word which came to Jeremiah from Jahveh, saying: Ver. 2. Hear ye the words of this covenant, and speak to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem,

Ver. 3. And say thou to them: Thus hath Jahveh, the God of Israel, said: Cursed is the man that heareth not the words of this covenant, Ver. 4. Which I commanded your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the iron furnace, saying: Harken to my voice, and do them according to all which I command you; so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God; Ver. 5. That I may perform the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey, as it is this day. And I answered and said: So be it, Jahveh. Ver. 6. Then said Jahveh to me: Proclaim all these words in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem, saying: Hear ye the words of this covenant and do them. Ver. 7. For I have testified to your fathers in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt unto this day, testifying from early morning on: Harken to my voice! Ver. 8. But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear, but walked each in the stubbornness of their evil heart; and so I brought on them all the words of this covenant which I have commanded them to do, and they have not done them."

The form of address, ver. 2: hear ye (שִׁמְעוּ), and speak ye (דַּבְּרֻתֶּם), is noteworthy, since we are not told who are to hear and speak; while at ver. 3, in וְאַתָּה יְרֵמְיָהוּ Jeremiah receives the commission to declare the words of the covenant to the people, and to make known in the cities of Judah, etc. (ver. 6). The difficulty is not removed by the plan adopted by Hitz. and Graf from the LXX., of changing וְדַבְּרֻתֶּם into וְשִׁמְעוּ, "and speak them;" for the שִׁמְעוּ remains to be dealt with. To whom, then, is it addressed? Schleussner proposed to change it into שִׁמְעוּהָ—a purely arbitrary change. In ver. 4 "hearing" is used in the sense of giving ear to, obeying. And in no other sense can it be taken in ver. 1. "The words of this covenant" are, as is clear from the succeeding context, the words of the covenant recorded in the Pentateuch, known from the reading of the Torah. The call to hear the words thereof can only have the meaning of: to give ear to them, take them to heart. Hence Chr. B. Mich. and Schnur. have referred the words to the Jews: Listen, ye Jews and ye citizens of Jerusalem, to the words of the covenant, and make them known to one another,

and exhort one another to observe them. But this paraphrase is hardly consistent with the wording of the verse. Others fancied that the priests and elders were addressed; but if so, these must necessarily have been named. Clearly it is to the prophets in general that the words are spoken, as Kimchi observed; and we must not take "hear ye" as if the covenant was unknown to the prophets, but as intended to remind the prophets of them, that they might enforce them upon the people. Taken thus, this introductory verse serves to exalt the importance of the truths mentioned, to mark them out as truths which God had commanded all the prophets to proclaim. If it be the prophets in general who are addressed in ver. 2, the transition to "and say thou" is easily explained. Jeremiah, too, must himself do that which was the bounden duty of all the prophets, must make the men of Judah and Jerusalem call to mind the curse overhanging transgressors of the covenant. The words: Cursed is the man, etc., are taken from Deut. xxvii. 26, from the directions for the engagement to keep the covenant, which the people were to solemnise upon their entry into Canaan, and which, acc. to Josh. viii. 30 ff., they did solemnise. The quotation is made freely from memory. Instead of "that heareth not the words of this covenant," we find in Deut. *l.c.*: "that confirmeth not (אֵין) the words of this law to do them." The choice there of the word אֵין is suggested by its connection with the act of solemnisation enjoined. The recitation and promulgation of the law upon Mount Gerizim and Ebal (Deut. xxvii.) had no other aim than that of solemnly binding the people to keep or follow the law; and this is what Jeremiah means by "hearing." The law to be established is the law of the covenant, *i.e.* the covenant made by Jahveh with Israel, and spoken of in Deut. xxviii. 69 and xxix. 8 as the "words of this covenant." This covenant, which Moses had made with the sons of Israel in the land of Moab (Deut. xxviii. 69), was but a renewal of that solemnly concluded at Sinai (Ex. xxiv.). And so Jeremiah speaks of this covenant as the one which Jahveh commanded the fathers in the day, *i.e.* at the time, of their leaving Egypt. "In the day that," etc., as in vii. 22. "Out of the iron furnace;" this metaphor for the affliction endured by Israel in Egypt is taken from Deut. iv. 20. The

words : hearken unto my voice and do *them* (the words of the covenant), suggest Deut. xxvii. 1, 2 ; and the words : so shall ye be my people, suggest Deut. xxix. 12, a passage which itself points back to Ex. vi. 7 (xix. 5 f.), Lev. xxvi. 12, Deut. vii. 6, etc. That I may establish, *i.e.* perform, the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers, *i.e.* the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Deut. vii. 8, etc.), promising to give them a land flowing, etc. The frequently repeated description of the promised land ; cf. Ex. iii. 8, 17, Deut. vi. 3, etc. בְּיָמֵינוּ, as in Deut. ii. 30, iv. 20, etc., is not : at this time, now (Graf), but : as this day, meaning : as is even now the case, *sc.* that ye still possess this precious land. The assenting reply of the prophet : יֵאָמֵן יְהוָה, yea, or so be it (γένετο, LXX.), Lord, corresponds to the יֵאָמֵן with which the people, acc. to Deut. xxvii. 15 ff., were to take on themselves the curses attached to the breaking of the law, curses which they did take on themselves when the law was promulgated in Canaan. As the whole congregation did on that occasion, so here the prophet, by his “yea,” expresses his adherence to the covenant, and admits that the engagement is yet in full force for the congregation of God ; and at the same time indicates that he, on his part, is ready to labour for the fulfilment of the covenant, so that the people may not become liable to the curse of the law.—Vers. 6–8. Having set forth the curse to which transgressors of the law are exposed, God commands the prophet to proclaim the words of the covenant to the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, and to call upon them to do these. “All these words” are those subsequently specified, *i.e.* the commandments of the law (cf. ver. 2). Jeremiah is to proclaim these, because, in spite of unremitting exhortation to hear and give heed to the voice of the Lord, the fathers had paid no regard thereto. קָרָא, not : read aloud (Hitz., Graf), but : proclaim, make known, as in ii. 2, iii. 12, etc. הָעֵד with עֵד, to testify against any one, equivalent to : solemnly to enforce on one with importunate counsel and warning ; cf. Deut. xxx. 19, Ps. l. 7, etc. On הִשָּׁמְעוּ וְהָעֵד, see at vii. 13.—But they have not hearkened, ver. 8a, running almost literally in the words of vii. 24. “And I brought upon them,” etc., *i.e.* inflicted upon them the punishments with which transgressors of the law were threatened, which curses had

been, in the case of the greater part of the people, the ten tribes, carried to the extreme length, *i.e.* to the length of their banishment from their own land into the midst of the heathen; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 13 ff.

Vers. 9-13. *The people's breach of the covenant, and the consequences of this.*—Ver. 9. "And Jahveh said unto me: Conspiracy is found among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Ver. 10. They are turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers, which refused to give ear to my words, and they are gone after other gods to serve them; the house of Israel and the house of Judah have broken my covenant which I made with their fathers. Ver. 11. Behold, I bring evil upon them, from which they cannot escape; and though they cry to me, I will not hear them. Ver. 12. And the cities of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall go and cry unto the gods unto whom they offer incense, but they shall not help them in the time of their trouble. Ver. 13. For as many as are thy cities, so many are thy gods become, O Judah; and as many as are the streets of Jerusalem, so many altars have ye set up to Shame, altars to offer odours to Baal."

Jeremiah is once more to enforce the words of the covenant upon the people, because they have broken the covenant, returned to the idolatry of the fathers. Conspiracy is found, is to be seen. The people's defection from Jahveh, their breach of faith towards the covenant God, is called conspiracy, because it had become as universal as if it had been initiated by a formal preconcertment. "The former fathers," forefathers of the people, are the Israelites under Moses, who broke the covenant by idolatry while still at Sinai, and those of the time of the Judges. With יהוה the subject is changed; "they" are not the forefathers, but the prophet's contemporaries. In the last clause of ver. 10 is comprehended the apostasy of the whole people: Like Israel, Judah too has broken the covenant. Israel has been punished for this by being cast out among the heathen, the like doom awaits Judah.—Ver. 11. Because of the covenant broken, the Lord will bring on Judah and Jerusalem evil out of which they shall not come forth, *i.e.* not merely, from which they shall not escape safely, but: in which they shall find no way of rescue; for if in this calamity they

cry to the Lord, He will not hear them. Nor will the gods whom they serve, *i.e.* the false gods, help them then. As to "as many as are," etc., see on ii. 28. "(The) Shame," *i.e.* Baal, as at iii. 24.

Vers. 14–17. *Neither entreaty on their behalf nor their hypocritical worship will avert judgment.*—Ver. 14. "But thou, pray not for this people, neither lift up for them cry or prayer; for I hear them not in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble. Ver. 15. What would my beloved in my house? they who practise guile? Shall vows and holy flesh remove thy calamity from thee? then mayest thou exult. Ver. 16. A green olive, fair for its goodly fruit, Jahveh called thy name; with the noise of great tumult He set fire to it, and its branches brake. Ver. 17. And Jahveh of hosts, that planted thee, hath decreed evil against thee, for the evil of the house of Israel and of the house of Judah which they themselves have done, to provoke me, in that they have offered odours to Baal."

We have already, in chap. vii. 16, met with the declaration that the Lord will not accept any intercession for the covenant-breaking people (ver. 14); the termination of this verse differs slightly in the turn it takes.—*רָעָה רָעָה* the ancient commentators have almost unanimously rendered: *tempore mali eorum*, as if they had read *רָעָה* (this is, in fact, the reading of some codd.); but hardly on sufficient grounds. *רָעָה* gives a suitable sense, with the force of the Greek *ἀμφί*, which, like the German *um*, passes into the sense of *wegen*, as the English *about* passes into that of *concerning*.—In vers. 15–17 we have the reason why the Lord will hear neither the prophet's supplication nor the people's cry in their time of need. Ver. 15 is very obscure; and from the Masoretic text it is hardly possible to obtain a suitable sense. "The beloved" of Jahveh is Judah, the covenant people; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 12, where Benjamin is so called, and Jer. xii. 7, where the Lord calls His people *יְדִירוֹת נַפְשִׁי*. "What is to my beloved in my house?" *i.e.* what has my people to do in my house—what does it want there? "My house" is the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, as appears from the mention of holy flesh in the second clause. The main difficulty lies in the words *עֲשׂוֹתָהּ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַרְבִּים*. Hitz. takes *עֲשׂוֹתָהּ* to be the subject of the clause, and makes the

suffix point back to יִדִּיר, which, as collective, is to be construed *generis fœm.*: what should the accomplishment of his plans be to my beloved in my house? But as adverse to this we must note, *a.* the improbability of יִדִּיר as used of the people being feminine; *b.* the fact that even if we adopt Hitz.'s change of הַמִּזְמֶרֶת into הַמִּזְמוֹת, yet the latter word does not mean plans or designs to bring offerings. The phrase is clearly to be taken by itself as a continuation of the question; and the suffix to be regarded, with Ew., Umbr., etc., as pointing, in the Aramaic fashion, to the object following: they who practise guile. מִזְמוֹה, a thinking out, devising, usually of hurtful schemes, here guile, as in Ps. cxxxix. 20, Job xxi. 27. What is meant is the hypocrisy of cloaking their apostasy from God by offering sacrifices in the temple, of concealing their idolatry and passing themselves off as worshippers of Jahveh. On the form מִזְמוֹה, see Ew. § 173, *g*, Gesen. § 80, Rem. 2, *f*. הַרְבִּים makes no sense. It belongs manifestly to the words which follow; for it can neither be subject to עֲשׂוֹתָהּ, nor can it be joined to הַמִּזְמוֹתָהּ as its genitive. The LXX. render: *μη εὐχαὶ καὶ κρέα ἄγρια ἀφελούσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰς κακίας σου*; and following this, Dathe, Dahl., Ew., Hitz. hold הַנִּדְרִים to be the original reading. On the other hand, Maur., Graf, and Næg. think we should read הַרְנִים (after Ps. xxxii. 7) or הִרְנִים, crying, loud supplication; on the ground of Buxtorf's hint, *Anticrit.* p. 661, that probably the Alexandrians had הַרְבִּים in their text, but, changing the ב for נ, read הַרְנִים. We must make our choice between these two conjectures; for even if הַרְבִּים did not stand in the codex used by the Alexandrians, it cannot have been the original word. The form רְנִים is, indeed, sufficiently attested by רְנֵי פֶלֶט, Ps. xxxii. 7; but the meaning of exultation which it has there is here wholly out of place. And we find no case of a plural to רְנָה, which means both exultation and piteous, beseeching cry (*e.g.* vii. 16). So that, although רְנָה is in the LXX. occasionally rendered by *δέησις* (xi. 14, xiv. 12, etc.) or *προσευχή* (1 Kings viii. 28), we prefer the conjecture הַנִּדְרִים; for "vow" is in better keeping with "holy flesh," *i.e.* flesh of sacrifice, Hag. ii. 12, since the vow was generally carried out by offering sacrifice.—Nor do the following words, וְעָבְרִי מַעְלֶיךָ וּגו', convey any meaning, without some alteration. As quoted above, they may be translated:

shall pass away from thee. But this can mean neither: they shall be torn from thee, nor: they shall disappoint thee. And even if this force did lie in the words, no statement can begin with the following כִּי רָעָתְכִי. If this be a protasis, the verb is wanting. We shall have to change it, after the manner of the LXX., to יַעֲבִירוּ מֵעָלַי רָעָתְכִי: shall vows and holy flesh (sacrifice) avert thine evil from thee? For the form יַעֲבִירוּ as Hiph. cf. יִרְכִּי, ix. 2. "Thine evil" with the double force: thy sin and shame, and the disaster impending, *i.e.* sin and (judicial) suffering. There is no occasion for any further changes. אִם, rendered הִי by the LXX., and so read אִם by them, may be completely vindicated: then, *i.e.* if this were the case, if thou couldst avert calamity by sacrifice, then mightest thou exult. Thus we obtain the following as the sense of the whole verse: What mean my people in my temple with their hypocritical sacrifices? Can vows and offerings, presented by you there, avert calamity from you? If it could be so, well might you shout for joy.

This idea is carried on in vers. 16, 17. Judah (Israel) was truly a noble planting of God's, but by defection from the Lord, its God and Creator, it has drawn down on itself this ruin. Jahveh called Judah a green olive with splendid fruit. For a comparison of Israel to an olive, cf. Hos. xiv. 7, Ps. lii. 10, cxxviii. 3. The fruit of the tree is the nation in its individual members. The naming of the name is the representation of the state of the case, and so here: the growth and prosperity of the people. The contrasted state is introduced by לֹא־כִי without adversative particle, and is thus made to seem the more abrupt and violent (Hitz.). Noise of tumult (הִתְקַלְהָ), occurring besides here only in Ezek. i. 24 as equivalent to הִתְקַלְהָ, *i.e.* of the tumult of war, cf. Isa. xiii. 4; not: roar of the thunderstorm or crash of thunder (Näg., Graf). עָלֶיהָ for בָּהָּ, cf. xvii. 27, xxi. 14, etc. The suffix is regulated by the thing represented by the olive, *i.e.* Judah as a kingdom. Its branches brake; רָעַע, elsewhere only transitive, here intransitive, analogously to רָצַץ in Isa. xlii. 4. Hitz. renders less suitably: its branches look bad, as being charred, robbed of their gay adornment. On this head cf. Ezek. xxxi. 12. The setting of fire to the olive tree Israel came about through its enemies, who

broke up one part of the kingdom after the other, who had already destroyed the kingdom of the ten tribes, and were now about to destroy Judah next. That the words apply not to Judah only, but to Israel as well, appears from ver. 17, where the Lord, who has planted Israel, is said to have spoken, *i.e.* decreed evil for the sin of the two houses, Israel and Judah. **דָּבַר** is not directly = decree, but intimates also the utterance of the decree by the prophet. **הָאֵל** after **עָשׂוּ** is *dat. incomm.*: the evil which they have done to their hurt; cf. xliv. 3, where the dative is wanting. Hitz. finds in **הָאֵל** an intimation of voluntary action, as throwing back the deed upon the subject as an act of free choice; cf. Ew. § 315, *a*.

Chap. xi. 18-xii. 17. EVIDENCE THAT JUDAH IS UNRECLAIMABLE, AND THAT THE SORE JUDGMENTS THREATENED CANNOT BE AVERTED.—As a practical proof of the people's determination not to reform, we have in

Vers. 18-23 an account of *the designs of the inhabitants of Anathoth against the prophet's life*, inasmuch as it was their ill-will towards his prophecies that led them to this crime. They are determined not to hear the word of God, chiding and punishing them for their sins, and so to put the preacher of this word out of the way.—Ver. 18. "And Jahveh gave me knowledge of it, and I knew it; then showedst Thou me their doings. Ver. 19. And I was as a tame lamb that is led to the slaughter, and knew not that they plotted designs against me: Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and cut him off out of the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered. Ver. 20. But Jahveh of hosts, that judgeth justly, trieth reins and heart—I shall see Thy vengeance on them, for to Thee have I confided my cause. Ver. 21. Therefore thus hath Jahveh spoken against the men of Anathoth, that seek after thy life, saying, Thou shalt not prophesy in the name of Jahveh, that thou die not by our hand. Ver. 22. Therefore thus hath Jahveh of hosts spoken: Behold, I will punish them; the young men shall die by the sword, their sons and daughters shall die by famine. Ver. 23. And a remnant shall not remain to them; for I bring evil upon the men of Anathoth, the year of their visitation."

Jeremiah had not himself observed the designs of the people of Anathoth against his life, because the thing was carried on in secret; but the Lord made it known to him. ^{אֲנִי}, then, *sc.* when I knew nought of their murderous intent; cf. ver. 19. "Their doings," *i.e.* those done in secret. Ver. 19. ^{בְּבֶשֶׁת אֱלֵיָּהּ}, *agnus mansuetus*, a tame pet-lamb, such as the Arabs used to keep, such as the Hebrews too, 2 Sam. xii. 3, kept; familiar with the household, reared by them in the house, that does not suspect when it is being taken to be killed. In like manner Jeremiah had no suspicion that his countrymen were harbouring evil designs against him. These designs are quoted directly without ^{לְאִמֶּר}. The saying is a figurative or proverbial one: we will destroy the tree ^{בְּלֶחֶם}. This word is variously taken. The ordinary meaning, food for men and beasts, usually bread, seems not to be suitable. And so Hitz. wishes to read ^{בְּלֶחֶם}, in its sap (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 7, Ezek. xxi. 3), because ^{חֶלֶב} may mean grain, but it does not mean fruit. Näg. justly remarks against this view: What is here essential is simply the produce of the tree, furnished for the use of man. The word of the prophet was a food which they abhorred (cf. ver. 21b). As ^{חֶלֶב} originally meant food, we here understand by it the edible product of the tree, that is, its fruit, in opposition to sap, wood, leaves. This interpretation is confirmed by the Arabic; the Arabs use both ^{أَكَل} and ^{لَحْم} of the fruit of a tree, see ill. in Rosenm. *Schol. ad h. l.* The proverbial saying is given in plain words in the next clause. We will cut him (*i.e.* the prophet) off, etc.—Ver. 20. Therefore Jeremiah calls upon the Lord, as the righteous judge and omniscient searcher of hearts, to punish his enemies. This verse is repeated almost verbally in xx. 12, and in substance in xvii. 10. Who trieth reins and heart, and therefore knows that Jeremiah has done no evil. ^{אֲנִי} is future as expressing certainty that God will interfere to punish; for to Him he has wholly committed his cause. ^{נִלְתִּי}, Pi. of ^{נָלָה}, is taken by Hitz., Ew., etc. in the sense of ^{נָלָה}: on Thee have I rolled over my cause; in support of this they adduce Ps. xxii. 9, xxxvii. 5, Prov. xvi. 3, as parallel passages. It is true that this interpretation can be vindicated grammatically, for ^{נָלָה} might have assumed the form of ^{נָלָה}

(Ew. § 121, *a*). But the passages quoted are not at all decisive, since Jeremiah very frequently gives a new sense to quotations by making slight alterations on them; and in the passage cited we read **גַּלְלֵי אֶת רִיב**. We therefore adhere, with Grot. and Ros., to the usual meaning of **גַּלְלֵי**; understanding that in making known there is included the idea of entrusting, a force suggested by the construction with **אֶל** instead of **לְ**. **רִיב**, controversy, cause.—The prophet declares God's vengeance to the instigators of the plots against his life, vers. 21-23. The introductory formula in ver. 21 is repeated in ver. 22, on account of the long intervening parenthesis. "That thou diest not" is introduced by the **י** of consecution. The punishment is to fall upon the entire population of Anathoth; on the young men of military age (**בְּחִירִים**), a violent death in war; on the children, death by famine consequent on the siege. Even though all had not had a share in the complot, yet were they at heart just as much alienated from God and ill-disposed towards His word. "Year of their visitation" is still dependent on "bring." This construction is simpler than taking **שָׁנָה** for *accus. adverb.*, both here and in xxiii. 12.

Chap. xii. 1-6. *The prophet's displeasure at the prosperity of the wicked.*—The enmity experienced by Jeremiah at the hands of his countrymen at Anathoth excites his displeasure at the prosperity of the wicked, who thrive and live with immunity. He therefore begins to expostulate with God, and demands from God's righteousness that they be cut off out of the land (vers. 1-4); whereupon the Lord reproves him for this outburst of ill-nature and impatience by telling him that he must patiently endure still worse.—This section, the connection of which with the preceding is unmistakeable, shows by a concrete instance the utter corruptness of the people; and it has been included in the prophecies because it sets before us the greatness of God's long-suffering towards a people ripe for destruction.

Ver. 1. "Righteous art Thou, Jahveh, if I contend with Thee; yet will I plead with Thee in words. Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper, are all secure that deal faithlessly? Ver. 2. Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root; grow, yea, bring forth fruit. Near art Thou in their mouth, yet far from their reins. Ver. 3. But Thou, Jahveh, knowest

me, seest me, and triest mine heart toward Thee. Tear them away like sheep to the slaughter, and devote them for a day of slaughter. Ver. 4. How long is the earth to mourn and the herb of the field to wither? For the wickedness of them that dwell therein, gone are cattle and fowl; for they say: He sees not our end.—Ver. 5. If with the footmen thou didst run and they wearied thee, how couldst thou contend with the horses? and if thou trustest in the land of peace, how wilt thou do in the glory of Jordan? Ver. 6. For even thy brethren and thy father's house, even they are faithless towards thee, yea, they call after thee with full voice. Believe them not, though they speak friendly to thee.”

The prophet's complaint begins by acknowledging: Thou art righteous, Lord, if I would dispute with Thee, *i.e.* would accuse Thee of injustice. I could convict Thee of no wrong; Thou wouldst appear righteous and prove Thyself in the right. Ps. li. 6; Job ix. 2 ff. With אֵין comes in a limitation: only he will speak pleas of right, maintain a suit with Jahveh, will set before Him something that seems incompatible with God's justice, namely the question: Why the way of the wicked prospers, why they that act faithlessly are in ease and comfort? On this cf. Job xxi. 7 ff., where Job sets forth at length the contradiction between the prosperity of the wicked and the justice of God's providence. The way of the wicked is the course of their life, their conduct. God has planted them, *i.e.* has placed them in their circumstances of life; like a tree they have struck root into the ground; they go on, *i.e.* grow, and bear fruit, *i.e.* their undertakings succeed, although they have God in their mouth only, not in their heart.—Ver. 3. To show that he has cause for his question, Jeremiah appeals to the omniscience of the Searcher of hearts. God knows him, tries his heart, and therefore knows how it is disposed towards Himself (אֵין belongs to אֵין, the אֵין indicating the relation—here, viz., fidelity—in which the heart stands to God; cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 17). Thus God knows that in his heart there is no unfaithfulness, and that he maintains to God an attitude altogether other than that of those hypocrites who have God on their lips only; and knows too the enmity which, without having provoked it, he experiences. How then comes it about

that with the prophet it goes ill, while with those faithless ones it goes well? God, as the righteous God, must remove this contradiction. And so his request concludes: Tear them out (רָחַץ of the tearing out of roots, Ezek. xvii. 9); here Hiph. with the same force (pointing back to the metaphor of their being rooted, ver. 2), implying total destruction. Hence also the illustration: as sheep, that are dragged away out of the flock to be slaughtered. Devote them for the day of slaughter, like animals devoted to sacrifice.—Ver. 4 gives the motive of his prayer: How long shall the earth suffer from the wickedness of these hypocrites? be visited with drought and dearth for their sins? This question is not to be taken as a complaint that God is punishing without end; Hitz. so takes it, and then proposes to delete it as being out of all connection in sense with ver. 3 or ver. 5. It is a complaint because of the continuance of God's chastisements, drawn down by the wickedness of the apostates, which are bringing the land to utter ruin. The mourning of the land and the withering of the herb is a consequence of great drought; and the drought is a divine chastisement: cf. iii. 3, v. 24 ff., xiv. 2 ff., etc. But this falls not only on the unfaithful, but upon the godly too, and even the beasts, cattle, and birds suffer from it; and so the innocent along with the guilty. There seems to be injustice in this. To put an end to this injustice, to rescue the innocent from the curse brought by the wickedness of the ungodly, the prophet seeks the destruction of the wicked. נִסְּפָה, to be swept away. The 3d pers. fem. sing. with the plural נִי—, as in Joel i. 20 and often; cf. Ew. § 317, a, Gesen. § 146, 3. "They that dwell therein" are inhabitants of the land at large, the ungodly multitude of the people, of whom it is said in the last clause: they say, He will not see our end. The sense of these words is determined by the subject. Many follow the LXX. (οὐκ ὀφείλει ὁ Θεὸς ὁδοῦς ἡμῶν) and refer the seeing to God. God will not see their end, i.e. will not trouble Himself about it (Schnur., Ros., and others), or will not pay any heed to their future fate, so that they may do all they choose unpunished (Ew.). But to this Graf has justly objected, that נִסְּפָה, in all the passages that can be cited for this sense of the word, is used only of that which God sees, regards as already present, never

of that which is future. "He sees" is to be referred to the prophet. Of him the ungodly say, he shall not see their end, because they intend to put him out of the way (Hitz.); or better, in a less special sense, they ridicule the idea that his prophecies will be fulfilled, and say: He shall not see our end, because his threatenings will not come to pass.

In vers. 5 and 6 the Lord so answers the prophet's complaint as to reprove his impatience, by intimating that he will have to endure still worse. Both parts of ver. 5 are of the nature of proverbs. If even the race with footmen made him weary, how will he be able to compete with horses? תַּיָּוֶה here and xxii. 15, a Tiph., Aramaic form for Hiph., arising by the hardening of the ת into ח—cf. Hos. xi. 3, and Ew. § 122, *a*—rival, vie with. The proverb exhibits the contrast between tasks of smaller and greater difficulty, applied to the prophet's relation to his enemies. What Jeremiah had to suffer from his countrymen at Anathoth was but a trifle compared with the malign assaults that yet awaited him in the discharge of his office. The second comparison conveys the same thought, but with a clearer intimation of the dangers the prophet will undergo. If thou puttest thy trust in a peaceful land, there alone countest on living in peace and safety, how wilt thou bear thyself in the glory of Jordan? The latter phrase does not mean the swelling of Jordan, its high flood, so as that we should, with Umbr. and Ew., have here to think of the danger arising from a great and sudden inundation. It is the strip of land along the bank of the Jordan, thickly overgrown with shrubs, trees, and tall reeds, the lower valley, flooded when the river was swollen, where lions had their haunt, as in the reedy thickets of the Euphrates. Cf. v. Schubert, *Reise*, iii. S. 82; Robins. *Bibl. Researches in Palestine*, i. 535, and *Phys. Geogr. of the Holy Land*, p. 147. The "pride of the Jordan" is therefore mentioned in xlix. 19, l. 44, Zech. xi. 3, as the haunt of lions, and comes before us here as a region where men's lives were in danger. The point of the comparison is accordingly this: Thy case up till this time is, in spite of the onsets thou hast borne, to be compared to a sojourn in a peaceful land; but thou shalt come into much sorer case, where thou shalt never for a moment be sure of thy life. To illustrate this, he is told in ver. 6 that his

nearest of kin, and those dwelling under the same roof, will behave unfaithfully towards him. They will cry behind him מלא, *plena voce* (Jerome; cf. מלאו קול, iv. 5). They will cry after him, "as one cries when pursuing a thief or murderer" (Gr.). Perfectly apposite is therefore Luther's translation: They set up a hue and cry after thee. These words are not meant to be literally taken, but convey the thought, that even his nearest friends will persecute him as a malefactor. It is therefore a perverse design that seeks to find the distinction between the inhabitants of Anathoth and the brethren and housemates, in a contrast between the priests and the blood-relations. Although Anathoth was a city of the priests, the men of Anathoth need not have been all priests, since these cities were not exclusively occupied by priests.—In this reproof of the prophet there lies not merely the truth that much sorer suffering yet awaits him, but the truth besides, that the people's faithlessness and wickedness towards God and men will yet grow greater, ere the judgment of destruction fall upon Judah; for the divine long-suffering is not yet exhausted, nor has ungodliness yet fairly reached its highest point, so that the final destruction must straightway be carried out. But judgment will not tarry long. This thought is carried on in what follows.

Vers. 7-17. *The execution of the judgment on Judah and its enemies.*—As to this passage, which falls into two strophes, vers. 7-13 and vers. 14-17, Hitz., Graf, and others pronounce that it stands in no kind of connection with what immediately precedes. The connection of the two strophes with one another is, however, allowed by these commentators; while Eichh. and Dahler hold vers. 14-17 to be a distinct oracle, belonging to the time of Zedekiah, or to the seventh or eighth year of Jehoiakim. These views are bound up with an incorrect conception of the contents of the passage,—to which in the first place we must accordingly direct our attention.

Ver. 7. "I have forsaken mine house, cast out mine heritage, given the beloved of my soul into the hand of its enemies. Ver. 8. Mine heritage is become unto me as a lion in the forest, it hath lifted up its voice against me; therefore have I hated it. Ver. 9. Is mine heritage to me a speckled vulture, that

vultures are round about it? Come, gather all the beasts of the field, bring them to devour! Ver. 10. Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard, have trodden down my ground, have made the plot of my pleasure a desolate wilderness. Ver. 11. They have made it a desolation; it mourneth around me desolate; desolated is the whole land, because none laid it to heart. Ver. 12. On all the bare-peaked heights in the wilderness are spoilers come; for a sword of Jahveh's devours from one end of the land unto the other: no peace to all flesh. Ver. 13. They have sown wheat and reaped thorns; they have worn themselves weary and accomplished nothing. So then ye shall be put to shame for your produce, because of the hot anger of Jahveh."

Ver. 14. "Thus saith Jahveh against all mine evil neighbours, that touch the heritage which I have given unto my people Israel: Behold, I pluck them out of their land, and the house of Judah will I pluck out of their midst. Ver. 15. But after I have plucked them out, I will pity them again, and bring them back, each to his heritage, and each into his land. Ver. 16. And it shall be, if they will learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name: As Jahveh liveth, as they have taught my people to swear by Baal, then they shall be built in the midst of my people. Ver. 17. But if they hearken not, I will pluck up such a nation, utterly destroying it, saith Jahveh."

Hitz. and Graf, in opposition to other commentators, will have the strophe, vers. 7-13, to be taken not as prophecy, but as a lament on the devastation which Judah, after Jehoiakim's defection from Nebuchadnezzar in the eighth year of his reign, had suffered through the war of spoliation undertaken against insurgent Judah by those neighbouring nations that had maintained their allegiance to Chaldean supremacy, 2 Kings xxiv. 2 f. In support of this, Gr. appeals to the use throughout of unconnected perfects, and to the prophecy, ver. 14 ff., joined with this description; which, he says, shows that it is something complete, existing, which is described, a state of affairs on which the prophecy is based. For although the prophet, viewing the future with the eyes of a seer as a thing present, often describes it as if it had already taken place, yet, he says, the context easily

enables us in such a case to recognise the description as prophetic, which, acc. to Graf, is not the case here. This argument is void of all force. To show that the use of unconnected perfects proves nothing, it is sufficient to note that such perfects are used in ver. 6, where Hitz. and Gr. take בְּיָדֵי and קָרְאִי as prophetic. So with the perfects in ver. 7. The context demands this. For though no particle attaches ver. 7 to what precedes, yet, as Graf himself alleges against Hitz., it is shown by the lack of any heading that the fragment (vers. 7-13) is "not a special, originally independent oracle;" and just as clearly, that it can by no means be (as Gr. supposes) an appendix, stuck on to the preceding in a purely external and accidental fashion. These assumptions are disproved by the contents of the fragment, which are simply an expansion of the threat of expulsion from their inheritance conveyed to the people already in xi. 14-17; an expansion which not merely points back to xi. 14-17, but which most aptly attaches itself to the reproof given to the prophet for his complaint that judgment on the ungodly was delayed (xii. 1-6); since it discloses to the prophet God's designs in regard to His people, and teaches that the judgment, though it may be delayed, will not be withheld.—Vers. 7 ff. contain sayings of God, not of the prophet, who had left his house in Anathoth, as Zwingli and Bugenhagen thought. The perfects are prophetic, *i.e.* intimate the divine decree already determined on, whose accomplishment is irrevocably fixed, and will certainly by and by take place. "My house" is neither the temple nor the land inhabited by Israel, in support whereof appeal is unjustly made to passages like Hos. viii. 1, ix. 15, Ezek. viii. 12, ix. 9; but, as is clearly shown by the parallel "mine heritage," taken in connection with what is said of the heritage in ver. 8, and by "the beloved of my soul," ver. 7, means the people of Israel, or Judah as the existing representative of the people of God (house = family); see on Hos. viii. 1. נַחֲלִי = נַחֲלָה, Deut. iv. 20, cf. Isa. xlvii. 6, xix. 25. יִרְדֵּנִי, object of my soul's love, cf. xi. 15. This appellation, too, cannot apply to the land, but to the people of Israel.—Ver. 8 contains the reason why Jahveh gives up His people for a prey. It has behaved to God like a lion, *i.e.* has opposed Him fiercely like a furious beast. Therefore He must

withdraw His love. To give with the voice = to lift up the voice, as in Ps. xlv. 7, lxviii. 34. "Hate" is a stronger expression for the withdrawal of love, shown by delivering Israel into the hand of its enemies, as in Mal. i. 3. There is no reason for taking שָׂנְאֵתִי as inchoative (Hitz., I learned to hate it). The "hating" is explained fully in the following verses. In ver. 9 the meaning of הָעֵיט צִבֹּרֶת is disputed. In all other places where it occurs עֵיט means a bird of prey, cf. Isa. xlv. 11, or collective, birds of prey, Gen. xv. 11, Isa. xviii. 6. צִבֹּרֶת,

in the Rabbinical Heb. the hyæna, like the Arabic صَبْع or صَبْع. So the LXX. have rendered it; and so, too, many recent

comm., e.g. Gesen. in *thes*. But with this the asyndeton by way of connection with עֵיט does not well consist: is a bird of prey, a hyæna, mine heritage? On this ground Boch. (*Hieroz.* ii. p. 176, ed. Ros.) sought to make good the claim of עֵיט to mean "beast of prey," but without proving his case. Nor is there in biblical Heb. any sure case for צִבֹּרֶת in the meaning of hyæna; and the Rabbinical usage would appear to be founded on this interpretation of the word in the passage before us. צִבֹּרֶת,

صَبْع, means dip, hence dye; and so צִבֹּרֶת, Judg. v. 30, is dyed materials, in plur. parti-coloured clothes. To this meaning Jerome, Syr., and Targ. have adhered in the present case; Jerome gives *avis discolor*, whence Luther's *der sprinckligt Vogel*; Chr. B. Mich., *avis colorata*. So, and rightly, Hitz., Ew., Graf, Näg. The prophet alludes to the well-known fact of natural history, that "whenever a strange-looking bird is seen amongst the others, whether it be an owl of the night amidst the birds of day, or a bird of gay, variegated plumage amidst those of dusker hue, the others pursue the unfamiliar intruder with loud cries and unite in attacking it." Hitz., with reference to Tacit. *Ann.* vi. 28, Sueton. *Cæs.* 81, and Plin. *Hist. N.* x. 19. The question is the expression of amazement, and is assertory. לֵי is *dat. ethic.*, intimating sympathetic participation (Näg.), and not to be changed, with Gr., into לֵי. The next clause is also a question: are birds of prey round about it (mine heritage), *sc.* to plunder it? This, too, is meant

to convey affirmation. With it is connected the summons to the beasts of prey to gather round Judah to devour it. The words here come from Isa. lvi. 9. The beasts are emblem for enemies. הַתִּי is not first mode or perfect (Hitz.), but imperat., contracted from הַתִּי, as in Isa. xxi. 14. The same thought is, in ver. 10, carried on under a figure that is more directly expressive of the matter in hand. The perfects in vers. 10-12 are once more prophetic. The shepherds who (along with their flocks, of course) destroy the vineyard of the Lord are the kings of the heathen, Nebuchadnezzar and the kings subject to him, with their warriors. The "destroying" is expanded in a manner consistent with the figure; and here we must not fail to note the cumulation of the words and the climax thus produced. They tread down the plot of ground, turn the precious plot into a howling wilderness. With "plot of my pleasure" cf. אֶרֶץ הַמִּדְבָּר וְנֹי, iii. 19.

In ver. 11 the emblematical shepherds are brought forward in the more direct form of enemy. שָׂמָה, he (the enemy, "they" impersonal) has changed it (the plot of ground) into desolation. It mourneth עָלַי, round about me, desolated. Spoilers are come on all the bare-topped hills of the desert. מְדִבָּר is the name for such parts of the country as were suited only for rearing and pasturing cattle, like the so-called wilderness of Judah to the west of the Dead Sea. A sword of the Lord's (i.e. the war sent by Jahveh, cf. xxv. 29, vi. 25) devours the whole land from end to end; cf. xxv. 33. "All flesh" is limited by the context to all flesh in the land of Judah. בָּשָׂר in the sense of Gen. vi. 12, sinful mankind; here: the whole sinful population of Judah. For them there is no שְׁלוֹם, welfare or peace.—Ver. 13. They reap the contrary of what they have sowed. The words: wheat they have sown, thorns they reap, are manifestly of the nature of a saw or proverb; certainly not merely with the force of *meliora exspectaverant et venerunt pessima* (Jerome); for sowing corresponds not to hoping or expecting, but to doing and undertaking. Their labour brings them the reverse of what they aimed at or sought to attain. To understand the words directly of the failure of the crop, as Ven., Ros., Hitz., Graf, Näg. prefer to do, is fair neither to text nor context. To reap thorns is not = to have a bad har-

vest by reason of drought, blight, or the ravaging of enemies. The seed: wheat, the noblest grain, produces thorns, the very opposite of available fruit. And the context, too, excludes the thought of agriculture and "literal harvesting." The thought that the crop turned out a failure would be a very lame termination to a description of how the whole land was ravaged from end to end by the sword of the Lord. The verse forms a conclusion which sums up the threatening of vers. 7-12, to the effect that the people's sinful ongoingings will bring them sore suffering, instead of the good fortune they hoped for. נָהֲלָה, they have worn themselves out, exhausted their strength, and secured no profit. Thus shall ye be put to shame for your produce, ignominiously disappointed in your hopes for the issue of your labour.

Vers. 14-17. The spoilers of the Lord's heritage are also to be carried off out of their land; but after they, like Judah, have been punished, the Lord will have pity on them, and will bring them back one and all into their own land. And if the heathen, who now seduce the people of God to idolatry, learn the ways of God's people and be converted to the Lord, they shall receive citizenship amongst God's people and be built up amongst them; but if they will not do so, they shall be extirpated. Thus will the Lord manifest Himself before the whole earth as righteous judge, and through judgment secure the weal not only of Israel, but of the heathen peoples too. By this discovery of His world-plan the Lord makes so complete a reply to the prophet's murmuring concerning the prosperity of the ungodly (vers. 1-6), that from it may clearly be seen the justice of God's government on earth. Viewed thus, both strophes of the passage before us (vers. 7-17) connect themselves singularly well with vers. 1-6.—Ver. 14. The evil neighbours that lay hands on Jahveh's heritage are the neighbouring heathen nations, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and Syrians. It does not, however, follow that this threatening has special reference to the event related in 2 Kings xxiv. 2, and that it belongs to the time of Jehoiakim. These nations were always endeavouring to assault Israel, and made use of every opportunity that seemed favourable for waging war against them and subjugating them; and not for

the first time during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, at which time it was indeed that they suffered the punishment here pronounced, of being carried away into exile. The neighbours are brought up here simply as representatives of the heathen nations, and what is said of them is true for all the heathen. The transition to the first person in *וְאֵנִי* is like that in xiv. 15. Jahveh is possessor of the land of Israel, and so the adjoining peoples are His neighbours. *וְאֵנִי*, to touch as an enemy, to attack, cf. Zech. ii. 12. I pluck the house of Judah out of their midst, *i.e.* the midst of the evil neighbours. This is understood by most commentators of the carrying of Judah into captivity, since *וְאֵנִי* cannot be taken in two different senses in the two corresponding clauses. For this word used of deportation, cf. 1 Kings xiv. 15. "Them," ver. 15, refers to the heathen peoples. After they have been carried forth of their land and have received their punishment, the Lord will again have compassion upon them, and will bring back each to its inheritance, its land. Here the restoration of Judah, the people of God, is assumed as a thing of course (cf. ver. 16 and xxxii. 37, 44, xxxiii. 26).—Ver. 16. If then the heathen learn the ways of the people of God. What we are to understand by this is clear from the following infinitive clause: to swear in the name of Jahveh, *viz.* if they adopt the worship of Jahveh (for swearing is mentioned as one of the principal utterances of a religious confession). If they do so, then shall they be built in the midst of God's people, *i.e.* incorporated with it, and along with it favoured and blessed.—Ver. 17. But they who hearken not, namely, to the invitation to take Jahveh as the true God, these shall be utterly destroyed. *וְאֵנִי*, so to pluck them out that they may perish. The promise is Messianic, cf. xvi. 19, Isa. lvi. 6 f., Mic. iv. 1-4, etc., inasmuch as it points to the end of God's way with all nations.

Chap. xiii. THE HUMILIATION OF JUDAH'S PRIDE.—The first section of this chapter contains a symbolical action which sets forth the corruptness of Judah (vers. 1-11), and shows in figurative language how the Lord will bring Judah's haughtiness to nothing (vers. 12-14). Upon the back of this comes the warning to repent, and the threatening addressed to the

king and queen, that the crown shall fall from their head, that Judah shall be carried captive, and Jerusalem dishonoured, because of their disgraceful idolatry (vers. 15-27).

Vers. 1-11. *The spoilt girdle.*—Ver. 1. "Thus spake Jahveh unto me: Go and buy thee a linen girdle, and put it upon thy loins, but into the water thou shalt not bring it. Ver. 2. So I bought the girdle, according to the word of Jahveh, and put it upon my loins. Ver. 3. Then came the word of Jahveh to me the second time, saying: Ver. 4. Take the girdle which thou hast bought, which is upon thy loins, and arise, and go to the Euphrates, and hide it there in a cleft of the rock. Ver. 5. So I went and hid it, as Jahveh had commanded me. Ver. 6. And it came to pass after many days, that Jahveh said unto me: Arise, go to the Euphrates, and bring thence the girdle which I commanded thee to hide there. Ver. 7. And I went to the Euphrates, and digged, and took the girdle from the place where I had hid it; and, behold, the girdle was marred, was good for nothing. Ver. 8. And the word of Jahveh came to me, saying: Ver. 9. Thus hath Jahveh said, After this manner will I mar the pride of Judah, the great pride of Jerusalem. Ver. 10. This evil people, which refuse to hear my words, which walk in the stubbornness of their heart, and walk after other gods, to serve them and to worship them, it shall be as this girdle which is good for nothing. Ver. 11. For as the girdle cleaves to the loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave unto me the whole house of Israel and the whole house of Judah, saith Jahveh; that it might be to me for a people and for a name, for a praise and for an ornament; but they hearkened not."

With regard to the symbolical action imposed on the prophet and performed by him, the question arises, whether the thing took place in outward reality, or was only an occurrence in the spirit, in the inward vision. The first view seems to be supported by the wording of the passage, namely, the twice repeated account of the prophet's journey to the Phrat on the strength of a twice repeated divine command. But on the other hand, it has been found very improbable that "Jeremiah should twice have made a journey to the Euphrates, merely to prove that a linen girdle, if it lie long in the damp, becomes

spoilt, a thing he could have done much nearer home, and which besides everybody knew without experiment" (Graf). On this ground Ros., Graf, etc., hold the matter for a parable or an allegorical tale. But this view depends for support on the erroneous assumption that the specification of the Euphrates is of no kind of importance for the matter in hand; whereas the contrary may be gathered from the four times repeated mention of the place. Nor is anything proved against the real performance of God's command by the remark, that the journey thither and back on both occasions is spoken of as if it were a mere matter of crossing a field. The Bible writers are wont to set forth such external matters in no very circumstantial way. And the great distance of the Euphrates—about 250 miles—gives us no sufficient reason for departing from the narrative as we have it before us, pointing as it does to a literal and real carrying out of God's command, and to relegate the matter to the inward region of spiritual vision, or to take the narrative for an allegorical tale.—Still less reason is to be found in arbitrary interpretations of the name, such as, after Bochart's example, have been attempted by Ven., Hitz., and Ew. The assertion that the Euphrates is called נְהַר פְּרָת everywhere else, including Jer. xlv. 2, 6, 10, loses its claim to conclusiveness from the fact that the prefaced נַחַר is omitted in Gen. ii. 14, Jer. li. 63. And even Ew. observes, that "fifty years later a prophet understood the word of the Euphrates at li. 63." Now even if li. 63 had been written by another prophet, and fifty years later (which is not the case, see on chap. i. ff.), the authority of this prophet would suffice to prove every other interpretation erroneous; even although the other attempts at interpretation had been more than the merest fancies. Ew. remarks, "It is most amazing that recent scholars (Hitz. with Ven. and Dahl.) could seriously come to adopt the conceit that פְּרָת is one and the same with אֶפְרַת (Gen. xlviii. 7), and so with Bethlehem;" and what he says is doubly relevant to his own rendering. פְּרָת, he says, is either to be understood like فَرْت, of fresh water in general, or like فَرْصَة, a place near the water, a crevice opening from the water into the land,—interpretations so far fetched as to require no serious refutation.

More important than the question as to the formal nature of the emblematical action is that regarding its meaning; on which the views of commentators are as much divided. From the interpretation in vers. 9–11 thus much is clear, that the girdle is the emblem of Israel, and that the prophet, in putting on and wearing this girdle, illustrates the relation of God to the folk of His covenant (Israel and Judah). The further significance of the emblem is suggested by the several moments of the action. The girdle does not merely belong to a man's adornment, but is that part of his clothing which he must put on when about to undertake any laborious piece of work. The prophet is to buy and put on a linen girdle. פְּשִׁימִים, linen, was the material of the priests' raiment, Ezek. xlv. 17 f., which in Ex. xxviii. 40, xxxix. 27 ff. is called שֵׁשׁ, white byssus, or פָּר, linen. The priest's girdle was not, however, white, but woven parti-coloured, after the four colours of the curtains of the sanctuary, Ex. xxviii. 40, xxxix. 29. Wool (צֶמֶר) is in Ezek. xlv. 18 expressly excluded, because it causes the body to sweat. The linen girdle points, therefore, to the priestly character of Israel, called to be a holy people, a kingdom of priests (Ex. xix. 6). "The purchased white girdle of linen, a man's pride and adornment, is the people bought out of Egypt, yet in its innocence as it was when the Lord bound it to Himself with the bands of love" (Umbr.). The prohibition that follows, "into water thou shalt not bring it," is variously interpreted. Chr. B. Mich. says: *forte ne mæd fiat et facilius dein computrescat*; to the same effect Dahl., Ew., Umbr., Graf: to keep it safe from the hurtful effects of damp. A view which refutes itself; since washing does no kind of harm to the linen girdle, but rather makes it again as good as new. Thus to the point writes Näg., remarking justly at the same time, that the command not to bring the girdle into the water plainly implies that the prophet would have washed it when it had become soiled. This was not to be. The girdle was to remain dirty, and as such to be carried to the Euphrates, in order that, as Ros. and Maur. observed, it might symbolize *sordes quas contraxerit populus in dies majores, mores populi magis magisque lapsi*, and that the carrying of the soiled girdle to the Euphrates might set forth before the eyes of the people what awaited it,

after it had long been borne by God covered with the filth of its sins.—The just appreciation of this prohibition leads us easily to the true meaning of the command in ver. 4, to bring the girdle that was on his loins to the Euphrates, and there to conceal it in a cleft in the rock, where it decays. By it is signified, as Chr. B. Mich., following Jerome, observes, *populi Judaici apud Chaldaeos citra Euphratem captivitas et exilium*. Graf has objected: “The corruptness of Israel was not a consequence of the Babylonish captivity; the latter, indeed, came about in consequence of the existing corruptness.” But this objection stands and falls with the amphibolia of the word corruptness, decay. Israel was, indeed, morally decayed before the exile; but the mouldering of the girdle in the earth by the Euphrates signifies not the moral but the physical decay of the covenant people, which, again, was a result of the moral decay of the period during which God had, in His long-suffering, borne the people notwithstanding their sins. Wholly erroneous is the view adopted by Gr. from Umbr.: the girdle decayed by the water is the sin-stained people which, intriguing with the foreign gods, had in its pride cast itself loose from its God, and had for long imagined itself secure under the protection of the gods of Chaldea. The hiding of the girdle in the crevice of a rock by the banks of the Euphrates would have been the most unsuitable emblem conceivable for representing the moral corruption of the people. Had the girdle, which God makes to decay by the Euphrates, loosed itself from him and imagined it could conceal itself in a foreign land? as Umbr. puts the case. According to the declaration, ver. 9, God will mar the great pride of Judah and Jerusalem, even as the girdle had been marred, which had at His command been carried to the Euphrates and hid there. The carrying of the girdle to the Euphrates is an act proceeding from God, by which Israel is marred; the intriguing of Israel with strange gods in the land of Canaan was an act of Israel’s own, against the will of God.—Ver. 6. After the course of many days—these are the seventy years of the captivity—the prophet is to fetch the girdle again. He went, digged (חָפַר, whence we see that the hiding in the cleft of the rock was a burying in the rocky soil of the Euphrates bank), and found the girdle marred, fit for nothing.

These words correspond to the effect which the exile was designed to have, which it has had, on the wicked, idolatrous race. The ungodly should, as Moses' law, Lev. xxvi. 36, 39, declared, perish in the land of their enemies; the land of their enemies will devour them, and they that remain shall pine or moulder away in their iniquities and in the iniquities of their fathers. This mouldering (מִשְׁחָה) is well reproduced in the marring (מְשַׁחֵת) of the girdle. It is no contradiction to this, that a part of the people will be rescued from the captivity and brought back to the land of their fathers. For although the girdle which the prophet had put on his loins symbolized the people at large, yet the decay of the same at the Euphrates sets forth only the physical decay of the ungodly part of the people, as ver. 10 intimates in clear words: "This evil people that refuses to hear the word of the Lord, etc., shall be as this girdle." The Lord will mar the כְּסִי of Judah and Jerusalem. The word means highness in both a good and in an evil sense, glory and self-glory. Here it is used with the latter force. This is shown both by the context, and by a comparison of the passage Lev. xxvi. 19, that God will break the כְּסִי of the people by sore judgments, which is the foundation of the present ver. 9.—In ver. 11 the meaning of the girdle is given, in order to explain the threatening in vers. 9 and 10. As the girdle lies on the loins of a man, so the Lord hath laid Israel on Himself, that it may be to Him for a people and for a praise, for a glory and an adornment, inasmuch as He designed to set it above all other nations and to make it very glorious; cf. Deut. xxvi. 19, whither these words point back.

Vers. 12–17. *How the Lord will destroy His degenerate people, and how they may yet escape the impending ruin.*—Ver. 12. "And speak unto them this word: Thus hath Jahveh the God of Israel said, Every jar is filled with wine. And when they say to thee, Know we not that every jar is filled with wine? Ver. 13. Then say to them: Thus hath Jahveh said: Behold, I fill all inhabitants of this land—the kings that sit for David upon his throne, and the priests, and the prophets, and all inhabitants of Jerusalem—with drunkenness, Ver. 14. And dash them one against another, the fathers and the sons together, saith Jahveh; I will not spare, nor pity, nor have mercy, not to destroy them.

—Ver. 15. Hear ye and give ear! Be not proud, for Jahveh speaketh. Ver. 16. Give to Jahveh, your God, honour, ere He bring darkness, and before your feet stumble upon the mountains of dusk, and ye look for light, but He turn it into the shadow of death and make it darkness. Ver. 17. But if ye hear it not, then in concealment shall my soul weep for the pride, and weep and run down shall mine eye with tears, because the flock of Jahveh is carried away captive.”

To give emphasis to the threatening conveyed in the symbolical action, the kind and manner of the destruction awaiting them is forcibly set before the various ranks in Judah and Jerusalem by the interpretation, in vers. 12-14, of a proverbial saying and the application of it to them. The circumstantial way in which the figurative saying is brought in in ver. 12, is designed to call attention to its import. כִּלְיָהוּ, an earthenware vessel, especially the wine jar (cf. Isa. xxx. 24, Lam. iv. 2), is here the emblem of man; cf. xviii. 6, Isa. xxix. 16. We must not, as Näg. does, suppose the simile to be used because such jars are an excellent emblem of that carnal aristocratic pride which lacked all substantial merit, by reason of their being of bulging shape, hollow within and without solidity, and of fragile material besides. No stress is laid on the bulging form and hollowness of the jars, but only on their fulness with wine and their brittleness. Nor can aristocratic haughtiness be predicated of all the inhabitants of the land. The saying: Every jar is filled with wine, seemed so plain and natural, that those addressed answer: Of that we are well aware. “The answer is that of the psychical man, who dreams of no deeper sense” (Hitz.). Just this very answer gives the prophet occasion to expound the deeper meaning of this word of God’s. As one fills all wine jars, so must all inhabitants of the land be filled by God with wine of intoxication. Drunkenness is the effect of the intoxicating wine of God’s wrath, Ps. lx. 5. This wine Jahveh will give them (cf. xxv. 15, Isa. li. 17, etc.), so that, filled with drunken frenzy, they shall helplessly destroy one another. This spirit will seize upon all ranks: upon the kings who sit upon the throne of David, not merely him who was reigning at the time; upon the priests and prophets as leaders of the people; and upon all inhabitants of Jerusalem, the metropolis,

the spirit and temper of which exercises an unlimited influence upon the temper and destiny of the kingdom at large. I dash them one against the other, as jars are shivered when knocked together. Here Hitz. finds a foreshadowing of civil war, by which they should exterminate one another. Jeremiah was indeed thinking of the staggering against one another of drunken men, but in "dash them," etc., adhered simply to the figure of jars or pots. But what can be meant by the shivering of pots knocked together, other than mutual destruction? The kingdom of Judah did not indeed fall by civil war; but who can deny that the fury of the various factions in Judah and Jerusalem did really contribute to the fall of the realm? The shattering of the pots does not mean directly civil war; it is given as the result of the drunkenness of the inhabitants, under which they, no longer capable of self-control, dash against and so destroy one another. But besides, the breaking of jars reminds us of the stratagem of Gideon and his 300 warriors, who, by the sound of trumpets and the smashing of jars, threw the whole Midianite camp into such panic, that these foes turned their swords against one another and fled in wild confusion: Judg. vii. 19 ff., cf. too 1 Sam. xiv. 20. Thus shall Judah be broken without mercy or pity. To increase the emphasis, there is a cumulation of expressions, as in xxi. 7, xv. 5, cf. Ezek. v. 11, vii. 4, 9, etc.—Ver. 15 ff. With this threatening the prophet couples a solemn exhortation not to leave the word of the Lord unheeded in their pride, but to give God the glory, ere judgment fall on them. To give God the glory is, in this connection, to acknowledge His glory by confession of apostasy from Him and by returning to Him in sincere repentance; cf. Josh. vii. 19, Mal. ii. 2. "Your God," who has attested Himself to you as God. The Hiph. יִשְׁׁמַר is not used intransitively, either here or in Ps. cxxxix. 12, but transitively: before He brings or makes darkness; cf. Amos viii. 9. Mountains of dusk, *i.e.* mountains shrouded in dusk, are the emblem of unseen stumbling-blocks, on which one stumbles and falls. Light and darkness are well-known emblems of prosperity and adversity, welfare and misery. The suffix in שְׁמֵרָהּ goes with אֶרֶץ, which is construed feminine here as in Job xxxvi. 32. Shadow of death = deep darkness; עֲרֵפֶל,

cloudy night, *i.e.* dark night. The *Chet.* ישי is *imperf.*, and to be read ישיׁ; the *Keri* ישיׁ is uncalled for and incorrect.—Ver. 17. Knowing their obstinacy, the prophet adds: if ye hear it (what I have declared to you) not, my soul shall weep. In the concealment, *quo secedere lugentes amant, ut impensius flere possint* (Chr. B. Mich.). For the pride, *sc.* in which ye persist. With tears mine eye shall run down because the flock of Jahveh, *i.e.* the people of God (cf. Zech. x. 3), is carried away into captivity (*perfect. proph.*).

Vers. 18-27. *The fall of the kingdom, the captivity of Judah, with upbraidings against Jerusalem for her grievous guilt in the matter of idolatry.*—Ver. 18. "Say unto the king and to the sovereign lady: Sit you low down, for from your heads falls the crown of your glory. Ver. 19. The cities of the south are shut and no man openeth; Judah is carried away captive all of it, wholly carried away captive. Ver. 20. Lift up your eyes and behold them that come from midnight! Where is the flock that was given thee, thy glorious flock? Ver. 21. What wilt thou say, if He set over thee those whom thou hast accustomed to thee as familiar friends, for a head? Shall not sorrows take thee, as a woman in travail? 22. And if thou say in thine heart, Wherefore cometh this upon me? for the plenty of thine iniquity are thy skirts uncovered, thy heels abused. Ver. 23. Can an Ethiopian change his skin, and a leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good that are accustomed to doing evil. Ver. 24. Therefore will I scatter them like chaff that flies before the wind of the wilderness. Ver. 25. This is thy lot, thine apportioned inheritance from me, because thou hast forgotten me and trustedst in falsehood. Ver. 26. Therefore will I turn thy skirts over thy face, that thy shame be seen. Ver. 27. Thine adultery and thy neighing, the crime of thy whoredom upon the hills, in the fields, I have seen thine abominations. Woe unto thee, Jerusalem! thou shalt not be made clean after how long a time yet!"

From ver. 18 on the prophet's discourse is addressed to the king and the queen-mother. The latter as such exercised great influence on the government, and is in the Books of Kings mentioned alongside of almost all the reigning kings (cf. 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Kings x. 13, etc.); so that we are not necessarily led

to think of Jechoniah and his mother in especial. To them he proclaims the loss of the crown and the captivity of Judah. Set yourselves low down (cf. Gesen. § 142, 3, *b*), *i.e.* descend from the throne; not in order to turn aside the threatening danger by humiliation, but, as the reason that follows shows, because the kingdom is passing from you. For fallen is **מִרְאֲשֵׁיכֶם**, your head-gear, lit. what is about or on your head (elsewhere pointed **מִרְאֲשֵׁי**, 1 Sam. xix. 13, xxvi. 7), namely, your splendid crown. The perf. here is prophetic. The crown falls when the king loses country and kingship. This is put expressly in ver. 19. The meaning of the first half of the verse, which is variously taken, may be gathered from the second. In the latter the complete deportation of Judah is spoken of as an accomplished fact, because it is as sure to happen as if it had taken place already. Accordingly the first clause cannot bespeak expectation merely, or be understood, as it is by Grotius, as meaning that Judah need hope for no help from Egypt. This interpretation is irreconcilable with "the cities of the south." "The south" is the south country of Judah, cf. Josh. x. 40, Gen. xiii. 1, etc., and is not to be taken according to the prophetic use of "king of the south," Dan. xi. 5, 9. The shutting of the cities is not to be taken, with Jerome, of siege by the enemy, as in Josh. vi. 1. There the closedness is otherwise illustrated: No man was going out or in; here, on the other hand, it is: No man openeth. "Shut" is to be explained according to Isa. xxiv. 10: the cities are shut up by reason of ruins which block up the entrances to them; and in them is none that can open, because all Judah is utterly carried away. The cities of the south are mentioned, not because the enemy, avoiding the capital, had first brought the southern part of the land under his power, as Sennacherib had once advanced against Jerusalem from the south, 2 Kings xviii. 13 f., xix. 8 (Graf, Näg., etc.), but because they were the part of the kingdom most remote for an enemy approaching from the north; so that when they were taken, the land was reduced and the captivity of all Judah accomplished. For the form **הַנָּגֶלֶת** see Ew. § 194, *a*, Ges. § 75, Rem. 1. **שְׁלֹמִים** is adverbial accusative: in entirety, like **מִשְׁאֲרֵים**, Ps. lviii. 2, etc. For this cf. **נָלִיתָ**, **שְׁלָמָה**, Amos i. 6, 9.

The announcement of captivity is carried on in ver. 20, where we have first an account of the impression which the carrying away captive will produce upon Jerusalem (vers. 20 and 21), and next a statement of the cause of that judgment (vers. 22-27). In אִשָּׁה and אִשָּׁה a feminine is addressed, and, as appears from the suffix in עַיִינֶיךָ, one which is collective. The same holds good of the following verses on to ver. 27, where Jerusalem is named, doubtless the inhabitants of it, personified as the daughter of Zion—a frequent case. Näg. is wrong in supposing that the feminines in ver. 20 are called for by the previously mentioned queen-mother, that vers. 20-22 are still addressed to her, and that not till ver. 23 is there a transition from her in the address to the nation taken collectively and regarded as the mother of the country. The contents of ver. 20 do not tally with Näg.'s view; for the queen-mother was not the reigning sovereign, so that the inhabitants of the land could have been called her flock, however great was the influence she might exercise upon the king. The mention of foes coming from the north, and the question coupled therewith: Where is the flock? convey the thought that the flock is carried off by those enemies. The flock is the flock of Jahveh (ver. 17), and, in virtue of God's choice of it, a herd of gloriousness. The relative clause: "that was given thee," implies that the person addressed is to be regarded as the shepherd or owner of the flock. This will not apply to the capital and its citizens; for the influence exerted by the capital in the country is not so great as to make it appear the shepherd or lord of the people. But the relative clause is in good keeping with the idea of the daughter of Zion, with which is readily associated that of ruler of land and people. It intimates the suffering that will be endured by the daughter of Zion when those who have been hitherto her paramours are set up as head over her. The verse is variously explained. The old transll. and comm. take פָּקַד עָלַי in the sense of visit, chastise; so too Chr. B. Mich. and Ros.; and Ew. besides, who alters the text acc. to the LXX., changing פָּקַד into the plural פָּקְדוּ. For this change there is no sufficient reason; and without such change, the signif. visit, punish, gives us no suitable sense. The phrase means also: to appoint or set over

anybody; cf. *e.g.* xv. 3. The subject can only be Jahveh. The words from וְאַתָּה onwards form an adversative circumstantial clause: and yet thou hast accustomed them לְעַלְיָ, for לְאַתָּה, to thee (cf. for לְיָמֶיךָ c. לְאַתָּה, x. 2). The connection of the words וְאַתָּה depends upon the sig. assigned to לְאַתָּה. Gesen. (*thes.*) and Ros. still adhere to the meaning taken by Luther, Vat., and many others, viz. *principes*, princes, taking for the sense of the whole: whom thou hast accustomed (trained) to be princes over thee. This word is indeed the technical term for the old Edomitish chieftains of clans, Gen. xxxvi. 15 ff., and is applied as an archaic term by Zech. ix. 7 to the tribal princes of Judah; but it does not, as a general rule, mean prince, but familiar, friend, Ps. lv. 14, Prov. xvi. 28, Mic. vii. 5; cf. Jer. xi. 19. This being the well-attested signification, it is, in the first place, not competent to render לְעַלְיָ *over* or *against* thee (*adversus te*, Jerome); and Hitz.'s exposition: thou hast instructed them to thy hurt, hast taught them a disposition hostile to thee, cannot be justified by usage. In the second place, לְאַתָּה cannot be attached to the principal clause, "set over thee," and joined with "for a head:" if He set over thee—as princes for a head; but it belongs to "hast accustomed," while only "for a head" goes with "if He set" (as de Wet., Umbr., Näg., etc., construe). The prophet means the heathen kings, for whose favour Judah had hitherto been intriguing, the Babylonians and Egyptians. There is no cogent reason for referring the words, as many comm. do, to the Babylonians alone. For the statement is quite general throughout; and, on the one hand, Judah had, from the days of Ahaz on, courted the alliance not of the Babylonians alone, but of the Egyptians too (cf. ii. 18); and, on the other hand, after the death of Josiah, Judah had become subject to Egypt, and had had to endure the grievous domination of the Pharaohs, as Jeremiah had threatened, ii. 16. If God deliver the daughter of Zion into the power of these her paramours, *i.e.* if she be subjected to their rule, then will grief and pain seize on her as on a woman in childbirth; cf. vi. 24, xxii. 23, etc. אִשָּׁת לֵרָה, woman of bearing; so here only, elsewhere יֹלְדָה (cf. the passages cited); יֹלְדָה is *infm.*, as in Isa. xxxvii. 3, 2 Kings xix. 3, Hos. ix. 11.—Ver. 22. This will befall the daughter of Zion for her sore transgressions.

Therefore will she be covered with scorn and shame. The manner of her dishonour, discovery of the skirts (here and esp. in ver. 26), recalls Nah. iii. 5, cf. Isa. xlvii. 3, Hos. ii. 5. Chr. B. Mich. and others understand the violent treatment of the heels to be the loading of the feet with chains; but the mention of heels is not in keeping with this. Still less can the exposure of the heels by the upturning of the skirts be called maltreatment of the heels; nor can it be that, as Hitz. holds, the affront is simply specialized by the mention of the heels instead of the person. The thing can only mean, that the person will be driven forth into exile barefoot and with violence, perhaps under the rod; cf. Ps. lxxxix. 52.—Ver. 23. Judah will not escape this ignominious lot, since wickedness has so grown to be its nature, that it can as little cease therefrom and do good, as an Ethiopian can wash out the blackness of his skin, or a panther change its spots. The consequential clause introduced by **וְאִם יִהְיֶה** connects with the possibility suggested in, but denied by, the preceding question: if that could happen, then might even ye do good. The one thing is as impossible as the other. And so the Lord must scatter Judah among the heathen, like stubble swept away by the desert wind, lit. passing by with the desert wind. The desert wind is the strong east wind that blows from the Arabian Desert; see on iv. 11.

In ver. 25 the discourse draws to a conclusion in such a way that, after a repetition of the manner in which Jerusalem prepares for herself the doom announced, we have again, in brief and condensed shape, the disgrace that is to befall her. This shall be thy lot. Hitz. renders **מִנְתְּ מְדִינָה**: portion of thy garment, that is allotted for the swelling folds of thy garment (cf. Ruth iii. 15, 2 Kings iv. 39), on the ground that **מֶדֶה** never means *mensura*, but garment only. This is, however, no conclusive argument; since so many words admit of two plural forms, so that **מְדִינִים** might be formed from **מְדִינָה**; and since so many are found in the singular in the forms of both genders, so that, alongside of **מְדִינָה**, **מֶדֶה** might also be used in the sense of *mensura*; especially as both the signiff. measure and garment are derived from the same root meaning of **מָדַד**. We therefore adhere to the usual rendering, *portio mensuræ tuæ*, the share portioned out to thee. **אֲשֶׁר**, causal, *because*. Trusted in false-

hood, *i.e.* both in delusive promises (vii. 4, 8) and in the help of beingless gods (xvi. 19).—In the *וְנִסִּיתִי* lies the force of reciprocation: because thou hast forgotten me, etc., I too have taken means to make retribution on your unthankfulness (Calv.). The threatening of this verse is word for word from Nah. iii. 5.—For her lewd idolatry Jerusalem shall be carried off like a harlot amid mockery and disgrace. In ver. 27 the language is cumulative, to lay as great stress as possible on Jerusalem's idolatrous ongoing. Thy lewd neighing, *i.e.* thy ardent longing for and running after strange gods; cf. v. 8, ii. 24 f. *וְנִסִּיתִי*, as in Ezek. xvi. 27, xxii. 9, etc., of the crime of uncleanness, see on Lev. xviii. 17. The three words are accusatives dependent on *וְנִסִּיתִי*, though separated from it by the specification of place, and therefore summed up again in "thine abominations." The addition: in the field, after "upon the hills," is meant to make more prominent the publicity of the idolatrous work. The concluding sentence: thou shalt not become clean for how long a time yet, is not to be regarded as contradictory of ver. 23, which affirms that the people is beyond the reach of reformation; ver. 23 is not a hyperbolic statement, reduced within its true limits here. What is said in ver. 23 is true of the present generation, which cleaves immoveably to wickedness. It does not exclude the possibility of a future reform on the part of the people, a purification of it from idolatry. Only this cannot be attained for a long time, until after sore and long-lasting, purifying judgments. Cf. xii. 14 f., iii. 18 ff.

CHAP. XIV.—XVII.—THE WORD CONCERNING THE DROUGHTS.

The distress arising from a lengthened drought (xiv. 2–6) gives the prophet occasion for urgent prayer on behalf of his people (xiv. 7–9 and 19–22); but the Lord rejects all intercession, and gives the people notice, for their apostasy from Him, of their coming destruction by sword, famine, and pestilence (xiv. 10–18 and xv. 1–9). Next, the prophet complains of the persecution he has to endure, and is corrected by the Lord and comforted (xv. 10–21). Then he has his course of conduct for the future prescribed to him, since Judah is, for its

sins, to be cast forth into banishment, but is again to be restored (xvi. 1—xvii. 4). And the discourse concludes with general considerations upon the roots of the mischief, together with prayers for the prophet's safety, and statements as to the way by which judgment may be turned aside.

This prophetic word, though it had its origin in a special period of distress, does not contain any single discourse such as may have been delivered by Jeremiah before the people upon occasion of this calamity, but is, like the former sections, a summary of addresses and utterances concerning the corruption of the people, and the bitter experiences to which his office exposes the prophet. For these matters the special event above mentioned serves as a starting-point, inasmuch as the deep moral degradation of Judah, which must draw after it yet sorer judgments, is displayed in the relation assumed by the people to the judgment sent on them at that time.—The various attempts of recent commentators to dissect the passage into single portions, and to assign these to special points of time and to refer them to particular historical occurrences, have proved an entire failure, as Graf himself admits. The whole discourse moves in the same region of thought and adheres to the same aspect of affairs as the preceding ones, without suggesting special historical relations. And there is an advance made in the prophetic declaration, only in so far as here the whole substance of the discourse culminates in the thought that, because of Judah's being hardened in sin, the judgment of rejection can now in no way be turned aside, not even by the intercession of those whose prayers would have the greatest weight.

Chap. xiv. 1—xv. 9. THE USELESSNESS OF PRAYER ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE.—The title in ver. 1 specifies the occasion for the following discourse: *What came as word of Jahveh to Jeremiah concerning the drought.*—Besides here, אֲשֶׁר הָיָה is made to precede the דָּבַר יְהוָה in xlvi. 1, xlvii. 1, xlix. 34; and so, by a kind of attraction, the prophecy which follows receives an outward connection with that which precedes. Concerning the matters of the droughts. בְּצָרוֹת, plur. of בָּצָרָה, Ps. ix. 10, x. 1, might mean harassments, troubles in general. But the description of a great drought, with which the prophecy begins,

taken along with xvii. 8, where *בַּצָּרָה* occurs, meaning drought, lit. cutting off, restraint of rain, shows that the plural here is to be referred to the sing. *בַּצָּרָה* (cf. *עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת* from *עֲשָׂתָרָה*), and that it means the withholding of rain or drought (as freq. in Chald.). We must note the plur., which is not to be taken as intensive of a great drought, but points to repeated droughts. Withdrawal of rain was threatened as a judgment against the despisers of God's word (Lev. xxvi. 19 f.; Deut. xi. 17, xxviii. 23); and this chastisement has at various times been inflicted on the sinful people; cf. iii. 3, xii. 4, xxiii. 10, Hag. i. 10 f. As the occasion of the present prophecy, we have therefore to regard not a single great drought, but a succession of droughts. Hence we cannot fix the time at which the discourse was composed, since we have no historical notices as to the particular times at which God was then punishing His people by withdrawing the rain.

Vers. 2-6. *Description of the distress arising from the drought.*—Ver. 2. "Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish, lie mourning on the ground, and the cry of Jerusalem goeth up. Ver. 3. Their nobles send their mean ones for water: they come to the wells, find no water, return with empty pitchers, are ashamed and confounded and cover their head. Ver. 4. For the ground, which is confounded, because no rain is fallen upon the earth, the husbandmen are ashamed, cover their head. Ver. 5. Yea, the hind also in the field, she beareth and forsaketh it, because there is no grass. Ver. 6. And the wild asses stand on the bare-topped heights, gasp for air like the jackals; their eyes fail because there is no herb."

The country and the city, the distinguished and the mean, the field and the husbandmen, are thrown into deep mourning, and the beasts of the field pine away because neither grass nor herb grows. This description gives a touching picture of the distress into which the land and its inhabitants have fallen for lack of rain. Judah is the kingdom or the country with its inhabitants; the gates as used poetically for the cities with the citizens. Not mankind only, but the land itself mourns and pines away, with all the creatures that live on it; cf. ver. 4, where the ground is said to be dismayed along with the tillers of it. The gates of the cities are mentioned as being the places

where the citizens congregate. אָמַל, fade away, pine, is strengthened by: are black, *i.e.* mourn, down to the earth; pregnant for: set themselves mourning on the ground. As frequently, Jerusalem is mentioned alongside of Judah as being its capital. Their cry of anguish rises up to heaven. This universal mourning is specialized from ver. 3 on. Their nobles, *i.e.* the distinguished men of Judah and Jerusalem, send their mean ones, *i.e.* their retainers or servants and maids, for water to the wells (בְּרִים, pits, 2 Kings iii. 16, here cisterns). The *Chet.* צָעֹר, here and in xlviii. 4, is an unusual form for צָעִיר, *Keri.* Finding no water, they return, their vessels empty, *i.e.* with empty pitchers, ashamed of their disappointed hope. בָּשָׁר is strengthened by the synonym הִכְלִימוֹ. Covering the head is a token of deep grief turned inwards upon itself; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 30, xix. 5. הָאֶרֶצָה is the ground generally. הִתְחַה is a relative clause: *quæ consternata est*. "Because no rain," etc., literally as in 1 Kings xvii. 7.—Even the beasts droop and perish. כִּי is intensive: yea, even. The hind brings forth and forsakes, *sc.* the new-born offspring, because for want of grass she cannot sustain herself and her young. עָוֹב, *infin. abs.* set with emphasis for the *temp. fin.*, as Gen. xli. 43, Ex. viii. 11, and often; cf. Gesen. § 131, 4, *a*, Ew. § 351, *c*. The hind was regarded by the ancients as tenderly caring for her young, cf. Boeh. *Hieroz.* i. lib. 3, c. 17 (ii. p. 254, ed. Ros.). The wild asses upon the bleak mountain-tops, where these animals choose to dwell, gasp for air, because, by reason of the dreadful drought, it is not possible to get a breath of air even on the hills. Like the תַּנִּינִים, jackals, cf. ix. 10, x. 22, etc. *Vulg.* has *dracones*, with the Aram. versions; and Hitz. and Graf are of opinion that the mention of jackals is not here in point, and that, since תַּנִּינִים does not mean *dracones*, the word stands here, as in Ex. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2, for תַּנִּינִי, the monster inhabiting the water, a crocodile or some kind of whale that stretches its head out of the water to draw breath with gaping jaws. On this Näg. has well remarked: he cannot see why the gaping, panting jaws of the jackal should not serve as a figure in such a case as the present. Their eyes fail away—from exhaustion due to want of water. עֲשֻׁב, bushes and under-shrubs, as distinguished from יֵרֵק, green grass.

Vers. 7-9. *The prayer.*—Ver. 7. “If our iniquities testify against us, O Jahveh, deal Thou for Thy name’s sake, for many are our backslidings; against Thee have we sinned. Ver. 8. Thou hope of Israel, his Saviour in time of need, why wilt Thou be as a stranger in the land, like a wayfarer that hath put up to tarry for a night? Ver. 9. Why wilt Thou be as a man astonished, as a mighty man that cannot help, and yet Thou art in the midst of us, Jahveh, and Thy name is named upon us—O leave us not!”

The prophet utters this prayer in the name of his people (cf. ver. 11). It begins with confession of sore transgression. Thus the chastisement which has befallen them they have deserved as a just punishment; but the Lord is besought to help for His name’s sake, *i.e.* not: “for the sake of Thy honour, with which it is not consistent that contempt of Thy will should go unpunished” (Hitz.). This interpretation suits neither the idea of the name of God nor the context. The name of God is the manifestation of God’s being. From Moses’ time on, God, as *Jahveh*, has revealed Himself as the Redeemer and Saviour of the children of Israel, whom He had adopted to be His people, and as God, who is merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and of great goodness and faithfulness (Ex. xxxiv. 6). As such He is besought to reveal Himself now that they confess their backsliding and sin, and seek His grace. Not for the sake of His honour in the eyes of the world, lest the heathen believe He has no power to help, as Graf holds, for all reference to the heathen nations is foreign to this connection; but He is entreated to help, not to hclie the hope of His people, because Israel sets its hope in Him as Saviour in time of need (ver. 9). If by withholding rain He makes His land and people to pine, then He does not reveal Himself as the lord and owner of Judah, not as the God that dwells amidst His people; but He seems a stranger passing through the land, who sets up His tent there only to spend the night, who “feels no share in the weal and woe of the dwellers therein” (Hitz.). This is the meaning of the question in ver. 8b. The ancient expositors take נָחַם elliptically, as in Gen. xii. 8: that stretches out His tent to pass the night. Hitz., again, objects that the wayfarer does not drag a tent about with him, and, like Ew., takes this

verb in the sense of swerve from the direct route, cf. 2 Sam. ii. 19, 21, etc. But the reason alleged is not tenable; since travellers did often carry their tents with them, and נָטָה, to turn oneself, is not used absolutely in the sig. to turn aside from the way, without the qualification: to the right or to the left. סוּר is in use for to turn aside to tarry, to turn in, Jer. xv. 5. We therefore abide by the old interpretation, since "swerve from the way" has here no suitable meaning.—Ver. 9. The pleader makes further appeal to God's almighty power. It is impossible that Jahveh can let Himself look like a man at his wit's end or a nerveless warrior, as He would seem to be if He should not give help to His people in their present need. Since the time of A. Schulteus the ἀπ. λεγ. נִרְהָם is rendered, after the Arab. دَهُم, to make an unforeseen attack, by *stupefactus*, *attonitus*, one who, by reason of a sudden mischance, has lost his presence of mind and is helpless. This is in keeping with the next comparison, that with a warrior who has no strength to help. The passage closes with an appeal to the relation of grace which Jahveh sustains towards His people. יִצְחָק comes in adversatively: yet art Thou in our midst, i.e. present to Thy people. Thy name is named upon us, i.e. Thou hast revealed Thyself to us in Thy being as God of salvation; see on vii. 10. אֶל-תִּנְחֵם, lit. lay us not down, i.e. let us not sink.

Vers. 10-18. *The Lord's answer*.—Ver. 10. "Thus saith Jahveh unto this people: Thus they loved to wander, their feet they kept not back; and Jahveh hath no pleasure in them, now will He remember their iniquities and visit their sins. Ver. 11. And Jahveh hath said unto me: Pray not for this people for their good. Ver. 12. When they fast, I hear not their cry; and when they bring burnt-offering and meat-offering, I have no pleasure in them; but by sword, and famine, and pestilence will I consume them. Ver. 13. Then said I: Ah Lord Jahveh, behold, the prophets say to them, Ye shall see no sword, and famine shall not befall you, but assured peace give I in this place. Ver. 14. And Jahveh said unto me: Lies do the prophets prophesy in my name: I have not sent them, nor commanded them, nor spoken to them; lying vision, and divination, and a thing of nought, and deceit of their heart they

prophecy to you. Ver. 15. Therefore thus saith Jahveh concerning the prophets that prophesy in my name, when I have not sent them, who yet say, Sword and famine shall not be in this land: By sword and famine shall these prophets perish. Ver. 16. And the people to whom they prophesy shall lie cast out upon the streets of Jerusalem, by reason of the famine and of the sword, and none will bury them, them and their wives, their sons and their daughters; and I pour their wickedness upon them. Ver. 17. And thou shalt say to them this word: Let mine eyes run down with tears day and night and let them not cease; for with a great breach is broken the virgin-daughter of my people, with a very grievous blow. Ver. 18. If I go forth into the field, behold the slain with the sword; and if I come into the city, behold them that pine with famine; for prophet and priest pass into a land and know it not."

To the prophet's prayer the Lord answers in the first place, ver. 10, by pointing to the backsliding of the people, for which He is now punishing them. In the "*thus they love*," etc., lies a backward reference to what precedes. The reference is certainly not to the vain going for water (ver. 3), as Ch. B. Mich. and R. Salomo Haccohen thought it was; nor is it to the description of the animals afflicted by thirst, vers. 5 and 6, in which Näg. finds a description of the passionate, unbridled lust after idolatry, the real and final cause of the ruin that has befallen Israel. Where could be the likeness between the wild ass's panting for breath and the wandering of the Jews? That to which the "*thus*" refers must be sought for in the body of the prayer to which Jahveh makes answer, as Ros. rightly saw. Not by any means in the fact that in ver. 9 the Jews prided themselves on being the people of God and yet went after false gods, so that God answered: *ita amant vacillare*, as good as to say: *ita instabiles illos esse, ut nunc ab ipso, nunc ab aliis auxilium quærant* (Ros.); for נָד cannot here mean the waving and swaying of reeds, but only the wandering after other gods, cf. ii. 23, 31. This is shown by the addition: they kept not back their feet, cf. with ii. 25, where in the same reference the withholding of the feet is enjoined. Graf is right in referring *thus* to the preceding prayer: "*Thus*, in the same degree as Jahveh has estranged Himself from His people (cf. vers. 8

and 9), have they estranged themselves from their God." They loved to wander after strange gods, and so have brought on themselves God's displeasure. Therefore punishment comes on them. The second clause of the verse is a reminiscence of Hos. viii. 13.—After mentioning the reason why He punishes Judah, the Lord in ver. 11 f. rejects the prayer of the prophet, because He will not hear the people's cry to Him. Neither by means of fasts nor sacrifice will they secure God's pleasure. The prophet's prayer implies that the people will humble themselves and turn to the Lord. Hence God explains His rejection of the prayer by saying that He will give no heed to the people's fasting and sacrifices. The reason of this appears from the context,—namely, because they turn to Him only in their need, while their heart still cleaves to the idols, so that their prayers are but lip-service, and their sacrifices a soulless formality. The suffix in רָצוֹן refers not to the sacrifices, but, like that in רָצוֹן, to the Jews who, by bringing sacrifices, seek to win God's love. וְיִ, but, introducing the antithesis to "have no pleasure in them." The sword in battle, famine, and pestilence, at the siege of the cities, are the three means by which God designs to destroy the backsliding people; cf. Lev. xxvi. 25 f.

In spite of the rejection of his prayer, the prophet endeavours yet again to entreat God's favour for the people, laying stress, ver. 13, on the fact that they had been deceived and confirmed in their infatuation by the delusive forecastings of the false prophets who promised peace. Peace of truth, *i.e.* peace that rests on God's faithfulness, and so: assured peace will I give you. Thus spoke these prophets in the name of Jahveh; cf. on this iv. 10, v. 12. Hitz. and Graf propose to change שְׁלוֹם into שְׁלוֹם וְאַמֶּת, acc. to xxxiii. 6 and Isa. xxxix. 8, because the LXX. have ἀλήθειαν καὶ εἰρήνην. But none of the passages cited furnishes sufficient ground for this. In xxxiii. 6 the LXX. have rendered εἰρήνην καὶ πίστιν, in Isa. xxxix. 8, εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην; giving thereby a clear proof that we cannot draw from their rendering any certain inferences as to the precise words of the original text. Nor do the parallels prove anything, since in them the expression often varies in detail. But there can be no doubt that in the mouth of the pseudo-prophets "assured peace" is more natural than "peace

and truth." But the Lord does not allow this excuse. He has not sent the prophets that so prophesy: they prophesy lying vision, divination, falsehood, and deceit, and shall themselves be destroyed by sword and famine. The cumulation of the words, "lying vision," etc., shows God's wrath and indignation at the wicked practices of these men. Graf wants to delete י before אֱלִיל, and to couple אֱלִיל with קֶסֶם, so as to make one idea: prophecy of nought. For this he can allege none other than the erroneous reason that קֶסֶם, taken by itself, does not sufficiently correspond to "lying vision," inasmuch as, he says, it has not always a bad sense attached to it; whereas the fact is that it is nowhere used for genuine prophecy. The *Chet.* אֱלִיל and תְּרֻמִּית are unusual formations, for which the usual forms are substituted in the *Keri.* Deceit of their heart is not self-deceit, but deceit which their heart has devised; cf. xxiii. 26. But the people to whom these prophets prophesied are to perish by sword and famine, and to lie unburied in the streets of Jerusalem; cf. viii. 2, xvi. 4. They are not therefore held excused because false prophets told them lies, for they have given credit to these lies, lies that flattered their sinful passions, and have not been willing to hear or take to heart the word of the true prophets, who preached repentance and return to God.¹ To Hitz. it seems surprising that, in describing the punishment which is to fall on seducers and seduced, there should not be severer judgment, in words at least, levelled against the seducers as being those involved in the deeper guilt; whereas the very contrary is the case in the Hebrew text. Hitz. further proposes to get rid of this discrepancy by conjectures founded on the LXX., yet without clearly informing us how we are to read. But the difficulty solves itself as soon as

¹ The *Berleburg Bible* says: "They wish to have such teachers, and even to bring it about that there shall be so many deceiving workers, because they can hardly even endure or listen to the upright ones. That is the reason why it is to go no better with them than we see it is." Calvin too has suggested the doubt: *posset tamen videri parum humaniter agere Deus, quod tam duras pœnas infligit miseris hominibus, qui aliunde decepti sunt*, and has then given the true solution: *certum est, nisi ultro mundus appeteret mendacia, non tantam fore efficaciam diaboli ad fallendum. Quod igitur ita rapiuntur homines ad imposturas, hoc fit eorum culpa, quoniam magis propensi sunt ad vanitatem, quam ut se Deo et verbo ejus subjiciant.*

we pay attention to the connection. The portion of the discourse before us deals with the judgment which is to burst on the godless people, in the course of which those who had seduced the people are only casually mentioned. For the purpose in hand, it was sufficient to say briefly of the seducers that they too should perish by sword and famine who affirmed that these punishments should not befall the people, whereas it was necessary to set before the people the terrors of this judgment in all their horror, in order not to fail of effect. With the reckoning of the various classes of persons: they, their wives, etc., cf. the account of their participation in idolatry, vii. 18. Hitz. rightly paraphrases 'וְשִׁפְכִי: and in this wise will I pour out. רַעְתָּם, not: the calamity destined for them, but: their wickedness which falls on them with its consequences, cf. ii. 19, Hos. ix. 15, for *propheta videtur causam reddere, cur Deus horribile illud iudicium exequi statuerit contra Judæos, nempe quoniam digni erant tali mercede* (Calv.).—Ver. 17. The words, “and speak unto them this word,” surprise us, because no word from God follows, as in xiii. 12, but an exposition of the prophet’s feelings in regard to the dreadful judgment announced. Hence Dahl. and Ew. propose to join the words in question with what goes before, while at the same time Ew. hints a suspicion that an entire sentence has been dropped after the words. But for this suspicion there is no ground, and the joining of the words with the preceding context is contrary to the unfailing usage of this by no means infrequent formula. The true explanation is found in Kimchi and Calvin. The prophet is led to exhibit to the hardened people the grief and pain he feels in contemplating the coming ruin of Judah, *ut pavorem illis incuteret, si forte, cum hæc audirent, resipiscerent* (Kimchi). If not his words, then surely his tears; for the terrible calamity he has to announce must touch and stagger them, so that they may be persuaded to examine themselves and consider what it is that tends to their peace. To make impression on their hardened consciences, he depicts the appalling ruin, because of which his eyes run with tears day and night. On “run down,” etc., cf. ix. 17, xiii. 17, Lam. ii. 18, etc. “Let them not cease” gives emphasis: not be silent, at peace, cf. Lam. iii. 49, i.e. weep incessantly day and night. The appellation of the people:

virgin-daughter of my people, *i.e.* daughter that is my people, cf. viii. 11, corresponds to the love revealing itself in tears. The depth of sorrow is further shown in the clause: with a blow that is very dangerous, cf. x. 19. In ver. 18 the prophet portrays the condition of things after the fall of Jerusalem: out upon the field are those pierced with the sword; in the city רָעָב תַּחֲלִיאי, lit. suffering of famine, Deut. xxix. 21, here *abstr. pro concr.* of those pining in famine; and those that remain in life depart into exile. Instead of the people Jeremiah mentions only the prophets and priests as being the flower of God's people. פָּתַר, to wander about, in Hebr. usually in the way of commerce, here acc. to Aram. usage, possibly too with the idea of begging subjoined. In the לֹא יָדָע Graf holds the י to be entirely out of place, while Hitz. pronounces against him. The words are variously taken; *e.g.* and know nothing, wander about aimless and helpless. But with this the omission of the article with אֲרָץ is incompatible. The omission shows that "and know not" furnishes an attribute to "into a land." We therefore translate: and know it not = which they know not, since the pronominal suffix is wont to be often omitted where it can without difficulty be supplied from the preceding clause.

Vers. 19–22 and xv. 1–9. *Renewed supplication and repeated rejection of the same.*—Ver. 19. "Hast thou then really rejected Judah? or doth thy soul loathe Zion? Why hast Thou smitten us, so that there is no healing for us? We look for peace, and there is no good; for the time of healing, and behold terror! Ver. 20. We know, Jahveh, our wickedness, the iniquity of our fathers, for we have sinned against Thee. Ver. 21. Abhor not, for Thy name's sake; disgrace not the throne of Thy glory; remember, break not Thy covenant with us! Ver. 22. Are there among the vain gods of the Gentiles givers of rain, or will the heavens give showers? Art not Thou (He), Jahveh our God? and we hope in Thee, for Thou hast made all these."

Chap. xv. 1. "And Jahveh said unto me: If Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet would not my soul incline to this people. Drive them from my face, that they go forth. Ver. 2. And if they say to thee: Whither shall we go forth? then say to them: Thus hath Jahveh said—Such as are for

death, to death; and such as are for the sword, to the sword; and such as are for the famine, to the famine; and such as are for the captivity, to the captivity. Ver. 3. And I appoint over them four kinds, saith Jahveh: the sword to slay and the dogs to tear, the fowls of the heaven and the cattle of the earth, to devour and destroy. Ver. 4. And I give them up to be abused to all kingdoms of the earth, for Manasseli's sake, the son of Hezekiah king of Judah, for what he did in Jerusalem. Ver. 5. For who shall have pity upon thee, Jerusalem? and who shall bemoan thee? and who shall go aside to ask after thy welfare? Ver. 6. Thou hast rejected me, saith Jahveh; thou goest backwards, and so I stretch forth mine hand against thee and destroy thee; I am weary of repenting. Ver. 7. And I fan them with a fan into the gates of the land: bereave, ruin my people; from their ways they turned not. Ver. 8. More in number are his widows become unto me than the sand of the sea; I bring to them, against the mother of the young man, a spoiler at noon-day; I cause to fall upon her suddenly anguish and terrors. Ver. 9. She that hath borne seven languisheth, she breatheth out her soul, her sun goeth down while yet it is day, she is put to shame and confounded; and their residue I give to the sword before their enemies, saith Jahveh."

The Lord had indeed distinctly refused the favour sought for Judah; yet the command to disclose to the people the sorrow of his own soul at their calamity (vers. 17 and 18) gave the prophet courage to renew his supplication, and to ask of the Lord if He had in very truth cast off Judah and Zion (ver. 19), and to set forth the reasons which made this seem impossible (vers. 20-22). In the question, ver. 19, the emphasis lies on the הֲרִיפָה, strengthened as it is by the *inf. abs.*: hast Thou utterly or really rejected? The form of the question is the same as that in ii. 14; first the double question, dealing with a state of affairs which the questioner is unable to regard as being actually the case, and then a further question, conveying wonder at what has happened. לֹא־עָלָה, loathe, cast from one, is synonymous with רִיפָה. The second clause agrees verbally with viii. 15. The reasons why the Lord cannot have wholly rejected Judah are: 1. That they acknowledge their wickedness. Confession of sin is the beginning of return to God; and in case of

such return, the Lord, by His compassion, has vouchsafed to His people forgiveness and the renewal of covenant blessings; cf. Lev. xxvi. 41 ff., Dent. xxx. 2 ff. Along with their own evil doing, the transgression of their fathers is mentioned, cf. ii. 5 ff., vii. 25 ff., that full confession may be made of the entire weight of wickedness for which Israel has made itself answerable. So that, on its own account, Judah has no claim upon the help of its God. But the Lord may be moved thereto by regard for His name and the covenant relation. On this is founded the prayer of ver. 21: Abhor not, *sc.* thy people, for Thy name's sake, lest Thou appear powerless to help in the eyes of the nations; see on ver. 7 and on Num. xiv. 16. נָבַל, lit. to treat as fools, see on Dent. xxxii. 15, here: make contemptible. The throne of the glory of God is the temple, where Jahveh sits enthroned over the ark of the covenant in the holy of holies, Ex. xxv. 22, etc. The destruction of Jerusalem would, by the sack of the temple, dishonour the throne of the Lord. The object to "remember," viz. "Thy covenant," comes after "break not." The remembering or rememberedness of the covenant is shown in the not breaking maintenance of the same; cf. Lev. xxvi. 44 f. Lastly, we have in ver. 22 the final motive for supplication: that the Lord alone can put an end to trouble. Neither the vain gods of the heathen (הַבְּלִיִּם, see viii. 19) can procure rain, nor can the heaven, as one of the powers of nature, without power from God. אַתָּה הוּא, Thou art (הוּא is the *copula* between subject and predicate). Thou hast made all these. Not: the heaven and the earth, as Hitz. and Gr. would make it, after Isa. xxxvii. 16; still less is it, with Calv.: the punishment inflicted on us; but, as אֵלֶּה demands, the things mentioned immediately before: *cælum, pluvias et quidquid est in omni rerum natura*, Ros. Only when thus taken, does the clause contain any motive for: we wait upon Thee, *i.e.* expect from Thee help out of our trouble. It further clearly appears from this verse that the supplication was called forth by the calamity depicted in vers. 2-5.

Chap. xv. 1-9. *Decisive refusal of the petition.*—Ver. 1. Even Moses and Samuel, who stood so far in God's favour that by their supplications they repeatedly rescued their people from overwhelming ruin (cf. Ex. xvii. 11, xxxii. 11 f., Num. xiv. 13 ff.,

and 1 Sam. vii. 9 f., xii. 17 f., Ps. xcix. 6), if they were to come now before the Lord, would not incline His love towards this people. לִפְנֵי indicates the direction of the soul towards any one; in this connection: the inclination of it towards the people. He has cast off this people and will no longer let them come before His face. In vers. 2-9 this is set forth with terrible earnestness. We must supply the object, "this people," to "drive" from the preceding clause. "From my face" implies the people's standing before the Lord in the temple, where they had appeared bringing sacrifices, and by prayer invoking His help (xiv. 12). To go forth from the temple = to go forth from God's face. Ver. 2. But in case they ask where they are to go to, Jeremiah is to give them the sarcastic direction: Each to the destruction allotted to him. He that is appointed to death, shall go forth to death, etc. The clauses: such as are for death, etc., are to be filled up after the analogy of 2 Sam. xv. 20, 2 Kings viii. 1, so that before the second "death," "sword," etc., we supply the verb "shall go." There are mentioned four kinds of punishments that are to befall the people. The "death" mentioned over and above the sword is death by disease, for which we have in xiv. 12 דִּבְרָר , pestilence, disease; cf. xliii. 11, where death, captivity, and sword are mentioned together, with Ezek. xiv. 21, sword, famine, wild beasts, and disease (דִּבְרָר), and xxxiii. 27, sword, wild beasts, and disease. This doom is made more terrible in ver. 3. The Lord will appoint over them ($\text{פָּקַד$ as in xiii. 21) four kinds, *i.e.* four different destructive powers which shall prepare a miserable end for them. One is the sword already mentioned in ver. 2, which slays them; the three others are to execute judgment on the dead: the dogs which shall tear, mutilate, and partly devour the dead bodies (cf. 2 Kings ix. 35, 37), and birds and beasts of prey, vultures, jackals, and others, which shall make an end of such portions as are left by the dogs. In ver. 4 the whole is summed up in the threatening of Deut. xxviii. 25, that the people shall be delivered over to be abused to all the kingdoms of the earth, and the cause of this terrible judgment is mentioned. The *Chet.* $\text{וְזָעָה$ is not to be read וְזָעָה , but $\text{וְזָעָה$, and is the contracted form from וְזָעָה , see on Deut. xxviii. 25, from the *ad.* וְזָעָה , lit. tossing hither and thither, hence for maltreatment.

For the sake of King Manasseh, who by his godless courses had filled up the measure of the people's sins, so that the Lord must cast Judah away from His face, and give it up to the heathen to be chastised; cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, with the exposition of these passages; and as to what Manasseh did, see 2 Kings xxi. 1-16.

In vers. 5-9 we have a still further account of this appalling judgment and its causes. The grounding כִּי in ver. 5 attaches to the central thought of ver. 4. The sinful people will be given up to all the kingdoms of the earth to be ill used, for no one will or can have compassion on Jerusalem, since its rejection by God is a just punishment for its rejection of the Lord (ver. 6). "Have pity" and "bemoan" denote loving sympathy for the fall of the unfortunate. הָמַל, to feel sympathy; נָדַד, to lament and bemoan. סָוָה, to swerve from the straight way, and turn aside or enter into any one's house; cf. Gen. xix. 2 f., Ex. iii. 3, etc. שָׁאַל לְשָׁלוֹם, to inquire of one as to his health, cf. Ex. xviii. 7; then: to salute one, to desire שָׁלוֹם לָהּ, Gen. xliii. 27, Judg. xviii. 15, and often. Not only will none show sympathy for Jerusalem, none will even ask how it goes with her welfare.—Ver. 6. The reason of this treatment: because Jerusalem has dishonoured and rejected its God, therefore He now stretches out His hand to destroy it. To go backwards, instead of following the Lord, cf. vii. 24. This determination the Lord will not change, for He is weary of repenting. הִנָּחֵם frequently of the withdrawal, in grace and pity, of a divine decree to punish, cf. iv. 28, Gen. vi. 6 f., Joel ii. 14, etc.—Ver. 7. וְאַחֲרָם is a continuation of וְאַחֲרָם, ver. 6, and, like the latter, is to be understood prophetically of what God has irrevocably determined to do. It is not a description of what is past, an allusion to the battle lost at Megiddo, as Hitz., carrying out his *à priori* system of slighting prophecy, supposes. To take the verbs of this verse as proper preterites, as J. D. Mich. and Ew. also do, is not in keeping with the contents of the clauses. In the first clause Ew. and Gr. translate שַׁעְרֵי הָאָרֶץ gates, *i.e.* exits, boundaries of the earth, and thereby understand the remotest lands of the earth, the four corners or extremities of the earth, Isa. xi. 12 (Ew.). But "gates" cannot be looked on as corners or extremities, nor are they ends or borders, but the inlets and

outlets of cities. For how can a man construe to himself the ends of the earth as the outlets of it? where could one go to from there? Hence it is impossible to take אֶרֶץ of the earth in this case; it is the land of Judah. The gates of the land are either mentioned by synecdoche for the cities, cf. Mic. v. 5, or are the approaches to the land (cf. Nah. iii. 13), its outlets and inlets. Here the context demands the latter sense. זָרָה, to fan, *c. q. loci*, to scatter into a place, cf. Ezek. xii. 15, xxx. 26: fan into the outlets of the land, *i.e.* cast out of the land. שָׁבַל, make the people childless, by the fall in battle of the sons, the young men, cf. Ezek. v. 17. The threat is intensified by אֶבְרָתִי, added as asyndeton. The last clause: from their ways, etc., subjoins the reason.—Ver. 8. By the death of the sons, the women lose their husbands, and become widows. לִי is the dative of sympathetic interest. “Sand of the sea” is the figure for a countless number. יָמִים is poetic plural; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 27, Job vi. 3. On these defenceless women come suddenly spoilers, and these mothers who had perhaps borne seven sons give up the ghost and perish without succour, because their sons have fallen in war. Thus proceeds the portrayal as Hitz. has well exhibited it. אֵם בָּחֹרֶת is variously interpreted. We must reject the view taken by Ch. B. Mich. from the Syr. and Arab. versions: upon mother and young man; as also the view of Rashi, Cler., Eichh., Dahl., etc., that אֵם means the mother-city, *i.e.* Jerusalem. The true rendering is that of Jerome and Kimchi, who have been followed by J. D. Mich., Hitz., Ew., Graf, and Näg.: upon the mother of the youth or young warrior. This view is favoured by the correspondence of the woman mentioned in ver. 9 who had borne seven sons. Both are individualized as women of full bodily vigour, to lend vividness to the thought that no age and no sex will escape destruction. בִּצְהָרִים, at clear noontide, when one least looks for an attack. Thus the word corresponds with the “suddenly” of the next clause. עֵיר, Aramaic form for צִיר, Isa. xiii. 8, pangs. The bearer of seven, *i.e.* the mother of many sons. Seven as the perfect number of children given in blessing by God, cf. 1 Sam. ii. 5, Ruth iv. 15. “She breathes out her life,” cf. Job xxxi. 39. Graf wrongly: she sighs. The sun of her life sets (בָּרָחָה) while it is still day, before the evening of her life has been reached, cf. Am. viii. 9.

"Is put to shame and confounded" is not to be referred to the son, but the mother, who, bereaved of her children, goes covered with shame to the grave. The *Keri* נָפַץ for נִפְצָה is an unnecessary change, since שִׁפְצָה is also construed as fem., Gen. xv. 17. The description closes with a glance cast on those left in life after the overthrow of Jerusalem. These are to be given to the sword when in flight before their enemies, cf. Mic. vi. 14.

Vers. 10-21. COMPLAINT OF THE PROPHET, AND SOOTHING ANSWER OF THE LORD.—His sorrow at the rejection by God of his petition so overcomes the prophet, that he gives utterance to the wish: he had rather not have been born than live on in the calling in which he must ever foretell misery and ruin to his people, thereby provoking hatred and attacks, while his heart is like to break for grief and fellow-feeling; whereupon the Lord reprovingly replies as in vers. 11-14.

Ver. 10. "Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast born me, a man of strife and contention to all the earth! I have not lent out, nor have men lent to me; all curse me. Ver. 11. Jahveh saith, Verily I strengthen thee to thy good; verily I cause the enemy to entreat thee in the time of evil and of trouble. Ver. 12. Does iron break, iron from the north and brass? Ver. 13. Thy substance and thy treasures give I for a prey without a price, and that for all thy sins, and in all thy borders, Ver. 14. And cause thine enemies bring it into a land which thou knowest not; for fire burneth in mine anger, against you it is kindled."

Woe is me, exclaims Jeremiah in ver. 10, that my mother brought me forth! The apostrophe to his mother is significant of the depth of his sorrow, and is not to be understood as if he were casting any reproach on his mother; it is an appeal to his mother to share with him his sorrow at his lot. This lament is consequently very different from Job's cursing of the day of his birth, Job iii. 1. The apposition to the suffix "me," the man of strife and contention, conveys the meaning of the lament in this wise: me, who must yet be a man, with whom the whole world strives and contends. Ew. wrongly renders it: "to be a man of strife," etc.; for it was not his mother's fault that he became such an one. The second clause intimates that he has

not provoked the strife and contention. נָשָׂה, lend, *i.e.* give on loan, and with לָ, to lend to a person, lend out; hence נִשְׂה, debtor, and נוֹשֶׂה בוֹ, creditor, Isa. xxiv. 2. These words are not an individualizing of the thought: all interchange of friendly services between me and human society is broken off (Hitz.). For intercourse with one's fellow-men does not chiefly, or in the foremost place, consist in lending and borrowing of gold and other articles. Borrowing and lending is rather the frequent occasion of strife and ill-will;¹ and it is in this reference that it is here brought up. Jeremiah says he has neither as bad debtor or disobliging creditor given occasion to hatred and quarrelling, and yet all curse him. This is the meaning of the last words, in which the form מְקַלְלִי is hard to explain. The rabbinical attempts to clear it up by means of a commingling of the verbs קָלַל and קָלָה are now, and reasonably, given up. Ew. (*Gram.* § 350, c) wants to make it מְקַלְלִי; but probably the form has arisen merely out of the wrong dividing of a word, and ought to be read בְּלִיָּהֶם קָלְלִי. So read most recent scholars, after the example of J. D. Mich.; cf. also Böttcher, *Grammat.* ii. S. 322, note. It is true that we nowhere else find בְּלִיָּהֶם; but we find an analogy in the archaic בְּלִיָּהֶם. In its favour we have, besides, the circumstance, that the heavy form הֶם is by preference appended to short words; see Böttcher, as above, S. 21.—To this complaint the Lord makes answer in vers. 11-14, first giving the prophet the prospect of complete vindication against those that oppose him (ver. 11), and then (vers. 12-14) pointing to the circumstances that shall compel the people to this result. The introduction of God's answer by אָמַר יְהוָה without בֹּה is found also in xlv. 25, where Graf erroneously seeks to join the formula with what precedes. In the present 11th verse the want of the בֹּה is the less felt, since the word from the Lord that follows bears in the first place upon the prophet himself, and is not addressed to the people. אִם לֹא is a particle of asseveration, introducing the answer which follows with a solemn assurance. The vowel-points of אֲשֶׁר־יִתֶּן require אֲשֶׁר־יִתֶּן, 1 *pers. perf.*, from שָׁרָה = the Aram. שָׂרָא, loose, solve (Dan. v. 12): I loose (free) thee to thy good. The *Chet.*

¹ Calvin aptly remarks: *Unde enim inter homines et lites et jurgia, nisi quia male inter ipsos convenit, dum ultro et citro negotiantur?*

is variously read and rendered. By reason of the preceding **לֹא**, the view is improbable that we have here an infinitive; either **שָׁרוּתְךָ**, *inf. Pi.* of **שָׁרַר** in the sig. inflict suffering: "thy affliction becomes welfare" (Hitz.); or **שָׁרוּתְךָ**, *inf. Kal* of **שָׁרָה**, set free: thy release falls out to thy good (Ros., etc.). The context suggests the 1 *pers. perf.* of **שָׁרַר**, against which the defective written form is no argument, since this occurs frequently elsewhere, e.g. **עָנִיתִי**, Nah. i. 12. The question remains: whether we are to take **שָׁרַר** according to the Hebrew usage: I afflict thee to thy good, harass thee to thine advantage (Gesen. in the *thes.* p. 1482, and Näg.), or according to the Aramaic (**ܫܪܐ**) in the sig. *firmabo, stabiliam*: I strengthen thee or support thee to thy good (Ew., Maur.). We prefer the latter rendering, because the saying: I afflict thee, is not true of God; since the prophet's troubles came not from God, nor is Jeremiah complaining of affliction at the hand of God, but only that he was treated as an enemy by all the world. **לְטוֹב**, for good, as in Ps. cxix. 122, so that it shall fall out well for thee, lead to a happy issue, for which we have elsewhere **לְטוֹבָה**, xiv. 11, Ps. lxxxvi. 17, Neh. v. 19.—This happy issue is disclosed in the second clause: I bring it about that the enemy shall in time of trouble turn himself in supplication to thee, because he shall recognise in the prophet's prayers the only way of safety; cf. the fulfilment of this promise, xxi. 1 f., xxxvii. 3, xxxviii. 14 ff., xlii. 2. **הַפְּנִיעַ**, here causative, elsewhere only with the sig. of the *Kal*, e.g. xxxvi. 25, Isa. liii. 12. "The enemy," in unlimited generality: each of thine adversaries. That the case will turn out so is intimated by vers. 12–14, the exposition of which is, however, difficult and much debated. Ver. 12 is rendered either: can iron (ordinary iron) break northern iron and brass (the first "iron" being taken as subject, the second as object)? or: can one break iron, (namely) iron of the north, and brass ("iron" being taken both times as object, and "break" having its subject indefinite)? or: can iron . . . break (**יִרֹעַ** intrans. as in xi. 16)? Of these three translations the first has little probability, inasmuch as the simile of one kind of iron breaking another is unnatural. But Hitz.'s view is wholly unnatural: that the first "iron" and "brass" are the object, and that "iron

from the north" is subject, standing as it does between the two objects, as in Cant. v. 6, where, however, the construction alleged is still very doubtful. Nor does the sense, which would in this way be expressed, go far to commend this rendering. By iron and brass we would then have to understand, according to vi. 28, the stiff-necked Jewish people; and by iron from the north, the calamity that was to come from the north. Thus the sense would be: will this calamity break the sullen obstinacy of the prophet's enemies? will it make them pliable? The verse would thus contain an objection on the part of the prophet against the concession vouchsafed by God in ver. 11. With this idea, however, vers. 11-14 are emphatically not in harmony. The other two translations take each a different view of the sense. The one party understand by iron and brass the prophet; the other, either the Jewish people or the northern might of the Chaldean empire. Holding that the prophet is so symbolized, L. de Dieu and Umbr. give the sense thus: "Let him but bethink him of his immoveable firmness against the onsets of the world; in spite of all, he is iron, northern iron and brass, that cannot be broken." Thus God would here be speaking to the prophet. Dahl., again, holds the verse to be spoken by the prophet, and gives the sense: Can I, a frail and feeble man, break the determination of a numerous and stiff-necked nation? Against the latter view the objection already alleged against Hitz. is decisive, showing as it did that the verse cannot be the prophet's speech or complaint; against the former, the improbability that God would call the prophet iron, northern iron and brass, when the very complaint he was making showed how little of the firmness of iron he had about him. If by the northern iron we understand the Jewish people, then God would here say to the prophet, that he should always contend in vain against the stiff-neckedness of the people (Eichh.). This would have been but small comfort for him. But the appellation of northern iron does not at all fit the Jewish people. For the observation that the hardest iron, the steel made by the Chalybes in Pontus, was imported from the north, does not serve the turn; since a distinction between ordinary iron and very hard iron nowhere else appears in the Old Testament. The attribute "from the north" points

manifestly to the iron sway of the Chaldean empire (Ros., Ew., Maur., and many others); and the meaning of the verse can only be this: As little as a man can break iron, will the Jewish people be able to break the hostile power of the north (xiii. 20). Taken thus, the pictorial style of the verse contains a suggestion that the adversaries of the prophet will, by the crushing power of the Chaldeans, be reduced to the condition of turning themselves in supplication to the prophet.—With this vers. 13 and 14 are thus connected: This time of evil and tribulation (ver. 10) will not last long. Their enemies will carry off the people's substance and treasures as their booty into a strange land. These verses are to be taken, with Umbr., as a declaration from the mouth of the Lord to His guilt-burdened people. This appears from the contents of the verses. The immediate transition from the address to the prophet to that to the people is to be explained by the fact, that both the prophet's complaint, ver. 10, and God's answer, vers. 11–13, have a full bearing on the people; the prophet's complaint at the attacks on the part of the people serving to force them to a sense of their obstinacy against the Lord, and God's answer to the complaint, that the prophet's announcement will come true, and that he will then be justified, serving to crush their sullen doggedness. The connection of thought in vers. 13 and 14 is thus: The people that so assaults thee, by reason of thy threatening judgment, will not break the iron might of the Chaldeans, but will by them be overwhelmed. It will come about as thou hast declared to them in my name; their substance and their treasures will I give as booty to the Chaldeans. $\text{לֹא בְמַחִיר} = \text{בְּלֹא מַחִיר}$, Isa. lv. 1, not for purchase-money, *i.e.* freely. As God sells His people for nought, *i.e.* gives them up to their enemies (cf. Isa. lii. 3, Ps. xlv. 13), so here He threatens to deliver up their treasures to the enemy as a booty, and for nought. When Graf says that this last thought has no sufficient meaning, his reasons therefor do not appear. Nor is there anything "peculiar," or such as could throw suspicion on the passage, in the juxtaposition of the two qualifying phrases: and that for all thy sins, and in all thy borders. The latter phrase bears unmistakeably on the treasures, not on the sins. "Cause . . . to bring it," *lit.* I cause them (the treasures)

to pass with thine enemies into a land which thou knowest not, *i.e.* I cause the enemies to bring them, etc. Hitz. and Graf erroneously: I carry thine enemies away into a land; which affords no suitable sense. The grounding clause: for hire, etc., is taken from Deut. xxxii. 22, to show that that threatening of judgment contained in Moses' song is about to come upon degenerate Judah. "Against you it is kindled" apply the words to Jeremiah's contemporaries.¹

Vers. 15-18. *Jeremiah continues his complaint.*—Ver. 15. "Thou knowest it, Jahveh; remember me, and visit me, and revenge me on my persecutors! Do not, in Thy long-suffering, take me away; know that for Thy sake I bear reproach. Ver. 16. Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and Thy words were to me a delight and the joy of my heart: for Thy name was named upon me, Jahveh, God of hosts. Ver. 17. I sat not in the assembly of the laughers, nor was merry; because of Thy hand I sat solitary; for with indignation Thou hast filled me. Ver. 18. Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound malignant? will not heal. Wilt Thou really be to me as a deceiving brook, a water that doth not endure?"

The Lord's answer, vers. 11-14, has not yet restored tranquillity to the prophet's mind; since in it his vindication by

¹ Vers. 11-14 are pronounced spurious by Hitz., Graf, and Näg., on the ground that vers. 13 and 14 are a mere quotation, corrupted in the text, from xvii. 3, 4, and that all the three verses destroy the connection, containing an address to the people that does not at all fit into the context. But the interruption of the continuity could at most prove that the verses had got into a wrong place, as is supposed by Ew., who transposes them, and puts them next to ver. 9. But for this change in place there are no sufficient grounds, since, as our exposition of them shows, the verses in question can be very well understood in the place which they at present occupy. The other allegation, that vers. 13 and 14 are a quotation, corrupted in text, from xvii. 3, 4, is totally without proof. In xvii. 3, 4 we have simply the central thoughts of the present passage repeated, but modified to suit their new context, after the manner characteristic of Jeremiah. The genuineness of the verses is supported by the testimony of the LXX., which has them here, while it omits them in xvii. 3, 4; and by the fact, that it is inconceivable they should have been interpolated as a gloss in a wholly unsuitable place. For those who impugn the genuineness have not even made the attempt to show the possibility or probability of such a gloss arising.

means of the abasement of his adversaries had been kept at an indefinite distance. And so he now, ver. 15, prays the Lord to revenge him on his adversaries, and not to let him perish, since for His sake he bears reproach. The object to "Thou knowest, Lord," appears from the context,—namely: "the attacks which I endure," or more generally: Thou knowest my case, my distress. At the same time he clearly means the harassment detailed in ver. 10, so that "Thou knowest" is, as to its sense, directly connected with ver. 10. But it by no means follows from this that vers. 11–14 are not original; only that Jeremiah did not feel his anxiety put at rest by the divine answer conveyed in these verses. In the climax: Remember me, visit me, *i.e.* turn Thy care on me, and revenge me, we have the utterance of the importunity of his prayer, and therein, too, the extremity of his distress. According to Thy long-suffering, *i.e.* the long-suffering Thou showest towards my persecutors, take me not away, *i.e.* do not deliver me up to final ruin. This prayer he supports by the reminder, that for the Lord's sake he bears reproach; cf. Ps. lxxix. 8. Further, the imperative: know, recognise, bethink thee of, is the utterance of urgent prayer. In ver. 16 he exhibits how he suffers for the Lord's sake. The words of the Lord which came to him he has received with eagerness, as it had been the choicest dainties. "Thy words were found" intimates that he had come into possession of them as something actual, without particularizing how they were revealed. With the figurative expression: I ate them, cf. the symbolical embodiment of the figure, Ezek. ii. 9, iii. 3, Apoc. x. 9 f. The *Keri* כִּרִּי is an uncalled for correction, suggested by the preceding כִּי, and the *Chet.* is perfectly correct. Thy words turned out to me a joy and delight, because Thy name was named upon me, *i.e.* because Thou hast revealed Thyself to me, hast chosen me to be the proclaimer of Thy word.—Ver. 17. To this calling he has devoted his whole life: has not sat in the assembly of the laughers, nor made merry with them; but sat alone, *i.e.* avoided all cheerful company. Because of Thy hand, *i.e.* because Thy hand had laid hold on me. The hand of Jahveh is the divine power which took possession of the prophets, transported their spirit to the ecstatic domain of inner vision, and impelled to prophesy; cf. xx. 7, Isa. viii. 11, Ezek. i. 3, etc.

Alone I sat, because Thou hast filled me with indignation. **עַם** is the wrath of God against the moral corruptness and infatuation of Judah, with which the Spirit of God has filled Jeremiah in order that he may publish it abroad, cf. vi. 11. The sadness of what he had to publish filled his heart with the deepest grief, and constrained him to keep far from all cheery good fellowship.—Ver. 18. Why is my pain become perpetual? “My pain” is the pain or grief he feels at the judgment he has to announce to the people; not his pain at the hostility he has on that account to endure. **נָצַח** adverbial = **לְנֶצַח**, as in Am. i. 11, Ps. xiii. 2, etc. “My wound,” the blow that has fallen on him. **אֲנִישָׁה**, malignant, is explained by “(that) will not heal,” cf. xxx. 12, Mic. i. 9. The clause **הֲיִי תְהִיָּה וְנִי** still depends on **לִפְנֵי**, and the infin. gives emphasis: Wilt Thou really be? **אֶבְיָר**, lit. lying, deception, means here, and in Mic. i. 16, a deceptive torrent that dries up in the season of drought, and so disappoints the hope of finding water, cf. Job vi. 15 ff. “A water,” etc., is epexegetis: water that doth not endure. To this the Lord answers—

Vers. 19-21. *By reprimanding his impatience, and by again assuring him of His protection and of rescue from the power of his oppressors.*—Ver. 19. “Therefore thus saith Jahveh: If thou return, then will I bring thee again to serve me; and if thou separate the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth. They will return to thee, but thou shalt not return unto them. Ver. 20. And I make thee unto this people a strong wall of brass, so that they fight against thee, but prevail not against thee; for I am with thee, to help thee and to save thee, saith Jahveh. Ver. 21. And I save thee out of the hand of the wicked, and deliver thee out of the clutch of the violent.”

In the words: if thou return, lies the reproach that in his complaint, in which his indignation had hurried him on to doubt God's faithfulness, Jeremiah had sinned and must repent. **אֲנִישָׁה** is by many commentators taken adverbially and joined with the following words: then will I again cause thee to stand before me. But this adverbial use has been proved only for the Kal of **שָׁב**, not for the Hiphil, which must here be taken by itself: then will I bring thee again, *sc.* into proper relations with me—namely, to stand before me, *i.e.* to be my servant. **עָמַד**

לְפָנַי, of the standing of the servant before his lord, to receive his commands, and so also of prophets, cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 15, 2 Kings iii. 14, etc. In the words: if thou make to go forth, *i.e.* separate the precious from the vile, we have the figure of metal-refining, in course of which the pure metal is by fusion parted from the earthy and other ingredients mixed with it. The meaning of the figure is, however, variously understood. Some think here, unfittingly, of good and bad men; so Chald. and Rashi: if thou cause the good to come forth of the bad, turn the good into bad; or, if out of the evil mass thou cause to come forth at least a few as good, *i.e.* if thou convert them (Ch. B. Mich., Ros., etc.). For we cannot here have to do with the issue of his labours, as Graf well remarks, since this did not lie in his own power. Just as little is the case one of contrast between God's word and man's word, the view adopted by Ven., Eichh., Dahl., Hitz., Ew. The idea that Jeremiah presented man's word for God's word, or God's word mixed with spurious, human additions, is utterly foreign to the context; nay, rather it was just because he declared only what God imposed on him that he was so hard bested. Further, that idea is wholly inconsistent with the nature of true prophecy. Maurer has hit upon the truth: *si quæ pretiosa in te sunt, admixtis liberaveris sordibus, si virtutes quas habes maculis liberaveris impatientiæ et iracundiæ*; with whom Graf agrees. עָפָה (with the so-called פָּ *verit.*), as my mouth shalt thou be, *i.e.* as the instrument by which I speak, cf. Ex. iv. 16. Then shall his labours be crowned with success. They (the adversaries) will turn themselves to thee, in the manner shown in ver. 11, but thou shalt not turn thyself to them, *i.e.* not yield to their wishes or permit thyself to be moved by them from the right way. Ver. 20 f. After this reprimand, the Lord renews to him the promise of His most active support, such as He had promised him at his call, i. 18 f.; "to save thee" being amplified in ver. 21.

Chap. xvi. 1–xvii. 4. THE COURSE TO BE PURSUED BY THE PROPHET IN REFERENCE TO THE APPROACHING OVERTHROW OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH.—The ruin of Jerusalem and of Judah will inevitably come. This the prophet must

proclaim by word and deed. To this end he is shown in xvi. 1-9 what relation he is to maintain towards the people, now grown ripe for judgment, and next in vers. 10-15 he is told the cause of this terrible judgment; then comes an account of its fulfilment (vers. 16-21); then again, finally, we have the cause of it explained once more (xvii. 1-4).

Vers. 1-9. *The course to be pursued by the prophet with reference to the approaching judgment.*—Ver. 1. “And the word of Jahveh came to me, saying: Ver. 2. Thou shalt not take thee a wife, neither shalt thou have sons or daughters in this place. Ver. 3. For thus hath Jahveh said concerning the sons and the daughters that are born in this place, and concerning their mothers that bear them, and concerning their fathers that beget them in this land: Ver. 4. By deadly suffering shall they die, be neither lamented or buried; dung upon the field shall they become; and by sword and by famine shall they be consumed, and their carcases shall be meat for the fowls of the heavens and the beasts of the field. Ver. 5. For thus hath Jahveh said: Come not into the house of mourning, and go not to lament, and bemoan them not; for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith Jahveh, grace and mercies. Ver. 6. And great and small shall die in this land, not be buried; they shall not lament them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them. Ver. 7. And they shall not break bread for them in their mourning, to comfort one for the dead; nor shall they give to any the cup of comfort for his father and his mother. Ver. 8. And into the house of feasting go not, to sit by them, to eat and to drink. Ver. 9. For thus hath spoken Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I cause to cease out of this place before your eyes, and in your days, the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride.”

What the prophet is here bidden to do and to forbear is closely bound up with the proclamation enjoined on him of judgment to come on sinful Judah. This connection is brought prominently forward in the reasons given for these commands. He is neither to take a wife nor to beget children, because all the inhabitants of the land, sons and daughters, mothers and fathers, are to perish by sickness, the sword, and famine (vers.

3 and 4). He is both to abstain from the customary usages of mourning for the dead, and to keep away from mirthful feasts, in order to give the people to understand that, by reason of the multitude of the dead, customary mourning will have to be given up, and that all opportunity for merry-making will disappear (vers. 5-9). Adapting thus his actions to help to convey his message, he will approve himself to be the mouth of the Lord, and then the promised divine protection will not fail. Thus closely is this passage connected with the preceding complaint and reproof of the prophet (xv. 10-21), while it at the same time further continues the threatening of judgment in xv. 1-9.—With the prohibition to take a wife, cf. the apostle's counsel, 1 Cor. vii. 26. "This place" alternates with "this land," and so must not be limited to Jerusalem, but bears on Judah at large. יְלָדִים, *adject. verbale*, as in Ex. i. 32. The form מְמוֹתֵי is found, besides here, only in Ezek. xxviii. 8, where it takes the place of מוֹתֵי, ver. 10. מְמוֹתֵי תַחֲלָאִים, lit. deaths of sicknesses or sufferings, *i.e.* deaths by all kinds of sufferings, since תַחֲלָאִים is not to be confined to disease, but in xiv. 18 is used of pining away by famine. With "they shall not be lamented," cf. xxv. 33, viii. 2, xiv. 16, vii. 33.—Ver. 5 ff. The command not to go into a house of mourning (בֵּית אֵבֶל, loud crying, cry of lament for one dead, see on Am. vi. 7), not to show sympathy with the survivors, is explained by the Lord in the fearfully solemn saying: I withdraw from this people my peace, grace, and mercy. שָׁלוֹם is not "the inviolateness of the relation between me and my people" (Graf), but the peace of God which rested on Judah, the source of its well-being, of its life and prosperity, and which showed itself to the sinful race in the extension to them of grace and mercy. The consequence of the withdrawal of this peace is the death of great and small in such multitudes that they can neither be buried nor mourned for (ver. 6). הִתְחַנֵּף, cut one's self, is used in Deut. xiv. 1 for נָתַן שְׂרָט, to make cuts in the body, Lev. xix. 28; and קָרַח, *Niph.*, to crop one's self bald, acc. to Deut. xiv. 1, to shave a bare place on the front part of the head above the eyes. These are two modes of expressing passionate mourning for the dead which were forbidden to the Israelites in the law, yet which remained in use among the people, see on Lev. xix.

28 and Deut. xiv. 1. לָהֶם, for them, in honour of the dead. —Ver. 7. פָּרַם, as in Isa. lviii. 7, for פָּרַשׁ, Lam. iv. 4, break, *sc.* the bread (cf. Isa. *l.c.*) for mourning, and to give to drink the cup of comfort, does not refer to the meals which were held in the house of mourning upon occasion of a death after the interment, for this custom cannot be proved of the Israelites in Old Testament times, and is not strictly demanded by the words of the verse. To break bread to any one does not mean to hold a feast with him, but to bestow a gift of bread upon him; cf. Isa. lviii. 7. Correspondingly, to give to drink, does not here mean to drink to one's health at a feast, but only to present with wine to drink. The words refer to the custom of sending bread and wine for refreshment into the house of the surviving relatives of one dead, to comfort them in their sorrow; cf. 2 Sam. iii. 35, xii. 16 ff., and the remarks on Ezek. xxiv. 17. The singular suffixes on לִנְחָמוֹ, אֲבִי, and אִמִּי, alongside of the plurals לָהֶם and אוֹתָם, are to be taken distributively of every one who is to be comforted upon occasion of a death in his house; and לָהֶם is not to be changed, as by J. D. Mich. and Hitz., into לָחֶם.—Ver. 8 f. The prophet is to withdraw from all participation in mirthful meals and feasts, in token that God will take away all joy from the people. בֵּית-מִשְׁתֶּה, house in which a feast is given. אוֹתָם, for אֵתָם, refers, taken *ad sensum*, to the others who take part in the feast. On ver. 9, cf. vii. 34.

Vers. 10-15. "And when thou showest this people all these things, and they say unto thee, Wherefore hath Jahveh pronounced all this great evil against us, and what is our transgression, and what our sin that we have committed against Jahveh our God? Ver. 11. Then say thou to them, Because your fathers have forsaken me, saith Jahveh, and have walked after other gods, and served them, and worshipped them, and have forsaken me, and not kept my law; Ver. 12. And ye did yet worse than your fathers; and behold, ye walk each after the stubbornness of his evil heart, hearkening not unto me. Ver. 13. Therefore I cast you out of this land into the land which ye know not, neither ye nor your fathers, and there may ye serve other gods day and night, because I will show you no favour. Ver. 14. Therefore, behold, the days come, saith Jahveh, that it shall no more be said, By the life of Jahveh,

that brought up the sons of Israel out of the land of Egypt, Ver. 15. But, By the life of Jahveh, that brought the sons of Israel out of the land of the north, and out of all the lands whither I had driven them, and I bring them again into their land that I gave to their fathers."

The turn of the discourse in vers. 10 and 11 is like that in v. 19. With ver. 11 cf. xi. 8, 10, vii. 24; with "ye did yet worse," etc., cf. 1 Kings xiv. 9; and on "after the stubbornness," cf. on iii. 17. The apodosis begins with "therefore I cast you out." On this head cf. vii. 15, ix. 15, and xxii. 26. The article in עַל־הָאָרֶץ, Graf quite unnecessarily insists on having cancelled, as out of place. It is explained sufficiently by the fact, that the land, of which mention has so often been made, is looked on as a specific one, and is characterized by the following relative clause, as one unknown to the people. Besides, the "ye know not" is not meant of geographical ignorance, but, as is often the case with יָדָע, the knowledge is that obtained by direct experience. They know not the land, because they have never been there. "There ye may serve them," Ros. justly characterizes as *concessio cum ironia*: there ye may serve, as long as ye will, the gods whom ye have so longed after. The irony is especially marked in the "day and night." Here Jeremiah has in mind Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64. וְיָדַעְתֶּם is causal, giving the grounds of the threat, "I cast you out." The form הַיָּמִים is ἀπ. λεγ.—In vers. 14 and 15 the prophet opens to the people a view of ultimate redemption from the affliction amidst the heathen, into which, for their sin, they will be cast. By and by men will swear no more by Jahveh who redeemed them out of Egypt, but by Jahveh who has brought them again from the land of the north and the other lands into which they have been thrust forth. In this is implied that this second deliverance will be a blessing which shall outshine the former blessing of redemption from Egypt. But just as this deliverance will excel the earlier one, so much the greater will the affliction of Israel in the northern land be than the Egyptian bondage had been. On this point Ros. throws especial weight, remarking that the aim of these verses is not so much to give promise of coming salvation, as to announce *instare illis atrocius malum, quam illud Ægyptiacum, eamque quam mox sint subituri servitutem multo*

fore duriorem, quam olim Ægyptiaca fuerit. But though this idea does lie *implicite* in the words, yet we must not fail to be sure that the prospect held out of a future deliverance of Israel from the lands into which it is soon to be scattered, and of its restoration again to the land of its fathers, has, in the first and foremost place, a comforting import, and that it is intended to preserve the godly from despair under the catastrophe which is now awaiting them.¹ יִשְׁׁרָאֵל is not *nevertheless*, but, as universally, *therefore*; and the train of thought is as follows: Because the Lord will, for their idolatry, cast forth His people into the lands of the heathen, just for that very reason will their redemption from exile not fail to follow, and this deliverance surpass in gloriousness the greatest of all former deeds of blessing, the rescue of Israel from Egypt. The prospect of future redemption given amidst announcements of judgment cannot be surprising in Jeremiah, who elsewhere also interweaves the like happy forecastings with his most solemn threatenings; cf. iv. 27, v. 10, 18, with iii. 14 f., xxiii. 3 ff., etc. "This ray of light, falling suddenly into the darkness, does not take us more by surprise than 'I will not make a full end,' iv. 27. There is therefore no reason for regarding these two verses as interpolations from xxiii. 7, 8" (Graf).

Vers. 16-21. *Further account of the punishment foretold, with the reasons for the same.*—Ver. 16. "Behold, I send for many fishers, saith Jahveh, who shall fish them, and after will I send for many hunters, who shall hunt them from every mountain and every hill, and out of the clefts of the rock. Ver. 17. For mine eyes are upon all their ways, they are not hidden from me, neither is their iniquity concealed from mine eyes. Ver. 18. And first, I requite double their iniquity and their sin, because they defiled my land with the carcases of their detestables, and with their abominations they have filled mine inheritance.

¹ Calvin has excellently brought out both moments, and has thus expounded the thought of the passage: "Scitis unde patres vestri exierint, nempe e fornace ænea, quemadmodum alibi loquitur (xi. 4) et quasi ex profunda morte; itaque redemptio illa debuit esse memorabilis usque ad finem mundi. Sed jam Deus conciet vos in abyssum, quæ longe profundior erit illa Ægypti tyrannide, e qua erepti sunt patres vestri; nam si inde vos redimat, erit miraculum longe excellentius ad posteros, ut fere exstinguat vel saltem obscuret memoriam prioris illius redemptionis."

Ver. 19. Jahveh, my strength and my fortress, and my refuge in the day of trouble ! Unto Thee shall the peoples come from the ends of the earth and say : But lies have our fathers inherited, vanity, and amidst them none profiteth at all. Ver. 20. Shall a man make gods to himself, which are yet no gods ? Ver. 21. Therefore, behold, I make them to know this once, I make them to know my hand and my might, and they shall know that my name is Jahveh."

Vers. 16-18 are a continuation of the threatening in ver. 13, that Judah is to be cast out, but are directly connected with ver. 15*b*, and elucidate the expulsion into many lands there foretold. The figures of the fishers and hunters do not bespeak the gathering again and restoration of the scattered people, as Ven. would make out, but the carrying of Judah captive out of his land. This is clear from the second of the figures, for the hunter does not gather the animals together, but kills them ; and the reference of the verses is put beyond a doubt by vers. 17 and 18, and is consequently admitted by all other comm. The two figures signify various kinds of treatment at the hands of enemies. The fishers represent the enemies that gather the inhabitants of the land as in a net, and carry them wholesale into captivity (cf. Am. iv. 2, Hab. i. 15). The hunters, again, are those who drive out from their hiding-places, and slay or carry captive such as have escaped from the cities, and have taken refuge in the mountains and ravines ; cf. iv. 29, Judg. vi. 2, 1 Sam. xiii. 6. In this the idea is visibly set forth that none shall escape the enemy. שָׁלַח *c. הַ* *pers.*, send for one, cause him to come, as in xiv. 3 (send for water), so that there is no call to take הַ according to the Aram. usage as sign of the accusative, for which we can cite in Jeremiah only the case in xl. 2. The form חֲנִיִּים (*Chet.*) agrees with Ezek. xlvii. 10, while the *Keri*, חֲנִיִּים, is a formation similar to צִיִּים. In the second clause רַבִּים is, like the numerals, made to precede the noun ; cf. Prov. xxxi. 29, Ps. lxxxix. 51.—For the Lord knows their doings and dealings, and their transgressions are not hid from Him ; cf. xxiii. 24, xxxii. 19. אֵל for אֵלָּה, indicating the direction. Their ways are not the ways of flight, but their course of action.—Ver. 18. The punishment foretold is but retribution for their sins. Because they have defiled the land by

idolatry, they shall be driven out of it. ראשונה, first, is by Jerome, Hitz., Ew., Umbr. made to refer to the salvation promised in ver. 15: first, *i.e.* before the restoration of my favour spoken of in ver. 15, I requite double. Against this Graf has objected, that on this view "first" would appear somewhat superfluous; and Næg., that the manifestly intended antithesis to מְשֻׁנָּה is left out of account. There is little force in either objection. Even Næg.'s paraphrase does not do full justice to the presumed antithesis; for if we render: "For the first time the double shall be requited, in the event of repetition a severer standard shall be used," then the antithesis to "first" would not be "double," but the supplied repetition of the offence. There is not the slightest hint in the context to lead us to supply this idea; nor is there any antithesis between "first" and "double." It is a mere assumption of the comm., which Rashi, Kimchi, Ros., Maur., etc., have brought into the text by the interpolation of a ו *cop.* before מְשֻׁנָּה: I requite the first of their transgressions and the repetition of them, *i.e.* their earlier and their repeated sins, or the sins committed by their fathers and by themselves, on a greater scale. We therefore hold the reference to ver. 15 to be the only true one, and regard it as corresponding both to the words before us and the context. "The double of their iniquity," *i.e.* ample measure for their sins (cf. Isa. xl. 2, Job xi. 6) by way of the horrors of war and the sufferings of the exile. The sins are more exactly defined by: because they defiled my land by the carcasses of their detestables, *i.e.* their dead detestable idols. נִבְלָה שְׂקִינִים is formed according to פִּנְיָ, Lev. xxvi. 30, and it belongs to "they defiled," not to "they filled," as the Masoretic accentuation puts it; for מָלֵא is construed, not with לְ of the thing, but with double accus.; cf. Ezek. viii. 17, xxx. 11, etc. So it is construed in the last clause: With their abominations they have filled the inheritance of Jahveh, *i.e.* the land of the Lord (cf. ii. 7). The *infin.* מִלְלָם is continued by מְלֵא in *verbo fin.*, as usual.

In vers. 19-21 we have more as to the necessity of the threatened punishment. The prophet turns to the Lord as his defence and fortress in time of need, and utters the hope that even the heathen may some time turn to the Lord and confess the vanity of idolatry, since the gods which men make are no

gods. To this the Lord answers in ver. 21, that just therefore He must punish His idolatrous people, so that they shall feel His power and learn to know His name.—Ver. 19. In his cry to the Lord: My strength . . . in the day of trouble, which agrees closely with Ps. xxviii. 8, lix. 17, xviii. 3, Jeremiah utters not merely his own feelings, but those which should animate every member of his people. In the time of need the powerlessness of the idols to help, and so their vanity, becomes apparent. Trouble therefore drives to God, the Almighty Lord and Ruler of the world, and forces to bend under His power. The coming tribulation is to have this fruit not only in the case of the Israelites, but also in that of the heathen nations, so that they shall see the vanity of the idolatry they have inherited from their fathers, and be converted to the Lord, the only true God. How this knowledge is to be awakened in the heathen, Jeremiah does not disclose; but it may be gathered from ver. 15, from the deliverance of Israel, there announced, out of the heathen lands into which they had been cast forth. By this deliverance the heathen will be made aware both of the almighty power of the God of Israel and of the nothingness of their own gods. On לֹא יִתְּנוּ cf. ii. 5; and with “none that profiteth,” cf. ii. 8, xiv. 22. In ver. 20 the prophet confirms what the heathen have been saying. The question has a negative force, as is clear from the second clause. In ver. 21 we have the Lord’s answer to the prophet’s confession in ver. 19. Since the Jews are so blinded that they prefer vain idols to the living God, He will this time so show them His hand and His strength in that foretold chastisement, that they shall know His name, *i.e.* know that He alone is God in deed and in truth. Cf. Ezek. xii. 15, Ex. iii. 14.

Chap. xvii. 1–4. Judah’s sin is ineffaceably stamped upon the hearts of the people and on their altars. These four verses are closely connected with the preceding, and show why it is necessary that Judah be cast forth amidst the heathen, by reason of its being perfectly steeped in idolatry. Ver. 1. “The sin of Judah is written with an iron pen, with the point of a diamond graven on the table of their hearts and on the horns of your altars. Ver. 2. As they remember their children, so do they their altars and their Astartes by the green tree upon

the high hills. Ver. 3. My mountain in the field, thy substance, all thy treasures give I for a prey, thy high places for sin in all thy borders. Ver. 4. And thou shalt discontinue, and that of thine own self, from thine inheritance that I gave thee, and I cause thee to serve thine enemies in a land which thou knowest not; for a fire have ye kindled in mine anger, for ever it burneth."

The sin of Judah (ver. 1) is not their sinfulness, their proneness to sin, but their sinful practices, idolatry. This is written upon the tables of the hearts of them of Judah, *i.e.* stamped on them (cf. for this figure Prov. iii. 3, vii. 3), and that deep and firmly. This is intimated by the writing with an iron pen and graving with a diamond. צֶפֶן, from צָפַר, scratch, used in Dent. xxi. 12 for the nail of the finger, here of the point of the style or graving-iron, the diamond pencil which gravers use for carving in iron, steel, and stone.¹ נִשְׁפָּר, diamond, not emery as Boch. and Ros. supposed; cf. Ezek. iii. 9, Zech. vii. 12. The things last mentioned are so to be distributed that "on the table of their heart" shall belong to "written with a pen of iron," and "on the horns of their altars" to "with the point of a diamond graven." The iron style was used only for writing or carving letters in a hard material, Job xix. 24. If with it one wrote on tables, it was for the purpose of impressing the writing very deeply, so that it could not easily be effaced. The having of sin engraved upon the tables of the heart does not mean that a sense of unatoned sin could not be got rid of (Graf); for with a sense of sin we have here nothing to do, but with the deep and firm root sin has taken in the heart. To the tables of the heart as the inward seat of sin are opposed the horns of their altars (at "altars" the discourse is directly addressed to the Jews). By altars are generally understood idolatrous altars, partly because of the plural, "since the altar of Jahveh was but one," partly because of ver. 2, where the altars in question are certainly those of the idols. But the first reason proves nothing, since the temple of the Lord itself contained two altars, on whose horns the blood of the sacrifice was sprinkled. The blood of the sin-offering was put not merely

¹ Cf. *Plinii hist. n.* xxxvii. 15: *crustæ adamantis expetuntur a sculptoribus ferroque includuntur, nullam non duritiem ex facili excarantes.*

on the altar of burnt-offering, but also on the horns of the altar of incense, Lev. iv. 7, 18, xvi. 16. Nor is the second reason conclusive, since there is no difficulty in taking it to be the altars of Jahveh as defiled by idolatry. This, indeed, we must do, since Josiah had destroyed the altars of the false gods, whereas here the altars are spoken of as existing monuments of idolatry. The question, in how far the sin of Judah is ineffaceably engraven upon the horns of her altars, is variously answered by comm., and the answer depends on the view taken of ver. 2, which is itself disputed. It is certainly wrong to join ver. 2 as protasis with ver. 3 as apodosis, for it is incompatible with the beginning of ver. 3, הָרָרִי. Ew. therefore proposes to attach "my mountain in the field" to ver. 2, and to change הָרָרִי into הִרָרִי: upon the high hills, the mountains in the field—a manifest makeshift. Umbr. translates: As their children remember their altars . . . so will I my mountain in the field, thy possession . . . give for a prey; and makes out the sense to be: "in proportion to the strength and ineffaceableness of the impressions, such as are to be found in the children of idolatrous fathers, must be the severity of the consequent punishment from God." But if this were the force, then כֵּן could not possibly be omitted before the apodosis; apart altogether from the suddenness of such a transition from the sins of the people (ver. 1) to the sins of the children.—Ver. 2 is plainly meant to be a fuller and clearer disclosure of the sins written on the tables of Judah's heart, finding therein its point of connection with ver. 1. The verse has no *verbum finit.*, and besides it is a question whether "their children" is subject or object to "remember." The rule, that in calm discourse the subject follows the verb, does not decide for us; for the object very frequently follows next, and in the case of the infinitive the subject is often not mentioned, but must be supplied from the context. Here we may either translate: as their sons remember (Chald. and Jerome), or: as they remember their sons. As already said, the first translation gives no sense in keeping with the context. Rashi, Kimchi, J. D. Mich., Maur., Hitz. follow the other rendering: as they remember their children, so do they their altars. On this view, the *verb. fin.* יִזְכְּרוּ is supplied from the *infin.* יָזַכְּרוּ, and the two accusatives are placed alongside,

as in Isa. lxvi. 3 after the participle, without the particle of comparison demanded by the sense; cf. also Ps. xcii. 8, Job xxvii. 14. Näg. calls this construction very harsh; but it has analogues in the passages cited, and gives the very suitable sense: Their altars, Astartes, are as dear to them as their children. Hitz. takes the force to be this: "Whenever they think of their children, they remember, and cannot but remember, the altars to whose horns the blood of their sacrificed children adheres. And so in the case of a green tree upon the heights; *i.e.* when they light upon such an one, they cannot help calling to mind the Asherahs, which were such trees." But this interpretation is clearly wrong; for it takes the second clause על־עץ as object to זָכַר, which is grammatically quite indefensible, and which is besides incompatible with the order of the words. Besides, the idea that they remember the altars because the blood of their children stuck to the horns of them, is put into the words; and the putting of it in is made possible only by Hitz.'s arbitrarily separating "their Astartes" from "their altars," and from the specification of place in the next clause: "by the green tree." The words mean: As they remember their children, so do they their altars and Asherahs by every green tree. The co-ordination of Asherahs and altars makes it clear that it is not sacrifices to Moloch that are meant by altars; for the Asherahs have no connection with the worship of Moloch. Näg.'s assertions, that אֲשֵׁרִים is the name for male images of Baal, and that there can be no doubt of their connection with child-slaughtering Moloch-worship, are unfounded and erroneous. The word means images of Asherah; see on 1 Kings xiv. 23 and Deut. xvi. 21. Graf says that על־עץ ר' does not belong to "altars and Asherahs," because in that case it would need to be רַחֵם עַץ ר', as in ii. 20, iii. 6, 13, Isa. lvii. 5, Deut. xii. 2, 2 Kings xvi. 4, xvii. 10, but that it depends on זָכַר. This remark is not correctly expressed, and Graf himself gives על a local force, thus: by every green tree and on every high hill they think of the altars and Asherahs. This local relation cannot be spoken of as a "dependence" upon the verb; nor does it necessarily exclude the connection with "altars and Asherahs," since we can quite well think of the altars and Asherahs as being by or beside every green tree and on the hills. At the same time, we hold

it better to connect the local reference with the verb, because it gives the stronger sense,—namely, that the Jews not merely think of the altars and Asherahs which are by every green tree and upon the high hills, but that by every green tree and on the high hills they think of their altars and Asherahs, even when there are no such things to be seen there. Thus we can now answer the question before thrown out, in what respects the sin was ineffaceably engraven on the horns of the altar: It was because the altars and images of the false gods had entwined themselves as closely about their hearts as their children, so that they brought the sin of their idolatry along with their sacrifices to the altars of Jahveh. The offerings which they bring, in this state of mind, to the Lord are defiled by idolatry and carry their sins to the altar, so that, in the blood which is sprinkled on its horns, the sins of the offerers are poured out on the altar. Hence it appears unmistakeably that ver. 1 does not deal with the consciousness of sin as not yet cancelled or forgiven, but with the sin of idolatry, which, ineradicably implanted in the hearts of the people and indelibly recorded before God on the horns of the altar, calls down God's wrath in punishment as announced in vers. 3 and 4.

"My mountain in the field" is taken by most comm. as a name for Jerusalem or Zion. But it is a question whether the words are vocative, or whether they are accusative; and so with the rest of the objects, "thy substance," etc., dependent on נְאֻם. If we take them to be vocative, so that Jerusalem is addressed, then we must hold "thy substance" and "thy treasures" to be the goods and gear of Jerusalem, while the city will be regarded as representative of the kingdom, or rather of the population of Judah. But the second clause, "thy high places in all thy borders," does not seem to be quite in keeping with this, and still less ver. 4: thou shalt discontinue from thine inheritance, which is clearly spoken of the people of Judah. Furthermore, if Jerusalem were the party addressed, we should expect feminine suffixes, since Jerusalem is everywhere else personified as a woman, as the daughter of Zion. We therefore hold "my mountain" to be accusative, and, under "the mountain of Jahveh in the field," understand, not the city of Jerusalem, but Mount Zion as the site of the temple, the

mountain of the house of Jahveh, Isa. ii. 3, Zech. viii. 3, Ps. xxiv. 3. The addition **בַּשָּׂדֶה** may not be translated: with the field (Ges., de W., Näg.); for **בַּ** denotes the means or instrument, or an accessory accompanying the principal thing or action and subservient to it (Ew. § 217, f. 3), but not the mere external surroundings or belongings. Näg.'s assertion, that **בַּ**, amidst = together with, is due to an extreme position in an empirical mode of treating language. **בַּשָּׂדֶה** means "in the field," and "mountain in the field" is like the "rock of the plain," xxi. 13. But whether it denotes "the clear outstanding loftiness of the mountain, so that for it we might say: My mountain commanding a wide prospect" (Umbr., Graf), is a question. **שָׂדֶה**, field, denotes not the fruitful fields lying round Mount Zion, but, like "field of the Amalekites," Gen. xiv. 7, "field of Edom" (Gen. xxxii. 4), the land or country; see on Ezek. xxi. 2; and so here: my mountain in the land (of Judah or Israel). The land is spoken of as a field, as a level or plain (xxi. 13), in reference to the spiritual height of the temple mountain or mountain of God above the whole land; not in reference to the physical pre-eminence of Zion, which cannot be meant, since Zion is considerably exceeded in height by the Mount of Olives on the east, and by the southern heights of the highlands of Judah. By its choice to be the site of the Lord's throne amid His people, Mount Zion was exalted above the whole land as is a mountain in the field; and it is hereafter to be exalted above all mountains (Isa. ii. 2; Mic. iv. 1), while the whole land is to be lowered to the level of a plain (Zech. xiv. 10). The following objects are ranged alongside as asyndetons: the Mount Zion as His peculiar possession and the substance of the people, all their treasures will the Lord give for a prey to the enemy. "Thy high places" is also introduced, with rhetorical effect, without copula. "Thy high places," *i.e.* the heights on which Judah had practised idolatry, will He give up, for their sins' sake, throughout the whole land. The whole clause, from "thy high places" to "thy borders," is an apposition to the first half of the verse, setting forth the reason why the whole land, the mountain of the Lord, and all the substance of the people, are to be delivered to the enemy; because, *viz.*, the whole land has been defiled by idolatry. Hitz. wrongly

translates חַטָּאת for sin, *i.e.* for a sin-offering.—Ver. 4. And thou shalt discontinue from thine inheritance. There is in חַטָּאת an allusion to the law in Ex. xxiii. 11, to let the ground lie untilled in the seventh year, and in Deut. xv. 2, to let loans go, not to exact from one's neighbour what has been lent to him. Because Judah has transgressed this law, the Lord will compel the people to let go their hold of their inheritance, *i.e.* He will cast them out of it. וְיָרֵךְ seems strange, interposed between the verb and the “from thine inheritance” dependent on it. The later Greek translators (for the entire passage vers. 1–4 is wanting in the LXX.) render it $\mu\acute{o}\nu\eta$, and Jerome *sola*. Ew. therefore conjectures וְיָרֵךְ , but without due reason, since the translation is only a free rendering of: and that by thyself. J. D. Mich., Gr., and Næg. propose to read וְיָרֵךְ , on the ground of the connection wrongly made between וְיָרֵךְ and וְיָרֵךְ , to let go his hand, Deut. xv. 2, given in Ges. *Lex. s.v.* For וְיָרֵךְ in this case is not object to וְיָרֵךְ , but belongs to וְיָרֵךְ , hand-lending; and in Deut. xv. 3 וְיָרֵךְ is subject to וְיָרֵךְ , the hand shall quit hold. וְיָרֵךְ sig. and that by thee, *i.e.* by thine own fault; cf. Ezek. xxii. 16. Meaning: by thine own fault thou must needs leave behind thee thine inheritance, thy land, and serve thine enemies in a foreign land. On the last clause, “for a fire,” etc., cf. xv. 14, where is also discussed the relation of the present vers. 3 and 4 to xv. 13, 14. For ever burns the fire, *i.e.* until the sin is blotted out by the punishment, and for ever inasmuch as the wicked are to be punished for ever.

Vers. 5–27. FURTHER CONFIRMATION OF THIS ANNOUNCEMENT IN GENERAL REFLECTIONS CONCERNING THE SOURCES OF RUIN AND OF WELL-BEING.—This portion falls into two halves: *a.* On the sources of ruin and of well-being (vers. 5–18); *b.* On the way to life (vers. 18–27). The reflections of the first half show the curse of confidence in man and the blessings of confidence in God the Lord, vers. 5–13; to which is joined, vers. 14–18, a prayer of the prophet for deliverance from his enemies.

Ver. 5. “Thus saith Jahveh: Cursed is the man that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm, while his heart departeth from Jahveh. Ver. 6. He shall be as a destitute man in the wilderness,

and shall not see that good cometh; he shall inhabit parched places in the desert, a salt land and uninhabited. Ver. 7. Blessed is the man that trusteth in Jahveh, and whose trust Jahveh is. Ver. 8. He shall be as a tree planted by the water, and shall by the river spread out his roots, and shall not fear when heat cometh; his leaves shall be green, and in the year of drought he shall not have care, neither cease from yielding fruit. Ver. 9. Deceitful is the heart above all, and corrupt it is, who can know it? Ver. 10. I Jahveh search the heart and try the reins, even to give every one according to his way, according to the fruit of his doings. Ver. 11. The partridge hatcheth the egg which it laid not; there is that getteth riches and not by right. In the midst of his days they forsake him, and at his end he shall be a fool. Ver. 12. Thou throne of glory, loftiness from the beginning, thou place of our sanctuary. Ver. 13. Thou hope of Israel, Jahveh, all that forsake Thee come to shame. They that depart from me shall be written in the earth, for they have forsaken the fountain of living water, Jahveh."

Trust in man and departure from God brings only mischief (vers. 5 and 6); trust in the Lord brings blessing only (vers. 7, 8). These truths are substantiated in vers. 9-13, and elucidated by illustrations.—Ver. 5. Trust in man is described according to the nature of it in the second clause: he that maketh flesh his arm, *i.e.* his strength. Flesh, the antithesis to spirit (cf. Isa. xxxi. 3), sets forth the vanity and perishableness of man and of all other earthly beings; cf. besides Isa. xxxi. 3, also Job x. 4, Ps. lvi. 5. In ver. 6 we are shown the curse of this trusting in man. One who so does is as עֵרֶץ in the steppe. This word, which is found beside only in Ps. cii. 18, and in the form עֵרֶץ Jer. xlviii. 6, is rendered by the old translators by means of words which mean desert plants or thorny growths (LXX. ἀγριομυρίκη; Jerome, *myrice*; similarly in Chald. and Syr.); so Ew., arid shrub; Umbr., a bare tree. All these renderings are merely guesses from the context; and the latter, indeed, tells rather against than for a bush or tree, since the following clause, "he shall not see," can be said only of a man. So in Ps. cii. 18, where we hear of the prayer of the עֵרֶץ. The word is from עָרַר, to be naked, made bare, and denotes tho

destitute man, who lacks all the means of subsistence. It is not the homeless or outcast (Graf, Hitz.). He shall not see, *i.e.* experience that good comes, *i.e.* he shall have no prosperity, but shall inhabit "burnt places," tracts in the desert parched by the sun's heat. Salt-land, *i.e.* quite unfruitful land; cf. Deut. xxix. 22. **לֹא תֵשֵׁב** is a relative clause: and which is not inhabited = uninhabitable. Dwelling in parched tracts and salt regions is a figure for the total want of the means of life (equivalent to the German: *auf keinen grünen Zweig kommen*).—Vers. 7 and 8 show the companion picture, the blessings of trusting in the Lord. "That trusteth in Jahveh" is strengthened by the synonymous "whose trust Jahveh is;" cf. Ps. xl. 5. The portrayal of the prosperity of him that trusts in the Lord is an extension of the picture in Ps. i. 3, 4, of the man that hath his delight in the law of the Lord. The form **יִבֵּל** is *ἀπ. λεγ.*, equivalent to **יָבַל**, water-brook, which, moreover, occurs only in the plural (**יָבָלִים**), Isa. xxx. 25, xlv. 4. He spreads forth his roots by the brook, to gain more and more strength for growth. The *Chet.* **יֵרָא** is imperf. from **יָרָא**, and is to be read **יֵרָאֵה**. The *Keri* gives **יֵרָאֵה** from **יָרָאֵה**, corresponding to the **יֵרָאֵה** in ver. 6. The *Chet.* is unqualifiedly right, and **יֵרָא לֹא** corresponds to **לֹא יֵרָאֵה**. As to **בְּצַרָת**, see on xiv. 1. He has no fear for the heat in the year of drought, because the brook by which he grows does not dry up.

To bring this truth home to the people, the prophet in ver. 9 discloses the nature of the human heart, and then shows in ver. 10 how God, as the Searcher of hearts, requites man according to his conduct. Trust in man has its seat in the heart, which seeks thereby to secure to itself success and prosperity. But the heart of man is more deceitful, cunning than all else (**עָקֵב**, from the denom. **עָקַב**, to deal treacherously). **אָנִיִּשׁ**, lit. dangerously sick, incurable, cf. xv. 18; here, sore wounded by sin, corrupt or depraved. Who can know it? *i.e.* fathom its nature and corruptness. Therefore a man must not trust the suggestions and illusions of his own heart.—Ver. 10. Only God searches the heart and tries the reins, the seat of the most hidden emotions and feelings, cf. xi. 20, xii. 3, and deals accordingly, requiting each according to his life and his doings. The **י** before **לֵהֲתָה**, which is wanting in many MSS. and

is not expressed by the old translators, is not to be objected to. It serves to separate the aim in view from the rest, and to give it the prominence due to an independent thought; cf. Ew. § 340, *b*. As to the truth itself, cf. xxxii. 19. With this is joined the common saying as to the partridge, ver. 11. The aim is not to specify greed as another root of the corruption of the heart, or to give another case of false confidence in the earthly (Näg., Graf); but to corroborate by a common saying, whose truth should be obvious to the people, the greater truth, that God, as Searcher of hearts, requites each according to his works. The proverb ran: He that gains riches, and that by wrong, *i.e.* in an unjust, dishonourable manner, is like a partridge which hatches eggs it has not laid. In the Proverbs we often find comparisons, as here, without the *?* *similit.*: a gainer of riches is a partridge; cf. Prov. xxv. 14, xxvi. 28, xxviii. 15. *קִרְקִי*, the crier, denotes here and 1 Sam. xxvi. 20 the partridge (*Rephuhn*, properly *Röphuhn* from *röpen* = *rufen*, to call or cry); a bird yet found in plenty in the tribe of Judah; cf. Robinson, *Palestine*. All other interpretations are arbitrary. It is true that natural history has not proved the fact of this peculiarity of the partridge, on which the proverb was founded; testimonies as to this habit of the creature are found only in certain Church fathers, and these were probably deduced from this passage (cf. Winer, *bibl. R. W.*, art. *Rebhuhn*). But the proverb assumes only the fact that such was the widespread popular belief amongst the Israelites, without saying anything as to the correctness of it. "Hatcheth and layeth not" are to be taken relatively. *קִרְקִי*, the Targum word in Job xxxix. 14 for *פִּרְקִי*, *fovere*, sig. hatch, lit. to hold eggs close together, cover eggs; see on Isa. xxxiv. 15. *וְיָרֵךְ*, to bring forth, here of laying eggs. As to the *Kametz* in both words, see Ew. § 100, *c*. The point of the comparison, that the young hatched out of another bird's eggs forsake the mother, is brought out in the application of the proverb. Hence is to be explained "forsake him:" the riches forsake him, instead of: are lost to him, vanish, in the half of his days, *i.e.* in the midst of life; and at the end of his life he shall be a fool, *i.e.* the folly of his conduct shall fully appear.

In vers. 12 and 13 Jeremiah concludes this meditation with

an address to the Lord, which the Lord corroborates by His own word.—Ver. 12 is taken by many ancient comm. as a simple statement: a throne of glory, loftiness from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary. This is grammatically defensible; but the view preferred by almost all moderns, that it is an apostrophe, is more in keeping with the tension of feeling in the discourse. The “place of our sanctuary” is the temple as the spot where God sits throned amidst His people, not the heaven as God’s throne: Isa. lxvi. 1. This the pronoun *our* does not befit, since heaven is never spoken of as the sanctuary of Israel. Hence we must refer both the preceding phrases to the earthly throne of God in the temple on Zion. The temple is in xiv. 21 called throne of the *כבוד יהוה*, because in it Jahveh is enthroned above the ark; Ex. xxv. 22; Ps. lxxx. 2, xcix. 1. *מֵרֵאשִׁית* has here the sig. of *מֵרֵאשִׁית*, Isa. xl. 21, xli. 4, 26, xlviii. 16: from the beginning onwards, from all time. Heaven as the proper throne of God is often called *מְרוֹם*, loftiness; cf. Isa. lvii. 15, Ps. vii. 8; but so also is Mount Zion as God’s earthly dwelling-place; cf. Ezek. xvii. 23, xx. 40. Zion is called loftiness from the beginning, *i.e.* from immemorial time, as having been from eternity chosen to be the abode of God’s glory upon earth; cf. Ex. xv. 17, where in the song of Moses by the Red Sea, Mount Zion is pointed out prophetically as the place of the abode of Jahveh, inasmuch as it had been set apart thereto by the sacrifice of Isaac; see the expos. of Ex. xv. 17. Nor does *מֵרֵאשִׁית* always mean the beginning of the world, but in Isa. xli. 26 and xlviii. 16 it is used of the beginning of the things then under discussion. From the place of Jahveh’s throne amongst His people, ver. 13, the discourse passes to Him who is there enthroned: Thou hope of Israel, Jahveh (cf. xiv. 8), through whom Zion and the temple had attained to that eminence. The praise of God’s throne prepares only the transition to praise of the Lord, who there makes known His glory. The address to Jahveh: Thou hope of Israel, is not a prayer directed to Him, so as to justify the objection against the vocative acceptance of ver. 12, that it were unseemly to address words of prayer to the temple. The juxtaposition of the sanctuary as the throne of God and of Jahveh, the hope of Israel, involves only that the forsaking of the sanctuary on

Zion is a forsaking of Jahveh, the hope of Israel. It needs hardly be observed that this adverting to the temple as the seat of Jahveh's throne, whence help may come, is not in contradiction to the warning given in vii. 4, 9 f. against false confidence in the temple as a power present to protect. That warning is aimed against the idolaters, who believed that God's presence was so bound up with the temple, that the latter was beyond the risk of harm. The Lord is really present in the temple on Zion only to those who draw near Him in the confidence of true faith. All who forsake the Lord come to shame. This word the Lord confirms through the mouth of the prophet in the second part of the verse. יִסְרִי, according to the *Chet.*, is a substantive from סָר, formed like יָרִיב from רִיב (cf. Ew. § 162, a); the *Keri* יִסְרִי is *partic.* from סָר with *! cop.*—an uncalled-for conjecture. My departers = those that depart from me, shall be written in the earth, in the loose earth, where writing speedily disappears. אָרָץ, synonymous with עָפָר, cf. Job xiv. 8, suggesting death. The antithesis to this is not the graving in rock, Job xix. 24, but being written in the book of life; cf. Dan. xii. 1 with Ex. xxxii. 32. In this direction the grounding clause points: they have forsaken the fountain of living water (ii. 13); for without water one must pine and perish.—On this follows directly,

Vers. 14-18. *The prophet's prayer for rescue from his enemies.*—Ver. 14. "Heal me, Jahveh, that I may be healed; help me, that I may be holpen, for Thou art my praise. Ver. 15. Behold, they say to me, Where is the word of Jahveh? let it come, now. Ver. 16. I have not withdrawn myself from being a shepherd after Thee, neither wished for the day of trouble, Thou knowest; that which went forth of my lips was open before Thy face. Ver. 17. Be not to me a confusion, my refuge art Thou in the day of evil. Ver. 18. Let my persecutors be put to shame, but let not me be put to shame; let them be confounded, but let not me be confounded; bring upon them the day of evil, and break them with a double breach."

The experience Jeremiah had had in his calling seemed to contradict the truth, that trust in the Lord brings blessing (ver. 7 ff.); for his preaching of God's word had brought him nothing but persecution and suffering. Therefore he prays the

Lord to remove this contradiction and to verify that truth in his case also. The prayer of ver. 14, "heal me," reminds one of Ps. vi. 3, xxx. 3. Thou art תְּחַלֵּי, the object of my praises; cf. Ps. lxxi. 6, Deut. x. 21.—The occasion for this prayer is furnished by the attacks of his enemies, who ask in scorn what then has become of that which he proclaims as the word of the Lord, why it does not come to pass. Hence we see that the discourse, of which this complaint is the conclusion, was delivered before the first invasion of Judah by the Chaldeans. So long as his announcements were not fulfilled, the unbelieving were free to persecute him as a false prophet (cf. Deut. xviii. 22), and to give out that his prophecies were inspired by his own spite against his people. He explains, on the contrary, that in his calling he has neither acted of his own accord, nor wished for misfortune to the people, but that he has spoken by the inspiration of God alone. 'וְלֹא אֲצַדִּיק cannot mean: I have not pressed myself forward to follow Thee as shepherd, *i.e.* pressed myself forward into Thy service in vain and overweening self-conceit (Umbr.). For although this sense would fall very well in with the train of thought, yet it cannot be grammatically justified. אֲצַדִּיק, press, press oneself on to anything, is construed with לְ, cf. Josh. x. 13; with מִן it can only mean: press oneself away from a thing. מִן רֵעָה may stand for מִן רֵעָה, cf. xlvi. 2, 1 Sam. xv. 23, 1 Kings xv. 13: from being a shepherd after Thee, *i.e.* I have not withdrawn myself from following after Thee as a shepherd. Against this rendering the fact seems to weigh, that usually it is not the prophets, but only the kings and princes, that are entitled the shepherds of the people; cf. xxiii. 1. For this reason, it would appear, Hitz. and Graf have taken רָעָה in the sig. to seek after a person or thing, and have translated: I have not pressed myself away from keeping after Thee, or from being one that followed Thee faithfully. For this appeal is made to places like Prov. xiii. 20, xxviii. 7, Ps. xxxvii. 3, where רָעָה does mean to seek after a thing, to take pleasure in it. But in this sig. רָעָה is always construed with the *accus.* of the thing or person, not with אֲצַדִּיק, as here. Nor does it by any means follow, from the fact of shepherds meaning usually kings or rulers, that the idea of "shepherd" is exhausted in ruling and governing

people. According to Ps. xxiii. 1, Jahveh is the shepherd of the godly, who feeds them in green pastures and leads them to the refreshing water, who revives their soul, etc. In this sense prophets, too, feed the people, if they, following the Lord as chief shepherd, declare God's word to the people. We cannot in any case abide by Näg.'s rendering, who, taking רָץ in its literal sense, puts the meaning thus: I have not pressed myself away from being a shepherd, in order to go after Thee. For the assumption that Jeremiah had, before his call, been, like Amos, a herd of cattle, contradicts ch. i. 1; nor from the fact, that the cities of the priests and of the Levites were provided with grazing fields (מִנְרָשִׁים), does it at all follow that the priests themselves tended their flocks. "The day of trouble," the ill, disastrous day, is made out by Näg. to be the day of his entering upon the office of prophet—a view that needs no refutation. It is the day of destruction for Jerusalem and Judah, which Jeremiah had foretold. When Näg. says: "He need not have gone out of his way to affirm that he did not desire the day of disaster for the whole people," he has neglected to notice that Jeremiah is here defending himself against the charges of his enemies, who inferred from his prophecies of evil that he found a pleasure in his people's calamity, and wished for it to come. For the truth of his defence, Jeremiah appeals to the omniscience of God: "Thou knowest it." That which goes from my lips, *i.e.* the word that came from my lips, was נִבְּאָה פְּנֶיךָ, before or over against Thy face, *i.e.* manifest to Thee.—Ver. 17. On this he founds his entreaty that the Lord will not bring him to confusion and shame by leaving his prophecies as to Judah unfulfilled, and gives his encouragement to pray in the clause: Thou art my refuge in the day of evil, in evil times; cf. xv. 11. May God rather put his persecutors to shame and confusion by the accomplishment of the calamity foretold, ver. 18. תִּהְיֶה pointed with *Tsere* instead of the abbreviation תִּהְיֶה, cf. *EW.* § 224, *c.* הִבֵּי is *imperat.* instead of הִבֵּי, as in 1 Sam. xx. 40, where the Masoretes have thus pointed even the הִבֵּי. But in the Hiph. the *i* has in many cases maintained itself against the *ē*, so that we are neither justified in regarding the form before us as *scriptio plena*, nor yet in reading הִבֵּיָהּ.—Break them with a double breach, *i.e.* let the disaster fall on them

doubly. "A double breach," pr. something doubled in the way of breaking or demolition. שַׁבְּרוֹן is not subordinated to מִשְׁפָּה in *stat. constr.*, but is added as *accus.* of kind; cf. Ew. § 287, *h.*

Vers. 19-27. *Of the hallowing of the Sabbath.*—Ver. 19. "Thus said Jahveh unto me: Go and stand in the gate of the sons of the people, by which the kings of Judah come in and by which they go out, and in all gates of Jerusalem, Ver. 20. And say unto them: Hear the word of Jahveh, ye kings of Judah, and all Judah, and all inhabitants of Jerusalem, that go in by these gates: Ver. 21. Thus hath Jahveh said: Take heed for your souls, and bear no burden on the Sabbath-day, and bring it in by the gates of Jerusalem. Ver. 22. And carry forth no burden out of your houses on the Sabbath-day, and do no work, and hallow the Sabbath-day, as I commanded your fathers. Ver. 23. But they hearkened not, neither inclined their ear, and made their neck stiff, that they might not hear nor take instruction. Ver. 24. But if ye will really hearken unto me, saith Jahveh, to bring in no burden by the gates of the city on the Sabbath-day, and to hallow the Sabbath-day, to do no work thereon, Ver. 25. Then shall there go through the gates of the city kings and princes, who sit on the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they and their princes, the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and this city shall be inhabited for ever. Ver. 26. And they shall come from the cities of Judah and the outskirts of Jerusalem, from the land of Benjamin and from the lowland, from the hill-country and from the south, that bring burnt-offering and slain-offering, meat-offering and incense, and that bring praise into the house of Jahveh. Ver. 27. But if ye hearken not to me, to hallow the Sabbath-day, and not to bear a burden, and to come into the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day, then will I kindle fire in her gates, so that it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and not be quenched."

The introduction, ver. 19, shows that this passage has, in point of form, but a loose connection with what precedes. It is, however, not a distinct and independent prophecy; for it wants the heading, "The word of Jahveh which came," etc., proper to all the greater discourses. Besides, in point of

subject-matter, it may very well be joined with the preceding general reflections as to the springs of mischief and of well-being; inasmuch as it shows how the way of safety appointed to the people lies in keeping the decalogue, as exemplified in one of its fundamental precepts.—The whole passage contains only God's command to the prophet; but the execution of it, *i.e.* the proclamation to the people of what was commanded, is involved in the nature of the case. Jeremiah is to proclaim this word of the Lord in all the gates of Jerusalem, that it may be obeyed in them all. The locality of the gate of the sons of the people is obscure and difficult to determine, that by which the kings of Judah go and come. עַל בְּנֵי הָעָם seems to stand for עַל בְּנֵי הָעָם , as the *Keri* would have it. In xxvi. 23 and 2 Kings xxiii. 6, "sons of the people" means the common people as opposed to the rich and the notables; in 2 Chron. xxxv. 5, 7 ff., the people as opposed to the priests and Levites, that is, the laity. The first sig. of the phrase seems here to be excluded by the fact, that the kings come and go by this gate; for there is not the smallest probability that a gate so used could have borne the name of "gate of the common people." But we might well pause to weigh the second sig. of the word, if we could but assume that it was a gate of the temple that was meant. Näg. concludes that it was so, on the ground that we know of no city gate through which only the kings and the dregs of the people were free to go, or the kings and the mass of their subjects, to the exclusion of the priests. But this does not prove his point; for we are not informed as to the temple, that the kings and the laity were permitted to go and come by one gate only, while the others were reserved for priests and Levites. Still it is much more likely that the principal entrance to the outer court of the temple should have obtained the name of "people's gate," or "laymen's gate," than that a city gate should have been so called; and that by that "people's gate" the kings also entered into the court of the temple, while the priests and Levites came and went by side gates which were more at hand for the court of the priests. Certainly Näg. is right when he further remarks, that the name was not one in general use, but must have been used by the priests only. On the other hand, there is nothing to support clearly the surmise

that the gate יסוד, 2 Chron. xxiii. 5, was so called; the east gate of the outer court is much more likely. We need not be surprised at the mention of this chief gate of the temple along with the city gates; for certainly there would be always a great multitude of people to be found at this gate, even if what Nüg. assumes were not the case, that by the sale and purchase of things used in the temple, this gate was the scene of a Sabbath-breaking trade. But if, with the majority of comm., we are to hold that by "people's gate" a city gate was meant, then we cannot determine which it was. Of the suppositions that it was the Benjamin-gate, or the well-gate, Neh. ii. 14 (Maur.), or the gate of the midst which led through the northern wall of Zion from the upper city into the lower city (Hitz.), or the water-gate, Neh. iii. 26 (Graf), each is as unfounded as another. From the plural: the kings of Judah (ver. 20), Hitz. infers that more kings than one were then existing alongside one another, and that thus the name must denote the members of the royal family. But his idea has been arbitrarily forced into the text. The gates of the city, as well as of the temple, did not last over the reign of but one king, ver. 21. הִשָּׁמֵר בְּנַפְשׁוֹתָם, to take heed for the souls, *i.e.* take care of the souls, so as not to lose life (cf. Mal. ii. 15), is a more pregnant construction than that with לָ, Deut. iv. 15, although it yields the same sense. Nüg. seeks erroneously to explain the phrase according to 2 Sam. xx. 10 (לִישְׁמֵר בַּחֶרֶב, take care against the sword) and Dent. xxiv. 8, where הִשָּׁמֵר ought not to be joined at all with בָּנִיעַ. The bearing of burdens on the Sabbath, both into the city and out of one's house, seems to point most directly at market trade and business, cf. Neh. xiii. 15 ff., but is used only as one instance of the citizens' occupations; hence are appended the very words of the law: to do no work, Ex. xii. 16, xx. 10, Deut. v. 14, and: to hallow the Sabbath, namely, by cessation from all labour, cf. ver. 24. The remark in ver. 23, that the fathers have already transgressed God's law, is neither contrary to the aim in view, as Hitz. fancies, nor superfluous, but serves to characterize the transgression censured as an old and deeply-rooted sin, which God must at length punish unless the people cease therefrom. The description of the fathers' disobedience is a verbal repetition of vii. 26. The *Chet.* שְׁמוֹעַ cannot be a

participle, but is a clerical error for שֹׁמֵר (*infin. constr.* with *scriptio plena*), as in xi. 10 and xix. 15. See a similar error in ii. 25 and viii. 6. On "nor take instruction," cf. ii. 30.—In the next verses the observance of this commandment is enforced by a representation of the blessings which the hallowing of the Sabbath will bring to the people (vers. 24-26), and the curse upon its profanation (ver. 27). If they keep the Sabbath holy, the glory of the dynasty of David and the prosperity of the people will acquire permanence, and Jerusalem remain continually inhabited, and the people at large will bring thank-offerings to the Lord in His temple. Hitz., Graf, and Näg. take objection to the collocation: kings and princes (ver. 25), because princes do not sit on the throne of David, nor can they have other "princes" dependent on them, as we must assume from the "they and their princes." But although the מְשִׁיבִים be wanting in the parallel, xxii. 4, yet this passage cannot be regarded as the standard; for whereas the discourse in chap. xxii. is addressed to the king, the present is to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, or rather the people of Judah. The מְשִׁיבִים is subordinate to the kings, so that the sitting on the throne of David is to be referred only to the kings, the following מְשִׁיבִים helping further to define them. "Riding" is to be joined both with "in chariots" and "on horses," since רָכַב means either driving or riding. The driving and riding of the kings and their princes through the gates of Jerusalem is a sign of the undiminished splendour of the rule of David's race.—Ver. 26. Besides the blessing of the continuance of the Davidic monarchy, Jerusalem will also have to rejoice in the continued spiritual privilege of public worship in the house of the Lord. From the ends of the kingdom the people will come with offerings to the temple, to present thank-offerings for benefits received. The rhetorical enumeration of the various parts of the country appears again in xxxii. 44. The cities of Judah and the outskirts of Jerusalem denote the part of the country which bordered on Jerusalem; then we have the land of Benjamin, the northern province of the kingdom, and three districts into which the tribal domain of Judah was divided: the Shephelah in the west on the Mediterranean Sea, the hill-country, and the southland; see on Josh. xv. 21, 33, and 48. The desert of

Judah (Josh. xv. 61) is not mentioned, as being comprehended under the hill-country. The offerings are divided into two classes: bloody, burnt and slain offerings, and unbloody, meat-offerings and frankincense, which was strewed upon the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 1). The latter is not the incense-offering (Graf), which is not called *לְבוֹנָה*, but *קִטְוָה*, cf. Ex. xxx. 7 ff., although frankincense was one of the ingredients of the incense prepared for burning (Ex. xxx. 34). These offerings they will bring as "praise-offering" into the house of the Lord. *תִּזְבֹּחַ* is not here used for *זֶבַח תִּזְבֹּחַ*, praise-offering, as one species of slain-offering, but is, as we see from xxxiii. 11, a general designation for the praise and thanks which they desire to express by means of the offerings specified.—Ver. 27. In the event of the continuance of this desecration of the Sabbath, Jerusalem is to be burnt up with fire, cf. xxi. 14, and, as regards the expressions used, Amos i. 14, Hos. viii. 14.

CHAP. XVIII.—XX.—THE FIGURES OF THE POTTER'S CLAY AND OF THE EARTHEN PITCHER.

These three chapters have the title common to all Jeremiah's discourses of the earlier period: The word which came to Jeremiah from Jahveh (xviii. 1). In them, bodied forth in two symbolical actions, are two discourses which are very closely related to one another in form and substance, and which may be regarded as one single prophecy set forth in words and actions. In them we find discussed Judah's ripeness for the judgment, the destruction of the kingdom, and the speediness with which that judgment was to befall. The subject-matter of this discourse-compilation falls into two parts: chap. xviii. and chap. xix. and xx.; that is, into the accounts of two symbolical actions, together with the interpretation of them and their application to the people (chap. xviii. 1–17 and chap. xix. 1–13), followed immediately by notices as to the reception which these announcements met on the part of the people and their rulers (chap. xviii. 18–23, and chap. xix. 14–xx. 18). In the first discourse, that illustrated by the figure of a potter who remodels a misshapen vessel, chap. xviii., the prophet inculcates on the people the truth that the Lord has power to do according

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AND THE COMPLAINT OF THE PROPHET AGAINST HIS ADVERSARIES.—The figure of the potter who remodels a misshapen vessel (vers. 2-4). The interpretation of this (vers. 5-10), and its application to degenerate Israel (vers. 11-17). The reception of the discourse by the people, and Jeremiah's cry to the Lord (vers. 18-23).

Vers. 2-10. *The emblem and its interpretation.*—Ver. 2. "Arise and go down into the potter's house; there will I cause thee to hear my words. Ver. 3. And I went down into the potter's house; and, behold, he wrought on the wheels. Ver. 4. And the vessel was marred, that he wrought in clay, in the hand of the potter; then he made again another vessel of it, as seemed good to the potter to make. Ver. 5. Then came the word of Jahveh to me, saying: Ver. 6. Cannot I do with you as this potter, house of Israel? saith Jahveh. Behold, as the clay in the hand of the potter, so are ye in mine hand, house of Israel. Ver. 7. Now I speak concerning a people and kingdom, to root it out and pluck up and destroy it. Ver. 8. But if that people turns from its wickedness, against which I spake, then it repents me of the evil which I thought to do it. Ver. 9. And now I speak concerning a people and a kingdom, to build and to plant it. Ver. 10. If it do that which is evil in mine eyes, so that it hearkens not unto my voice, then it repents me of the good which I said I would do unto it."

By God's command Jeremiah is to go and see the potter's treatment of the clay, and to receive thereafter God's interpretation of the same. Here he has set before his eyes that which suggests a comparison of man to the clay and of God to the potter, a comparison that frequently occurred to the Hebrews, and which had been made to appear in the first formation of man (cf. Job x. 9, xxxiii. 6, Isa. xxix. 16, xlv. 9, lxiv. 7). This is done that he may forcibly represent to the people, by means of the emblem, the power of the Lord to do according to His will with all nations, and so with Israel too. From the "go down," we gather that the potteries of Jerusalem lay in a valley near the city. סִלְבִּי are the round frames by means of which the potter moulded his vessels. This sig. of the word is well approved here; but in Ex. i. 16, where too it is found, the meaning is doubtful, and it is a question whether the derivation

is from **אָפֶן** or from **אָפֶן**, wheel. The *perfecta consec.* **וְנִשְׁתָּה** and **וְיָצַב** designate, taken in connection with the participle **עֹשֶׂה**, actions that were possibly repeated: "and if the vessel was spoilt, he made it over again;" cf. Ew. § 342, b. **עֹשֶׂה בַּחֲמֶר**, working in clay, of the material in which men work in order to make something of it; cf. Ex. xxxi. 4.¹

In vers. 6-10 the Lord discloses to the prophet the truth lying in the potter's treatment of the clay. The power the potter has over the clay to remould, according to his pleasure, the vessel he had formed from it if it went wrong; the same power God possesses over the people of Israel. This unlimited power of God over mankind is exercised according to man's conduct, not according to a *decretum absolutum* or unchangeable determination. If he pronounces a people's overthrow or ruin, and if that people turn from its wickedness, He repeals His decree (ver. 7 f.); and conversely, if He promises a people welfare and prosperity, and if that people turn away from Him to wickedness, then too He changes His resolve to do good to it (ver. 9 f.). Inasmuch as He is even now making His decree known by the mouth of the prophet, it follows that the accom-

¹ Instead of **בַּחֲמֶר** several *codd.* and *editt.* have **כַּחֲמֶר**, as in ver. 6, to which Ew. and Hitz. both take objection, so that they delete **כַּחֲמֶר** (Ew.) or **בַּחֲמֶר בִּיד הַיּוֹצֵר** (Hitz.) as being glosses, since the words are not in the LXX. The attempts of Umbr. and Næg. to obtain a sense for **בַּחֲמֶר** are truly of such a kind as only to strengthen the suspicion of spuriousness. Umbr., who is followed by Graf, expounds: "as the clay in the hand of the potter does;" whereto Hitz. justly replies: "but is then the (failure) solely its own doing?" Næg. will have **כ** to be the *veril.*: the vessel was marred, as clay in the hand of the potter, in which case the **כַּחֲמֶר** still interrupts. But the failure of the attempts to make a good sense of **כַּחֲמֶר** does in no respect justify the uncritical procedure of Ew. and Hitz. in deleting the word without considering that the reading is by no means established, since not only do the most important and correct editions and a great number of *codd.* read **בַּחֲמֶר**, but Aquila, Theodot., the Chald. and Syr. give this reading; Norzi and Houbig. call it *lectio accuratiorum codicum*, and the Masora on ver. 6 and Job x. 9 confirms it. Cf. de Rossi *variae lectt. ad h. l.* and the critical remarks in the *Biblia Ital.* by J. H. Michaelis, according to which **כַּחֲמֶר** plainly made its way into the present verse from ver. 6 by the error of a copyist; and it can only be from his prejudice in favour of the LXX. that Hitz. pronounces **כַּחֲמֶר** original, as being "the reading traditionally in use."

plishment of Jeremiah's last utterances is conditioned by the impression God's word makes on men. *נָעַ*, *adv.*, in the moment, forthwith, and when repeated = now . . . now, now . . . again. Näg. maintains that the arrangement here is paratactic, so that the *נָעַ* does not belong to the nearest verb, but to the main idea, *i.e.* to the apodosis in this case. The remark is just; but the word does not mean suddenly, but immediately, and the sense is: when I have spoken against a people, and this people repents, then immediately I let it repent me. *עַל נָחַם* as in Joel ii. 13, etc. With "to pluck up," etc., "to build," etc., cf. i. 10. "Against which I spake," ver. 8, belongs to "that people," and seems as if it might be dispensed with; but is not therefore spurious because the LXX. have omitted it. For *הָרָעָה* the *Keri* has *הָרַעַ*, the most usual form, cf. vii. 30, Num. xxxii. 13, Judg. ii. 11, etc.; but the *Chet.* is called for by the following *הַטּוֹבָה* and *מִרְעָתָהּ*. *לְהִיטִיב הַטּוֹבָה*, to show kindness, cf. Num. x. 32.

The emblematical interpretation of the potter with the clay lays a foundation for the prophecy that follows, vers. 11–17, in which the people are told that it is only by reason of their stiffnecked persistency in wickedness that they render threatened judgment certain, whereas by return to their God they might prevent the ruin of the kingdom.

Vers. 11–17. *Application of the emblem to Judah.*—Ver. 11. "And now speak to the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying: Thus hath Jahveh said: Behold, I frame against you evil and devise against you a device. Return ye, now, each from his evil way, and better your ways and your doings. Ver. 12. But they say: There is no use! For our imaginations will we follow, and each do the stubbornness of his evil heart. Ver. 13. Therefore thus hath Jahveh said: Ask now among the heathen! who hath heard the like? A very horrible thing hath the virgin of Israel done! Ver. 14. Does the snow of Lebanon cease from the rock of the field? or do strange, cold trickling waters dry up? Ver. 15. For my people hath forgotten me; to the vanity they offer odours; they have made them to stumble upon their ways, the everlasting paths, to walk in by-paths, a way not cast up. Ver. 16. To make their land a dismay, a perpetual hissing, every one

that passeth thereby shall be astonished and shake his head. Ver. 17. Like the east wind I will scatter them before the enemy; with the back and not with the face will I look upon them in the day of their ruin."

In vers. 11 and 12 what was said at ver. 6 ff. is applied to Judah. יָצַר, form in sense of prepare (cf. Isa. xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26), is chosen with special reference to the potter (יָצַר). מַחֲשָׁבָה, the thought, design, here in virtue of the parallelism: evil plot, as often both with and without רָעָה; cf. Esth. viii. 3, 5, ix. 25, Ezek. xxxviii. 10. The call to repentance runs much as do xxxv. 15 and vii. 3.—But this call the people reject disdainfully, replying that they are resolved to abide by their evil courses. וְאָמְרוּ, not: they said, but: they say; the *perf. consec.* of the action repeating itself at the present time; cf. Ew. 342, b. 1. נֹאֲשׁ as in ii. 25; on "stubbornness of their evil heart," cf. iii. 17. By this answer the prophet makes them condemn themselves out of their own mouth; cf. Isa. xxviii. 15, xxx. 10 f.—Ver. 13. Such obduracy is unheard of amongst the peoples; cf. a like idea in ii. 10 f. שְׁעָרָה = שְׁעָרָה, v. 30. מְאֹד belongs to the verb: horrible things hath Israel very much done = very horrible things have they done. The idea is strengthened by Israel's being designated a virgin (see on xiv. 17). One could hardly believe that a virgin could be guilty of such barefaced and determined wickedness. In ver. 14 f. the public conduct is further described; and first, it is illustrated by a picture drawn from natural history, designed to fill the people with shame for their unnatural conduct. But the significance of the picture is disputed. The questions have a negative force: does it forsake? = it does not forsake. The force of the first question is conditioned by the view taken of מַצֵּיר שָׁרִי; and שָׁרִי may be either genitive to צֹר, or it may be the accusative of the object, and be either a poetic form for שָׂרָה, or plural *c. suff.* 1. *pers.* (my fields). Chr. B. Mich., Schur., Ros., Maur., Neum. translate according to the latter view: Does the snow of Lebanon descending from the rock forsake my fields? *i.e.* does it ever cease, flowing down from the rock, to water my fields, the fields of my people? To this view, however, it is to be opposed, *a.* that "from the rock" thus appears superfluous, at least not in its proper place,

since, according to the sense given, it would belong to "snow of Lebanon;" *b.* that the figure contains no real illustrative truth. The watering of the fields of God's people, *i.e.* of Palestine or Judah, by the snow of Lebanon could be brought about only by the water from the melting snow of Lebanon soaking into the ground, and so feeding the springs of the country. But this view of the supply for the springs that watered the land cannot be supposed to be a fact of natural history so well known that the prophet could found an argument on it. Most recent commentators therefore join *מַצּוֹר שָׂרִי*, and translate: does the snow of Lebanon cease from the rock of the field (does it disappear)? The use of *עֹב* with *מן* is unexampled, but is analogous to *עֹב חֶסֶד מַעַם*, Gen. xxiv. 27, where, however, *עֹב* is used transitively. But even when translated as above, "rock of the field" is variously understood. Hitz. will have it to be Mount Zion, which in xvii. 3 is called my mountain in the field, and xxi. 13, rock of the plain; and says the trickling waters are the waters of Gihon, these being the only never-drying water of Jerusalem, the origin of which has never been known, and may have been commonly held to be from the snow of Lebanon. Graf and Näg., again, have justly objected that the connection between the snow of Lebanon and the water-springs of Zion is of too doubtful a kind, and does not become probable by appeal to Ps. cxxxiii. 3, where the dew of Hermon is said to descend on the mountains of Zion. For it is perfectly possible that a heavy dew after warm days might be carried to Jerusalem by means of the cool current of air coming down from the north over Hermon (cf. Del. on Ps. cxxxiii. 3); but not that the water of the springs of Jerusalem should have come from Lebanon. Like Ew., Umbr., Graf., and Näg., we therefore understand the rock of the field to be Lebanon itself. But it is not so called as being a detached, commanding rocky mountain, for this is not involved in the sig. of *שָׂרִי* (see on xvii. 3); nor as bulwark of the field (Näg.), for *צוֹר* does not mean bulwark, and the change of *מַצּוֹר* into *מַצּוֹר*, from *מַצּוֹר*, a hemming in, siege, would give a most unsuitable figure. We hold the "field" to be the land of Israel, whence seen, the summit of Lebanon, and especially the peak of Hermon covered with eternal snows, might very well be called the rock

of the field.¹ Observe the omission of the article before Lebanon, whereby it comes about that the name is joined appellatively to "snow:" the Lebanon-snow. And accordingly we regard the waters as those which trickle down from Hermon. The wealth of springs in Lebanon is well known, and the trickling water of Lebanon is used as an illustration in Cant. iv. 15. יִנָּשׂוּ, are rooted up, strikes us as singular, since "root up" seems suitable neither for the drying up of springs, nor for: to be checked in their course. Dav. Kinchi thought, therefore, it stood for יִנָּשׂוּ, *omittuntur*; but this word has not this signification. Probably a transposition has taken place, so that we have יִנָּשׂוּ for יִנָּשׂוּ, since for נָשׂוּ in Niph. the sig. dry up is certified by Isa. xix. 5. The predicate, too, נָשׂוּ is singular. Strange waters are in 2 Kings xix. 24 waters belonging to others; but this will not do here. So Ew. derives נָשׂוּ from נָשׂוּ, press, urge, and correspondingly, נָשׂוּ from נָשׂוּ, spring, well up: waters pouring forth with fierce pressure. In this case, however, the following נָשׂוּ would be superfluous, or at least feeble. Then, נָשׂוּ, Prov. xxv. 25, is cold water; and besides, נָשׂוּ means *constrinxit, compressit*, of which root-meaning the sig. to press forth is a contradiction. There is therefore nothing for it but to keep to the sig. strange for נָשׂוּ; strange waters = waters coming from afar, whose springs are not known, so that they could be stopped up. The predicate cold is quite in keeping, for cold waters do not readily dry up, the coldness

¹ "Hermon is not a conical mountain like Tabor, with a single lofty peak and a well-defined base, but a whole mountain mass of many days' journey in circuit, with a broad crest of summits. The highest of these lie within the Holy Land, and, according to the measurements of the English engineers, Majors Scott and Rohe (1840), rise to a height of 9376 English feet,—summits encompassed by far-stretching mountain ridges, from whose deep gloomy valleys the chief rivers of the country take their rise. . . . Behind the dark green foremost range (that having valleys clothed with pine and oak forests) high mountains raise their domes aloft; there is a fir wood sprinkled with snow as with silver, a marvellous mingling of bright and dark; and behind these rises the broad central ridge with its peaks covered with deep and all but everlasting snows."—Van de Velde, *Reise*, i. S. 96 f. Therewith cf. Robins. *Phys. Geogr.* p. 315: "In the ravines round about the highest of the two peaks, snow, or rather ice, lies the whole year round. In summer this gives the mountain, when seen from a distance, the appearance of being surrounded with radiant stripes descending from its crown."

being a protection against evaporation. Such, then, will be the meaning of the verse: As the Lebanon-snow does not forsake the rock, so the waters trickling thence do not dry up. From the application of this general idea, that in inanimate nature faithfulness and constancy are found, to Israel's bearing towards God arises a deeper significance, which shows why this figure was chosen. The rock in the field points to the Rock of Israel as the everlasting rock, rock of ages (Isa. xxx. 29 and xxvi. 4), and the cold, *i.e.* refreshing waters, which trickle from the rock of the field, point to Jahveh, the fountain of living water, ii. 13 and xvii. 13. Although the snow does not forsake Lebanon, Israel has forgotten the fountain of living water from which water of life flows to it; cf. ii. 13.

The application at ver. 15 is introduced by a causal *כִּי*. Ew. wrongly translates: that my people forgot me. *כִּי* means for; and the causal import is founded on the main idea of ver. 13: A very horrible thing hath Israel done; for it hath done that which is unheard of in the natural world, it hath forsaken me, the rock of safety; cf. ii. 32. They burn odours, *i.e.* kindle sacrifices, to the vanity, *i.e.* the null gods, cf. Ps. xxxi. 7, *i.e.* to Baal, vii. 9, xi. 13, 17. The subject to *יִשְׁלִים* may be most simply supplied from the idea of "the vanity:" the null gods made them to stumble; cf. for this idea 2 Chron. xxviii. 23. This seems more natural than to leave the subject indefinite, in which case the false prophets (cf. xxiii. 27) or the priests, or other seducers, would be the moving spirits. "The ancient paths" is apposition to "their ways:" upon their ways, the paths of the old time, *i.e.* not, however, the good old believing times, from whose ways the Israelites have but recently diverged. For *עוֹלָם* never denotes the time not very long passed away, but always old, immemorial time, here specially the time of the patriarchs, who walked on the right paths of faithfulness to God, as in vi. 16. Hitz. and Graf have taken "the ancient paths" as subject: the old paths have made the Israelites to stumble on their ways, which gives a most unnatural idea, while the "paths of the earliest time" is weakened into "the example of their ancestors;" and besides, the parallelism is destroyed. As "by-paths" is defined by the apposition "a way not cast up," so is "on their ways" by "the ancient paths." The *Chet.*

שְׁבוּלִי is found only here; the *Keri* is formed after Ps. lxxvii. 20. A way not cast up is one on which one cannot advance, reach the goal, or on which one suffers hurt and perishes.—In ver. 16 the consequences of these doings are spoken of as having been wrought out by themselves, in order thus to bring out the God-ordained causal nexus between actions and their consequences. To make their land an object of horror to all that set foot on it. שְׁרוּקוֹת occurs only here, while the *Keri* שְׁרוּקוֹת is found only in Judg. v. 16 for the piping of shepherds, from שָׁרַק, to hiss, to pipe. In connection with שָׁמָּה as expression of horror or amazement, Jeremiah elsewhere uses only שָׁרָקָה, cf. xix. 8, xxv. 9, 18, xxix. 18, li. 37, so that here the vowelling should perhaps be שְׁרוּקָה. The word does not here denote the hissing = hissing down or against one, by way of contempt, but the sound midway between hissing and whistling which escapes one when one looks on something appalling. On “every one that passeth by shall be dismayed,” cf. 1 Kings ix. 8. הִנֵּי בְּרָאשׁוֹ only here = הִנֵּי רֹאשׁ, to move the head to and fro, shake the head; a gesture of malicious amazement, cf. Ps. xxii. 8, cix. 25, like מְנוּד רֹאשׁ, Ps. xlv. 15.—In ver. 17 the Lord discloses the coming punishment. Like an east wind, i.e. a violent storm-wind (cf. Ps. xlviii. 8), will I scatter them, cf. xiii. 24. Because they have turned to Him the back and not the face (cf. ii. 27), so will He turn His back on them in the day of their ruin, cf. Ezek. xxxv. 5.

Vers. 18-23. *Enmity displayed against the prophet by the people for this discourse, and prayer for protection from his enemies.*—Ver. 18. “Then said they: Come and let us plot schemes against Jeremiah; for law shall not be lost to the priest, and counsel to the wise, and speech to the prophet. Come and let us smite him with the tongue and not give heed to all his speeches. Ver. 19. Give heed to me, Jahveh, and hearken to the voice of them that contend with me! Ver. 20. Shall evil be repaid for good, that they dig a pit for my soul? Remember how I stood before Thee to speak good for them, to turn away Thy wrath from them! Ver. 21. Therefore give their sons to the famine and deliver them to the sword, that their wives become childless and widows, and their men slaughtered by death, their young men smitten by the sword in

battle. Ver. 22. Let a cry be heard from their houses, when Thou bringest troops upon them suddenly; for they have digged a pit to take me and laid snares for my feet. Ver. 23. But Thou Jahveh knowest all their counsels against me for death: forgive not their iniquity and blot not out their sin from before Thy face, that they be overthrown before Thee; in the time of Thine anger deal with them."

Even the solemn words (vers. 15-17) of the prophet were in vain. Instead of examining themselves and reforming their lives, the blinded sinners resolve to put the troublesome preacher of repentance out of the way by means of false charges. The subject of "and they said" is those who had heard the above discourse; not all, of course, but the infatuated leaders of the people who had. They call on the multitude to plot schemes against him, cf. xi. 18 ff. For they have, as they think, priests, wise men, and prophets to give them instruction out of the law, counsel, and word, *i.e.* prophecy,—namely, according to their idea, such as advise, teach, and preach otherwise than Jeremiah, who speaks only of repentance and judgment. Recent scholars render תּוֹרָה doctrine, which is right etymologically, but not so when judged by the constant usage, which regards the Torah, the law, as containing the substance of all the doctrine needed by man to tell him how to bear himself towards God, or to make his life happy. The Mosaic law is the foundation of all prophetic preaching; and that the speakers mean תּוֹרָה in this sense is clear from their claiming the knowledge of the Torah as belonging to the priests; the law was committed to the keeping and administration of the priests. The "counsel" is that needed for the conduct of the state in difficult circumstances, and in Ezek. vii. 26 it is attributed to the elders; and "speech" or word is the declarations of the prophets. On that subject, cf. viii. 8-10. To smite with the tongue is to ruin by slanders and malicious charges, cf. ix. 2, 4, 7, where the tongue is compared to a lying bow and deadly arrow, Ps. lxiv. 4 f., lix. 8, etc. That they had the prophet's death in view appears from ver. 23; although their further speech: We will not give heed to his words, shows that in the discourse against which they were so enraged, he had said "nothing that, according to their ideas, was directly and immediately punishable with death"

(Hitz.); cf. xxvi. 6, 11. Against these schemes Jeremiah cries to God in ver. 19 for help and protection. While his adversaries are saying: People should give no heed to his speeches, he prays the Lord to give heed to him and to listen to the sayings of his enemies. "My contenders," who contend against me, cf. xxxv. 1, Isa. xlix. 25.—In support of his prayer he says in ver. 20: Shall evil be repaid for good? cf. Ps. xxxv. 12. In his discourses he had in view nothing but the good of the people, and he appeals to the prayers he had presented to the Lord to turn away God's anger from the people, cf. xiv. 7 ff., vers. 19-22. (On "my standing before Thee," cf. xv. 1.) This good they seek to repay with ill, by lying charges to dig a pit for his soul, *i.e.* for his life, into which pit he may fall; cf. Ps. lvii. 7, where, however, instead of שִׁנְיָה (ii. 6; Prov. xxii. 14, xxiii. 27), we have שִׁחָה, as in ver. 22, *Chet*.—He prays the Lord to requite them for this wickedness by bringing on the people that which Jeremiah had sought to avert, by destroying them with famine, sword, and disease. The various kinds of death are, ver. 21, distributed rhetorically amongst the different classes of the people. The sons, *i.e.* children, are to be given up to the famine, the men to the sword, the young men to the sword in war. The suffix on הַנָּחִים refers to the people, of which the children are mentioned before, the men and women after. On הָיָר עַל יְדֵי חָרֶב, cf. Ezek. xxxv. 5, Ps. lxiii. 11. "Death," mentioned alongside of sword and famine, is death by disease and pestilence, as in xv. 2.—Ver. 22. To the terrors of the war and the siege is to be added the cry rising from all the houses into which hostile troops have burst, plundering and massacring. To lay snares, as in Ps. cxl. 6, cxlii. 4. פֶּחַ is the springe of the bird-catcher.—Ver. 23. Comprehensive summing up of the whole prayer. As the Lord knows their design against him for his death, he prays Him not to forgive their sin, but to punish it. The form תִּמְחֵי instead of תִּמַּח (Neh. xiii. 14) is the Aramaic form for תִּמְחֵה, like תִּנְי, iii. 6; cf. Ew. § 224, c. The *Chet*. תִּחַי is the regular continuation of the imperative: and let them be cast down before Thee. The *Keri* תִּחַי would be: that they may be cast down before Thee. Hitz. wrongly expounds the *Chet*.: but let them be fallen before Thee (in Thine eyes), *i.e.* morally degraded sinners; for the question is not here one of

moral degradation, but of the punishment of sinners. In the time of Thine anger, *i.e.* when Thou lettest loose Thy wrath, causest Thy judgments to come down, deal with them, *i.e.* with their transgressions. On וְיִשְׁפֹּךְ, cf. Dan. xi. 7.

On this prayer of the prophet to God to exterminate his enemies Hitz. remarks: "The various curses which in his bitter indignation he directs against his enemies are at bottom but the expression of the thought: Now may all that befall them which I sought to avert from them." The *Hirschberg Bible* takes a deeper grasp of the matter: "It is no prayer of carnal vengeance against those that hated him, vers. 18, 23, Ps. ix. 18, lv. 16; but as God had commanded him to desist (xiv. 11, 12) from the prayers he had frequently made for them, ver. 20, and as they themselves could not endure these prayers, ver. 18, he leaves them to God's judgments which he had been already compelled to predict to them, xi. 22, xiv. 12, 16, without any longer resisting with his entreaties, Luke xiii. 9, 2 Tim. iv. 14." In this observation that clause only is wrong which says Jeremiah merely leaves the wicked to God's judgments, since he, on the other hand, gives them up thereto, prays God to carry out judgment on them with the utmost severity. In this respect the present passage resembles the so-called cursing psalms (Ps. xxxv. 4-10, cix. 6-20, lix. 14-16, lxix. 26-29, etc.); nor can we say with Calvin: *hanc vehementiam, quoniam dictata fuit a spiritu sancto, non posse damnari, sed non debere trahi in exemplum, quia hoc singulare fuit in propheta*. For the prophet's prayer is no inspired יְדַבֵּר, but the wish and utterance of his heart, for the fulfilment of which he cries to God; just as in the psalms cited. On these imprecations, cf. Del. on Ps. xxxv. and cix., and vol. i. p. 417 f.; as also the solid investigation of this point by Kurtz: *Zur Theologie der Ps. IV. die Fluch- und Rache psalmen* in the Dorpat *Ztschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, vii. (1865), S. 359 ff. All these curses are not the outcome and effusions of personal vengeance against enemies, but flow from the pure spring of a zeal, not self-regarding at all, for the glory of God. The enemies are God's enemies, despisers of His salvation. Their hostility against David and against Jeremiah was rooted in their hostility against God and the kingdom of God. The advancement of the kingdom of God, the fulfilment of the divine

scheme of salvation, required the fall of the ungodly who seek the lives of God's servants. In this way we would seek to defend such words of cursing by appealing to the legal spirit of the Old Testament, and would not oppose them to the words of Christ, Luke ix. 55. For Christ tells us why He blamed the Elias-like zeal of His disciples in the words: "The Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." In keeping with this, the peculiar end of Christ's coming on earth, we find no curses from Him against His enemies and the enemies of the kingdom of God. But just as the word, "I am not come," etc. (Luke ix. 56), does not exclude the truth that the Father hath given all judgment to Him, so, as Kurtz very justly remarks, "from our hearing no word of cursing from the mouth of Christ during His life on earth we cannot infer the absolute inadmissibleness of all such; still less can we infer that Christ's apostles and disciples could not at all be justified in using any words of cursing." And the apostles have indeed uttered curses against obdurate enemies: so Peter against Simon the Magian, Acts viii. 20; Paul against the high priest Ananias, Acts xxiii. 3, against the Jewish false teachers, Gal. i. 9 and v. 12, and against Alexander the coppersmith, 2 Tim. iv. 14. But these cases do not annihilate the distinction between the Old and the New Testaments. Since grace and truth have been revealed in Christ, the Old Testament standpoint of retribution according to the rigour of the law cannot be for us the standard of our bearing even towards the enemies of Christ and His kingdom.

Chap. xix. 1-13. THE BROKEN PITCHER.—Ver. 1. "Thus said Jahveh: Go and buy a potter's vessel, and take of the elders of the people and of the elders of the priests, Ver. 2. And go forth into the valley of Benhinnom, which is before the gate Harsuth, and proclaim there the words which I shall speak unto thee, Ver. 3. And say: Hear the word of Jahveh, ye kings of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: Thus hath said Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth his ears shall tingle. Ver. 4. Because they have forsaken me, and disowned this place, and burnt incense in it to other gods whom they knew not,

they, and their fathers, and the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents, Ver. 5. And have built high places for Baal, to burn their sons in the fire as burnt-offerings to Baal, which I have neither commanded nor spoken, nor came it into my heart. Ver. 6. Therefore, behold, days come, saith Jahveh, that this place shall no longer be called Tophet and Valley of Benhinnom, but Valley of Slaughter. Ver. 7. And I make void the counsel of Judah and Jerusalem in this place, and cause them to fall by the sword before their enemies and by the hand of them that seek their lives, and give their carcases to be food for the fowls of the heaven and the beast of the earth, Ver. 8. And make this city a dismay and a scoffing; every one that passeth thereby shall be dismayed and hiss because of all her strokes; Ver. 9. And make them eat the flesh of their sons and the flesh of their daughters, and each shall eat his neighbour's flesh in the siege and straitness wherewith their enemies and they that seek after their lives shall straiten them.—Ver. 10. And break the pitcher before the eyes of the men that go with thee, Ver. 11. And say to them: Thus hath Jahveh of hosts said: Even so will I break this people and this city as one breaketh this potter's vessel, that it cannot be made whole again; and in Tophet shall they bury them, because there is no room to bury. Ver. 12. Thus will I do unto this place, saith Jahveh, and its inhabitants, to make this city as Tophet. Ver. 13. And the houses of Jerusalem and the houses of the kings of Judah shall become, as the place Tophet, unclean, all the houses upon whose roofs they have burnt incense to the whole host of heaven and poured out drink-offerings to other gods."

The purpose for which Jeremiah was to buy the earthen jar is told in ver. 10, and the meaning of breaking it in the valley of Benhinnom is shown in vers. 11-13. בִּקְנָן, from בָּקַן, to pour out, is a jar with a narrow neck, so called from the sound heard when liquid is poured out of it, although the vessel was used for storing honey, 1 Kings xiv. 3. The appellation יוֹצֵר הָרֶשֶׁת, former of earthen vessels, *i.e.* potter, is given to denote the jar as one which, on being broken, would shiver into many fragments. Before "of the elders of the people" a verb seems to be wanting, for which cause many supply יִלְקְחֶהָ (according to

xli. 12, xliii. 10, etc.), rightly so far as sense is concerned ; but we are hardly entitled to assume a lacuna in the text. That assumption is opposed by the ׀ before כִּי־יִקְנֶה; for we cannot straightway presume that this ׀ was put in after the verb had dropped out of the text. In that case the whole word would have been restored. We have here rather, as Schnur. saw, a bold *constructio prægna*ns, the verb "buy" being also joined in zeugma with "of the elders:" buy a jar and (take) certain of the elders ; cf. similar, only less bold, zeugmatic constr. in Job iv. 10, x. 12, Isa. lviii. 5. "Elders of the priests," as in 2 Kings xix. 2, probably identical with the "princes (שָׂרִי) of the priests," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, are doubtless virtually the same as the "heads (רָאשֵׁי) of the priests," Neh. xii. 7, the priests highest in esteem, not merely for their age, but also in virtue of their rank ; just as the "elders of the people" were a permanent representation of the people, consisting of the heads of tribes, houses or septs, and families ; cf. 1 Kings viii. 1-3, and my *Bibl. Archäol.* ii. S. 218. Jeremiah was to take elders of the people and of the priesthood, because it was most readily to be expected of them that the word of God to be proclaimed would find a hearing amongst them. As to the valley of Benhinnom, see on vii. 31. שַׁעַר הַחֲרֹסִית, not Sun-gate (after חָרָס, Job ix. 7, Judg. viii. 13), but Pottery or Sherd-gate, from חָרָס = חֶרֶשׁ, in rabbin. חֲרֹסִית, potter's clay. The *Chet.* חֲרֹסִית is the ancient form, not the modern (Hitz.), for the *Keri* is adapted to the rabbinical form. The clause, "which is before the *Harsuth*-gate," is not meant to describe more particularly the locality, sufficiently well known in Jerusalem, but has reference to the act to be performed there. The name, gate of חֲרֹסִית, which nowhere else occurs, points no doubt to the breaking to shivers of the jar. Hence we are rather to translate Sherd-gate than Pottery-gate, the name having probably arisen amongst the people from the broken fragments which lay about this gate. Comm. are not at one as to which of the known city gates is meant. Hitz. and Kimchi are wrong in thinking of a gate of the court of the temple—the southern one. The context demands one of the city gates, two of which led into the Benhinnom valley: the Spring- or Fountain-gate at the south-east corner, and the Dung-gate on the south-west side of Zion ; see on Neh. iii.

13-15. One of these two must be meant, but which of them it cannot be decided. There Jeremiah is to cry aloud the words which follow, vers. 3-8, and which bear on the kings of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. "Kings" in the plural, as in xiii. 13, because the matter concerned not the reigning king only, but his successors too, who had been guilty of the sins to be punished. In vers. 3-5 the threatening is summarily set forth. Horrible evil will the Lord bring on this place, *i.e.* Jerusalem. The ears of every one that hears it will tingle, so utterly stunning will the news of it turn out to be; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 12 and 1 Sam. iii. 11, where we find *תִּזְעַזְעוּ*; cf. Ew. § 197, *a*. This they have brought on themselves by their dreadful sins. They have forsaken Jahveh, disowned this place; *זָרָה*, prop. find strange, Deut. xxxii. 27, then treat as strange, deny, Job xxi. 29. In substance: they have not treated Jerusalem as the city of the sanctuary of their God, but, as is mentioned after, they have burnt incense in it to other (strange) gods. The words: they and their fathers, and the kings of Judah, are not the subject to "knew not," as is "they and their," etc., in ix. 15, xvi. 13, but to the preceding verb of the principal clause. "And have filled the city with the blood of innocents." This Grot. and others understand by the blood of the children slain for Moloch; and for this, appeal is made to Ps. cvi. 37 f., where the pouring out of innocent blood is explained to be that of sons and daughters offered to idols. But this passage cannot be the standard for the present one, neither can the statement that here we have to deal with idolatry alone. This latter is *petitio principii*. If shedding the blood of innocents had been said of offerings to Moloch, then ver. 5 must be taken as epexegesis. But in opposition to this we have not only the parallelism of the clauses, but also and especially the circumstance, that not till ver. 5 is mention made of altars on which to offer children to Moloch. We therefore understand the filling of Jerusalem with the blood of innocents, according to vii. 6, cf. ii. 34 and xxii. 3, 17, of judicial murder or of bloody persecution of the godly; and on two grounds: 1. because alongside of idolatry we always find mentioned as the chief sin the perversion of justice to the shedding of innocent blood (cf. the passages cited), so that this sin would not likely be omitted here, as one cause

of the dreadful judgment about to pass on Jerusalem; 2. because our passage recalls the very wording of 2 Kings xxi. 16, where, after mentioning his idolatry, it is said of Manasseh: Also innocent blood hath he shed, until he made Jerusalem full (מלא) to the brink. The climax in the enumeration of sins in these verses is accordingly this: 1. The disowning of the holiness of Jerusalem as the abode of the Lord by the public practice of idolatry; 2. the shedding of innocent blood as extremity of injustice and godless judicial practices; 3. as worst of all abominations, the building of altars for burning their own children to Moloch. That the Moloch-sacrifices are mentioned last, as being worst of all, is shown by the three relative clauses: which I have not commanded, etc., which by an impassioned gradation of phrases mark God's abomination of these horrors. On this subject cf. vii. 31 and xxxii. 35.

In vers. 6-13 the threatened punishment is given again at large, and that in two strophes or series of ideas, which explain the emblematical act with the pitcher. The first series, vers. 6-9, is introduced by יִקַּח, which intimates the meaning of the pitcher; and the other, vers. 10-13, is bound up with the breaking of the pitcher. But both series are, ver. 6, opened by the mention of the locality of the act. As ver. 5 was but an expansion of vii. 31, so ver. 6 is a literal repetition of vii. 32. The valley of Benhinnom, with its places for abominable sacrifices (בִּנְיָנִים, see on vii. 32), shall in the future be called Valley of Slaughter; i.e. at the judgment on Jerusalem it will be the place where the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah will be slain by the enemy. There God will make void (בִּקְוָה, playing on בִּקְוָה), i.e. bring to nothing; for what is poured out comes to nothing; cf. Isa. xix. 3. There they shall fall by the sword in such numbers that their corpses shall be food for the beasts of prey (cf. vii. 33), and the city of Jerusalem shall be frightfully ravaged (ver. 8, cf. xviii. 16, xxv. 9, etc.). מַכּוֹתָהּ (plural form of suffix without *Jod*; cf. Ew. § 258, a), the wounds she has received.—In ver. 9 is added yet another item to complete the awful picture, the terrible famine during the siege, partly taken from the words of Deut. xxviii. 53 ff. and Lev. xxvi. 29. That this appalling misery did actually come about during the last siege by the Chaldeans, we learn from Lam. iv. 10.—The

second series, vers. 10–13, is introduced by the act of breaking the pitcher. This happens before the eyes of the elders who have accompanied Jeremiah thither: to them the explanatory word of the Lord is addressed. As the earthen pitcher, so shall Jerusalem—people and city—be broken to pieces; and that irremediably. This is implied in: as one breaks a potter's vessel, etc. (הִרְפָּה for הִרְפָּא). The next clause: and in Tophet they shall bury, etc., is omitted by the LXX. as a repetition from vii. 32, and is objected to by Ew., Hitz., and Graf, as not being in keeping with its context. Ew. proposes to insert it before "as one breaketh;" but this transposition only obscures the meaning of the clause. It connects very suitably with the idea of the incurable breaking in sunder. Because the breaking up of Jerusalem and its inhabitants shall be incurable, shall be like the breaking of a pitcher dashed into countless fragments, therefore there will be lack of room in Jerusalem to bury the dead, and the unclean places of Tophet will need to be used for that purpose. With this the further thought of vers. 12 and 13 connects simply and suitably. Thus (as had been said at ver. 11) will I do unto this place and its inhabitants, וְלָחֵה, and that to make the city as Tophet, *i.e.* not "a mass of sherds and rubbish, as Tophet now is" (Graf); for neither was Tophet then a rubbish-heap, nor did it so become by the breaking of the pitcher. But Josiah had turned all the place of Tophet in the valley of Benhinnom into an unclean region (2 Kings xxiii. 10). All Jerusalem shall become an unclean place like Tophet. This is put in so many words in ver. 13: The houses of Jerusalem shall become unclean like the place Tophet, namely, all houses on whose roofs idolatry has been practised. The construction of הַבָּתִּים הַטְּמֵאִים causes some difficulty. The position of the word at the end disfavors our connecting it with the subject בָּתֵּי, and so does the article, which does not countenance its being taken as predicate. To get rid of the article, J. D. Mich. and Ew. sought to change the reading into תַּפְתָּה טְמֵאִים, after Isa. xxx. 33. But תַּפְתָּה means a Tophet-like place, not Tophet itself, and so gives no meaning to the purpose. No other course is open than to join the word with "the place Tophet:" like the place Tophet, which is unclean. The plural would then be explained less from the collective force of מְקוֹם than from regard

to the plural subject. "All the houses" opens a supplementary definition of the subject: as concerning all houses; cf. Ew. § 310, *a*. On the worship of the stars by sacrifice on the house-tops, transplanted by Manasseh to Jerusalem, see the expos. of Zeph. i. 5 and 2 Kings xxi. 3. 'וְיִסַּד יְהוָה, coinciding literally with vii. 18; the *inf. absol.* being attached to the *verb. finit.* of the former clause (Ew. § 351, *c.*).—Thus far the word of the Lord to Jeremiah, which he was to proclaim in the valley of Benhinom.—The execution of the divine commission is, as being a matter of course, not expressly recounted, but is implied in ver. 14 as having taken place.

Chap. xix. 14-xx. 6. THE PROPHET JEREMIAH AND THE TEMPLE-WARDEN PASHUR.—Ver. 14 f. When Jeremiah, having performed the divine command, returned from Tophet to the city, he went into the court of the house of God and spoke to the people assembled there, ver. 15: "Thus hath said Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I bring upon this city, and all its cities, all the evil that I have pronounced against it, because they stiffened their necks not to hear my words." "All the people" is the people present in the court of the temple as distinguished from the men who had accompanied Jeremiah into the valley of Benhinom (ver. 10). כָּל־הָעָם, the *א* having dropped off, as in xxxix. 16, 1 Kings xxi. 21, 29, 2 Sam. v. 2, and often. "All its cities" are the towns that belonged to Jerusalem, were subject to it (xxxiv. 1); in other words, the cities of Judah, i. 15, ix. 10, etc. All the evil that I have pronounced against it, not merely in the valley of Benhinom (vers. 3-13), but generally up till this time, by the mouth of Jeremiah. If we limit the reference of this view to the prophecy in Tophet, we must assume, with Näg., that Jeremiah repeated the substance of it here; and besides, that prophecy is not in keeping with "all its cities," inasmuch as it (vers. 3-13) deals with Jerusalem alone. Apparently Jeremiah must have said more than is written in the verse, and described the evil somewhat more closely; so that the new matter spoken by him here consists in the "Behold I bring," etc., *i.e.* in his forewarning them of the speedy fulfilment of the threatenings against Jerusalem and Judah, as was the case with the pro-

phesy in the valley of Behinnom, which also, ver. 3, begins with הִנְנִי מִבְּרִיא. On "they stiffened their necks," etc., cf. xvii. 23, vii. 26.

Chap. xx. 1 and 2. When the chief overseer of the temple, Pashur, heard this prophecy, he had the prophet beaten, and put him over-night in the stocks at the upper gate of Benjamin in the temple. *Pashur* is by the appellation: son of *Immer*, distinguished from other priests of this name, e.g. Pashur, son of Malchijah, 1 Chron. ix. 12. It cannot be determined whether *Immer* is here the name of the 16th class of priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 14) or of one of the greater priestly clans (Ezra ii. 37; Neh. vii. 40). Pashur held the office of פָּקִיד נָגִיד, chief overseer in the house of God. נָגִיד is an official name attached to פָּקִיד to explain it. In the latter word lies the idea of overseeing, while the former denotes the official standing or rank of the overseer. The position of נָגִיד was a high one, as may be seen from the fact that the priest Zephaniah, who, according to xxix. 26, held this post, is quoted in lii. 24 (2 Kings xxv. 18) as next to the high priest. The compound expression without article implies that there were several נָגִידִים of the temple. In 2 Chron. xxxv. 8 there are three mentioned under Josiah; which is not contradicted by 2 Chron. xxxi. 13, 1 Chron. ix. 11, Neh. xi. 11, where particular persons are called נָגִיד בֵּית ה'. As chief overseer of the temple, Pashur conceived it to be his duty to take summary magisterial steps against Jeremiah, for his public appearance in the temple. To put this procedure of the priest and temple-warden in its proper light, Jeremiah is designated by the name of his office, הִנְנִי.¹ In virtue of the summary authority which belonged to him (cf. xxix. 26), Pashur smote the prophet, i.e. caused him to be beaten with stripes, perhaps according to the precept Deut. xxv. 3, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 24, and

¹ As this official designation of Jeremiah is not found in chap. i.-xix., but occurs frequently in the succeeding chapters, recent critics have taken it to be an idle addition of the editor of the later prophecies, and have laid stress on the fact as a proof of the later composition, or at least later editing, of these pieces; cf. Graf, S. xxxix, Näg., etc. This assumption is totally erroneous. The designation of Jeremiah as הִנְנִי occurs only where the mention of the man's official character was of importance. It is used partly in contradistinction to the false prophets, xxviii. 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, to

then threw him into prison till the following day, and put him in the stocks. מַהֲפֶכֶת, twisting, was an instrument of torture by which the body was forced into a distorted, unnatural posture; the culprit's hands and feet were presumably bound, so as to keep the position so; see on 2 Chron. xvi. 10, cf. with Acts xvi. 24. The upper gate of Benjamin in the house of Jahveh is the northern gate at the upper, *i.e.* inner court of the temple, the same with the upper gate or the gate of the inner court, looking northwards, Ezek. ix. 2 and viii. 3. By the designation "which is in the house," etc., it is distinguished from the city gate of like name, xxxvii. 13, xxxviii. 7.—When on the next day Pashur released the prophet from imprisonment, the latter made known to him the divine punishment for his misdeed: "Not Pashur will Jahveh call thy name, but Magor-Missabib" (*i.e.* Fear round about). The name is expressive of the thing. And so: Jahveh will call the name, is, in other words, He will make the person to be that which the name expresses; in this case, make Pashur to be an object of fear round about. Under the presumption that the name *Magor-Missabib* conveyed a meaning the most directly opposed to that of *Pashur*, comm. have in various ways attempted to interpret מַגּוֹר־מִסַּבִּיב. It is supposed to be composed of פָּיֵשׁ, Chald. *augeri*, and הוֹר, *nobilitas*, with the force: *abundantia claritatis* (Rashi); or after فسا, *gloriatu est de nobilitate* (Simonis); or from فسيح, *amplus fuit locus*, and the Chald. סְחֹר, *circumcirca: de securitate circumcirca*; or finally, by Ew., from פָּשׁ from פָּיֵשׁ, spring, leap, rejoice (Mal. iii. 20), and הוֹר = הוֹל, joy round about. All these interpretations are arbitrary. פָּיֵשׁ sig. leap and gallop about, Mal. iii. 20 and Hab. i. 8, and in Niph. Nah. iii. 18, to be scattered (see on Hab. i. 8); and פָּשַׁח sig. in Lam. iii. 11 to tear. But the syllable הוֹר can

the elders, priests, and false prophets, xxix. 1, 29, xxxvii. 3, 6, 13, xlii. 2, 4, to the king, xxxii. 2, xxxiv. 6, xxxvii. 2, and partly to distinguish from persons of other conditions in life, xliii. 6, xlv. 1, li. 59. We never find the title in the headings of the prophecies save in xxv. 2, with reference to the fact that here, ver. 4, he upbraids the people for not regarding the sayings of all the prophets of the Lord; and in the oracles against foreign peoples, xlvi. 1, 13, xlvii. 1, xlix. 34, and l. 1, where the name of his calling gave him credentials for these prophecies.—There is no further use of the name in the entire book.

by no means have the sig. of **פָּשׁוּר** claimed for it. Nor are there, indeed, sufficient grounds for assuming that Jeremiah turned the original name upside down in an etymological or philological reference. The new name given by Jeremiah to Pashur is meant to intimate the man's destiny. On "Fear round about," see on vi. 25. What the words of the new name signify is explained in vers. 4-6. Ver. 4. "For thus hath Jahveh said: Behold, I make thee a terror to thyself and to all thy friends, and they shall fall by the sword of their enemies and thine eyes behold it; and all Judah will I give into the hand of the king of Babylon, that he may carry them captive to Babylon and smite them with the sword. Ver. 5. And I will give all the stores of this city, and all its gains, and all its splendour, and all the treasures of the kings of Judah will I give into the hand of their enemies, who shall plunder them and take and bring them to Babylon. Ver. 6. And thou, Pashur, and all that dwell in thine house shall go into captivity, and to Babylon shalt thou come, and there die, and there be buried, thou and all thy friends, to whom thou hast prophesied lyingly."—Pashur will become a fear or terror to himself and all his friends, because of his own and his friends' fate; for he will see his friends fall by the sword of the enemy, and then he himself, with those of his house and his friends not as yet slain, will go forth into exile to Babylon and die there. So that not to himself merely, but to all about him, he will be an object of fear. Næg. wrongly translates **לְמַנְהָרָה**, I deliver thee up to fear, and brings into the text the contrast that Pashur is not to become the victim of death itself, but of perpetual fear of death. Along with Pashur's friends, all Judah is to be given into the hand of the king of Babylon, and be partly exiled to Babylon, partly put to death with the sword. All the goods and gear of Jerusalem, together with the king's treasures, are to be plundered and carried off by the enemy. We must not press "all thy friends" in vers. 4 and 6; and so we escape the apparent contradiction, that while in ver. 4 it is said of all the friends that they shall die by the sword, it is said of all in ver. 6 that they shall go into exile. The friends are those who take Pashur's side, his partisans. From the last clause of ver. 6 we see that Pashur was also of the number of the false prophets, who

prophesied the reverse of Jeremiah's prediction, namely, welfare and peace (cf. xxiii. 17, xiv. 13).—This saying of Jeremiah was most probably fulfilled at the taking of Jerusalem under Jechoniah, Pashur and the better part of the people being carried off to Babylon.

Vers. 7-18. THE PROPHET'S COMPLAINTS AS TO THE SUFFERINGS MET WITH IN HIS CALLING.—This portion contains, first, a complaint addressed to the Lord regarding the persecutions which the preaching of God's word draws down on Jeremiah, but the complaint passes into a jubilant cry of hope (vers. 7-13); secondly, a cursing of the day of his birth (vers. 13-18). The first complaint runs thus:

Vers. 7-13. "Thou hast persuaded me, Jahveh, and I let myself be persuaded; Thou hast laid hold on me and hast prevailed. I am become a laughter the whole day long, every one mocketh at me. Ver. 8. For as often as I speak, I must call out and cry violence and spoil, for the word of Jahveh is made a reproach and a derision to me all the day. Ver. 9. And I said, I will no more remember nor speak more in His name; then was it in my heart as burning fire, shut up in my bones, and I become weary of holding out, and cannot. Ver. 10. For I heard the talk of many: Fear round about! Report, and let us report him! Every man of my friendship lies in wait for my downfall: Peradventure he will let himself be enticed, that we may prevail against him and take our revenge on him. Ver. 11. But Jahveh stands by me as a mighty warrior; therefore shall my persecutors stumble and not prevail, shall be greatly put to shame, because they have not dealt wisely, with everlasting disgrace which will not be forgotten. Ver. 12. And, Jahveh of hosts that trieth the righteous, that seeth reins and heart, let me see Thy vengeance on them, for to Thee have I committed my cause. Ver. 13. Sing to Jahveh, praise Jahveh, for He saves the soul of the poor from the hand of the evil-doers."

This lament as to the hatred and persecution brought upon him by the preaching of the word of the Lord, is chiefly called forth by the proceedings, recounted in vers. 1, 2, of the temple-warden Pashur against him. This is clear from the מְנוּרָה; for, as Näg. truly remarks, the use of this expression

against the prophet may certainly be most easily explained by the use he had so pregnantly made of it against one so distinguished as Pashur. Besides, the bitterness of the complaint, rising at last to the extent of cursing the day of his birth (ver. 14 ff.), is only intelligible as a consequence of such ill-usage as Pashur had already inflicted on him. For although his enemies had schemed against his life, they had never yet ventured positively to lay hands on his person. Pashur first caused him to be beaten, and then had him kept a whole night long in the torture of the stocks. From torture like this his enemies might proceed even to taking his life, if the Lord did not miraculously shield him from their vengeance.—The complaint, vers. 7–13, is an outpouring of the heart to God, a prayer that begins with complaint, passes into confidence in the Lord's protection, and ends in a triumph of hope. In vers. 7 and 8 Jeremiah complains of the evil consequences of his labours. God has persuaded him to undertake the office of prophet, so that he has yielded to the call of God. The words of ver. 7a are not an upbraiding, nor are they given in an upbraiding tone (Hitz.); for פתה does not mean befool, but persuade, induce by words to do a thing. קץ used transitively, but not as 1 Kings xvi. 22, overpower (Ros., Graf, etc.); for then it would not be in keeping with the following ותקל, which after "overpower" would seem very feeble. It means: lay hold of; as usually in the Hiph., so here in Kal. It thus corresponds to תקלת, Isa. viii. 11, denoting the state of being laid hold of by the power of the Spirit of God in order to prophesy. ותקל, not: Thou hast been able, but: Thou hast prevailed, conquered. A sharp contrast to this is presented by the issue of his prophetic labours: I am become a laughing-stock all the day, *i.e.* incessantly. כלם, its (the people's) entirety = all the people.—In ver. 8 "call" is explained by "cry out violence and spoil:" complain of the violence and spoliation that are practised. The word of Jahveh is become a reproach and obloquy, *i.e.* the proclamation of it has brought him only contempt and obloquy. The two cases of קץ are co-ordinate; the two clauses give two reasons for everybody mocking at him. One is objective: so often as he speaks he can do nothing but complain of violence, so that he is ridiculed by the mass of the people; and one is subjective: his preaching brings him only

disgrace. Most comm. refer "violence and spoiling" to the ill-usage the prophet experiences; but this does not exhaust the reference of the words.—Ver. 9. After such bitter experiences, the thought arose in his soul: I will remember Him (Jahveh) no more, *i.e.* make no more mention of the Lord, nor speak in His name, labour as a prophet; but it was within him as burning fire. The subject is not expressed, but is, as Ros. and Hitz. rightly say, the word of Jahveh which is held back. "Shut up in my bones" is apposition to "burning fire," for שָׁם occurs elsewhere also as *masc.*, *e.g.* xlviii. 45, Job xx. 26, Ps. civ. 4. The word of God dwells in the heart; but from there outwards it acts upon his whole organism, like a fire shut up in the hollow of his bones, burning the marrow of them (Job xxi. 24), so that he can no longer bear to keep silence. The perfects "and I said," "and (then) it was," "and I became weary," are to be taken as preterites, expressing events that have several times been repeated, and so the final result is spoken in the *imperf.* I cannot.—Ver. 10 gives the reason for the resolution, adopted but not carried out, of speaking no more in the name of the Lord. This was found in the reports that reached his ears of schemes against his life. The first clause is a verbal quotation from Ps. xxxi. 14, a lament of David in the time of Saul's persecutions. רָדָה, base, backbiting slander. The phrase: Fear round about, indicates, in the form of a brief popular saying, the dangerous case in which the prophet was,¹ which his adversaries prepare for him by their repeating: Report him, we will report him. Report: here, report to the authorities as a dangerous man. Even those who are on friendly terms with him lie in wait for his fall. This phrase too is formed of phrases from the Psalms. On "man of my peace," cf. Ps. xli. 10; on צִלְעִי, Ps. xxxv. 15, xxxviii. 18; and on שָׁמַר, watch, lie in wait for, Ps. lvi. 7, lxxi. 10. "Peradventure"—so they said—"he may

¹ Hupfeld on Ps. xxxi. 14 holds מְנוּרָה מִפְּנֵי to be a proverbial expression for a harassed condition, full of terrors, since the phrase is frequently used by Jeremiah (besides the present vers. 3, 4, and 15, it is at vi. 25, xlv. 5, xlix. 29, Lam. ii. 22). The use made of it in ver. 3 would in that case be easily understood. For we cannot infer, as Näg. would do, that Jeremiah must have formed the phrase himself, from the fact that, except in Ps. xxxi. 14, it is nowhere found but in Jeremiah.

let himself be enticed," *sc.* to say something on which a capital charge may be founded (Graf). With "that we may prevail against him," cf. i. 19, xv. 20.—At ver. 11 the lament rises into confidence in the Lord, springing from the promise given to him by God at his call. *אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה* (for *אֱלֹהֵי*) recalls i. 19, xv. 20. The designation of God as *גִּבּוֹר עֲרִיץ* is formed after xv. 21. Because the Lord has promised to deliver him out of the hand of the *עֲרִיצִים*, violent, he now calls him a hero using violence, and on this founds his assurance that his persecutors will accomplish nothing, but will come to a downfall, to shame, and be covered with never-dying, never-to-be-forgotten disgrace. Because they have dealt not wisely, *i.e.* foolishly, see on x. 21; not: because they did not prosper, which would give a weak, superfluous idea, since their not prospering lies already in *בָּשָׁה*, *spe frustrari*. This disgrace will befall the persecutors, because the Lord of hosts will, as Searcher of hearts, take the part of the righteous, and will take vengeance on their foes. This is the force of ver. 12, which, with a few changes, is repeated from xi. 20.—In this trustfulness his soul rises to a firm hope of deliverance, so that in ver. 13 he can call on himself and all the godly to praise God, the Saviour of the poor. Cf. Ps. xxxi. 8, xxxv. 9, 10, 28, etc.

Vers. 14–18. *The day of his birth cursed.*—Ver. 14. "Cursed be the day wherein I was born! The day my mother bare me, let it not be blessed! Ver. 15. Cursed be the man that brought the good tidings to my father, saying: A man-child is born to thee, who made him very glad. Ver. 16. Let that man be as the cities which Jahveh overthrew without repenting; let him hear crying in the morning and a war-cry at noon-tide, Ver. 17. Because he slew me not from the womb, and so my mother should have been my grave, and her womb should have been always great. Ver. 18. Wherefore am I come forth out of the womb to see hardship and sorrow, and that my days should wear away in shame?"

Inasmuch as the foregoing lamentation had ended in assured hope of deliverance, and in the praise rendered to God therefor, it seems surprising that now there should follow curses on the day of his birth, without any hint to show that at the end this temptation, too, had been overcome. For this reason Ew. wishes

to rearrange the two parts of the complaint, setting vers. 14-18 before vers. 7-12. This transposition he holds to be so unquestionably certain, that he speaks of the order and numbering of the verses in the text as an example, clear as it is remarkable, of displacement. But against this hypothesis we have to consider the improbability that, if individual copyists had omitted the second portion (vers. 14-18) or written it on the margin, others should have introduced it into an unsuitable place. Copyists did not go to work with the biblical text in such an arbitrary and clumsy fashion. Nor is the position occupied by the piece in question so incomprehensible as Ew. imagines. The cursing of the day of his birth, or of his life, after the preceding exaltation to hopeful assurance is not psychologically inconceivable. It may well be understood, if we but think of the two parts of the lamentation as not following one another in the prophet's soul in such immediate succession as they do in the text; if we regard them as spiritual struggles, separated by an interval of time, through which the prophet must successively pass. In vanquishing the temptation that arose from the plots of his enemies against his life, Jeremiah had a strong support in the promise which the Lord gave him at his call, that those who strove against him should not prevail against him; and the deliverance out of the hand of Pashur which he had just experienced, must have given him an actual proof that the Lord was fulfilling His promise. The feeling of this might fill the trembling heart with strength to conquer his temptation, and to elevate himself again, in the joyful confidence of faith, to the praising of the Lord, who delivers the soul of the poor from the hand of the ungodly. But the power of the temptation was not finally vanquished by the renewal of his confidence that the Lord will defend him against all his foes. The unsuccess of his mission might stir up sore struggles in his soul, and not only rob him of all heart to continue his labours, but excite bitter discontent with a life full of hardship and sorrow,—a discontent which found vent in his cursing the day of his birth.

The curse uttered in vers. 14-18 against the day of his birth, while it reminds us of the verses, ch. iii. 3 ff., in which Job curses the day of his conception and of his birth, is markedly

distinguished in form and substance from that dreadful utterance of Job's. Job's words are much more violent and passionate, and are turned directly against God, who has given life to him, to a man whose way is hid, whom God hath hedged round. Jeremiah, on the other hand, curses first the day of his birth (ver. 14), then the man that brought his father the joyful news of the birth of a son (vers. 15-17), because his life is passing away in hardship, trials, sorrow, and shame, without expressly blaming God as the author of that life.—Ver. 14. The day on which I was born, let it be cursed and not blessed, *sc.* because life has never been a blessing to me. Job wishes that the day of his birth and the night of his conception may perish, be annihilated.—Ver. 15. In the curse on the man that brought the father the news of the birth, the stress lies on the clause, "who made him very glad," which goes to strengthen בִּשְׂרָר, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, a clause which is subordinated to the principal clause without any grammatical connection (cf. Ew. § 341, *b*). The joy that man gave the father by his news is become to the son a source of bitter grief.—Ver. 16. He wishes the fate of Sodom (Gen. xix. 25), namely ruin, to befall that man. וְלֹא נִחַם, and may He (Jahveh) not let it repent Him, is adverbially used: without feeling compunction for the destruction, *i.e.* without pity. In ver. 16*b* destruction is depicted under the figure of the terrors of a town beleaguered by enemies and suddenly taken. וְנִקָּה, the wailing cry of the afflicted townspeople; הִרְעָה, the war-cry of the enemies breaking in; cf. xv. 8.—Ver. 17 tells why the curse should fall on that man: because (וְשָׂא, causal) he slew me not from the womb, *i.e.* according to what follows: while yet in the womb, and so (וְהָיָה with ! *consec.*) my mother would have become my grave. Logically considered, the subject to מוֹתְחִנִּי can only be the man on whom the curse of ver. 15 is pronounced. But how could the man kill the child in the mother's womb? This consideration has given occasion to various untenable renderings. Some have taken "from the womb," according to Job iii. 11, in the sense: immediately after birth, *simul ac ex utero exiissem* (Ros.). This is grammatically fair enough, but it does not fall in with the context; for then the following *Vav consec.* must be taken as having the negative force "or rather," the negation being repeated in

the next clause again (Ros., Graf). Both these cases are grammatically inadmissible. Others would supply "Jahveh" as subject to מוֹתֵתִי, or take the verb as with indefinite subject, or as passive. But to supply "Jahveh" is quite arbitrary; and against the passive construction it must be said that thus the causal nexus, indicated by אֲשֶׁר, between the man on whom the curse is to fall and the slaying of the child is done away with, and all connection for the אֲשֶׁר with what precedes would be lost. The difficulty arising from simply accepting the literal meaning is solved by the consideration, that the curse is not levelled against any one particular person. The man that was present at the birth, so as to be able to bring the father the news of it, might have killed the child in the mother's womb. Jeremiah is as little thinking how this could happen as, in the next words, he is of the possibility of everlasting pregnancy. His words must be taken rhetorically, not physiologically. That pregnancy is everlasting that has no birth at the end of it.—In ver. 18 a reason for the curse is given, in that birth had brought him only a life of hardship and sorrow. To see hardship, *i.e.* experience, endure it. His days pass away, vanish in shame, *i.e.* shame at the discomfiture of hopes; for his life-calling produces no fruit, his prophetic work is in vain, since he cannot save his people from destruction.

The curse on the day of birth closes with a sigh at the wretchedness of life, without any hint that he again rises to new joyful faith, and without God's reprimanding him for his discontent as in xi. 19 f. This difficulty the comm. have not touched upon; they have considered only the questions: how at all such a curse in the mouth of a prophet is to be defended; and whether it is in its right place in this connection, immediately after the words so full of hope as ver. 11 ff. (cf. Näg.). The latter question we have already discussed at the beginning of the exposition of these verses. As to the first, opinions differ. Some take the curse to be a purely rhetorical form, having no object whatsoever. For, it is said, the long past day of his birth is as little an object on which the curse could really fall, as is the man who told his father of the birth of a son,—a man who in all probability never had a real existence (Näg.). To this view, ventured so early as Origen, Cor. a Lap. has justly

answered: *obstat, quod dies illa exstiterit fueritque creatura Dei; non licet autem maledicere alicui creaturæ Dei, sive illa præsens sit sive præterita.* Others, as Calv., espied in this cursing *quasi sacrilegum furorem*, and try to excuse it on the ground that the *principium hujus zeli* was justifiable, because Jeremiah cursed the day of his birth not because of personal sufferings, sicknesses, poverty, and the like, but *quoniam videret se perdere operam, quum tamen fideliter studeret eam impendere in salutem populi, deinde quum videret doctrinam Dei obnoxiam esse probris et vituperationibus, quum videret impios ita procaciter insurgere, quum videret totam pietatem ita haberi ludibrio.* But the sentence passed, that the prophet *gravissime peccaverit ut esset contumeliosus in Deum*, is a too severe one, as is also that of the *Berleburg Bible*, that “Jeremiah therein stands for an example of warning to all faithful witnesses for the truth, showing that they should not be impatient of the reproach, contempt, derision, and mockery that befall them on that account, if God’s long-suffering bears with the mockers so long, and ever delays His judgments.” For had Jeremiah sinned so grievously, God would certainly have reproached him with his wrong-doing, as in xv. 19. Since that is not here the case, we are not entitled to make out his words to be a beacon of warning to all witnesses for the truth. Certainly this imprecation was not written for our imitation; for it is doubtless an *infirmetas*, as Seb. Schm. called it,—an outbreak of the striving of the flesh against the spirit. But it should be to us a source of instruction and comfort. From it we should, on the one hand, learn the full weight of the temptation, so that we may arm ourselves with prayer in faith as a weapon against the power of the tempter; on the other hand, we should see the greatness of God’s grace, which raises again those that are stumbling to their fall, and does not let God’s true servants succumb under the temptation, as we gather from the fact, that the Lord does not cast off His servant, but gives him the needed strength for carrying on the heavy labours of his office.—The difficulty that there is no answer from the Lord to this complaint, neither by way of reprimand nor of consolation, as in xii. 5 f., xv. 10, 19 f., is solved when we consider that at his former complainings the Lord had said to him all that was needed to comfort him and raise him up again. A

repetition of those promises would have soothed his bitterness of spirit for a time, perhaps, but not permanently. For the latter purpose the Lord was silent, and left him time to conquer from within the temptation that was crushing him down, by recalling calmly the help from God he had so often hitherto experienced in his labours, especially as the time was now not far distant in which, by the bursting of the threatened judgment on Jerusalem and Judah, he should not only be justified before his adversaries, but also perceive that his labour had not been in vain. And that Jeremiah did indeed victoriously struggle against this temptation, we may gather from remembering that hereafter, when, especially during the siege of Jerusalem under Zedekiah, he had still sorer afflictions to endure, he no longer trembles or bewails the sufferings connected with his calling.

II.—SPECIAL PREDICTIONS OF THE JUDGMENT TO BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE CHALDEANS, AND OF THE MESSIANIC SALVATION.—CHAP. XXI.-XXXIII.

These predictions are distinguished from the discourses of the first section, in regard to their form, by special headings assigning precisely the occasion and the date of the particular utterances; and in regard to their substance, by the minute detail with which judgment and salvation are foretold. They fall into two groups. In chap. xxi.-xxix. is set forth in detail the judgment to be executed upon Judah and the nations by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; and in chap. xxx.-xxxiii. the restoration of Judah and Israel on the expiry of the period of punishment.

A. THE PREDICTIONS OF JUDGMENT ON JUDAH AND THE NATIONS.—CHAP. XXI.-XXIX.

Although these prophecies deal first and chiefly with the judgment which the king of Babylon is to execute on Judah, yet they at the same time intimate that a like fate is in store for the surrounding nations. And in them there is besides a

foreshadowing of the judgment to come on Babylon after the expiration of the period appointed for the domination of the Chaldeans, and in brief hints, of the redemption of Israel from captivity in Babylon and other lands into which it has been scattered. They consist of three prophetic pieces, of which the middle one only, chap. xxv., forms one lengthy continuous discourse, while the two others are composed of several shorter or longer utterances; the latter two being arranged around the former as a centre. In the first piece the necessity of judgment is shown by means of an exposure of the profound corruption of the leaders of the people, the kings and the false prophets, and of the people itself; this being done with a view to check the reigning depravity and to bring back Israel to the true God. In the discourse of chap. xxv. the judgment is set forth with comprehensive generalness. In the third piece, chap. xxvi.-xxix., the truth of this declaration is confirmed, and defended against the gainsaying of priests and prophets, by a series of utterances which crush all hopes and all attempts to avert the ruin of Jerusalem and Judah.—This gathering together of the individual utterances and addresses into longer discourse-like compositions, and the grouping of them around the central discourse chap. xxv., is evidently a part of the work of editing the book, but was doubtless carried out under the direction of the prophet by his assistant Baruch.

Chap. xxi.-xxiv. *The Shepherds and Leaders of the People.*

Under this heading may be comprehended the contents of these four chapters; for the nucleus of this compilation is formed by the prophecy concerning the shepherds of the people, the godless last kings of Judah and the false prophets, in chap. xxii. and xxiii., while chap. xxi. is to be regarded as an introduction thereto, and chap. xxiv. a supplement. The aim of this portion of prophetic teaching is to show how the covenant people has been brought to ruin by its corrupt temporal and spiritual rulers, that the Lord must purge it by sore judgments, presently to fall on Judah through Nebuchadnezzar's instrumentality. This is to be done in order to root out the ungodly by sword, famine, and pestilence, and so to make the survivors His true people again by means of right shepherds

whom He will raise up in the true branch of David. The introduction, chap. xxi., contains deliverances regarding the fate of King Zedekiah, the people, and the city, addressed by Jeremiah, at the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, to the men sent to him from the king, in reply to the request for intercession with the Lord; the answer being to the effect that God will punish them according to the fruit of their doings. Then follow in order the discourse against the corrupt rulers, especially Kings Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jechoniah, chap. xxii., with a promise that the remainder of the Lord's flock will be gathered again and blessed with a righteous shepherd (xxiii. 1-8), and next threatenings against the false prophets (xxiii. 9-40); the conclusion of the whole being formed by the vision of the two baskets of figs, chap. xxiv., which foreshadows the fate of the people carried away to Babylon with Jehoiachin and of those that remained in the land with Zedekiah.—The several long constituent portions of this "word of God," united into a whole by the heading xxi. 1, belong to various times. The contents of chap. xxi. belong to the first period of the Chaldean siege, *i.e.* the ninth year of Zedekiah; the middle portion, chap. xxii. and xxiii., dates from the reigns of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin; the conclusion, chap. xxiv., is from the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, not long after Jehoiachin and the best part of the people had been carried off to Babylon.—As to the joining of chap. xxii. and xxiii. with chap. xxi., Ew. rightly says that Jeremiah made use of the opportunity furnished by the message of the king to him of speaking plainly out regarding the future destiny of the whole kingdom, as well as in an especial way with regard to the royal house, and the great men and leaders of the people; and that he accordingly gathered into this part of the book all he had hitherto publicly uttered concerning the leaders of the people, both kings and temporal princes, and also prophets and priests. This he did in order to disclose, regardless of consequences, the causes for the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the city Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; while the brief promise of a future gathering again of the remnant of the scattered flock, introduced at xxiii. 1-8, is to show that, spite of the judgment to fall on Judah and Jerusalem, the Lord will yet not wholly cast off His people,

but will at a future time admit them to favour again. For the confirmation of this truth there is added in chap. xxiv. the vision of the two baskets of figs.

Chap. xxi. THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY THE CHALDEANS.—Vers. 1 and 2. *The heading specifying the occasion for the following prediction.* “The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah when King Zedekiah sent unto him Pashur the son of Malchiah, and Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, saying: Inquire now of Jahveh for us, for Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon maketh war against us; if so be that the Lord will deal with us according to all His wondrous works, that he may go up from us.” The fighting of Nebuchadrezzar is in ver. 4 stated to be the besieging of the city. From this it appears that the siege had begun ere the king sent the two men to the prophet. Pashur the son of Malchiah is held by Hitz., Graf, Näg., etc., to be a distinguished priest of the class of Malchiah. But this is without sufficient reason; for he is not called a priest, as is the case with Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah, and with Pashur the son of Immer (xxi. 1). Nor is anything proved by the circumstance that Pashur and Malchiah occur in several places as the names of priests, *e.g.* 1 Chron. ix. 12; for both names are also used of persons not priests, *e.g.* Malchiah, Ezra x. 25, 31, and Pashur, Jer. xxxviii. 1, where this son of Gedaliah is certainly a laic. From this passage, where Pashur ben Malchiah appears again, it is clear that the four men there named, who accused Jeremiah for his speech, were government authorities or court officials, since in xxxviii. 4 they are called שָׂרִים. Ros. is therefore right in saying of the Pashur under consideration: *videtur unus ex principibus sive aulicis fuisse*, cf. xxxviii. 4. Only Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah is called priest; and he, acc. to xxix. 25, xxxvii. 3, lii. 24, held a high position in the priesthood. Inquire for us of Jahveh, *i.e.* ask for a revelation for us, as 2 Kings xxii. 13, cf. Gen. xxv. 22. It is not: pray for His help on our behalf, which is expressed by הִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַרְנִי, xxxvii. 3, cf. xlii. 2. In the request for a revelation the element of intercession is certainly not excluded, but it is not directly expressed. But it is on this that the king founds his hope: Peradventure Jahveh will do

with us (אֶתֵּנוּ for אִתָּנוּ) according to all His wondrous works, *i.e.* in the miraculous manner in which He has so often saved us, *e.g.* under Hezekiah, who also, during the blockade of the city by Sennacherib, had recourse to the prophet Isaiah and besought his intercession with the Lord, 2 Kings xix. 2 ff., Isa. xxxvii. 2 ff. That he (Nebuch.) may go up from us. עָלָה, to march against a city in order to besiege it or take it, but with מָעַל, to withdraw from it, cf. xxxvii. 5, 1 Kings xv. 19. As to the name Nebuchadrezzar, which corresponds more exactly than the Aramaic-Jewish Nebuchadnezzar with the *Nebucadurriusur* of the inscriptions (נְבוּ כְדַר אַצַּר, *i.e.* *Nebo coronam servat*), see on Dan. i. 1, p. 71.

Vers. 3-14. The Lord's reply through Jeremiah consists of three parts: *a.* The answer to the king's hope that the Lord will save Jerusalem from the Chaldeans (vers. 4-7); *b.* The counsel given to the people and the royal family as to how they may avert ruin (vers. 8-12); *c.* The prediction that Jerusalem will be punished for her sins (vers. 13 and 14).

Vers. 3-7. *The answer.*—Ver. 3. "And Jeremiah said to them: Thus shall ye say to Zedekiah: Ver. 4. Thus hath Jahveh the God of Israel said: Behold, I turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon and the Chaldeans, which besiege you without the walls, and gather them together into the midst of this city. Ver. 5. And I fight against you with outstretched hand and strong arm, and with anger and fury and great wrath, Ver. 6. And smite the inhabitants of this city, both man and beast; of a great plague they shall die. Ver. 7. And afterward, saith Jahveh, I will give Zedekiah the king of Judah, and his servants, and the people—namely, such as in this city are left of the plague, of the sword, and of the famine—into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those that seek after their life, that he may smite them according to the sharpness of the sword, not spare them, neither have pity nor mercy." This answer is intended to disabuse the king and his servants of all hope of help from God. So far from saving them from the Chaldeans, God will fight against them, will drive back into the city its defenders that are still holding out without the

walls against the enemy; consume the inhabitants by sword, pestilence, famine; deliver the king, with his servants and all that survive inside the lines of the besiegers, into the hand of the latter, and unsparingly cause them be put to death. "I make the weapons of war turn back" is carried on and explained by "I gather them into the city." The sense is: I will bring it about that ye, who still fight without the walls against the beleaguers, must turn back with your weapons and retreat into the city. "Without the walls" is not to be joined to **מִחֶבֶל**, because this is too remote, and **מִחֶבֶל** is by usage locative, not ablative. It should go with "wherewith ye fight," etc.: wherewith ye fight without the walls against the beleaguering enemies. The siege had but just begun, so that the Jews were still trying to hinder the enemy from taking possession of stronger positions and from a closer blockade of the city. In this they will not succeed, but their weapons will be thrust back into the city.—Ver. 7. The Lord will make known His almighty power not for the rescue but for the chastisement of Judah. The words "with outstretched hand and strong arm" are a standing figure for the miraculous manifestation of God's power at the release of Israel from Egypt, Deut. iv. 34, v. 15, xxvi. 8. This power He will now exercise upon Israel, and execute the punishment threatened against apostasy at the renewal of the covenant by Moses in the land of Moab. The words **בְּאֵף . . . בְּרֹאשׁ** are from Deut. xxix. 27. The inhabitants of Jerusalem are to perish during the siege by pestilence and disease, and the remainder, including the king and his servants, to be mercilessly massacred. "Great pestilence" alone is mentioned in ver. 6, but in ver. 7 there are sword and famine along with it. The **וְאֵת** before **הַנִּשְׁאָרִים** seems superfluous and unsuitable, since besides the king, his servants and the people, there could be none others left. The LXX. have therefore omitted it, and Hitz., Ew., Graf, and others propose to erase it. But the **וְ** may be taken to be explicative: namely, such as are left, in which case **וְאֵת** serves to extend the participial clause to all the persons before mentioned, while without the **וְאֵת** the **הַנִּשְׁאָרִים וְגו'** could be referred only to **הָעָם**. "Into the hand of their enemies" is rhetorically amplified by "into the hand of those that seek," etc., as in xix. 7, 9, xxxiv. 20, etc.; **לְפִי חֶרֶב**, according to the sharpness

(or edge) of the sword, *i.e.* mercilessly (see on Gen. xxxiv. 26; in Jer. only here), explained by "not spare them," etc., cf. xiii. 14.

Vers. 8-12. *The counsel given to the people and royal family how to escape death.*—Ver. 8. "And unto the people thou shalt say: Thus hath Jahveh said: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death. Ver. 9. He that abideth in this city shall die by sword, by famine, and by pestilence; but he that goeth out and falleth to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and have his soul for a prey. Ver. 10. For I have set my face on this city for evil and not for good, saith Jahveh; into the hand of the king of Babylon shall it be given, who shall burn it with fire. Ver. 11. And to the house of the king of Judah: Hear the word of Jahveh: Ver. 12. House of David! thus hath Jahveh said: Hold judgment every morning, and save the despoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury break forth as fire, and burn unquenchably, because of the evil of your doings." What the prophet is here to say to the people and the royal house is not directly addressed to the king's envoy, but is closely connected with the answer he was to give to the latter, and serves to strengthen the same. We need not be hampered by the assumption that Jeremiah, immediately after that answer, communicated this advice, so that it might be made known to the people and to the royal house. The counsel given in vers. 8-12 to the people was during the siege repeatedly given by Jeremiah both to the king and to the people, cf. xxxviii. 1 ff., xxxviii. 17 ff., and xxvii. 11 ff., and many of the people acted by his advice, cf. xxxviii. 19, xxxix. 9, lii. 15. But the defenders of the city, the authorities, saw therein treason, or at least a highly dangerous discouragement to those who were fighting, and accused the prophet as a traitor, xxxviii. 4 ff., cf. xxxvii. 13. Still Jeremiah, holding his duty higher than his life, remained in the city, and gave as his opinion, under conviction attained to only by divine revelation, that all resistance is useless, since God has irrevocably decreed the destruction of Jerusalem as a punishment for their sins. The idea of ver. 7 is clothed in words taken from Deut. xxx. 15, cf. xi. 26. יָשָׁב, ver. 9, as opposed to נָצַח, does not mean: to dwell, but: to sit still, abide. To fall to the Chaldeans, *i.e.*

to go over to them, cf. xxxvii. 14, xxxix. 9, 2 Kings xxv. 11; על is interchanged with אל, xxxvii. 13, xxxviii. 19, lii. 15. The *Chet*, חֵת, is right, corresponding to יָמִית; the *Keri* יָחַת is wrong. His life shall be to him for a prey, i.e. he shall carry it thence as a prey, i.e. preserve it. Ver. 10 gives the reason for the advice given. For I have set my face, cf. xlv. 11, recalls Amos ix. 4, only there we have עֵינִי for פָּנַי, as in xxiv. 6. To set the face or eye on one means: to pay special heed to him, in good (cf. xxxix. 12) or in evil sense; hence the addition, "for evil," etc.—Ver. 11 f.¹ The kingly house, i.e. the king and his family, under which are here comprehended not merely women and children, but also the king's companions, his servants and counsellors; they are counselled to hold judgment every morning. מִשְׁפָּט מִשְׁפָּט = דִּין דִּין, v. 28, xxii. 16, or מִשְׁפָּט מִשְׁפָּט, Lam. iii. 59, 1 Kings iii. 28. לְבָקֶר distributively, every morning, as Amos iv. 4. To save the despoiled out of the hand of the oppressor

¹ According to Hitz., Gr., and Näg., the passage vers. 11–14 stands in no inner connection with the foregoing, and may, from the contents of it, be seen to belong to an earlier period than that of the siege which took place under Zedekiah, namely, to the time of Jehoiakim, because, *a.* in the period of chap. xxi. 1 ff. such an exhortation and conditional threatening must have been out of place after their destruction had been quite unconditionally foretold to Zedekiah and the people in vers. 4–7; *b.* the defiant tone conveyed in ver. 13 is inconsistent with the cringing despondency shown by Zedekiah in ver. 2; *c.* it is contrary to what we would expect to find the house of the king addressed separately after the king had been addressed in ver. 3, the king being himself comprehended in his "house." But these arguments, on which Hitz. builds ingenious hypotheses, are perfectly valueless. As to *a.*, we have to remark: In vers. 4–7 unconditional destruction is foretold against neither king nor people; it is only said that the Chaldeans will capture the city,—that the inhabitants will be smitten with pestilence, famine, and sword,—and that the king, with his servants and those that are left, will be given into the hand of the king of Babylon, who will smite them unsparingly. But in ver. 12 the threatening is uttered against the king, that if he does not practise righteousness, the wrath of God will be kindled unquenchably, and, ver. 14, that Jerusalem is to be burnt with fire. In vers. 4–7 there is no word of the burning of the city; it is first threatened, ver. 10, against the people, after the choice has been given them of escaping utter destruction. How little the burning of Jerusalem is involved in vers. 4–7 may be seen from the history of the siege and capture of Jerusalem under Jehoiachin, on which occasion, too, the king, with his servants and the people, was given into the hand of the king of Babylon, while the city was permitted to stand, and the deported king

means: to defend his just cause against the oppressor, to defend him from being despoiled; cf. xxii. 3. The form of address: House of David, which is by a displacement awkwardly separated from דָּוִד, is meant to remind the kingly house of its origin, its ancestor David, who walked in the ways of the Lord.—The second half of the verse, “lest my fury,” etc., runs like iv. 4.

Vers. 13 and 14. *The chastisement of Jerusalem*.—Ver. 13. “Behold, I am against thee, inhabitress of the valley, of the rock of the plain, saith Jahveh, ye who say: Who shall come down against us, and who shall come into our dwellings? Ver. 14. And will visit you according to the fruit of your doings, saith Jahveh, and kindle a fire in her forest, that it may devour all her surroundings.” This threatening is levelled against the citizens of Jerusalem, who vaunted the impregnableness of their city. The inhabitress of the valley is the daughter of Zion, the population of Jerusalem personified. The situation of the city is spoken of as נַחֲלָה, ravine between mountains, in respect that

remained in life, and was subsequently set free from his captivity by Evil-Merodach. But that Zedekiah, by hearkening to the word of the Lord, can alleviate his doom and save Jerusalem from destruction, this Jeremiah tells him yet later in very plain terms, chap. xxxviii. 17–23, cf. xxxiv. 4 f. Lastly, the release of Hebrew man-servants and maid-servants, recounted in chap. xxxiv. 8 ff., shows that even during the siege there were cases of an endeavour to turn and follow the law, and consequently that an exhortation to hold by the right could not have been regarded as wholly superfluous.—The other two arguments, *b* and *c*, are totally inconclusive. How the confidence of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the strength of its fortifications (ver. 13) is contradictory of the fact related in ver. 2, does not appear. That Zedekiah should betake himself to the prophet, desiring him to entreat the help of God, is not a specimen of cringing despondency such as excludes all confidence in any earthly means of help. Nor are defiance and despondency mutually exclusive opposites in psychological experience, but states of mind that rapidly alternate. Finally, Näg. seems to have added the last argument (*c*) only because he had no great confidence in the two others, which had been dwelt on by Hitz. and Graf. Why should not Jeremiah have given the king another counsel for warding off the worst, over and above that conveyed in the answer to his question (vers. 4–7)?—These arguments have therefore not pith enough to throw any doubt on the connection between the two passages (vers. 8–10, and 11, 12) indicated by the manner in which “and to the house (בֵּית) of the king of Judah” points back to “and unto this people thou shalt say” (ver. 8), or to induce us to attribute the connection so indicated to the thoughtlessness of the editor.

Jerusalem was encircled by mountains of greater height (Ps. cxxv. 2); and as rock of the plain, *i.e.* the region regarded as a level from which Mount Zion, the seat of the kingdom, rose, equivalent to rock of the field, xvii. 3. In the "rock" we think specially of Mount Zion, and in the "valley," of the so-called lower city. The two designations are chosen to indicate the strong situation of Jerusalem. On this the inhabitants pride themselves, who say: Who shall come down against us? יִהְיֶה for יִהְיֶה, from יָהָה; cf. *Ew.* § 139, c. Dwellings, cf. xxv. 30, not cities of refuge or coverts of wild animals; מְעוֹן has not this force, but can at most acquire it from the context; see *Del.* on Ps. xxvi. 8. The strength of the city will not shield the inhabitants from the punishment with which God will visit them. "According to the fruit," etc., cf. xvii. 10. I kindle fire in her forest. The city is a forest of houses, and the figure is to be explained by the simile in xxii. 6, but was not suggested by מְעוֹן = *lustra ferarum* (*Hitz.*). All her surroundings, how much more than the city itself!

Chap. xxii.-xxiii. 8. **REBUKE OF THE UNGODLY KINGS JEHOIAKIM AND JEHOIACHIN, AND PROMISE OF A RIGHTEOUS BRANCH OF DAVID.**—This discourse begins with an exhortation to the king, his servants, and the people to do right and justice, and to eschew all unrighteousness, and with the warning, that in case of the contrary the royal palace will be reduced to ruins and Jerusalem destroyed by fire. After touching briefly on the fate of Jehoahaz, who has been deported to Egypt (vers. 10-12), the discourse turns against Jehoiakim, rebukes his tyranny, in that he builds his house with unrighteousness and schemes only bloodshed and violence, and threatens him with ignominious ruin (vers. 13-19). Then, after a threatening against Jerusalem (vers. 20-23), it deals with Jechoniah, who is told he shall be carried to Babylon never to return, and without any descendant to sit on his throne (vers. 24-30). Next, after an outcry of grief at the wicked shepherds, follows the promise that the Lord will gather the remnant of His flock out of all the lands whither they have been driven, that He will restore them to their fields and multiply them, and that He will raise up to them a good shepherd in the righteous branch of David (xxiii. 1-8).—

According to xxi. 1, Jeremiah spoke these words in the house of the king of Judah; whence we see that in this passage we have not merely ideas and scraps of addresses gathered together, such as had been on various occasions orally delivered by the prophet. It further appears from ver. 10 and vers. 13-17, that the portion of the discourse addressed to Jehoiakim was uttered in the first year of his reign; and from ver. 24, where Jechoniah is addressed as king, that the utterance concerning him belongs to the short period (only three months long) of his reign. But the utterance concerning Jechoniah is joined with that concerning Jehoiakim on account of the close relationship in matter between them. The exhortation and warning against injustice, forming the introduction, as regards its contents, fits very well into the time of Jehoiakim (cf. ver. 17 with ver. 3). The promise with which the discourse concludes was apparently not spoken till the time of Jechoniah, shortly before his being taken to Babylon. So that we have here the discourses of Jeremiah belonging to the times of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin respectively, joined into one continuous whole.

Chap. xxii. 1-9. *The king is warned against injustice, and the violent oppression of the poor and defenceless.*—Ver. 1. "Thus said Jahveh: Go down to the house of the king of Judah and speak there this word, Ver. 2. And say: Hear the word of Jahveh, thou king of Judah, that sittest upon the throne of David, thou, and thy servants, and thy people, that go in by these gates. Ver. 3. Thus hath Jahveh said: Do ye right and justice, and save the despoiled out of the hand of the oppressor; to stranger, orphan, and widow do no wrong, no violence; and innocent blood shed not in this place. Ver. 4. For if ye will do this word indeed, then by the gates of this place there shall come in kings that sit upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, he, and his servants, and his people. Ver. 5. But if ye hearken not to these words, by myself have I sworn, saith Jahveh, that this house shall become a desolation. Ver. 6. For thus hath Jahveh said concerning the house of the king of Judah: A Gilead art thou to me, a head of Lebanon; surely I will make thee a wilderness, cities uninhabited; Ver. 7. And will consecrate against thee destroyers, each with his tools, who shall hew down the choice of thy cedars and cast them

into the fire. Ver. 8. And there shall pass many peoples by this city, and one shall say to the other: Wherefore hath Jahveh done thus unto this great city? Ver. 9. And they will say: Because they have forsaken the covenant of Jahveh their God, and worshipped other gods and served them."

Go down into the house of the king. The prophet could go down only from the temple; cf. xxxvi. 12 and xxvi. 10. Not only the king is to hear the word of the Lord, but his servants too, and the people, who go in by these gates, the gates of the royal castle. The exhortation: to do right and justice, etc., is only an expansion of the brief counsel at xxi. 12, and that brought home to the heart of the whole people in vii. 6, cf. Ezek. xxii. 6 f. The form עֲשֵׂה for עֲשֶׂה, xxi. 12, occurs only here, but is formed analogously to גִּדֹּל, and cannot be objected to. אֶל-הַיָּד is strengthened by "do no violence." On "kings riding," etc., cf. xvii. 25.—With ver. 5 cf. xvii. 27, where, however, the threatening is otherwise worded. בִּי יִשְׁבְּעָה, cf. Gen. xxii. 16. בִּי introduces the contents of the oath. "This house" is the royal palace. לְחֶרֶב as in vii. 34, cf. xxvii. 17. The threatening is illustrated in ver. 6 by further description of the destruction of the palace. The royal castle is addressed, and, in respect of its lofty situation and magnificence, is called a Gilead and a head of Lebanon. It lay on the north-eastern eminence of Mount Zion (see on 1 Kings vii. 12, note 1), and contained the so-called forest-house of Lebanon (1 Kings vii. 2–5) and various other buildings built of cedar, or, at least, faced with cedar planks (cf. vers. 14, 23); so that the entire building might be compared to a forest of cedars on the summit of Lebanon. In the comparison to Gilead, Gilead can hardly be adduced in respect of its great fertility as a pasturing land (Num. xxxii. 1; Mic. vii. 14), but in virtue of the thickly wooded covering of the hill-country of Gilead on both sides of the Jabbok. This is still in great measure clothed with oak thickets and, according to Buckingham, the most beautiful forest tracts that can be imagined; cf. C. v. Raumer, *Pal. S.* 82.¹ אֶל דָּם is a particle of

¹ In 1834 Eli Smith travelled through it, and thus writes: "Jebel 'Ajlun presents the most charming rural scenery that I have seen in Syria. A continued forest of noble trees, chiefly the evergreen oak, covers a large part of it, while the ground beneath is clothed with luxuriant grass and decked

asseveration. This glorious forest of cedar buildings is to become a *תִּירָר*, a treeless steppe, cities uninhabited. "Cities" refers to the thing compared, not to the emblem; and the plural, as being the form for indefinite generality, presents no difficulty. And the attachment thereto of a singular predicate has many analogies in its support, cf. Ew. § 317, *a*. The *Keri* נִשְׁבֵּי is an uncalled for emendation of the *Chet*. נִשְׁבֵּה, cf. vi. 5.—"I consecrate," in respect that the destroyers are warriors whom God sends as the executors of His will, see on vi. 4. With "a man and his weapons," cf. Ezek. ix. 2. In keeping with the figure of a forest, the destruction is represented as the hewing down of the choicest cedars; cf. Isa. x. 34.—Thus is to be accomplished in Jerusalem what Moses threatened, Deut. xxix. 33; the destroyed city will become a monument of God's wrath against the transgressors of His covenant. Ver. 8 is modelled upon Deut. xxix. 23 ff., cf. 1 Kings ix. 8 f., and made to bear upon Jerusalem, since, along with the palace, the city too is destroyed by the enemy.

From ver. 10 onwards the exhortation to the evil shepherds becomes a prophecy concerning the kings of that time, who by their godless courses hurried on the threatened destruction. The prophecy begins with King Jehoahaz, who, after a reign of three months, had been disrowned by Pharaoh Necho and carried captive to Egypt; 2 Kings xxiii. 30-35, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1-4.

Vers. 10-12. *On Jehoahaz*.—Ver. 10. "Weep not for the dead, neither bemoan him; weep rather for him that is gone away, for he shall no more return and see the land of his birth. Ver. 11. For thus saith Jahveh concerning Shallum, the son of Josiah king of Judah, who became king in his father Josiah's stead, and who went forth from this place: He shall not return thither more; Ver. 12. But in the place whither they have carried him captive, there shall he die and see this land no more." The clause: weep not for the dead, with which the prophecy on Shallum is begun, shows that the mourning for

with a rich variety of wild flowers. As we went from el-Husn to 'Ajlun our path lay along the summit of the mountain; and we often overlooked a large part of Palestine on one side and the whole of Haurân."—Rob. *Phys. Geog.* p. 54.

King Josiah was kept up and was still heartily felt amongst the people (2 Chron. xxxv. 24 ff.), and that the circumstances of his death were still fresh in their memory. לָמַח without the article, although Josiah, slain in battle at Megiddo, is meant, because there was no design particularly to define the person. Him that goes or is gone away. He, again, is defined and called Shallum. This Shallum, who became king in his father Josiah's place, can be none other than Josiah's successor, who is called Joahaz in 2 Kings xxiii. 30 ff., 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1; as was seen by Chrysost. and Aben-Ezra, and, since Grotius, by most commentators. The only question is, why he should here be called Shallum. According to Frc. Junius, Hitz., and Graf, Jeremiah compares Joahaz on account of his short reign with Shallum in Israel, who reigned but one month (2 Kings xv. 13), and ironically calls him Shallum, as Jezebel called Jehu, *Zimri* murderer of his lord, 2 Kings ix. 31. This explanation is unquestionably erroneous, since irony of such a sort is inconsistent with what Jeremiah says of Shallum. More plausible seems Hgstb.'s opinion, *Christ.* ii. p. 401, that Jeremiah gives Joahaz the name Shallum, *i.e.* the requited (cf. שָׁלַם, 1 Chron. vi. 13, = שָׁלַם, 1 Chron. ix. 11), as *nomen reale*, to mark him out as the man the Lord had punished for the evil of his doings. But this conjecture too is overthrown by the fact, that in the genealogy of the kings of Judah, 1 Chron. iii. 15, we find among the four sons of Josiah the name שָׁלֻם instead of Joahaz. Now this name cannot have come there from the present passage, for the genealogies of Chronicles are derived from old family registers. That this is so in the case of Josiah's sons, appears from the mention there of a fourth, Johanan, over and above the three known to history, of whom we hear nothing more. In the genealogical tables persons are universally mentioned by their own proper names, not according to "renamings" or surnames, except in the case that these have received the currency and value of historical names, as *e.g.* Israel for Jacob. On the ground of the genealogical table 1 Chron. iii. we must accordingly hold that Joahaz was properly called Shallum, and that probably at his accession he assumed the name יֹאחָז, "Jahvel sustains, holds." But Jeremiah might still have used the name Shallum in preference to the assumed *Joahaz*, because

the former had verified itself in that king's fate. With ver. 11b and 12, cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 33-35.—The brief saying in regard to Joahaz forms the transition from the general censure of the wicked rulers of Judah who brought on the ruin of the kingdom, to the special predictions concerning the ungodly kings Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, in whose time the judgment burst forth. In counselling not to weep for the dead king (Josiah), but for the departed one (Joahaz), Jeremiah does not mean merely to bewail the lot of the king carried prisoner to Egypt, but to foreshadow the misery that awaits the whole people. From this point of view Calv. well says: *si lugenda est urbis hujus clades, potius lugendi sunt qui manebunt superstites quam qui morientur. Mors enim erit quasi requies, erit portus ad finienda omnia mala: Vita autem longior nihil aliud erit quam continua miseriarum series*; and further, that in the words: he shall no more return and see the land of his birth, Jeremiah shows: *exilium fore quasi tabem, quæ paulatim consumat miseros Judæos. Ita mors fuisset illis dulcior longe, quam sic diu cruciari et nihil habere relaxationis*. In the lot of the two kings the people had to recognise what was in store for itself.

Vers. 13-19. *The woe uttered upon Jehoiakim.*—Ver. 13. "Woe unto him that buildeth his house with unrighteousness and his upper chambers with wrong, that maketh his fellow labour for nought, and giveth him not his hire; Ver. 14. That saith: I will build me a wide house and spacious upper chambers, and cutteth him out many windows, and covereth it with cedars, and painteth it with vermilion. Ver. 15. Art thou a king if thou viest in cedar? Did not thy father eat and drink, and do right and justice? Then it went well with him. Ver. 16. He did justice to the poor and wretched, then it was well. Is not this to know me? saith Jahveh. Ver. 17. For on nothing are thine eyes and thy heart set but on gain and on the blood of the innocent, to shed it, and on oppression and violence, to do them. Ver. 18. Therefore thus saith Jahveh concerning Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah: They shall not mourn for him, saying: Alas, my brother! and alas, sister! they shall not mourn for him: Alas, lord! and alas for his glory! Ver. 19. An ass's burial shall his burial be, dragged and cast far away from the gates of Jerusalem."

The prediction as to Jehoiakim begins with a woe upon the unjust oppression of the people. The oppression consisted in his building a magnificent palace with the sweat and blood of his subjects, whom he compelled to do forced labour without giving the labourers wages. The people must have felt this burden all the more severely that Jehoiakim, to obtain the throne, had bound himself to pay to Pharaoh a large tribute, the gold and silver for which he raised from the population according to Pharaoh's own valuation, 2 Kings xxiii. 33 ff. With "Woe to him that buildeth," etc., cf. Hab. ii. 12, Mic. iii. 10. "That maketh his fellow labour," lit. through his neighbour he works, *i.e.* he causes the work to be done by his neighbour (fellow-man) for nought, without giving him wages, forces him to unpaid statute-labour. עָבַד as in Lev. xxv. 39, 46. פָּעַל, labour, work, gain, then wages, cf. Job vii. 2. Jehoiakim sought to increase the splendour of his kingship by palace-building. To this the speech points, put in his mouth at ver. 14: I will build me בַּיִת מְרוֹת, a house of extensions, *i.e.* a palace in the grand style, with spacious halls, vast chambers. מְרוֹת from רוּת, to flound, cheer up, 1 Sam. xvi. 23; not airy, but spacious, for quite a modest house might have airy chambers. וְקָרַע is a continuation of the participle; literally: and he cuts himself out windows, makes huge openings in the walls for windows. This verb is used in iv. 30 of opening up the eyes with paint. הִלְקִי presents some difficulty, seeing that the suffix of the first person makes no sense. It has therefore been held to be a contracted plural form (Gesen. *Lehrgeb.* S. 523) or for a dual (Ew. § 177, *a*), but without any proof of the existence of such formations, since נִזְכִּי, Amos vii. 1, Nah. iii. 17, is to be otherwise explained (see on Amos vii. 1). Following on the back of J. D. Mich., Hitz., Graf, and Böttcher (*ausf. Gramm.* § 414) propose to connect the ו before קָפַן with this word and to read הִלְקִי: and tears open for himself his windows; in support of which it is alleged that one *cod.* so reads. But this one *cod.* can decide nothing, and the suffix *his* is superfluous, even unsuitable, seeing that there can be no thought of another person's building; whereas the copula cannot well be omitted before קָפַן. For the rule adduced for this, that the manner of the principal action is frequently explained by appending

infinitives *absoll.* (Ew. § 280, a), does not meet the present case; the covering with cedar, etc., does not refer to the windows, and so cannot be an explanation of the cutting out for himself. We therefore hold, with Böttcher (*Proben*, S. 40), that חֲלוֹנֵי is an adjective formation, with the force of: abundant in windows, since this formation is completely accredited by חֲלוֹנֵי and חֲרִי (cf. Ew. § 164, c); and the objection alleged against this by Graf, that then no object is specified for “cutteth out,” is not of much weight, it being easy to supply the object from the preceding “house:” and he cuts it out for himself abounding in windows. There needs be no change of וְקָפַן into וְקָפַן. For although the *infin. absol.* would be quite in place as continuation of the *verb. fin.* (cf. Ew. § 351, c), yet it is not necessary. The word is attached in zeugma to וְקָרַע or חֲלוֹנֵי: and he covers with cedar, not: faces or overlays, for this verb does not mean to plank or floor, for which נָפַח is the usual word, but hide, cover, and is used 1 Kings vi. 9, vii. 3, for roofing. The last statement is given in *infin. absol.*: וְמָשַׁח, and besmears it, paints it (the building) with שֵׁשֶׁר, red ochre, a brilliant colour (LXX. *μίλτος*, i.e. acc. to Kimchi, red lead; see Gesen. *thes. s.v.*).—In ver. 15 Jeremiah pursues the subject: kingship and kingcraft do not consist in the erection of splendid palaces, but in the administration of right and justice. The reproachful question הֲתִמְלֹךְ has not the meaning: wilt thou reign long? or wilt thou consolidate thy dominion? but: dost thou suppose thyself to be a king, to show thyself a king, if thy aim and endeavour is solely fixed on the building of a stately palace? “Viest,” as in xii. 5. בָּצָר, not: with the cedar, for תַּחַר is construed with the accus. of that with which one vies, but: in cedar, i.e. in the building of cedar palaces. It was not necessary to say with whom he vied, since the thought of Solomon’s edifices would suggest itself. The LXX. have changed בָּצָר by a pointless *quid pro quo* into בָּחֲזוֹ, ἐν ᾿Αχαζ, for which *Cod. Alex.* and *Arabs* have ἐν ᾿Αχαάβ. The fact that Ahab had built a palace veneered with ivory (1 Kings xxii. 39) is not sufficient to approve this reading, which Ew. prefers. Still less cause is there to delete בָּחֲזוֹ as a gloss (Hitz.) in order to obtain the rendering, justified neither by grammar nor in fact, “if thou contendest with thy father.” To confirm what he has

said, the prophet sets before the worthless king the example of his godly father Josiah. "Thy father, did not he eat and drink," *i.e.* enjoy life (cf. Eccles. ii. 24, iii. 13)? yet at the same time he administered right and justice, like his forefather David; 2 Sam. viii. 15. Then went it well with him and the kingdom. *אִין טוֹב*, ver. 16, is wider than *אִין טוֹב לוֹ*: in respect that he did justice to the poor and wretched, things went well, were well managed in the kingdom at large. In so doing consists "the knowing of me." The knowledge of Jahveh is the practical recognition of God which is displayed in the fear of God and a pious life. The infinitive *nomîn*. *יָדַעַת* has the article because a special emphasis lies on the word (cf. Ew. § 277, c), the true knowledge of God required to have stress laid on it.—But Jehoiakim is the reverse of his father. This thought, lying in ver. 16, is illustrated in ver. 17. For thine eyes are set upon nothing but gain. *בְּצֵעַ*, gain with the suggestion of unrighteousness about it, cf. vi. 13, viii. 10. His whole endeavour was after wealth and splendour. The means of attaining this aim was injustice, since he not only withheld their wages from his workers (ver. 13), but caused the innocent to be condemned in the judgment that he might grasp their goods to himself, as *e.g.* Ahab had done with Naboth. He also put to death the prophets who rebuked his unrighteousness, xxvi. 23, and used every kind of lawless violence. "Oppression" is amplified by *הַמִּרְצָה* (from *רָצַח*, cf. Deut. xxviii. 33, 1 Sam. xii. 3), crushing, "what we call flaying people" (Hitz.); cf. on this subject, Mic. iii. 3.—Ver. 18 f. As punishment for this, his end will be full of horrors; when he dies he will not be bemoaned and mourned for, and will lie unburied. To have an ass's burial means: to be left unburied in the open field, or cast into a flaying-ground, inasmuch as they drag out the dead body and cast it far from the gates of Jerusalem. The words: Alas, my brother! alas, etc.! are *ipsissima verba* of the regular mourners who were procured to bewail the deaths of men and women. The LXX. took objection to the "alas, sister," and left it out, applying the words literally to Jehoiakim's death; whereas the words are but a rhetorical individualizing of the general idea: they will make no death-laments for him, and the omission destroys the parallelism. His glory, *i.e.* the king's. The idea

is : neither his relatives nor his subjects will lament his death. The *infinn. absol.* מְחַוֵּב וְהִשְׁלִיךְ, dragging forth and casting (him), serve to explain : the burial of an ass, etc. In xxxvi. 30, where Jeremiah repeats this prediction concerning Jehoiakim, it is said : His dead body shall be cast out (exposed) to the heat by day and to the cold by night, *i.e.* rot unburied under the open sky.

As to the fulfilment of this prophecy, we are told, indeed, in 2 Kings xxiv. 6 that Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, and Jehoiachin, his son, was king in his stead. But the phrase "to sleep with his fathers" denotes merely departure from this life, without saying anything as to the manner of the death. It is not used only of kings who died a peaceful death on a sickbed, but of Ahab (1 Kings xxii. 40), who, mortally wounded in the battle, died in the war-chariot. There is no record of Jehoiakim's funeral obsequies or burial in 2 Kings xxiv., and in Chron. there is not even mention made of his death. Three years after the first siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and after he had become tributary to the king of Babylon, Jehoiakim rose in insurrection, and Nebuchadnezzar sent against him the troops of the Chaldeans, Aramæans, Moabites, and Ammonites. It was not till after the accession of Jehoiachin that Nebuchadnezzar himself appeared before Jerusalem and besieged it (2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2, and 10). So it is in the highest degree probable that Jehoiakim fell in battle against the Chaldean-Syrian armies before Jerusalem was besieged, and while the enemies were advancing against the city ; also that he was left to lie unburied outside of Jerusalem ; see on 2 Kings xxiv. 6, where other untenable attempts to harmonize are discussed. The absence of direct testimony to the fulfilment of the prophecy before us can be no ground for doubting that it was fulfilled, when we consider the great brevity of the notices of the last kings' reigns given by the authors of the books of Kings and Chronicles. Graf's remark hereon is excellent : " We have a warrant for the fulfilment of this prediction precisely in the fact that it is again expressly recounted in chap. xxxvi., a historical passage written certainly at a later time (xxxvi. 30 seems to contain but a slight reference to the prediction in xxii. 18, 19, 30) ; or, while xxii. 12, 25 ff. tallies so completely with the history, is xxii. 18 f. to be held as contradicting it ? "

Vers. 20-23. *The ruin about to fall on Judah.*—Ver. 20. “Go up on Lebanon and cry, and lift up thy voice in Bashan and cry from Abarim; for broken are all thy lovers. Ver. 21. I spake to thee in thy prosperity; thou saidst: I will not hear; that was thy way from thy youth up, that thou hearkenedst not to my voice. Ver. 22. All thy shepherds the wind shall sweep away, and thy lovers shall go into captivity; yea, then shalt thou be put to shame and ashamed for all thy wickedness. Ver. 23. Thou that dwellest on Lebanon and makest thy nest on cedars, how shalt thou sigh when pangs come upon thee, pain as of a woman in travail!”—It is the people personified as the daughter of Zion, the collective population of Jerusalem and Judah, that is addressed, as in vii. 29. She is to lift up her wailing cry upon the highest mountains, that it may be heard far and near. The peaks of the mountain masses that bordered Palestine are mentioned, from which one could have a view of the land; namely, Lebanon northwards, the mountains of Bashan (Ps. lxxiii. 16) to the north-east, those of Abarim to the south-east, amongst which was Mount Nebo, whence Moses viewed the land of Canaan, Num. xxvii. 12, Deut. xxxii. 49. She is to lament because all her lovers are destroyed. The lovers are not the kings (Ros., Ew., Neum., Näg.), nor the idols (Umbr.), but the allied nations (J. D. Mich., Maur., Hitz.), for whose favour Judah had intrigued (iv. 30)—Egypt (ii. 36) and the little neighbouring states (xxvii. 3). All these nations were brought under the yoke by Nebuchadnezzar, and could no longer give Judah help (xxviii. 14, xxx. 14). On the form *שָׁלוֹם*, see Ew. 41, c.—Ver. 21. The cause of this calamity: because Judah in its prosperity had not hearkened to the voice of its God. *שָׁלוֹם*, from *שָׁלַח*, security, tranquillity, state of well-being free from anxiety; the plur. denotes the peaceful, secure relations. Thus Judah had behaved from youth up, *i.e.* from the time it had become the people of God and been led out of captivity; see ii. 2, Hos. ii. 17.—In ver. 22 *תִּרְצָה* is chosen for the sake of the word-play with *רָעָה*, and denotes to depasture, as in ii. 16. As the storm-wind, especially the parching east wind, depastures, so to speak, the grass of the field, so will the storm about to break on Judah sweep away the shepherds, carry them off; cf. xiii. 24, Isa. xxvii. 8, Job xxvii. 21. The shep-

herds of the people are not merely the kings, but all its leaders, the authorities generally, as in x. 21; and "thy shepherds" is not equivalent to "thy lovers," but the thought is this: Neither its allies nor its leaders will be able to help; the storm of calamity will sweep away the former, the latter must go captive. So that there is no need to alter רִעֵיךָ into רֵעֶיךָ (Hitz.). With the last clause cf. ii. 36. Then surely will the daughter of Zion, feeling secure in her cedar palaces, sigh bitterly. The inhabitants of Jerusalem are said to dwell in Lebanon and to have their nests in cedars in reference to the palaces of cedar belonging to the great and famous, who at the coming destruction will suffer most. As to the forms יִשְׁבְּתִי and מִן־נְנִיתִי, see on x. 17. The explanation of the form נִנְחִיתִי is disputed. Ros., Ges., and others take it for the Niph. of נָחַן, with the force: to be compassionated, thus: how deserving of pity or compassion wilt thou be! But this rendering does not give a very apt sense, even if it were not the case that the sig. to be worthy of pity is not approved by usage, and that it is nowhere taken from the Niph. We therefore prefer the derivation of the word from נָחַן, Niph. נִנְחִיתִי, contr. נִנְחִי, a derivative founded on the LXX. rendering: ὅτι καταστενάζεις, and Vulg. *quomodo congemuisti*. The only question that then remains is, whether the form נִנְחִיתִי has arisen by transposition from נִנְחִי, so as to avoid the coming together of the same letter at the beginning (Ew., Hitz., Gr.); or whether, with Böttch. *ausf. Gramm.* § 1124, B, it is to be held as a reading corrupted from נִנְחִיתִי. With "pangs," etc., cf. xiii. 21, vi. 24.

Vers. 24-30. *Against Jehoiachin or Jechoniah.*—Ver. 24. "As I live, saith Jahveh, though Conjahu, the son of Jehoiakim, the king of Judah, were a signet ring on my right hand, yet would I pluck him thence, Ver. 25. And give thee into the hand of them that seek thy life, and into the hand of them of whom thou art afraid, and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, and into the hand of the Chaldeans; Ver. 26. And will cast thee and thy mother that bare thee into another land where ye were not born; and there shall ye die. Ver 27. And into the land whither they lift up their soul to return, thither shall they not return. Ver. 28. Is this man Conjahu a vessel despised and to be broken, or an utensil

wherein one has no pleasure? Ver. 29. O land, land, land, hear the word of Jahveh! Ver. 30. Thus hath Jahveh said: Write down this man as childless, as a man that hath no prosperity in his life; for no man of his seed shall prosper that sitteth upon the throne of David and ruleth widely over Judah."

The son and successor of Jehoiakim is called in 2 Kings xxiv. 6 ff., 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8 f., Jer. lii. 31, *Jehojachin*, and in Ezek. i. 2, *Jojachin*; here, vers. 24, 28, and xxxvii. 1, *Conjahu*; in xxiv. 1, *Jeconjahu*; and in xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 2, Esth. ii. 6, 1 Chron. iii. 16, *Jeconjah*. The names Jeconjahu and abbreviated Jeconjah are equivalent to Jojachin and Jehojachin, *i.e.* Jahveh will establish. Jeconjah was doubtless his original name, and so stands in the family register, 1 Chron. iii. 16, but was at his accession to the throne changed into Jehojachin or Jojachin, to make it liker his father's name. The abbreviation of Jeconjahu into Conjahu is held by Hgstb. *Christol.* ii. p. 402, to be a change made by Jeremiah in order by cutting off the '(will establish)' to cut off the hope expressed by the name, to make "a Jeconiah without the J, a 'God will establish' without the *will*." For two reasons we cannot adopt this as the true view: 1. The general reason, that if Jeremiah had wished to adumbrate the fate of the three kings (Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin) by making changes in their names, he would then have changed the name of Jehoiakim in like manner as he did that of Jehoahaz into Shallum, and that of Jehoiachin into Conjahu. The argument by which Hgstb. seeks to justify the exception in the one case will not hold its own. Had Jeremiah thought it unseemly to practise a kind of conceit, for however solemn a purpose, on the name of the then reigning monarch, then neither could he have ventured on the like in the case of Jehoiachin; for the present prediction was not, as Hgstb. assumed, uttered before his accession, but, as may be seen from the title the king of Judah, ver. 24, after he had ascended the throne, was actually king. Besides, 2. the name Conjahu occurs also at xxxvii. 1, in a historical heading, as of equal dignity with Jeconjahu, xxix. 2, xxviii. 4, etc., where a name proper only to prophetic discourse would not have been in place. The passages in which the prophets express the

character and destiny of a person in a name specially formed for the purpose, are of another kind. There we have always: they shall call his name, or: his name shall be; cf. xxxiii. 16, Isa. ix. 5, lxii. 4, Ezek. xlviii. 35. That the name *Jeconjah* has not merely the prophet's authority, is vouched for by 1 Chron. iii. 15, Esth. ii. 6, and by the historical notices, Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 2. And the occurrence of the name Jojachin only in 2 Kings xxiv., 2 Chron. xxxvi., Jer. lii. 31, and Ezek. i. 2 is in consequence of the original documents used by the authors of these books, where, so to speak, the official names were made use of; whereas Jeremiah preferred the proper, original name which the man bore as the prince-royal and son of Jehoiakim, and which was therefore the current and best known one.

The utterance concerning Jechoniah is more distinct and decided than that concerning Jehoiakim. With a solemn oath the Lord not only causes to be made known to him that he is to be cast off and taken into exile, but further, that his descendants are debarred from the throne for ever. Nothing is said of his own conduct towards the Lord. In 2 Kings xxiv. 9 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9 it is said of him that he did that which was displeasing to the Lord, even as his father had done. Ezekiel confirms this sentence when in xix. 5-9 he portrays him as a young lion that devoured men, forced widows, and laid cities waste. The words of Jahveh: Although Conjahu were a signet ring on my right hand, convey no judgment as to his character, but simply mean: Although he were as precious a jewel in the Lord's eyes as a signet ring (cf. Hag. ii. 23), the Lord would nevertheless cast him away. וְ before אֲנִי introduces the body of the oath, as in ver. 5, and is for rhetorical effect repeated before the apodosis, as in 2 Sam. iii. 9, ii. 27, etc. Although he were, *sc.* what he is not; not: although he is (Graf); for there is no proof for the remark: that as being the prince set by Jahveh over His people, he has really as close a connection with Him. Hitz.'s explanation is also erroneous: "even if, seeking help, he were to cling so closely to me as a ring does to the finger." A most unnatural figure, not supported by reference to Cant. viii. 6. As to וְאֵתְּ, from וָתָּ with; *epenth.*, cf. Ew. § 250, *b.*—From ver. 25 on, the discourse

is addressed directly to Jechoniah, to make his rejection known to him. God will deliver him into the hand of his enemies, whom he fears, namely, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans, and cast him with his mother into a strange land, where he shall die. The mother was called *Nehushta*, 2 Kings xxiv. 8, and is brought forward in xxix. 2 as נְהִישְׁתָּה. On the fulfilment of this threatening, see 2 Kings xxiv. 12, 15, Jer. xxiv. 1, xxix. 2. The construction אֶתְּרֵךְ אֶתְּרֵךְ is like that of הִפְּנֵן נְבִרִיהָ, ii. 21; and the absence of the article from אֶתְּרֵךְ is no sufficient reason for holding it to be a gloss (Hitz.), or for taking the article in אֶתְּרֵךְ to be a slip caused by אֶתְּרֵךְ, ver. 27. To lift up their souls, i.e. to direct their longings, wishes, towards a thing, cf. Deut. xxiv. 15, Hos. iv. 8, etc.—The further sentence on Jechoniah was not pronounced after he had been carried captive, as Näg. infers from the perfects הוֹטְלִי and הִשְׁלִכִי. The perfects are prophetic. The question: Is this man a vessel despised and to be broken (עֲצֵב, *vas fictile*)? is an expression of sympathising regret on the part of the prophet for the unhappy fate of the king; but we may not hence conclude that Jeremiah regarded him as better than his father. The prophet's sympathy for his fate regarded less the person of the unfortunate king than it did the fortunes of David's royal seed, in that, of Jechoniah's sons, none was to sit on the throne of David (ver. 30). Ew. has excellently paraphrased the sense: "Although there is many a sympathising heart in the land that bitterly laments the hard fate of the dear young king, who along with his infant children has been (? will be) dragged away, yet it is God's unchangeable decree that neither he nor any of his sons shall ascend the throne of David." נִפְּרֵן, not: broken, but: that shall be broken (cf. Ew. § 335, *b*). Wherefore are they—he and his seed—cast out? At his accession Jehoiachin was eighteen years old, not eight, as by an error stands in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, see on 2 Kings xxiv. 8; so that when taken captive, he might well enough have children, or at least one son, since his wives are expressly mentioned in the account of the captivity, 2 Kings xxiv. 15. That the sons mentioned in 1 Chron. iii. 16 and 17 were born to him in exile, cannot be inferred from that passage, rightly understood, see on that passage. The fact that no sons are mentioned in connection with

the carrying captive is simply explained by the fact that they were still infants.—Ver. 29. The land is to take the king's fate sore to heart. The triple repetition of the summons: Land, gives it a special emphasis, and marks the following sentence as of high importance; cf. vii. 4, Ezek. xxi. 32, Isa. vi. 3. Write him down, record him in the family registers, as childless, *i.e.* as a man with whom his race becomes extinct. This is more definitely intimated in the parallel member, namely, that he will not have the fortune to have any of his posterity sit on the throne of David. This does not exclude the possibility of his having sons; it merely implies that none of them should obtain the throne. עָרִירִי sig. lit. solitary, forsaken. Thus a man might well be called who has lost his children by death. Acc. to 1 Chron. iii. 16 f., Jechoniah had two sons, Zedekiah and Assir, of whom the former died childless, the second had but one daughter; and from her and her husband, of the line of Nathan, was born Shealtiel, who also died childless; see the expos. of 1 Chron. iii. 16 f. Jechoniah was followed on the throne by his uncle Mattaniah, whom Nebuchadnezzar installed under the name of Zedekiah. He it was that rose in insurrection against the king of Babylon, and after the capture of Jerusalem was taken prisoner while in flight; and being carried before Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, saw his sons put to death before his eyes, was then made blind, thrown in chains, and carried a prisoner to Babylon, 2 Kings xxv. 4 ff.

Chap. xxiii. 1-8. *The gathering again of the flock, scattered by the evil shepherds, by means of the righteous branch from the stock of David.*—Ver. 1. "Woe to shepherds that destroy and scatter the flock of my pasturing! saith Jahveh. Ver. 2. Therefore thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel, concerning the shepherds that feed my people: Ye have scattered my flock, and driven them away, and not visited them; behold, I will visit on you the evil of your doings, saith Jahveh. Ver. 3. And I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all lands whither I have driven them, and bring them back to their pasture, that they may be fruitful and increase; Ver. 4. And will raise up over them shepherds that shall feed them, and they shall fear no more, nor be dismayed, nor be lacking, saith Jahveh. Ver. 5. Behold, days come, saith Jahveh, that I raise up unto David a

righteous branch, that shall reign as king, and deal wisely, and do right and justice in the land. Ver. 6. In his days Judah shall have welfare, and Israel dwell safely; and this is his name whereby he shall be called: Jahveh our Righteousness. Ver. 7. Therefore, behold, days come, saith Jahveh, that they shall no more say: By the life of Jahveh who brought up the sons of Israel out of the land of Egypt, Ver. 8. But: By the life of Jahveh who brought up and led forth the seed of the house of Israel out of the land towards midnight, and out of all the lands whither I had driven them, and they shall dwell in their own land."

This portion is the conclusion of the prophecy concerning the shepherds of Israel, ch. xxii. In vers. 1 and 2 what has been foretold concerning the last kings of Judah is condensed into one general sentence, so as thus to form a point of connection for the declaration of salvation which follows at ver. 3, consisting in the gathering again of the people, neglected and scattered by the evil shepherds, by means of the righteous branch of David. The Lord cries woe upon the shepherds. רָעִים without article, because the matter concerns all evil shepherds, and is not applied till ver. 2 to the evil rulers of Judah. Venema rightly says: *Generale vœ pastoribus malis præmittitur, quod mox ad pastores Judæ applicatur.* It is so clear from the context as to have been generally admitted by recent comm., that by shepherds are meant not merely the false prophets and priests, nor even these along with the kings; cf. on iii. 15, xxv. 34 ff., and Ezek. xxxiv. The flock of my pasturing, in other words, the flock which I feed; for מְרִעִית sig. both the feeding (cf. Hos. xiii. 6) and the place where the flock feeds, cf. xxv. 36, Ps. lxxiv. 1. Israel is called the flock of Jahveh's pasturing inasmuch as He exerts a special care over it. The flock bad shepherds, the ungodly monarchs on the throne of David, have brought to ruin and scattered. The scattering is in ver. 2, cf. with ver. 3, called a driving out into the lands; but the "destroying" must be discovered from the train of thought, for the clause: ye have not visited them (ver. 2), intimates merely their neglect of the sheep committed to their charge. What the "destroying" more especially is, we may gather from the conduct of King Jehoiakim, described in xxii. 13 ff.; it consists in oppression, violence, and the shedding of

innocent blood; cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 3. With לָזֶן, ver. 2, is made the application of the general sentence, ver. 1, to the shepherds of Israel. Because they are such as have scattered, driven away, and not visited the flock of the Lord, therefore He will punish in them the wickedness of their doings. In the לֹא פָקְדָתֶם אֹתָם is summed up all that the rulers have omitted to do for the flock committed to their care; cf. the specification of what they have not done, Ezek. xxxiv. 4. It was their duty, as Ven. truly says, to see *ut vera religio, pabulum populi spirituale, recte et rite exerceretur*. Instead of this, they have, by introducing idolatry, directly encouraged ungodliness, and the immorality which flows therefrom. Here in "ye have not visited them" we have the negative moment made prominent, so that in ver. 3 may follow what the Lord will do for His scattered flock. Cf. the further expansion of this promise in Ezek. xxxiv. 12 ff. We must note "I have driven them," since in ver. 2 it was said that the bad shepherds had driven the flock away. The one does not exclude the other. By their corrupting the people, the wicked shepherds had occasioned the driving out; and this God has inflicted on the people as punishment. But the people, too, had their share in the guilt; but to this attention is not here directed, since the question deals only with the shepherds.—Ver. 4. When the Lord shall gather His people out of the dispersion, then will He raise up shepherds over them who will so feed them that they shall no longer need to fear or to be dismayed before enemies who might be strong enough to subjugate, slay, and carry them captive. The figurative expressions are founded on the idea that the sheep, when they are neglected by the shepherds, are torn and devoured by wild beasts; cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 8. They shall not be lacking; cf. for נִפְקֵר with this force, 1 Sam. xxv. 7; in substance = not be lost. לֹא יִפְקְדוּ is chosen with a view to לֹא פָקְדָתֶם אֹתָם (ver. 2): because the shepherds did not take charge of the sheep, therefore the sheep are scattered and lost. Hereafter this shall happen no more. The question as to how this promise is to be accomplished is answered by vers. 5 and 6. The substance of these verses is indeed introduced by the phrase: behold, days come, as something new and important, but not as something not to happen till after the things foretold in ver. 4. According to Jeremiah's usage throughout, that

phrase does not indicate any progress in time as compared with what precedes, but draws attention to the weightiness of what is to be announced. There is also a suggestion of "the contrast between the hope and the existing condition of affairs, which does not itself justify that hope. However gloomy the present is, yet there is a time coming" (Hgstb.). The promise: I make to arise (raise up) to David a righteous branch, rests upon the promise, 2 Sam. vii. 12, 1 Chron. xvii. 12: I raise up thy seed after thee, which shall be of thy sons—which the Lord will hereafter fulfil to David. Graf tries to show by many, but not tenable arguments, that צמח has here a collective force. That he is wrong, we may see from the passages Zech. iii. 8 and vi. 12, where the same "branch" foretold by Jeremiah is called the man whose name is צמח; and even without this we may discover the same from the context of the present passage, both from "He shall reign as king," and still more from: they shall call his name *Jahveh Tsidkenu*. Neither of these sayings can be spoken of a series of kings. Besides, we have the passages xxx. 9 and Ezek. xxxiv. 23 f., xxxvii. 24, where the servant to be raised up to David by Jahveh is called "my servant David." Although then צמח has a collective force when it means a plant of the field, it by no means follows that "it has always a collective force" in its transferred spiritual signification. And the passage, xxxiii. 17, where the promise is explained by: David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of Israel (cf. xxxiii. 21), does not prove that the branch of David is a collective grouping together of all David's future posterity, but only that this one branch of David shall possess the throne for ever, and not, like mortal men, for a series of years only; 2 Sam. vii. 16. צמח denotes the Messiah, and this title is formed from צמח יהוה, Isa. iv. 2 (see Del. on this passage). Nor does the mention of shepherds in the plural, ver. 4, at all oppose this. An untenable rendering of the sense is: first I will raise up unto you shepherds, then the Messiah; or: better shepherds, *inprimis unum, Messiam* (Ch. B. Mich.). The two promises are not so to be joined. First we have the raising up of good shepherds, in contrast to the evil shepherds that have destroyed the people; then the promise is further explained to the effect that these good shepherds shall be raised up to David in the

“righteous branch,” i.e. in the promised “seed” of his sons. The good shepherds are contrasted with the evil shepherds, but are then summed up in the person of the Messiah, as being comprised therein. The relation of the good shepherds to the righteous branch is not so, that the latter is the most pre-eminent of the former, but that in that one branch of David the people should have given to them all the good shepherds needed for their deliverance. The Messiah does not correspond to the series of David’s earthly posterity that sit upon his throne, in that He too, as second David, will also have a long series of descendants upon His throne; but in that His kingdom, His dominion, lasts for ever. In the parallel passage, xxxiii. 15, where the contrast to the evil shepherds is omitted, we therefore hear only of the one branch of David; so in Ezek. xxxiv., where only the *one* good shepherd, the servant of the Lord, David, stands in contrast to the evil shepherds (ver. 23). Hence neither must we seek the fulfilment of our prophecy in the elevation of the Maccabees, who were not even of the race of David, nor understand, as Grot., Zerubbabel to be the righteous branch, but the Messiah, as was rightly understood by the *Chald.* He is צִדִּיק in contrast to the then reigning members of the house of David, and as He who will do right and justice in His realm; cf. xxii. 15, where the same is said of Josiah as contrasted with his ungodly son Jehoiakim. מֶלֶךְ is subjoined to מֶלֶךְ to bespeak His rule as kingship in the fullest sense of the word. *Regnabit rex, i.e. magnifice regnabit, ut non tantum appareant aliquæ reliquæ pristinæ dignitatis, sed ut rex floreat et vigeat et obtineat perfectionem, qualis fuit sub Davide et Salomone ac multo præstantior* (Calv.). הַשְׂכִּיל, deal prudently, rule wisely, as in iii. 15, not: be fortunate, prosperous. Here the context demands the former rendering, the only one justified by usage, since the doing of right and justice is mentioned as the fruit and result of the הַשְׂכִּיל. These words, too, point back to David, of whom it is in 2 Sam. viii. 15 said, that he as king did right and justice to all his people.—Ver. 6 exhibits the welfare which the “branch” will, by His wise and just rule, secure for the people. Judah shall be blessed with welfare (נִחְשֵׁן), and Israel dwell safely; that blessing will come into fulfilment which Moses set before the people’s view in Deut. xxxiii. 28 f. יְהִיָּה as the

totality of the inhabitants is construed as feminine, as in iii. 7, xiv. 2, etc. *Israel* denotes the ten tribes. Under the just sceptre of the Messiah, all Israel will reach the destiny designed for it by the Lord, will, as God's people, attain to full dignity and glory.

This is the name by which they shall call Him, the branch of David: Jahveh our Righteousness. The suffix in יְקָרְאֵי refers to "righteous branch." Instead of the 3 *pers. sing.* יְקָרְאֵי with the suffix *i*, some *codd.* have the plur. יְקָרְאִי. This some polemical authors, such as Raim., Martini, Galatin, hold to be the true reading; and they affirmed the other had proceeded from the Jews, with the design of explaining away the deity of the Messiah. The Jews translated, they said: This is the name whereby Jahveh will call him: Our Righteousness; which is indeed the rendering of R. Saad. Gaon *apud* Aben Ezra, and of Menasse ben Israel. But this rendering is rejected by most Jewish comm. as being at variance with the accents, so that the impugned reading could not well have been invented by the Jews for polemical purposes. יְקָרְאֵי is attested by most *codd.*, and is rendered by the LXX., so that the sense can be none other than: they will call the righteous branch of David "Jahveh our Righteousness." Most comm., including even Hitz., admit that the suffix refers to יָמִיךָ, the principal person in both verses. Only Ew., Graf., and Næg. seek to refer it to Israel, because in xxxiii. 16 the same name is given to Jerusalem. But the passage cited does not prove the case. To call any one by a name universally denotes in the prophetic usage: to set him forth as that which the name expresses; so here: the branch of David will manifest Himself to the people of Israel as Jahve Tsidkenu. This name is variously expounded. The older Christian comm. understand that the Messiah is here called Jehovah, and must therefore be true God, and that He is called our righteousness, inasmuch as He justifies us by His merit.¹

¹ Thus the *Vulg.* renders: *Dominus justus noster*; and even Calv. says: *Quicumque sine contentione et amarulentia judicant, facile vident, idem nomen competere in Christum, quatenus est Deus, sicuti nomen filii Davidis respectu humanæ naturæ ei tribuitur.—Omnibus æquis et moderatis hoc constabit, Christum hic insigniri duplici elogio, ut in eo nobis commendat propheta tam deitatis gloriam, quam veritatem humanæ naturæ; and by the righteousness he understands justification by the merits of Christ.*

But the rabbinical interpreters, headed by the Chald., take the name to be an abbreviation of a sentence; so *e.g.* Kimchi: *Israel vocabit Messiam hoc nomine, quia ejus temporibus Domini justitia nobis firma, jugis et non recedet.* They appeal to xxxiii. 17 and to other passages, such as Ex. xvii. 15, where Moses calls the altar "Jahveh my Banner," and Gen. xxxiii. 20, where Jacob gives to the altar built by him the name *El elohe Jisrael*. Hgstb. has rightly pronounced for this interpretation. The passages cited show how in such names an entire sentence is conveyed. "Jahveh my Banner" is as much as to say: This altar is dedicated to Jahveh my banner, or to the Almighty, the God of Israel. So all names compounded of *Jahveh*; *e.g.* *Jehoshua* = Jahveh salvation, brief for: he to whom Jahveh vouchsafes salvation. So *Tsidkijahu* = Jahveh's righteousness, for: he to whom Jahveh deals righteousness. To this corresponds *Jahveh Tsidkenu*: he by whom Jahveh deals righteousness. We are bound to take the name thus by the parallel passage, xxxiii. 16, where the same name is given to Jerusalem, to convey the thought, that by the Messiah the Lord will make Jerusalem the city of righteousness, will give His righteousness to it, will adorn and glorify it therewith.—צִדְקָתִי is not to be referred, as it is by the ancient Church comm., to justification through the forgiveness of sins. With this we have not here to do, but with personal righteousness, which consists in deliverance from all unrighteousness, and which is bound up with blessedness. Actual righteousness has indeed the forgiveness of sins for its foundation, and in this respect justification is not to be wholly excluded; but this latter is here subordinate to actual righteousness, which the Messiah secures for Israel by the righteousness of His reign. The unrighteousness of the former kings has brought Israel and Judah to corruption and ruin; the righteousness of the branch to be hereafter raised up to David will remove all the ruin and mischief from Judah, and procure for them the righteousness and blessedness which is of God.—"What Jeremiah," as is well remarked by Hgstb., "sums up in the name Jehovah Tsidkenu, Ezekiel expands at length in the parallel xxxiv. 25-31: the Lord concludes with them a covenant of peace; rich blessings fall to their lot; He breaks their yoke, frees them from bondage; they do not become

the heathen's prey." These divine blessings are also to be conferred upon the people by means of the righteous branch. What the ancient Church comm. found in the *name* was true as to the *substance*. For as no man is perfectly righteous, so no mere earthly king can impart to the people the righteousness of Jahveh in the full sense of the term; only He who is endowed with the righteousness of God. In so far the Godhead of this King is contained *implicite* in the name; only we must not understand that he that bore the name is called Jahveh. But that righteousness, as the sum of all blessing, is set before the people's view, we may gather from the context, especially from vers. 7 and 8, where it is said that the blessings to be conferred will outshine all former manifestations of God's grace. This is the sense of both verses, which, save in the matter of a trifling change in ver. 8, are verbally repeated from xvi. 14 and 15, where they have already been expounded.¹

Chap. xxiii. 9-40. AGAINST THE FALSE PROPHETS.—Next to the kings, the pseudo-prophets, who flattered the people's

¹ The LXX. have omitted both these verses here, and have placed them at the end of the chapter, after ver. 40; but by their contents they do not at all belong to that, whereas after ver. 6 they are very much in place, as even Hitz. admits. In the text of the LXX. handed down, ver. 6 ends with the words: Ἰωσεδέκ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις; and Ἰωσεδέκ may be said to correspond to יהוה צדקנו, and ἐν τοῖς προφήταις to לַנְבִיאִים, ver. 9. Hitz. and Gr. therefore infer that vers. 7 and 8 were wanting also in the Heb. text used by the translator, and that they must have been added by way of supplement, most probably from another MS. This inference is thought to find support in the assumption that, because the Greek MSS. have no point between Ἰωσεδέκ and ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, therefore the Alexandrian translator must have joined these words together so as to make one—meaningless—sentence. A thoroughly uncritical conclusion, which could be defended only if the Alex. translators had punctuated their Greek text as we have it punctuated in our printed editions. And if a later reader of the LXX. had added the verses from the Hebrew text, then he would certainly have intercalated them at the spot where they stood in the original, i.e. between ver. 6 and ver. 9. Their displacement to a position after ver. 40 is to be explained from the fact that in chap. xvi. 14 and 15 they immediately follow a threatening; and is manifestly the work of the translator himself, who omitted them after ver. 6, understanding them as of threatening import, because a threatening seemed to him to be out of place after ver. 6.

carnal longings, have done most to contribute to the fall of the realm. Therefore Jeremiah passes directly from his discourse against the wicked kings to rebuking the false prophets; and if we may presume from the main substance, the latter discourse belongs to the same time as the former. It begins

Vers. 9-15. *With a description of the pernicious practices of these persons.*—Ver. 9. "Concerning the prophets. Broken is mine heart within me; all my bones totter. I am become like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of Jahveh and because of His holy words. Ver. 10. For of adulterers the land is full, for because of the curse the land withereth, the pastures of the wilderness dry up; and their course is become evil, and their strength not right. Ver. 11. For both prophet and priest are profane; yea, in mine house found I their wickedness, saith Jahveh. Ver. 12. Therefore their way shall be to them as slippery places in darkness, they shall be thrown down and fall therein; for I bring evil upon them, the year of their visitation, saith Jahveh. Ver. 13. In the prophets of Samaria saw I folly; they prophesied in the name of Baal, and led my people Israel astray. Ver. 14. But in the prophets of Jerusalem saw I an horrible thing, committing adultery and walking in falsehood, and they strengthen the hands of the wicked, that none returneth from his wickedness. They are all become to me as Sodom, and the inhabitants thereof as Gomorrah. Ver. 15. Therefore thus saith Jahveh of hosts concerning the prophets: Behold, I feed them with wormwood, and give them to drink water of bitterness; for from the prophets of Jerusalem is profaneness gone forth over all the land."

"Concerning the prophets" is the heading, as in xlvi. 2, xlviii. 1, xlix. 1, 7, 23, 28; and corresponds to the woe uttered against the wicked shepherds, ver. 1. It refers to the entire portion vers. 9-40, which is thus distinguished from the oracles concerning the kings, chap. xxi. and xxii. It might indeed be joined, according to the accents, with what follows: because of the prophets is my heart broken; but as the cause of Jeremiah's deep agitation is given at the end of the second half-verse: because of Jahveh, etc., it is not likely the seer would in one sentence have given two different and quite separate reasons.

The brokenness of his heart denotes the profoundest inward emotion; yet not despondency by reason of sin and misery, like "a broken heart" in Ps. xxxiv. 19, li. 19, etc., but because of God's wrath at the impious lives of the pseudo-prophets. This has overcome him, and this he must publish. This wrath had broken his heart and seized on all his bones, so that they nervelessly tremble, and he resembles a drunken man who can no longer stand firm on his feet. He feels himself inwardly quite downcast; he not only feels the horrors of the judgment that is to befall the false prophets and corrupt priests who lead the people astray, but knows well the dreadful sufferings the people too will have to endure. The verb חָנַן occurs only twice in the Piel besides in the present passage; in Gen. i. 2, of the Spirit of God that in the beginning of creation brooded over the waters of the earth, and Deut. xxxii. 11, of the eagle that flutters over her young,—in Arabic خف, to be soft. The root meaning of the word is doubtless: to be flaccid; here accordingly, to totter, to sway to and fro. "Because of Jahveh" is more fully explained by "because of the words of His holiness," i.e. the words which God as holy has made known to him regarding the unholy ongoings of the pseudo-prophets.—From ver. 10 onwards come the sayings of God which have so terribly agitated the prophet. The land is full of adulterers. Adultery in the literal sense is mentioned by way of example, as a reckless transgression of God's commands, then much in vogue, whereby the moral foundations of the kingdom were broken up. In ver. 14 the prophets are said to commit adultery and walk in lying, cf. xxix. 23 and v. 7. By reason of this vice a curse lies on the land, under which it is withering away. The clause "for because of the curse," etc., is not to be taken as parenthesis (Näg.), but as co-ordinate with the previous clause, giving the second, or rather the chief ground, why Jeremiah is so deeply distressed. The reason of this is not so much the prevailing moral corruption, as the curse lying on the land because of the moral corruption of its inhabitants. לָאָה is not perjury (Chald., Rashi, Kimchi), but the curse wherewith God punishes the transgression of His covenant laws, cf. xi. 3, 8, Deut. xxviii. 15 ff., xxix. 19 ff. The words are modelled after

Isa. xxiv. 4 ff.; and הָאָרֶץ is not the population, but the land itself, which suffers under God's curse, and which is visited with drought; cf. xii. 4. The next words point to drought. נָאוֹת מִדְּבָר as in ix. 9. By וַיִּהְיֶה the further description of the people's depravity is attached to the first clause of the verse. Their course is become evil; their running or racing, *i.e.* the aim and endeavour of the ungodly. The suffix on this word מְרוֹצָתָם refers not to "adulterers," but *ad sensum* to the inhabitants of the land. Their strength is not-right, *i.e.* they are strong, valiant in wrong; cf. ix. 2. For—so goes ver. 11—both prophets and priests, who should lead the people in the right way, are profane, and desecrate by their wickedness even the house of God, presumably by idolatry; cf. xxxii. 34. There is no reason for thinking here, as Hitz. does, of adultery practised in the temple.—Ver. 12. For this the Lord will punish them. Their way shall be to them as slippery places in darkness. This threatening is after the manner of Ps. xxxv. 6, where הַשֶּׁנִּי וְהַלֵּלְקוֹת are joined, changed by Jeremiah to the words in the text. The passage cited shows that we may not separate בְּצִלְמָה from וְהַלֵּלְקוֹת , as Ew. does, to join it to the following יִדְּרוּ . Their way shall resemble slippery places in the dark, when one may readily slip and fall. Besides, they are to be thrust, pushed, so that they must fall on the slippery path (יִדְּרוּ from $\text{דָּרַח} = \text{דָּחַה}$, Ps. xxxv. 5; "therein" to be referred to "their way"). The clause: "for I bring evil," etc., is formed after xi. 23.—Ver. 13 f. To display the vileness of the prophets, these are parallelized with the prophets of Samaria. The latter did foolishly (הַפְלִיָּה , prop. of that which is unsalted, insipid, Job vi. 6, hence irrational, *insulsum*), since they prophesied, being inspired by Baal the no-god, and by such prophesying led the people into error; cf. 1 Kings xviii. 19 ff. Much more horrible is the conduct of the prophets of Jerusalem, who commit adultery, walk in lying, and strengthen the wicked in their wickedness, not merely by their delusive pretences (cf. ver. 17, vi. 14, xiv. 13), but also by their immoral lives, so that no one turns from his wickedness, cf. Ezek. xiii. 22. לְבִלְתִּי is here and in xxvii. 18, as in Ex. xx. 20, construed, contrary to the usage everywhere else, not with the *inf.*, but with the *verb. fin.* As the prophets, instead of converting the wicked, only confirmed them in their

sins, therefore all the inhabitants of Judah or Jerusalem are become as corrupt as Sodom and Gomorrah. "They all" are not the prophets, but the inhabitants of Judah or Jerusalem; and "the inhabitants thereof" are those of the capital, cf. Deut. xxxii. 32, Isa. i. 10. On the seducers the Lord will therefore inflict punishment, because impiousness has gone forth from them over the whole land. With the punishment threatened in ver. 15, cf. ix. 14.

Vers. 16-22. *Warning against the lying prophecies of the prophets.*—Ver. 16. "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts: Harken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you! They deceive you; a vision of their heart they speak, not out of the mouth of Jahveh. Ver. 17. They say still unto my despisers: 'Jahveh hath spoken: Peace shall ye have;' and unto every one that walketh in the stubbornness of his heart they say: 'There shall no evil come upon you.' Ver. 18. For who hath stood in Jahveh's counsel, that he might have seen and heard His word? who hath marked my word and heard it? Ver. 19. Behold a tempest from Jahveh, fury goeth forth, and eddying whirlwind shall hurl itself upon the head of the wicked. Ver. 20. The anger of God shall not turn till He have done and till He have performed the thoughts of His heart. At the end of the days shall ye be well aware of this. Ver. 21. I have not sent the prophets, yet they ran; I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied. Ver. 22. But if they had stood in my counsel, they would publish my words to my people and bring them back from their evil way and from the evil of their doings."

The warning against these prophets is founded in ver. 16 on the fact that they give out the thoughts of their own hearts to be divine revelation, and promise peace and prosperity to all stiff-necked sinners. מַהְבִּלִּים, lit. they make you vain, *i.e.* make you to yield yourselves to vain delusion, seduce you to false confidence. This they do by their speaking visions, *i.e.* revelations of their heart, not what God has spoken, revealed to them. As an illustration of this, ver. 17 tells that they prophesy continued peace or well-being to the despisers of God. The *infin. abs.* אַמֹּר after the *verb. fin.* intimates the duration or repetition of the thing. דְּבַר יְהוָה are words of the false prophets, with which they give out that their prophesyings are God's word.

Since we nowhere else find sayings of Jahveh introduced by יהוה דבר, but usually by ' בַּה אָמַר ' the LXX. have taken offence at that formula, and, reading דְּבַר, join the words with לְמַנְאֲצִי: τοῖς ἀπωθουμένοις τὸν λόγον κυρίου. To this reading Hitz. and Gr. give the preference over the Masoretic; but they have not noticed that they thus get an unsuitable sense. For דְּבַר יהוה in prophetic language never denotes the Mosaic law or the "moral law" (Hitz.), but the word of God published by the prophets. By their view of "word of Jahveh" they would here obtain the self-inconsistent thought: to the despisers of divine revelation they proclaim as revelation. The Masoretic reading is clearly right; and Jeremiah chose the unusual introductory formula to distinguish the language of the pseudo-prophets from that of the true prophets of the Lord. וְכָל-הָאֵלֶּה ב' is prefixed absolutely: and as concerning every one that walks . . . they say, for: and to every one . . . they say. On the "stubbornness of their heart," see on iii. 17. With the speech of the false prophets, cf. xiv. 13 and vi. 14.—In ver. 18 a more comprehensive reason is given to show that these prophets are not publishing God's decrees. The question: Who hath stood? has negative force = None hath stood. By this Jeremiah does not deny the possibility of this universally, but only of the false prophets (Hitz.). This limitation of the words is suggested by the context. To the true prophets the Lord reveals His סֹד, Amos iii. 7. וַיֵּרָא וַיִּשְׁמַע are not to be taken jussively: let him see and hear (Hitz.), for the foregoing interrogation is not a conditional clause introducing a command. The imperfects with ו are clauses of consequence or design, and after a preceding perfect should be rendered in English by the conditional of the pluperfect. Seeing the word of God refers to prophetic vision. The second question is appended without at all conveying any inference from what precedes; and in it the second verb (with ו consec.) is simply a strengthening of the first: who hath hearkened to my word and heard it? The Masoretes have quite unnecessarily changed the *Chet.* דְּבַר into דְּבָרוֹ. In the graphic representation of the prophets, the transition to the direct speech of God, and conversely, is no unusual thing. The change of וַיִּשְׁמַע into וַיִּשְׁמַע, unnecessary and even improper as it is, is preferred by Graf and Näg., inasmuch as they take the interrogative מִי

in both clauses in the sense of *quisquis* and understand the verse thus: He who has but stood in the counsel of the Lord, let him see and hear His word (*i.e.* he must see and hear His word); and he that hath marked my word, let him publish it (*i.e.* he must publish it). This exposition becomes only then necessary, if we leave the context out of view and regard the question as being to the effect that no one has stood in God's counsel—which Jeremiah could not mean. Not to speak of the change of the text necessary for carrying it through, this view does not even give a suitable sense. If the clause: He that has stood in the counsel of the Lord, he must proclaim His word, is to be regarded as having a demonstrative force, then the principal idea must be supplied, thus namely: "and it is impossible that it should be favourable to those who despise it." In ver. 19 Jeremiah publishes a real word of the Lord, which sounds very differently from the words of the false prophets. A tempest from Jahveh will burst over the heads of the evil-doers, and the wrath of God will not cease until it has accomplished the divine decree. "A tempest from Jahveh" is defined by "fury" in apposition as being a manifestation of God's wrath; and the whole first clause is further expanded in the second part of the verse. The tempest from Jahveh goes forth, *i.e.* breaks out, and as whirling tornado or eddying whirlwind bursts over the head of the wicked. יָהוֹה is to be taken in accordance with מִתְחַלֵּל: twist, whirl, cf. 2 Sam. iii. 29. "The thoughts of His heart" must not be limited to what God has decreed *de interitu populi* (Calv.); it comprehends God's whole redemptive plan in His people's regard—not merely the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, but also the purification of the people by means of judgments and the final glorification of His kingdom. To this future the next clause points: at the end of the days ye shall have clear knowledge of this. "The end of the days" is not merely the completion of the period in which we now are (Hitz., Gr., Näg., etc.), but, as universally, the end of the times, *i.e.* the Messianic future, the last period of the world's history which opens at the close of the present æon; see on Gen. xlix. 1, Num. xxiv. 14, etc. הַתְּבוּנָה is strengthened by בִּינָה: attain to insight, come to clearer knowledge.—Ver. 21 f. From the word of the Lord proclaimed in

ver. 19 f. it appears that the prophets who prophesy peace or well-being to the despisers of God are not sent and inspired by God. If they had stood in the counsel of God, and so had truly learnt God's word, they must have published it and turned the people from its evil way. This completely proves the statement of ver. 16, that the preachers of peace deceive the people. Then follows—

Vers. 23-32, in continuation, an intimation *that God knows and will punish the lying practices of these prophets.*—Ver. 23. “Am I then a God near at hand, saith Jahveh, and not a God afar off? Ver. 24. Or can any hide himself in secret, that I cannot see him? saith Jahveh. Do not I fill the heaven and the earth? saith Jahveh. Ver. 25. I have heard what the prophets say, that prophesy falsehood in my name, saying: I have dreamed, I have dreamed. Ver. 26. How long? Have they it in their mind, the prophets that prophesy falsehood in my name, and the prophets of the deceit of their heart, Ver. 27. Do they think to make my people forget my name by their dreams which they tell one to the other, as their fathers forgot my name by Baal? Ver. 28. The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word in truth. What is the straw to the corn? saith Jahveh. Ver. 29. Is not thus my word—as fire, saith Jahveh, and as a hammer that dasheth the rock in pieces? Ver. 30. Therefore, behold, I am against the prophets that steal my words one from the other. Ver. 31. Behold, I am against the prophets, saith Jahveh, that take their tongues and say: God's word. Ver. 32. Behold, I am against the prophets that prophesy lying dreams, saith Jahveh, and tell them, and lead my people astray with their lies and their boasting, whom yet I have not sent nor commanded them, and they bring no good to this people, saith Jahveh.”

The force of the question: Am I a God at hand, not afar off? is seen from what follows. Far and near are here in their local, not their temporal signification. A God near at hand is one whose domain and whose knowledge do not extend far; a God afar off, one who sees and works into the far distance. The question, which has an affirmative force, is explained by the statement of ver. 24: I fill heaven and earth. Hitz. insists on

understanding "near at hand" of temporal nearness, after Deut. xxxii. 17: a God who is not far hence, a newly appeared God; and he supposes that, since in the east, from of old, knowledge is that which is known by experience, therefore the greatness of one's knowledge depends on one's advancement in years (Job xv. 7, 10, xii. 12, etc.); and God, he says, is the Ancient of days, Dan. vii. 9. But this line of thought is wholly foreign to the present passage. It is not wealth of knowledge as the result of long life or old age that God claims for Himself in ver. 24, but the power of seeing into that which is hidden so that none can conceal himself from Him, or omniscience. The design with which God here dwells on His omniscience and omnipresence too (cf. 1 Kings viii. 27, Isa. lxvi. 1) is shown in ver. 25. The false prophets went so far with their lying predictions, that it might appear as if God did not hear or see their words and deeds. The Lord exposes this delusion by calling His omniscience to mind in the words: I have heard how they prophesy falsehood in my name and say, I have dreamed, *i.e.* a dream sent by God, have had a revelation in dreams, whereas according to ver. 26 the dream was the deceit of their heart—"spun out of their own heart" (Hitz.). Ver. 26 is variously interpreted. Hitz. supposes that the interrogative מָה (in מָה־מָה) is made subordinate in the clause, and that the question is expressed with a double interrogative. He translates: How long still is there anything left in the heart of the prophets? as much as to say: how long have they materials for this? But there is a total want of illustrations in point for this subordination and doubling of the interrogative; and the force given to the מָה is quite arbitrary, since we should have had some intimation of what it was that was present in their hearts. Even then the repetition of the interrogative particles is unexplained, and the connecting of מָה with a participle, instead of with the infinitive with לֵךְ, cannot be defended by means of passages where הוּא־לֵךְ is joined with an adjective and the idea "to be" has to be supplied. L. de Dieu, followed by Seb. Schmidt, Ch. B. Mich., Ros., Maur., Umbr., Graf, was right in taking "How long" by itself as an aposiopesis: how long, *sc.* shall this go on? and in beginning a new question with מָה־מָה, a question continued and completed by the

further question: "Do they think," etc., ver. 27. Is it in the heart of the prophets, *i.e.* have the prophets a mind to prophesy falsehood? do they mean to make men forget my name? Against holding ver. 27 as a resumption of the question there is no well-founded objection. Næg. affirms that after הַחֲשִׁבִים we must in that case have here הֵם as recapitulation of the subject; but that is rendered unnecessary by the subject's being contained in the immediately preceding words. The conjecture propounded by Næg., to change הָיָה into שָׁאָה: how long still is the fire in the heart of the prophets? needs no refutation. To make to forget the name of the Lord is: so to banish the Lord, as seen in His government and works, from the people's heart, that He is no longer feared and honoured. By their dreams which they relate one to the other, *i.e.* not one prophet to the other, but the prophet to his fellow-man amongst the people. בְּבַעַל, because of the Baal, whom their fathers made their god, cf. Judg. iii. 7, 1 Sam. xii. 9 f.—These lies the prophets ought to cease. Ver. 28. Each is to speak what he has, what is given him. He that has a dream is to tell the dream, and he that has God's word should tell it. Dream as opposed to word of the Lord is an ordinary dream, the fiction of one's own heart; not a dream-revelation given by God, which the pseudo-prophets represented their dreams to be. These dreams are as different from God's word as straw is from corn. This clause is supported, ver. 29, by a statement of the nature of God's word. It is thus (כֵּן), namely, as fire and as a hammer that smashes the rocks. The sense of these words is not this: the word of God is strong enough by itself, needs no human addition, or: it will burn as fire the straw of the man's word mixed with it. There is here no question of the mixing of God's word with man's word. The false prophets did not mingle the two, but gave out their man's word for God's. Nor, by laying stress on the indwelling power of the word of God, does Jeremiah merely give his hearers a characteristic by which they may distinguish genuine prophecy; he seeks besides to make them know that the word of the Lord which he proclaims will make an end of the lying prophets' work. Thus understood, ver. 29 forms a stepping-stone to the threatenings uttered in vers. 30-32 against the lying prophets. The comparison to fire does not refer to

LXX. translation : *ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ λῆμμα*, or Vulg. : *vos estis onus*, as Cappell., J. D. Mich., Hitz., Gr., etc., do. The LXX. rendering is based, not on another reading, but on another division of the words, viz. **אַתֶּם הַמִּשָּׂא**.—In ver. 34 the meaning of this answer is more fully explained. On every one that uses the word “burden” in this sneering way God will avenge the sneer, and not only on his person, but on his house, his family as well. In ver. 35 they are told how they are to speak of prophecy. Ver. 36. They are no longer to make use of the phrase “burden of Jahveh,” “for the burden shall his word be to each one,” i.e. the word “burden” will be to each who uses it a burden that crushes him down. “And ye wrest,” etc., is part of the reason for what is said : *and ye have* = *for ye have wrested the words of the living God*. The clause is properly a corollary which tells what happens when they use the forbidden word.—Vers. 38–40. In case they, in spite of the prohibition, persist in the use of the forbidden word, i.e. do not cease their mockery of God’s word, then the punishment set forth in ver. 33 is certainly to come on them. In the threat **נִשְׂאֵי אֶתְכֶם נִשָּׂא** there is a manifestly designed word-play on **מִשָּׂא**. LXX., Vulg., Syr. have therefore rendered as if from **נִשְׂאֵי נִשָּׂא** (or **נִשְׂאֵי**) instead : *ἐγὼ λαμβάνω, ego tollam vos portans*. One cod. gives **נִשָּׂא**, and Ew., Hitz., Graf, Näg., etc., hold this reading to be right; but hardly with justice. The Chald. has expressed the reading of the text in its **אַרְטוּשׁ יִתְכוֹן מְרִטֵּשׁ**, *et relinquam vos relinquendo*. And the form **נִשְׂאֵי** is explained only by reading **נִשָּׂא** (נִשָּׂא); not by **נִשְׂאֵי**, for this verb keeps its **נ** everywhere, save with the one exception of **נִשְׂאֵי**, Ps. xxxii. 1, formed after the parallel **בָּסִי**. The assertion that the reading in the text gives no good sense is unfounded. I will utterly forget you is much more in keeping than : I will utterly lift you up, carry you forth.—With ver. 40, cf. xx. 11.

Chap. xxiv. THE TWO FIG BASKETS—an emblem of the future of Judah’s people.—Ver. 1. “Jahveh caused me to see, and behold two baskets of figs set before the temple of Jahveh, after Nebuchadrezzar had carried captive Jeconiah, the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and the princes of Judah, and the work-people and the smiths from Jerusalem, and had brought

them to Babylon. Ver. 2. One basket had very good figs like the early figs, the other basket very bad figs, which could not be eaten for badness. Ver. 3. And Jahveh said to me: What seest thou, Jeremiah? and I said: Figs; the good figs are very good, and the bad figs very bad, which cannot be eaten for badness. Ver. 4. Then came the word of Jahveh unto me, saying: Ver. 5. Thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel: Like these good figs, so will I look on the captives of Judah, whom I have sent out of this place into the land of the Chaldeans, for good; Ver. 6. And I will set mine eye upon them for good, and will bring them back again to this land, and build them and not pull down, and plant them and not pluck up. Ver. 7. And I give them an heart to know me, that I am Jahveh; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God; for they will return unto me with their whole heart. Ver. 8. And as the bad figs, which cannot be eaten for badness, yea thus saith Jahveh, so will I make Zedekiah the king of Judah, and his princes and the residue of Jerusalem, them that are left remaining in this land and them that dwell in Egypt. Ver. 9. I give them up for ill-usage, for trouble to all kingdoms of the earth, for a reproach and a by-word, for a taunt and for a curse in all the places whither I shall drive them. Ver. 10. And I send among them the sword, the famine, and the plague, till they be consumed from off the land that I gave to them and to their fathers."

This vision resembles in form and substance that in Amos viii. 1-3. The words: Jahveh caused me to see, point to an inward event, a seeing with the eyes of the spirit, not of the body. The time is, ver. 1, precisely given: after Nebuchadnezzar had carried to Babylon King Jeconiah, with the princes and a part of the people; apparently soon after this deportation, at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, the king set up by Nebuchadnezzar over Judah. Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 14-17.—The Lord caused the prophet to see in spirit two baskets of figs (רִינָאִים, from רִינָה, equivalent to רוֹד, ver. 2), מִנְעָרִים (from מִנְעָר) in the place appointed therefor (מִנְעָר) before the temple. We are not to regard these figs as an offering brought to Jahveh (Graf); and so neither are we to think here of the place where first-fruits or tithes were offered to the Lord, Ex. xxiii. 19 f., Deut. xxvi. 2. The two baskets of figs have nothing to do with

first-fruits. They symbolize the people, those who appear before the Lord their God, namely, before the altar of burnt-offering; where the Lord desired to appear to, to meet with His people (נִסְעָר, Ex. xxix. 42 f.), so as to sanctify it by His glory, Ex. xxix. 43. מִנְעָרִים therefore means: placed in the spot appointed by the Lord for His meeting with Israel.—Ver. 2. “The one basket very good figs” is short for: the basket was quite full of very good figs; cf. Friedr. W. M. Philippi, *on the Nature and Origin of the Status constr. in Hebrew* (1871), p. 93. The comparison to early figs serves simply to heighten the idea of very good; for the first figs, those ripened at the end of June, before the fruit season in August, were highly prized dainties. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 4, Hos. ix. 10.—Ver. 3. The question: what seest thou? serves merely to give the object seen greater prominence, and does not imply the possibility of seeing wrong (Näg.).—Ver. 4 ff. The interpretation of the symbol. Ver. 5. Like the good figs, the Lord will look on the captives in Chaldea for good (“for good” belongs to the verb “look on them”). The point of resemblance is: as one looks with pleasure on good figs, takes them and keeps them, so will I bestow my favour on Judah’s captives. Looking on them for good is explained, ver. 6: the Lord will set His eye on them, bring them back into their land and build them up again. With “build them,” etc., cf. i. 10. The building and planting of the captives is not to consist solely in the restoration of their former civil well-being, but will be a spiritual regeneration of the people. God will give them a heart to know Him as their God, so that they may be in truth His people, and He their God. “For they will return,” not: when they return (Ew., Hitz.). The turning to the Lord cannot be regarded as the condition of their receiving favour, because God will give them a heart to know Him; it is the working of the knowledge of the Lord put in their hearts. And this is adduced to certify the idea that they will then be really the Lord’s people.—Vers. 8–10. And as one deals with the bad uneatable figs, *i.e.* throws them away, so will the Lord deliver up to ignominious ruin Zedekiah with his princes and the remainder of the people, both those still staying in the land and those living in Egypt. This, the fate awaiting them, is more

fully described in vers. 9 and 10. In ver. 8 the "yea, thus saith," is inserted into the sentence by way of repetition of the "thus saith," ver. 5. כִּן אָמַן is resumed and expanded by וַיִּנְתְּהֵם in ver. 9. The "princes" are Zedekiah's courtiers. Those in Egypt are they who during the war had fled thither to hide themselves from judgment. From the beginning of ver. 9 to הָאָרֶץ is verbally the same as xv. 4, save that לְרָעָה is added to make more marked the contrast to לְטוֹבָה , ver. 5—the evil, namely, that is done to them. Hitz., Ew., Umbr., Gr., following the LXX., delete this word, but without due cause. The further description of the ill-usage in "for a reproach," etc., is based on Deut. xxviii. 37; and is intensified by the addition of "and for an object of cursing," to show that in their case the curse there recorded will be fulfilled. From the last words, according to which disgrace will light on them in all the lands they are driven into, it appears that captivity will fall to the lot of such as are yet to be found in the land. But captivity involves new hostile invasions, and a repeated siege and capture of Jerusalem; during which many will perish by sword, famine, and plague. Thus and by deportation they shall be utterly rooted out of the land of their fathers. Cf. xxix. 17 ff., where Jeremiah repeats the main idea of this threatening.

Chap. xxv. *The Judgment on Judah and all Nations.*

The prediction of this chapter is introduced by a full heading, which details with sufficient precision the time of its composition. Ver. 1. "The word that came (befell) to (עַל) for (אֵל) Jeremiah concerning the whole people of Judah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that is, the first year of Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon; Ver. 2. Which Jeremiah the prophet spake to the whole people of Judah and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying."—All the discourses of Jeremiah delivered before this time contain either no dates at all, or only very general ones, such as iii. 6: In the days of Josiah, or: at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim (xxvi. 1). And it is only some of those of the following period that are so completely dated, as xxviii. 1, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 1, xxxix. 1, etc. The present heading is in this further

respect peculiar, that besides the year of the king of Judah's reign, we are also told that of the king of Babylon. This is suggested by the contents of this prediction, in which the people are told of the near approach of the judgment which Nebuchadnezzar is to execute on Judah and on all the surrounding nations far and near, until after seventy years judgment fall on Babylon itself. The fourth year of Jehoiakim is accordingly a notable turning-point for the kingdom of Judah. It is called the first year of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, because then, at the command of his old and decrepit father Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar had undertaken the conduct of the war against Pharaoh Necho of Egypt, who had penetrated as far as the Euphrates. At Carchemish he defeated Necho (xlvi. 2), and in the same year he came in pursuit of the fleeing Egyptians to Judah, took Jerusalem, and made King Jehoiakim tributary. With the first taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* in 606 B.C., begins the seventy years' Babylonian bondage or exile of Judah, foretold by Jeremiah in ver. 11 of the present chapter. Nebuchadnezzar was then only commander of his father's armies; but he is here, and in 2 Kings xxiv. 1, Dan. i. 1, called king of Babylon, because, equipped with kingly authority, he dictated to the Jews, and treated them as if he had been really king. Not till the following year, when he was at the head of his army in Farther Asia, did his father Nabopolassar die; whereupon he hastened to Babylon to mount the throne; see on Dan. i. 1 and 1 Kings xxiv. 1.—In ver. 2 it is again specified that Jeremiah spoke the word of that Lord that came to him to the whole people and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem (לְכָל for לְכָל again). There is no cogent reason for doubting, as Graf does, the correctness of these dates. Chap. xxxvi. 5 tells us that Jeremiah in the same year caused Baruch to write down the prophecies he had hitherto delivered, in order to read them to the people assembled in the temple, and this because he himself was imprisoned; but it does not follow from this, that at the time of receiving this prophecy he was prevented from going into the temple. The occurrence of chap. xxxvi. falls in any case into a later time of Jehoiakim's fourth year than the present chapter. Ew., too, finds it very probable that the discourse of this chapter was, in

substance at least, publicly delivered. The contents of it tell strongly in favour of this view.

It falls into three parts. In the first, vers. 3-11, the people of Judah are told that he (Jeremiah) has for twenty-three years long unceasingly preached the word of the Lord to the people with a view to their repentance, without Judah's having paid any heed to his sayings, or to the exhortations of the other prophets, so that now all the kings of the north, headed by Nebuchadnezzar, will come against Judah and the surrounding nations, will plunder everything, and make these lands tributary to the king of Babylon; and then, vers. 12-14, that after seventy years judgment will come on the king of Babylon and his land. In the second part, vers. 15-29, Jeremiah receives the cup of the Lord's wrath, to give it to all the people to drink, beginning with Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, proceeding to the Egyptians and the nationalities in the west and east as far as Elam and Media, and concluding with the king of Babylon. Then in the third part, vers. 30-38, judgment to come upon all peoples is set forth in plain statement.—The first part of this discourse would have failed of its effect if Jeremiah had only composed it in writing, and had not delivered it publicly before the people, in its main substance at least. And the two other parts are so closely bound up with the first, that they cannot be separated from it. The judgment made to pass on Judah by Nebuchadnezzar is only the beginning of the judgment which is to pass on one nation after another, until it culminates in judgment upon the whole world. As to the import of the judgment of the Babylonian exile, cf. the remm. in the Comm. on Daniel, Introd. § 2. The announcement of the judgment, whose beginning was now at hand, was of the highest importance for Judah. Even the proclamations concerning the other peoples were designed to take effect in the first instance on the covenant people, that so they might learn to fear the Lord their God as the Lord of the whole world and as the Ruler of all the peoples, who by judgment is preparing the way for and advancing the salvation of the whole world. The ungodly were, by the warning of what was to come on all flesh, to be terrified out of their security and led to turn to God; while by a knowledge beforehand of the coming affliction and the time it was

appointed to endure, the God-fearing would be strengthened with confidence in the power and grace of the Lord, so that they might bear calamity with patience and self-devotion as a chastisement necessary to their well-being, without taking false views of God's covenant promises or being overwhelmed by their distresses.

Vers. 3-11. *The seventy years' Chaldean bondage of Judah and the peoples.*—Ver. 3. "From the thirteenth year of Josiah, son of Amon king of Judah, unto this day, these three and twenty years, came the word of Jahveh to me, and I spake to you, from early morn onwards speaking, but ye hearkened not. Ver. 4. And Jahveh sent to you all His servants, the prophets, from early morning on sending them, but ye hearkened not, and inclined not your ear to hear. Ver. 5. They said: Turn ye now each from his evil way and from the evil of your doings, so shall ye abide in the land which Jahveh hath given to your fathers from everlasting to everlasting. Ver. 6. And go not after other gods, to serve them and to worship them, that ye provoke me not with the work of your hands, and that I do you no evil. Ver. 7. But ye hearkened not to me, to provoke me by the work of your hands, to your own hurt. Ver. 8. Therefore thus hath said Jahveh of hosts: Because ye have not heard my words, Ver. 9. Behold, I send and take all the families of the north, saith Jahveh, and to Nebuchadrezzar my servant (I send), and bring them upon this land, and upon its inhabitants, and upon all these peoples round about, and ban them, and make them an astonishment and a derision and everlasting desolations, Ver. 10. And destroy from among them the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the mill and the light of the lamp. Ver. 11. And this land shall become a desert, a desolation, and these peoples shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years."

The very beginning of this discourse points to the great crisis in the fortunes of Judah. Jeremiah recalls into the memory of the people not merely the whole time of his own labours hitherto, but also the labours of many other prophets, who, like himself, have unremittingly preached repentance to the people, called on them to forsake idolatry and their evil ways, and to return to the God of their fathers—but in vain (vers. 3-7).

The 23 years, from the 13th of Josiah till the 4th of Jehoiakim, are thus made up: 19 years of Josiah and 4 years of Jehoiakim, including the 3 months' reign of Jehoahaz. The form אֲשַׁבִּים might be an Aramaism; but it is more probably a clerical error, since we have אֲשַׁבֵּם everywhere else; cf. ver. 4, vii. 13, xxxv. 14, etc., and Olsh. *Gramm.* § 191, *g*. For syntactical reasons it cannot be 1st pers. *imperf.*, as Hitz. thinks it is. On the significance of this *infin. abs.* see on vii. 13. As to the thought of ver. 4 cf. vii. 25 f. and xi. 7 ff. לְאמֹר introduces the contents of the discourses of Jeremiah and the other prophets, though formally it is connected with וְשָׁלַח, ver. 4. As to the fact, cf. xxxv. 15. וְשָׁבוּ, so shall ye dwell, cf. vii. 7.—With ver. 6 cf. vii. 6, i. 16, etc. (אָרַע, *imperf. Hiph.* from רָעַע). הִכְעֵסִנִּי cannot be the reading of its *Chet.*, for the 3d person will not do. The י seems to have found its way in by an error in writing and the *Keri* to be the proper reading, since לְמַעַן is construed with the infinitive.—Ver. 8. For this obstinate resistance the Lord will cause the nations of the north, under Nebuchadrezzar's leadership, to come and lay Judah waste. "All the families of the north" points back to all the tribes of the kingdoms of the north, i. 14. וְיָאֵל נָבוֹכ' cannot be joined with "and take," but must depend from שָׁלַח in such a way that that verb is again repeated in thought. Ew. proposes to read יֵאָתָה according to some *codd.*, especially as Syr., Chald., Vulg. have rendered by an accusative. Against this Graf has justly objected, that then Nebuchadnezzar would be merely mentioned by the way as in addition to the various races, whereas it is he that brings these races and is the instrument of destruction in God's hand. Ew.'s reading is therefore to be unhesitatingly rejected. No valid reason appears for pronouncing the words: and to Nebuchadrezzar . . . my servant, to be a later interpolation (Hitz., Gr.) because they are not in the LXX. There is prominence given to Nebuchadnezzar by the very change of the construction, another "send" requiring to be repeated before "to Nebuchadrezzar." God calls Nebuchadnezzar His servant, as the executor of His will on Judah, cf. xxvii. 6 and xliii. 10. The "them" in "and bring them" refers to Nebuchadnezzar and the races of the north. "This land" is Judah, the הָאֶרֶץ being δεικτικῶς; so too the corresponding הָאֵלֶּה, "all these peoples

round about;" so that we need have no doubt of the genuineness of the demonstrative. The peoples meant are those round about Judah, that are specified in vers. 19-25. הַחֲרָמִים, used frequently in Deuteronomy and Joshua for the extirpation of the Canaanites, is used by Jeremiah, besides here, only in the prophecy against Babylon, l. 21, 26, li. 3. With לְשָׁמָּה וְלִשְׁרָקָה cf. xix. 8, xviii. 16; the words cannot be used of the peoples, but of the countries, which have been comprehended in the mention of the peoples. With "everlasting desolations," cf. xlix. 13, Isa. lviii. 12, lxi. 4.—With ver. 10 cf. xvi. 9, vii. 34. But here the thought is strengthened by the addition: the sound of the mill and the light of the lamp. Not merely every sound of joyfulness shall vanish, but even every sign of life, such as could make known the presence of inhabitants.—Ver. 11. The land of Judah shall be made waste and desolate, and these peoples shall serve the king of Babylon for seventy years. The time indicated appertains to both clauses. "This land" is not, with Näg., to be referred to the countries inhabited by all the peoples mentioned in ver. 9, but, as in ver. 9, to be understood of the land of Judah; and "all these peoples" are those who dwelt around Judah. The meaning is unquestionably, that Judah and the countries of the adjoining peoples shall lie waste, and that Judah and these peoples shall serve the king of Babylon; but the thought is so distributed amongst the parallel members of the verse, that the desolation is predicated of Judah only, the serving only of the peoples—it being necessary to complete each of the parallel members from the other.

The term of seventy years mentioned is not a so-called round number, but a chronologically exact prediction of the duration of Chaldean supremacy over Judah. So the number is understood in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, 22; so too by the prophet Daniel, when, Dan. ix. 2, in the first year of the Median king Darius, he took note of the seventy years which God, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, would accomplish for the desolation of Jerusalem. The seventy years may be reckoned chronologically. From the 4th year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* 606 B.C., till the 1st year of the sole supremacy of Cyrus over Babylon, *i.e.* 536 B.C., gives a period of 70 years. This number is arrived at by means of the dates given by profane authors as well as those of the his-

torians of Scripture. Nebuchadnezzar reigned 43 years, his son Evil-Merodach 2 years, Neriglissor 4 years, Labrosoarchad (according to Berosus) 9 months, and Naboned 17 years ($43+2+4+17$ years and 9 months are 66 years and 9 months). Add to this 1 year,—that namely which elapsed between the time when Jerusalem was first taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and the death of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar's accession,—add further the 2 years of the reign of Darius the Mede (see on Dan. vi. 1), and we have $69\frac{3}{4}$ years. With this the biblical accounts also agree. Of Jehoiakim's reign these give 7 years (from his 4th till his 11th year), for Jehoiachin's 3 months, for the captivity of Jehoiachin in Babylon until the accession of Evil-Merodach 37 years (see 2 Kings xxv. 27, according to which Evil-Merodach, when he became king, set Jehoiachin at liberty on the 27th day of the 12th month, in the 37th year after he had been carried away). Thus, till the beginning of Evil-Merodach's reign, we would have 44 years and 3 months to reckon, thence till the fall of the Babylonian empire 23 years and 9 months, and 2 years of Darius the Mede, *i.e.* in all 70 years complete.—But although this number corresponds so exactly with history, it is less its arithmetical value that is of account in Jeremiah; it is rather its symbolical significance as the number of perfection for God's works. This significance lies in the contrast of seven, as the characteristic number for works of God, with ten, the number that marks earthly completeness; and hereby prophecy makes good its distinguishing character as contrasted with soothsaying, or the prediction of contingent matters. The symbolical value of the number comes clearly out in the following verses, where the fall of Babylon is announced to come in seventy years, although it took place two years earlier.

Vers. 12-14. *The overthrow of the king of Babylon's sovereignty.*
 —Ver. 12. "But when seventy years are accomplished, I will visit their iniquity upon the king of Babylon and upon that people, saith Jahveh, and upon the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it everlasting desolations. Ver. 13. And I bring upon that land all my words which I have spoken concerning it, all that is written in this book, that Jeremiah hath prophesied concerning all peoples. Ver. 14. For of them also shall many

nations and great kings serve themselves, and I will requite them according to their doing and according to the work of their hands."

The punishment or visitation of its iniquity upon Babylon was executed when the city was taken, after a long and difficult siege, by the allied Medes and Persians under Cyrus' command. This was in B.C. 538, just 68 years after Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar for the first time. From the time of the fall of Babylon the sovereignty passed to the Medes and Persians; so that the dominion of Babylon over Judah and the surrounding nations, taken exactly, lasted 68 years, for which the symbolically significant number 70 is used. The Masoretes have changed the *Chet*. *הַבְּאֵתִי* into *הַכְּבִּי* (*Keri*), because the latter is the usual form and is that which alone elsewhere occurs in Jeremiah, cf. iii. 14, xxxvi. 31, xlix. 36 f.; whereas in ver. 9 they have pointed *הַבְּאֵתִים*, because this form is found in Isa. lvi. 7, Ezek. xxxiv. 13, and Neh. i. 9.—The second half of the 13th verse, from "all that is written" onwards, was not, of course, spoken by Jeremiah to the people, but was first added to explain "all my words," etc., when his prophecies were written down and published. Ver. 14. The perfect *עָבַר* is to be regarded as a prophetic present. *עָבַר*, impose labour, servitude on one, cf. xxii. 13, *i.e.* reduce one to servitude. *יָם* *הַיָּמָה* is an emphatic repetition of the pronoun *בָּם*, cf. Gesen. § 121, 3. Upon them, too (the Chaldeans), shall many peoples and great kings impose service, *i.e.* they shall make the Chaldeans bondsmen, reduce them to subjection. With "I will requite them," cf. l. 29, li. 24, where this idea is repeatedly expressed.¹

¹ Vers. 11b-14 are pronounced by Hitz., Ew., Graf to be spurious and interpolated; but Hitz. excepts the second half of ver. 14, and proposes to set it immediately after the first half of ver. 11. Their main argument is the dogmatic prejudice, that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim Jeremiah could not have foretold the fall of Babylon after seventy years' domination. The years foretold, says Hitz., "would coincide by all but two years, or, if Darius the Mede be a historical person, perhaps quite entirely. Such correspondence between history and prophecy would be a surprising accident, or else Jeremiah must have known beforehand the number of years during which the subjection to Babylon would last." Now the seventy years of Babylon's sovereignty are mentioned again in xxix. 10, where Jeremiah

Vers. 15-29. *The cup of God's fury.*—Ver. 15. "For thus hath Jahveh, the God of Israel, said to me: Take this cup of the wine of fury at my hand, and give it to drink to all the peoples to whom I send thee, Ver. 16. That they may drink, and reel, and be mad, because of the sword that I send amongst them. Ver. 17. And I took the cup at the hand of Jahveh, and made all the peoples drink it to whom Jahveh had sent me: Ver. 18. Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, and her kings, her princes, to make them a desolation and an astonishment, an hissing and a curse, as it is this day; Ver. 19. Pharaoh the

promises the exiles that after seventy years they shall return to their native land, and no doubt is thrown by the above-mentioned critics on this statement; but there the seventy years are said to be a so-called round number, because that prophecy was composed nine years later than the present one. But on the other hand, almost all comm. have remarked that the utterance of xxix. 10: "when as for Babylon seventy years are accomplished, will I visit you," points directly back to the prophecy before us (xxv.), and so gives a testimony to the genuineness of our 11th verse. And thus at the same time the assertion is disposed of, that in xxix. 10 the years given are a round number; for it is not there said that seventy years will be accomplished from the time of that letter addressed by the prophet to those in Babylon, but the *terminus a quo* of the seventy years is assumed as known already from the present twenty-fifth chap.—The other arguments brought forward by Hitz. against the genuineness of the verse have already been pronounced inconclusive by Näg. Nevertheless Näg. himself asserts the spuriousness, not indeed of ver. 11b (the seventy years' duration of Judah's Babylonian bondage), but of vers. 12-14, and on the following grounds:—1. Although in ver. 11, and below in ver. 26, it is indicated that Babylon itself will not be left untouched by the judgment of the Lord, yet (he says) it is incredible that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the prophet could have spoken of the fall of Babylon in such a full and emphatic manner as is the case in vers. 12-14. But no obvious reason can be discovered why this should be incredible. For though in ver. 26 Jeremiah makes use of the name *Sheshach* for Babylon, it does not hence follow that at that moment he desired to speak of it only in a disguised manner. In the statement that the Jews should serve the king of Babylon seventy years, it was surely clearly enough implied that after the seventy years Babylon's sovereignty should come to an end. Still less had Jeremiah occasion to fear that the announcement of the fall of Babylon after seventy years would confirm the Jews in their defiant determination not to be tributary to Babylon. The prophets of the Lord did not suffer themselves to be regulated in their prophesying by such reasons of human expediency.—2. Of more weight are his other two arguments. Vers. 12 and 13 presume the existence of the prophecy against Babylon, chap. l. and li., which was not composed till the fourth year of

king of Egypt, and his servants, and his princes, and all his people; Ver. 20. And all the mixed races and all the kings of the land of Uz, and all the kings of the land of the Philistines, Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod; Ver. 21. Edom, and Moab, and the sons of Ammon; Ver. 22. All the kings of Tyre, all the kings of Sidon, and the kings of the islands beyond the sea; Ver. 23. Dedan, and Tema, and Buz, and all with the corners of their hair polled; Ver. 24. And all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mixed races that dwell in the wilderness; Ver. 25. All the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of Media; Ver. 26.

Zedekiah; and the second half of ver. 13 presumes the existence of the other prophecies against the nations, and that too as a סֵפֶר. And although the greater number of these prophecies are older than the time of the battle at Carchemish, yet we may see (says Näg.) from the relation of apposition in which the second half of ver. 13 stands to the first, that here that *Sepher* against the peoples is meant in which the prophecy against Babylon was already contained. But from all this nothing further follows than that the words: "all that is written in this book and that Jeremiah prophesied against the peoples," were not uttered by Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, but were first appended at the editing of the prophecies or the writing of them down in the book which has come down to us. The demonstrative הַזֶּה does by no means show that he who wrote it regarded the present passage, namely chap. xxv., as belonging to the *Sepher* against the peoples, or that the prophecies against the peoples must have stood in immediate connection with chap. xxv. It only shows that the prophecies against the peoples too were found in the book which contained chap. xxv. Again, it is true that the first half of ver. 14 occurs again somewhat literally in xxvii. 7; but we do not at all see in this reliable evidence that Jeremiah could not have written ver. 14. Näg. founds this conclusion mainly on the allegation that the *perf.* עָבְדֵי is wrong, whereas in xxvii. 7 it is joined regularly by וְ *consec.* to the indication of time which precedes. But the perfect is here to be regarded as the prophetic present, marking the future as already accomplished in the divine counsel; just as in xxvii. 6 the categorical נָתַתִּי represents as accomplished that which in reality yet awaited its fulfilment. Accordingly we regard none of these arguments as conclusive. On the other hand, the fact that the Alexandrian translators have rendered vers. 12 and 13, and have made the last clause of ver. 13 the heading to the oracles against the peoples, furnishes an unexceptionable testimony to the genuineness of all three verses. Nor is this testimony weakened by the omission in that translation of ver. 14; for this verse could not but be omitted when the last clause of ver. 13 had been taken as a heading, since the contents of ver. 14 were incompatible with that view.

And all the kings of the north, near and far, one with another, and all the kingdoms of the world, which are upon the face of the earth; and the king of Sheshach shall drink after them. Ver. 27. And say to them: Thus hath Jahveh, the God of Israel, said: Drink and be drunken, and spue, and fall and rise not up again, because of the sword which I send among you. Ver. 28. And if it be that they refuse to take the cup out of thine hand to drink, then say to them: Thus hath Jahveh of hosts said: Drink ye shall. Ver. 29. For, behold, on the city upon which my name is named I begin to bring evil, and ye think to go unpunished? Ye shall not go unpunished; for I call the sword against all inhabitants of the earth, saith Jahveh of hosts."

To illustrate more fully the threatening against Judah and all peoples, ver. 9 ff., the judgment the Lord is about to execute on all the world is set forth under the similitude of a flagon filled with wrath, which the prophet is to hand to all the kings and peoples, one after another, and which he does give them to drink. The symbolical action imposed upon the prophet and, acc. to ver. 17, performed by him, serves to give emphasis to the threatening, and is therefore introduced by *וְיָ*; of which Graf erroneously affirms that it conveys a meaning only when vers. 11b-14 are omitted. Giving the peoples to drink of the cup of wrath is a figure not uncommon with the prophets for divine chastisements to be inflicted; cf. xlix. 12, li. 7, Isa. li. 17, 22, Ezek. xxiii. 31 ff., Hab. ii. 15, Ps. lx. 5, lxxv. 9, etc. The cup of wine which is wrath (fury). *כַּסֵּה* is an explanatory apposition to "wine." The wine with which the cup is filled is the wrath of God. *הַיָּיִן* belongs to *בּוֹס*, which is fem., cf. Ezek. xxiii. 32, 34, Lam. iv. 21, whereas *אֵתוֹ* belongs to the wine which is wrath. In ver. 16, where the purpose with which the cup of wrath is to be presented is given, figure is exchanged for fact: they shall reel and become mad because of the sword which the Lord sends amidst them. To reel, sway to and fro, like drunken men. *הִתְהַלֵּל*, demean oneself insanely, be mad. The sword as a weapon of war stands often for war, and the thought is: war with its horrors will stupefy the peoples, so that they perish helpless and powerless.—Ver. 17. This duty imposed by the Lord Jeremiah performs; he takes

the cup and makes all peoples drink it. Here the question has been suggested, how Jeremiah performed this commission: whether he made journeys to the various kings and peoples, or, as J. D. Mich. thought, gave the cup to ambassadors, who were perhaps then in Jerusalem. This question is the result of an imperfect understanding of the case. The prophet does not receive from God a flagon filled with wine which he is to give, as a symbol of divine wrath, to the kings and peoples; he receives a cup filled with the wrath of God, which is to intoxicate those that drink of it. As the wrath of God is no essence that may be drunk by the bodily act, so manifestly the cup is no material cup, and the drinking of it no act of the outer, physical reality. The whole action is accordingly only emblematical of a real work of God wrought on kings and peoples, and is performed by Jeremiah when he announces what he is commanded. And the announcement he accomplished not by travelling to each of the nations named, but by declaring to the king and his princes in Jerusalem the divine decree of judgment.

The enumeration begins with Judah, ver. 18, on which first judgment is to come. Along with it are named Jerusalem, the capital, and the other cities, and then the kings and princes; whereas in what follows, for the most part only the kings, or, alternating with them, the peoples, are mentioned, to show that kings and peoples alike must fall before the coming judgment. The plural "kings of Judah" is used as in xix. 3. The consequence of the judgment: to make them a desolation, etc., runs as in vers. 9, 11, xix. 8, xxiv. 9. כִּי יִהְיֶה has here the force: as is now about to happen.—Ver. 19 ff. The enumeration of the heathen nations begins with Egypt and goes northwards, the peoples dwelling to the east and west of Judah being ranged alongside one another. First we have in ver. 20 the races of Arabia and Philistia that bordered on Egypt to the east and west; then in ver. 21 the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites to the east, and, ver. 22, the Phœnicians with their colonies to the west. Next we have the Arabian tribes of the desert extending eastwards from Palestine to the Euphrates (vers. 23, 24); then the Elamites and Medes in the distant east (ver. 25), the near and distant kings of the north, and all

kingdoms upon earth; last of all the king of Babylon (ver 26). בְּלִהְעָרָב, LXX.: πάντας τοὺς συμμίκτους, and Jerome: *cunctus-que qui non est Aegyptius, sed in ejus regionibus commoratur*. The word means originally a mixed multitude of different races that attach themselves to one people and dwell as strangers amongst them; cf. Ex. xii. 38 and Neh. xiii. 3. Here it is races that in part dwelt on the borders of Egypt and were in subjection to that people. It is rendered accordingly "vassals" by Ew.; an interpretation that suits the present verse very well, but will not do in ver. 24. It is certainly too narrow a view, to confine the reference of the word to the mercenaries or Ionian and Carian troops by whose help Necho's father Psammetichus acquired sole supremacy (Graf), although this be the reference of the same word in Ezek. xxx. 5. The land of Uz is, acc. to the present passage and to Lam. iv. 21, where the daughter of Edom dwells in the land of Uz, to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Idumæa and the Egyptian border. To delete the words "and all the kings of the land of Uz" as a gloss, with Hitz. and Gr., because they are not in the LXX., is an exercise of critical violence. The LXX. omitted them for the same reason as that on which Hitz. still lays stress—namely, that they manifestly do not belong to this place, but to ver. 23. And this argument is based on the idea that the land of Uz (Ὀυζίτις) lies much farther to the north in Arabia Deserta, in the Hauran or the region of Damascus, or that it is a collective name for the whole northern region of Arabia Deserta that stretches from Idumæa as far as Syria; see Del. on Job i. 1, and Wetzstein in Del.'s Job, S. 536 f. This is an assumption for which valid proofs are not before us. The late oriental legends as to Job's native country do not suffice for this. The kings of the land of the Philistines are the kings of the four towns next in order mentioned, with their territories, cf. Josh. xiii. 3, 1 Sam. vi. 4. The fifth of the towns of the lords of the Philistines, *Gath*, is omitted here as it was before this, in Amos i. 7 f. and Zeph. ii. 4, and later in Zech. ix. 5, not because Gath had already fallen into premature decay; for in Amos' time Gath was still a very important city. It is rather, apparently, because Gath had ceased to be the capital of a separate kingdom or principality. There is remain-

stitutes a commentary on the name; cf. Hgstb. *Christ.* iii. p. 377. The name does not sig. humiliation, in support of which Graf has recourse partly to שחה, partly to the Arabic usage. For other arbitrary interpretations, see in Ges. *thes.* p. 1486.¹

From ver. 27 onwards the commission from God (ver. 15 f.) is still more completely communicated to Jeremiah, so that the record of its fulfilment (vers. 17-26), together with the enumeration of the various peoples, is to be regarded as an explanatory parenthesis. These might the less unsuitably be inserted after ver. 16, inasmuch as what there is further of the divine command in vers. 27-29 is, if we examine its substance, little else than an enforcement of the command. The prophet is not merely to declare to them what is the meaning of this drinking of wrath (Hitz.), but is to tell them that they are to drink the cup of wrath to the bottom, so that they shall fall for drunkenness and not be able to stand again (ver. 27); and that they must drink, because when once Jahveh has begun judgment on His own people, He is determined not to spare any other people. קִי from קָיָה = קָוָה serves to strengthen the שָׁכְרוּ; in the second hemistich the figurative statement passes into the real, as at ver. 16. In ver. 28 שָׁתוּ תִשְׁתּוּ is a peremptory command: ye shall = must drink. Ver. 29 gives the reason: since God spares not His own people, then the heathen people need not count on immunity. "And ye think to go unpunished" is a question of surprise. Judgment is to be extended over all the inhabitants of the earth.

As to the fulfilment of this prophecy, see details in the exposition of the oracles against the nations, chap. xlv. - li. Hence it

¹ As has been done with the whole or with parts of vers. 12-14, so too the last clause of ver. 26 is pronounced by Ew., Hitz., and Graf to be spurious, a gloss that had ultimately found its way into the text. This is affirmed because the clause is wanting in the LXX., and because the prophet could not fitly threaten Babylon along with the other nations (Hitz.); or because "the specification of a single kingdom seems very much out of place, after the enumeration of the countries that are to drink the cup of wrath has been concluded by the preceding comprehensive intimation, 'all the kingdoms of the earth'" (Gr.). Both reasons are valueless. By "shall drink after them" Babylon is sufficiently distinguished from the other kings and countries mentioned, and the reason is given why Babylon is not put on the same footing with them, but is to be made to drink after them.

appears that most of the nations here mentioned were subject to Nebuchadnezzar. Only of *Elam* is no express mention there made; and as to *Media*, Jeremiah has given no special prophecy. As to both these peoples, it is very questionable whether Nebuchadnezzar ever subdued them. For more on this, see on xlix. 34-39. Although it is said in ver. 9 of the present chapter and in chap. xxvii. 5 ff. that God has given all peoples, all the lands of the earth, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, yet it does not follow thence that Nebuchadnezzar really conquered all. The meaning of the prophetic announcement is simply that the king of Babylon will obtain dominion over the world for the coming period, and that when his time is run, he too must fall beneath the judgment. The judgment executed by Nebuchadnezzar on the nations is the beginning of that upon the whole earth, before which, in course of time, all inhabitants of the earth fall, even those whom Nebuchadnezzar's sword has not reached. In the beginning of the Chaldean judgment the prophet sees the beginning of judgment upon the whole earth.

Vers. 30-38. "But do thou prophesy to them all these words, and say unto them: Jahveh will roar from on high, and from His holy habitation let His voice resound; He will roar against His pasture, raise a shout like treaders of grapes against all the inhabitants of the earth. Ver. 31. Noise reacheth to the end of the earth, for controversy hath Jahveh with the nations; contend will He with all flesh; the wicked He gives to the sword, is the saying of Jahveh. Ver. 32. Thus saith Jahveh of hosts: Behold, evil goeth forth from nation to nation, and (a) great storm shall raise itself from the utmost coasts of the earth. Ver. 33. And the slain of Jahveh shall lie on that day from one end of the earth unto the other, shall not be lamented, neither gathered nor buried; for dung shall they be upon the ground. Ver. 34. Howl, ye shepherds, and cry! and sprinkle you (with ashes), ye lordliest of the flock! For your days are filled for the slaughter; and I scatter you so that ye shall fall like a precious vessel. Ver. 35. Lost is flight to the shepherds, and escape to the lordliest of the flock. Ver. 36. Hark! Crying of the shepherds and howling of the lordliest of the flock; for Jahveh layeth waste their pasture. Ver. 37. Desolated are

the pastures of peace because of the heat of Jahveh's anger. Ver. 38. He hath forsaken like a young lion his covert; for their land is become a desert, because of the oppressing sword, and because of the heat of His anger."

In this passage the emblem of the cup of the Lord's anger (vers. 25-29) is explained by a description of the dreadful judgment God is to inflict on all the inhabitants of the earth. This is not the judgment on the world at large as distinguished from that proclaimed in vers. 15-29 against the kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world, as Næg. supposes. It is the nature of this same judgment that is here discussed, no regard being here paid to the successive steps of its fulfilment. Vers. 30 and 31 are only a further expansion of the second half of ver. 29. "All these words" refers to what follows. The clause "Jahveh will roar" to "let His voice resound" is a reminiscence from Joel iv. 16 and Amos i. 2; but instead of "out of Zion and out of Jerusalem" in those passages, we have here "from on high," i.e. heaven, and out of His holy habitation (in heaven), because the judgment is not to fall on the heathen only, but on the theocracy in a special manner, and on the earthly sanctuary, the temple itself, so that it can come only from heaven or the upper sanctuary. Jahveh will roar like a lion against His pasture (the pasture or meadow where His flock feeds, cf. x. 25); a name for the holy land, including Jerusalem and the temple; not: the world subject to Him (Ew.). הִירָר וגו', He will answer *Hedad* like treaders of grapes; i.e. raise a shout as they do. Answer; inasmuch as the shout or war-cry of Jahveh is the answer to the words and deeds of the wicked. Grammatically הִירָר is *accus.* and object to the verb: *Hedad* he gives as answer. The word is from הָרַר, crash, and signifies the loud cry with which those that tread grapes keep time to the alternate raising and thrusting of the feet. Ew. is accordingly correct, though far from happy, in rendering the word "tramping-song;" see on Isa. xvi. 9 f. As to the figure of the treader of grapes, cf. Isa. lxiii. 3.—Ver. 31. שִׁשָּׁן is the din of war, the noise of great armies, cf. Isa. xvii. 12 f., etc. For the Lord conducts a controversy, a cause at law, with the nations, with all flesh, i.e. with all mankind; cf. ii. 9, 35.—הִרָרִים is for the sake of emphasis put first and resumed again in the suffix

to נִתְּנָם. "Give to the sword" as in xv. 9.—Ver. 32 f. As a fierce storm (cf. xxiii. 19) rises from the ends of the earth on the horizon, so will evil burst forth and seize on one nation after another. Those slain by Jahveh will then lie, unmourned and unburied, from one end of the earth to the other; cf. viii. 2, xvi. 4. With "slain of Jahveh," cf. Isa. lxvi. 16. Jahveh slays them by the sword in war.—Ver. 34. No rank is spared. This is intimated in the summons to howl and lament addressed to the shepherds, *i.e.* the kings and rulers on earth (cf. x. 21, xxii. 22, etc.), and to the lordly or glorious of the flock, *i.e.* to the illustrious, powerful, and wealthy. With "sprinkle you," cf. vi. 26. Your days are full or filled for the slaughter, *i.e.* the days of your life are full, so that ye shall be slain; cf. Lam. iv. 18. יִתְּפֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם is obscure and hard to explain. It is so read by the Masora, while many *codd.* and *editt.* have יִתְּפִצְוֹתֵיכֶם. According to this latter form, Jerome, Rasli, Kimchi, lately Maur. and Umbr., hold the word for a substantive: your dispersions. But whether we connect this with what precedes or what follows, we fail to obtain a fitting sense from it. Your days are full and your dispersions, for: the time is come when ye shall be slain and dispersed, cannot be maintained, because "dispersions" is not in keeping with "are full." Again: as regards your dispersions, ye shall fall, would give a good meaning, only if "your dispersions" meant: the flock dispersed by the fault of the shepherds; and with this the second pers. "ye shall fall" does not agree. The sig. of fatness given by Ew. to the word is wholly arbitrary. Hitz., Gr., and Näg. take the word to be a Tiphil (like תהרה, xii. 5, xxii. 15), and read יִתְּפִצְוֹתֵיכֶם, I scatter you. This gives a suitable sense; and there is no valid reason for attaching to the word, as Hitz. and Gr. do, the force of פָּצַץ or נָפַץ, smite in pieces. The thought, that one part of the flock shall be slain, the other scattered, seems quite apt; so also is that which follows, that they that are scattered shall fall and break like precious, *i.e.* fine, ornamental vases. Hence there was no occasion for Ew.'s conjectural emendation, פָּצְרִי, like precious lambs. Nor does the LXX. rendering: ὡσπερ οἱ κριοὶ οἱ ἐκλεκτοί, give it any support; for קָרִים does not mean rams, but lambs. The similar comparison of Jechoniah to a worthless vessel (xxii. 28) tells in favour of the reading in the

text (Graf).—In ver. 35 the threatening is made more woeful by the thought, that the shepherds shall find no refuge, and that no escape will be open to the sheep.—Ver. 36 f. The prophet is already hearing in spirit the lamentation to which in ver. 34 he has called them, because Jahveh has laid waste the pastures of the shepherds and their flocks, and destroyed the peaceful meadows by the heat of His anger.—In ver. 38, finally, the discourse is rounded off by a repetition and expansion of the thought with which the description of the judgment was begun in ver. 30. As a young lion forsakes his covert to seek for prey, so Jahveh has gone forth out of His heavenly habitation to hold judgment on the people; for their (the shepherds') land becomes a desert. The perff. are prophetic. יָיִן has grounding force. The desolation of the land gives proof that the Lord has arisen to do judgment. הִרְוֶה הַיִּנָּה seems strange, since the adjective הַיִּנָּה never occurs independently, but only in connection with תָּרַב (xlvi. 16, l. 16, and with עִיר, Zeph. iii. 1). הִרְוֶה, again, is regularly joined with אֶף, and only three times besides with a suffix referring to Jahveh (Ex. xv. 7; Ps. ii. 5; Ezek. vii. 14). In this we find justification for the conjecture of Hitz., Ew., Gr., etc., that we should read with the LXX. and Chald. תָּרַב הַיִּנָּה. The article with the adj. after the subst. without one, here and in xlvi. 16, l. 16, is to be explained by the looseness of connection between the participle and its noun; cf. Ew. § 335, a.

Chap. xxvi. *Accusation and Acquittal of Jeremiah in the matter of his prophesying Threatenings. The Prophet Urijah put to death.*

This chapter is separated from the discourses that precede and follow by a heading of its own, and dates from the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim; whereas the following chap. xxvii.—xxix. fall into the earlier years of Zedekiah's reign. In point of matter, however, the present chapter is closely connected with these latter, though the connection between them is certainly not that held to exist by Ew. His view is, that chap. xxvii.—xxix. furnish "three historical supplements regarding true and false prophethood," in each of which we are told in the first place how the prophet himself

acted, the account being concluded with notices of prophets who either prophesied what was directly false, or who vindicated the truth with but insufficient steadfastness. As against this, Graf justly observes, "that this is in keeping neither with the real contents of chap. xxvii-xxix. nor with chap. xxvi. ; for Micah was far from being a false prophet, and Urijah was as little wanting in courage as was Jeremiah, who hid himself from Jehoiakim, xxxvi. 19, 26."—Chap. xxvii.-xxix. are related in the closest possible manner to chap. xxv. ; for all that is said by Jeremiah in these chapters has manifestly for its aim to vindicate the truth of his announcement, that Judah's captivity in Chaldea would last seventy years, as against the false prophets, who foretold a speedy return of the exiles into their fatherland. To this the contents of chap. xxvi. form a sort of prelude, inasmuch as here we are informed of the attitude assumed by the leaders of the people, by the priests and prophets, and by King Jehoiakim towards the prophet's announcement of judgment about to fall on Judah. Thus we are put in a position to judge of the opposition on the part of the people and its leaders, with which his prophecy of the seventy years' bondage of Judah was likely to meet. For this reason chap. xxvi., with its historical notices, is inserted after xxv. and before xxvii.-xxix.

Vers. 1-19. ACCUSATION AND ACQUITTAL OF JEREMIAH.—
Vers. 1-7. His prophecy that temple and city would be destroyed gave occasion to the accusation of the prophet.—**Ver. 1.** "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah king of Judah, came this word from Jahveh, saying: **Ver. 2.** Thus said Jahveh: Stand in the court of the house of Jahveh, and speak to all the cities of Judah which come to worship in Jahveh's house, all the words that I have commanded thee to speak to them; take not a word therefrom. **Ver. 3.** Perchance they will hearken and turn each from his evil way, that I may repent me of the evil which I purpose to do unto them for the evil of their doings. **Ver. 4.** And say unto them: Thus saith Jahveh: If ye hearken not to me, to walk in my law which I have set before you, **Ver. 5.** To hearken to the words of my servants the prophets whom I sent unto you, from early morning on

sending, but ye have not hearkened, Ver. 6. Then I make this house like Shiloh, and this city a curse to all the peoples of the earth. Ver. 7. And the priests and the prophets and all the people heard Jeremiah speaking these words in the house of Jahveh."

In the discourse of chap. vii., where he was combating the people's false reliance upon the temple, Jeremiah had already threatened that the temple should share the fate of Shiloh, unless the people turned from its evil ways. Now, since that discourse was also delivered in the temple, and since vers. 2-6 of the present chapter manifestly communicate only the substance of what the prophet said, several comm. have held these discourses to be identical, and have taken it for granted that the discourse here referred to, belonging to the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, was given in full in chap. vii., while the history of it has been given in the present chapter by way of supplement (cf. the introductory remarks to chap. vii.). But considering that it is a peculiarity of Jeremiah frequently to repeat certain of the main thoughts of his message, the saying of God, that He will do to the temple as He has done to Shiloh, is not sufficient to warrant this assumption. Jeremiah frequently held discourses in the temple, and more than once foretold the destruction of Jerusalem; so that it need not be surprising if on more than one occasion he threatened the temple with the fate of Shiloh. Between the two discourses there is further this distinction: Whereas in chap. vii. the prophet speaks chiefly of the spoliation or destruction of the temple and the expulsion of the people into exile, here in brief incisive words he intimates the destruction of the city of Jerusalem as well; and the present chapter throughout gives the impression that by this, so to speak, peremptory declaration, the prophet sought to move the people finally to decide for Jahveh its God, and that he thus so exasperated the priests and prophets present, that they seized him and pronounced him worthy of death.—According to the heading, this took place in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim. The like specification in the heading of chap. xxvii. does not warrant us to refer the date to the fourth year of this king. "The beginning" intimates simply that the discourse belongs to the earlier period of Jehoiakim's reign, with-

out minuter information as to year and day. "To Jeremiah" seems to have been dropped out after "came this word," ver. 1. The court of the house of God is not necessarily the inner or priests' court of the temple; it may have been the outer one where the people assembled; cf. xix. 14. All the "cities of Judah" for their inhabitants, as in xi. 12. The addition: "take not a word therefrom," cf. Deut. iv. 2, xiii. 1, indicates the peremptory character of the discourse. In full, without softening the threat by the omission of anything the Lord commanded him, *i.e.* he is to proclaim the word of the Lord in its full unconditional severity, to move the people, if possible, to repentance, acc. to ver. 3. With ver. 3*b*, cf. xviii. 8, etc.—In vers. 4-6 we have the contents of the discourse. If they hearken not to the words of the prophet, as has hitherto been the case, the Lord will make the temple as Shiloh, and this city, *i.e.* Jerusalem, a curse, *i.e.* an object of curses (cf. xxiv. 9), for all peoples. On this cf. vii. 12 ff. But ye have not hearkened. The *Chet.* הַזֶּה Hitz. holds to be an error of transcription; Ew. § 173, *g*, and Olsh. *Gramm.* § 101, *c*, and 133, a paragogically lengthened form; Böttcher, *Lehrb.* § 665. iii. and 897, 3, a toneless appended suffix, strengthening the demonstrative force: *this (city) here*.

Vers. 8-19. *The behaviour of the priests, prophets, and princes of the people towards Jeremiah on account of this discourse.*—Ver. 7 ff. When the priests and prophets and all the people present in the temple had heard this discourse, they laid hold of Jeremiah, saying, Ver. 8 f. "Thou must die. Wherefore prophesiest thou in the name of Jahveh, saying, Like Shiloh shall this house become, and this city shall be desolate, without inhabitant? And all the people gathered to Jeremiah in the house of Jahveh." This last remark is not so to be understood, when compared with vers. 7 and 8, as that all the people who, according to ver. 7, had been hearing the discourse, and, according to ver. 8, had with the priests and prophets laid hold on Jeremiah, gathered themselves to him now. It means, that after one part of the people present had, along with the priests and prophets, laid hold on him, the whole people gathered around him. "All the people," ver. 9, is accordingly to be distinguished from "all the people," ver. 8; and the word בָּל,

all, must not be pressed, in both cases meaning simply a great many. When it is thus taken, there is no reason for following Hitz., and deleting "all the people" in ver. 8 as a gloss. Jeremiah's special opponents were the priests and prophets after their own hearts. But to them there adhered many from among the people; and these it is that are meant by "all the people," ver. 8. But since these partisans of the priests and pseudo-prophets had no independent power of their own to pass judgment, and since, after Jeremiah was laid hold of, all the rest of the people then in the temple gathered around him, it happens that in ver. 11 the priests and prophets are opposed to "all the people," and are mentioned as being alone the accusers of Jeremiah.—When the princes of Judah heard what had occurred, they repaired from the king's house (the palace) to the temple, and seated themselves in the entry of the new gate of Jahveh, *sc.* to investigate and decide the case. The new gate was, according to xxxvi. 10, by the upper, *i.e.* inner court, and is doubtless the same that Jotham caused to be built (2 Kings xv. 35); but whether it was identical with the upper gate of Benjamin, xx. 2, cannot be decided. The princes of Judah, since they came up into the temple from the palace, are the judicial officers who were at that time about the palace. The judges were chosen from among the heads of the people; cf. my *Bibl. Archäol.* ii. § 149.—Ver. 10. Before these princes, about whom all the people gathered, Jeremiah is accused by the priests and prophets: "This man is worthy of death;" literally: a sentence of death (cf. Deut. xix. 6), condemnation to death, is due to this man; "for he hath prophesied against this city, as ye have heard with your ears." With these last words they appeal to the people standing round who had heard the prophecy, for the princes had not reached the temple till after Jeremiah had been apprehended. Ver 12. To this Jeremiah answered in his own defence before the princes and all the people: "Jahveh hath sent me to prophesy against (בְּ for בָּ) this house and against this city all the words which ye have heard. Ver. 13. And now make your ways good and your doings, and hearken to the voice of Jahveh your God, and Jahveh will repent Him of the evil that He hath spoken against you. Ver. 14. But I, behold, I am in your hand; do with me

as seemeth to you good and right. Ver. 15. Only ye must know, that if ye put me to death, ye bring innocent blood upon you, and upon this city, and upon her inhabitants; for of a truth Jahveh hath sent me to you to speak in your ears all these words." — As to "make your ways good," cf. vii. 3. This defence made an impression on the princes and on all the people. From the intimation that by reform it was possible to avert the threatened calamity, and from the appeal to the fact that in truth Jahveh had sent him and commanded him so to speak, they see that he is a true prophet, whose violent death would bring blood-guiltiness upon the city and its inhabitants. They therefore declare to the accusers, ver. 16: "This man is not worthy of death, for in the name of Jahveh our God hath he spoken unto us." — Vers. 17-19. To justify and confirm this sentence, certain of the elders of the land rise and point to the like sentence passed on the prophet Micah of Moresheth-Gath, who had foretold the destruction of the city and temple under King Hezekiah, but had not been put to death by the king; Hezekiah, on the contrary, turning to prayer to the Lord, and thus succeeding in averting the catastrophe. The "men of the elders of the land" are different from "all the princes," and are not to be taken, as by Graf, for representatives of the people in the capacity of assessors at judicial decisions, who had to give their voice as to guilt or innocence; nor are they necessarily to be regarded as local authorities of the land. They come before us here solely in their character as elders of the people, who possessed a high authority in the eyes of the people. The saying of the Morasthite Micah which they cite in ver. 18 is found in Mic. iii. 12, verbally agreeing with ver. 18; see the exposition of that passage. The stress of what they say lies in the conclusion drawn by them from Micah's prophecy, taken in connection with Hezekiah's attitude towards the Lord, ver. 19: "Did Hezekiah king of Judah and all Judah put him to death? Did he not fear Jahveh and entreat Jahveh, and did not Jahveh repent Him of the evil which He had spoken concerning them? and we would commit a great evil against our souls?" Neither in the book of Micah, nor in the accounts of the books of Kings, nor in the chronicle of Hezekiah's reign are we told that, in consequence of that

prophecy of Micah, Hezekiah entreated the Lord and so averted judgment from Jerusalem. There we find only that during the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, Hezekiah besought the help of the Lord and protection from that mighty enemy. The elders have combined this fact with Micah's prophecy, and thence drawn the conclusion that the godly king succeeded by his prayer in averting the mischief. Cf. the remarks on this passage at Mic. iv. 10. 'הָלַךְ אֶת-פָּנָי י', lit. stroke the face of Jahveh, *i.e.* entreat Him, cf. Ex. xxxii. 11. "And we would commit," are thinking of doing, are on the point of doing a great evil against our souls; inasmuch as by putting the prophet to death they would bring blood-guiltiness upon themselves and hasten the judgment of God.—The acquittal of Jeremiah is not directly related; but it may be gathered from the decision of the princes: This man is not worthy of death.

Vers. 20-24. *The prophet Urijah put to death.*—While the history we have just been considering gives testimony to the hostility of the priests and false prophets towards the true prophets of the Lord, the story of the prophet Urijah shows the hostility of King Jehoiakim against the proclaimers of divine truth. For this purpose, and not merely to show in how great peril Jeremiah then stood (Gr., Näg.), this history is introduced into our book. It is not stated that the occurrence took place at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, nor can we infer so much from its being placed directly after the events of that time. The time is not specified, because it was irrelevant for the case in hand. Ver. 20. A man, *Urijah* the son of *Shemaiah*—both unknown—from Kirjath-Jearim, now called Kuriyet el 'Enab, about three hours to the north-west of Jerusalem, on the frontiers of the tribe of Benjamin (see on Josh. ix. 17), prophesied in the name of Jahveh against Jerusalem and Judah very much in the same terms as Jeremiah had done. When King Jehoiakim and his great men heard this discourse, he sought after the prophet to kill him. Urijah, when he heard of it, fled to Egypt; but the king sent men after him, Elnathan the son of Achibor with some followers, and had him brought back thence, caused him to be put to death, and his body to be thrown into the graves of the common

people. Hitz. takes objection to "all his mighty men," ver. 21, because it is not found in the LXX., and is nowhere else used by Jeremiah. But these facts do not prove that the words are not genuine; the latter of the two, indeed, tells rather in favour of their genuineness, since a glossator would not readily have interpolated an expression foreign to the rest of the book. The "mighty men" are the distinguished soldiers who were about the king, the military commanders, as the "princes" are the supreme civil authorities. *Elnathan* the son of *Achbor*, according to xxxvi. 12, 25, one of Jehoiakim's princes, was a son of the *Achbor* who is mentioned in 2 Kings xxii. 12–14 as amongst the princes of Josiah. Whether this *Elnathan* was the same as the *Elnathan* whose daughter *Nehushta* was *Jehoiachin's* mother (2 Kings xxiv. 8), and who was therefore the king's father-in-law, must remain an undecided point, since the name *Elnathan* is of not unfrequent occurrence; of Levites, *Ezra* viii. 16. עַמִּי הָעָם (see on xvii. 19) means the common people here, as in 2 Kings xxii. 6. The place of burial for the common people was in the valley of the *Kidron*; see on 2 Kings xxii. 6.—Ver. 24. The narrative closes with a remark as to how, amid such hostility against the prophets of God on the part of king and people, *Jeremiah* escaped death. This was because the hand of *Ahikam* the son of *Shaphan* was with him. This person is named in 2 Kings xxii. 12, 14, as one of the great men sent by King *Josiah* to the prophetess *Hulda* to inquire of her concerning the book of the law recently discovered. According to Jer. xxxix. 14, xl. 5, etc., he was the father of the future Chaldean governor *Gedaliah*.

Chap. xxvii.—xxix. *The yoke of Babylon upon Judah and the neighbouring Peoples.*

These three chapters are closely connected with one another. They all belong to the earlier period of *Zedekiah's* reign, and contain words of *Jeremiah* by means of which he confirms and vindicates against the opposition of false prophets his announcement of the seventy years' duration of the Chaldean supremacy over *Judah* and the nations, and warns king and people patiently to bear the yoke laid on them by *Nebuchadnezzar*. The three chapters have besides an external connec-

tion. For chap. xxviii. is attached to the event of xxvii. by its introductory formula: And it came to pass in *that* year, at the beginning, etc., as xxix. is to xxviii. by יְהוֹיָכִים. To this, it is true, the heading handed down in the Masoretic text is in contradiction. The date: In the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, the son of Josiah king of Judah, came this word to Jeremiah (xxvii. 1), is irreconcilable with the date: And it came to pass in *that* year, in the beginning of the reign of *Zedekiah* king of Judah, in the fourth year, in the fifth month. The name "Jehoiakim the son of Josiah" in xxvii. 1 is erroneous. It is without doubt the blunder of a copyist who had in his mind the heading of the 26th chapter, and should have been "*Zedekiah*;" for the contents of chap. xxvii. carry us into Zedekiah's time, as plainly appears from vers. 3, 12, and 20. Hence the Syr. translation and one of Kennicott's codd. have substituted the latter name.¹

¹ Following the example of ancient comm., Haevernick in his *Introd.* (ii. 2) has endeavoured to defend the date: "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah." To this end he ventures the hypothesis, that in chap. xxvii. there are placed beside one another three discourses agreeing in their subject-matter: "one addressed to Jehoiakim (vers. 2-11), a second to Zedekiah (vers. 12-15), a third to the priests and people;" and that the words: "by the hand of the ambassador that came to Zedekiah the king of Judah," are appended to show how Zedekiah ought to have obeyed the older prophecy of Jehoiakim's time, and how he should have borne himself towards the nations with which he was in alliance. But this does not solve the difficulty. The prophecy, vers. 4-11, is addressed to the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon; but since the envoys of these kings did not come to Jerusalem till Zedekiah's time, we are bound, if the prophecy dates from the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, to assume that this prophecy was communicated to Jeremiah and published by him eleven years before the event, upon occasion of which it was to be conveyed to the kings concerned. An assumption that would require unusually cogent reasons to render it credible. Vers. 4b-21 contain nothing whatever that points to Jehoiakim's time, or give countenance to the hypothesis that the three sections of this chapter contain three discourses of different dates, which have been put together on account merely of the similarity of their contents.

Beyond this one error of transcription, these three chapters contain nothing that could throw any doubt on the integrity of the text. There are no traces of a later supplementary revision by another hand, such as Mov., Hitz., and de W. profess to have discovered. The occurrence of Jeremiah's name in the contracted form יֵרֵמְיָה, as also of other names com-

Chap. xxvii. THE YOKE OF BABYLON.—In three sections, connected as to their date and their matter, Jeremiah prophesies to the nations adjoining Judah (vers. 2–11), to King Zedekiah (vers. 12–15), and to the priests and all the people (vers. 16–22), that God has laid on them the yoke of the king of Babylon, and that they ought to humble themselves under His almighty hand.—Ver. 1. According to the (corrected) heading, the prophecy was given in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah. If we compare chap. xxviii. we find the same date: “in that year, at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah,” more fully defined as the fourth year of his reign. Graf has made objection, that in the case of a reign of eleven years, one could not well speak of the fourth year as the beginning of the reign. But the idea of beginning is relative (cf. Gen. x. 10), and does not necessarily coincide with that of the first year. The reign of Zedekiah is divided into two halves: the first period, or begin-

pounded with *Jahu* in the form *Jah*, does not prove later retouching; for, as Graf has shown, we find alongside of it the fuller form also (xxviii. 12, xxix. 27–30), and have frequently both longer and shorter forms in the same verse (so in xxvii. 1, xxviii. 12, xxix. 29–31). And so long as other means for distinguishing are wanting, it will not do to discriminate the manner of expression in the original text from that of the reviser by means of these forms alone. Again, as we have shown at p. 312, note, there is a good practical reason for Jeremiah's being called “the prophet” (הַנָּבִיא); so that this too is not the reviser's work. Finally, we cannot argue later addition from the fact that the name of the king of Babylon is written Nebuchadnezzar in xxvii. 6, 8, 20, xxviii. 3, 11, 14, xxix. 1, 3; for the same form appears again in xxxiv. 1 and xxxix. 5, and with it we have also Nebuchadrezzar in xxix. 21 and xxxix. 1. Elsewhere, it is true, we find only the one form Nebuchadnezzar, and this is the unvarying spelling in the books of Kings, Chron., Ezra, Dan., and in Esth. ii. 6; whereas Ezekiel uniformly writes Nebuchadrezzar (xxvi. 7, xxix. 18, 19, and xxx. 10), and this form Jeremiah uses twenty-seven times (xxi. 2, 7, xxii. 25, xxiv. 1, xxv. 1, 9, xxix. 21, xxxii. 1, 28, xxxv. 11, xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 1, 11, xliii. 10, xliv. 30, xlv. 2, 13, 26, xlix. 28, 30, l. 17, li. 34, lii. 4, 12, 28, 29, 30—not merely in the discourses, but in the headings and historical parts as well). But though the case is so, we are not entitled to conclude that Nebuchadnezzar was a way of pronouncing the name that came into use at a later time; the conclusion rather is, as we have remarked at p. 327, and on Dan. i. 1, that the writing with *n* represents the Jewish-Aramaean pronunciation, whereas the form Nebuchadrezzar, according to the testimony of such inscriptions as have been preserved, expresses more fairly the

ning, when he was elevated by Nebuchadnezzar, and remained subject to him, and the after or last period, when he had rebelled against his liege lord.

Vers. 2-11. *The yoke of the king of Babylon upon the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon.*—Ver. 2. "Thus said Jahveh to me: Make thee bonds and yokes, and put them upon thy neck, Ver. 3. And send them to the king of Edom, the king of Moab, the king of the sons of Ammon, the king of Tyre, and the king of Sidon, by the hand of the messengers that are come to Jerusalem to Zedekiah king of Judah. Ver. 4. And command them to say unto their masters, Thus hath Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, said: Thus shall ye say unto your masters: Ver. 5. I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched hand, and give it to whom it seemeth meet unto me. Ver. 6. And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field also have I given him to serve him. Ver. 7. And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the time of his land come, and many nations and great kings serve themselves of him. Ver. 8. And the people and the kingdom that will not serve him, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,

Assyrian pronunciation. The Jewish way of pronouncing would naturally not arise till after the king of Babylon had appeared in Palestine, from which time the Jews would have this name often on their lips. Hence it is in the book of Jeremiah alone that we find both forms of the name (that with *r* 27 times, that with *n* 10 times). How it has come about that the latter form is used just three times in each of chap. xxvii. and xxviii. cannot with certainty be made out. But note, (1) that the form with *n* occurs twice in xxviii. (vers. 3 and 11) in the speech of the false prophet Hananiah, and then, ver. 14, in Jeremiah's answer to that speech; (2) that the prophecy of chap. xxvii. was addressed partly to the envoys of the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Phœnicia, while it is partly a warning to the people against the lying speeches of the false prophets, and that it is just in these portions, vers. 6, 8, and 20, that the name so written occurs. If we consider this, we cannot avoid the conjecture, that by changing the *r* for *n*, the Jewish people had accommodated to their own mode of utterance the strange-sounding name *Nabucudururur*, and that Jeremiah made use of the popular pronunciation in these two discourses, whereas elsewhere in all his discourses he uses *Nebuchadrezzar* alone; for the remaining cases in which we find *Nebuchadnezzar* in this book are contained in historical notices.

and that will not put its neck into the yoke of the king of Babylon, with sword, with famine, and with pestilence I will visit that people, until I have made an end of them by his hand. Ver. 9. And ye, hearken not to your prophets, and your sooth-sayers, and to your dreams, to your enchanters and your sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying : Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon. Ver. 10. For they prophesy a lie unto you, that I should remove you far from your land, and that I should drive you out and ye should perish. Ver. 11. But the people that will bring its neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon and will serve him, that will I let remain in its land, saith Jahveh, to till it and to dwell therein."

The yoke Jeremiah is to make and lay on his neck is a plain emblem of the Babylonian yoke the nations are to bear. The words "bonds and yokes" denote together one yoke. מִטּוֹת are the two wooden beams or poles of the yoke, which were fastened together by means of the מִוִּסְרוֹת, bonds, ropes, so that the yoke might be laid on the beast's neck; cf. Lev. xxvi. 13. That Jeremiah really put such a yoke on his neck and wore it, we see from xxviii. 10, 12, where a false prophet breaks it for him. He is to send the yoke to the kings of Edom, Moab, etc., by means of envoys of those kings, who were come to Jerusalem to Zedekiah. And since Jeremiah laid a yoke on his own neck, and so carried out the commanded symbolical action in objective reality, there is no reason to doubt that he made yokes for the five kings named and gave them to their respective envoys. Chr. B. Mich., Hitz., Graf, hold this to be improbable, and suppose that Jeremiah only made a yoke for himself and put it on his neck; but by appearing abroad with it, he set before the eyes of the ambassadors the yoke that was to be laid on their kings, and, in a certain sense, emblematically gave it to them. But even though this might have sufficed to accomplish the aim of the prophecy, it is difficult to reconcile it with the wording of the text; hence Hitz. seeks arbitrarily to change שְׁלַחְתָּהּ into שְׁלַחְתָּם. And it is a worthless argument that Jeremiah cannot possibly have believed that the envoys would carry the yokes with them and deliver them to their masters. Why should not he have believed they would do so? And if they did not, it was their concern. The plur. "bands and yokes" may

indeed mean a single yoke, but it may also mean many; and the verbs *יָתַם* and *שָׁלַחָם*, both with plural suffixes, indicate clearly that he was to make not merely one yoke for himself, but yokes for himself and the kings. In chap. xxviii. 10 and 12, where *one* yoke is spoken of, the singular *הַיּוֹטֵם* is used; while, ver. 13, "yokes of wood hast thou broken," does not prove that this plural has the same force as the singular.

We are not told for what purpose ambassadors from the kings named had come to Jerusalem; but we can discover what it was from the message Jeremiah gives them for their lords. From this it appears, without a doubt, that they were come to take counsel as to a coalition with the view of throwing off the Chaldean supremacy. By God's command Jeremiah opposes this design with the announcement, that the God of Israel, the Creator of the world and of all creatures, has given all these lands (those of the kings named in ver. 3) into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar; that men, and even beasts, should serve him, *i.e.* that he might exercise unbounded dominion over these lands and all that belonged to them, cf. xxviii. 14. "My servant," as in xxv. 9. All nations are to serve him, his son and his grandson. These words simply express the long duration of the king of Babylon's power over them, without warranting us in concluding that he was succeeded on the throne by his son and his grandson, cf. Deut. vi. 2, iv. 25. For, as we know, Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach; then came his brother-in-law Neriglissar, who murdered Evil-Merodach, who was followed by his son Laborosoarchod, a child, murdered after a nine months' reign by conspirators. Of these latter, Naboned ascended the throne of Babylon; and it was under his reign that the time for his land came that it should be made subject by many nations and great kings, cf. xxv. 14. *יָמֵי הַיָּמִים* serves to strengthen the suffix on *אֲרָצוֹ*; and the suffix, like *בּוֹ*, refers to Nebuchadnezzar.¹ What is said in vers. 6 and 7 is made sterner by the threatening of ver. 8, that the Lord will punish with

¹ Ver. 7 is wanting in the LXX., and therefore Mov. and Hitz. pronounce it spurious. But, as Graf remarked, they have no sufficient reason for this, since, reference being had to ver. 16 and to xxviii. 3, 11, this verse is very much in place here. It is not a *vaticinium ex eventu*, as Hitz. asserts, but was rather omitted by the LXX., simply because its contents,

sword, famine, and pestilence the people and kingdom that will not serve Nebuchadnezzar. וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר introduces a second relative clause, the וְאֵת being here quite in place, since "the people and the kingdom" are accusatives made to precede absolutely, and resumed again by the עַל הַנְּבוֹי ה', which belongs directly to the verb "visit." With עֲרִיבֹתֵי אֲהֶם cf. xxiv. 10 and עֲרִיבֹתֵי אֲהֶם, corresponding in meaning, in ix. 15.—Ver. 9 f. Therefore they must not hearken to their prophets, soothsayers, and sorcerers, that prophesy the contrary. The mention of dreams between the prophets and soothsayers on the one hand, and the enchanters and sorcerers on the other, strikes us as singular. It is, however, to be explained from the fact, that prophets and soothsayers often feigned dreams and dream-revelations (cf. xxiii. 25); and other persons, too, might have dreams, and could give them out as significant. Cf. xxix. 8, where dreams are expressly distinguished from the discourse of the prophets and soothsayers. Whether the reckoning of five kinds of heathen prophecy has anything to do with the naming of five kings (Hitz.), appears to us to be questionable; but it is certain that Jeremiah does not design to specify five different, i.e. distinct and separate, kinds of heathen divination. For there was in reality no such distinction. Heathen prophecy was closely allied with sorcery and soothsaying; cf. Deut. xviii. 9 f., and Oehler on the *Relation of Old Testament Prophecy to Heathen Divination* (Tüb. 1861). The enumeration of the multifarious means and methods for forecasting the future is designed to show the multitude of delusive schemes for supplying the lack of true and real divine inspiration. בְּשִׁפְיָם, equivalent to מְכַשְּׁפִים, the same which in Deut. xviii. 10 is used along with מְעוֹנֵן. The explanation of the last-mentioned word is disputed. Some take it from עָנָן, cloud = cloud-maker or storm-raiser; others from עַיִן, eye = fascinator, the idea being that of bewitching with the evil eye; see on Lev. xix. 26. The use of the word along with מְנַחֵשׁ וּמְכַשֵּׁף, Deut. xviii. 10, favours the latter rendering, whereas no passage in which the word is used

taken literally, were not in keeping with the historical facts. The LXX. omit also the clause from "that will not serve" to "king of Babylon and," which is accordingly, and for other subjective reasons of taste, pronounced spurious by Hitz.; but Graf justly opposes this.

in the Old Testament supports the sig. storm-raiser. "That I should remove you," as is shown by the continuation of the infinitive by *יִהְיֶה*. The false prophets delude the people, inducing them to rise in rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar, contrary to God's will, and thus simply bringing about their expulsion from their land, *i.e.* removal into banishment. *לְמַעַן* shows, as frequently, that the inevitable consequence of these persons' proceedings is designed by them.—Ver. 11. The people, on the other hand, that bends under the yoke of the king of Babylon shall remain in its own land. For the great Asiatic conquerors contented themselves, in the first place, with thoroughly subjecting the vanquished nations and imposing a tribute; only in the case of stubborn resistance or of insurrection on the part of the conquered did they proceed to destroy the kingdoms and deport their populations. This Zedekiah and the ambassadors that had come to him might have learnt from Nebuchadnezzar's course of action after the capture of Jerusalem under Jehoiachin, as compared with that in Jehoiakim's time, had they not been utterly infatuated by the lying spirit of the false prophets, whose prophecies accommodated themselves to the wishes of the natural heart.

Vers. 12–15. To King Zedekiah Jeremiah addressed words of like import, saying: "Bring your necks into the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him and his people, and ye shall live. Ver. 13. Why will ye die, thou and thy people, by sword, famine, and pestilence, as Jahveh hath spoken concerning the people that will not serve the king of Babylon? Ver. 14. And hearken not unto the words of the prophets that speak unto you: Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon; for they prophesy a lie unto you. Ver. 15. For I have not sent them, saith Jahveh, and they prophesy in my name falsely, that I might drive you out and ye might perish, ye and the prophets that prophesy unto you."—The discourse addressed to the king in the plural, "bring your necks," etc., is explained by the fact that, as ver. 13 shows, in and along with the king his people are addressed. The imperative *יָבִי* intimates the consequence of the preceding command. Ver. 13 gives the application of the threat in ver. 8 to King Zedekiah and his people; and ver. 14 f. gives the warning corresponding to

vers. 9 and 10 against the sayings of the lying prophets; cf. chap. xiv. 14 and xxiii. 16, 21.

Vers. 16-22. The priests and all the people are warned to give no belief to the false prophesyings of a speedy restoration of the vessels carried off to Babylon.—Ver. 16. "Thus hath Jahveh said: Harken not to the sayings of your prophets that prophesy unto you: Behold, the vessels of Jahveh's house shall now shortly be brought again from Babylon; for they prophesy a lie unto you. Ver. 17. Harken not unto them; serve the king of Babylon and live; wherefore should this city become a desert? Ver. 18. But if they be prophets, and if the word of Jahveh be with them, let them now make intercession to Jahveh of hosts, that the vessels which are left in the house of Jahveh, and in the king's house, and in Jerusalem, go not to Babylon. Ver. 19. For thus saith Jahveh of hosts concerning the pillars and the [brazen] sea and the frames, and concerning the other vessels that are left in this city, Ver. 20. Which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took not away when he carried away captive Jechoniah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah from Jerusalem to Babylon, with all the nobles of Judah and Jerusalem. Ver. 21. For thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, concerning the vessels that are left in the house of Jahveh, and in the house of the king of Judah, and in Jerusalem: Ver. 22. To Babylon shall they be brought, and there shall they remain until the day that I visit them, saith Jahveh, and carry them up, and bring them back to this place."

Here Jeremiah gives King Zedekiah warning that the prophecies of a speedy end to Chaldean bondage are lies, and that confidence in such lies will hurry on the ruin of the state. He at the same time disabuses the priests of the hope raised by the false prophets, that the vessels of the temple and of the palace that had been carried off at the time Jechoniah was taken to Babylon will very soon be restored; and assures them that such statements can only procure the destruction of the city, since their tendency is to seduce king and people to rebellion, and rebellion against the king of Babylon means the destruction of Jerusalem,—a prophecy that was but too soon fulfilled. The vessels of the temple, ver. 16, are the golden

vessels Solomon caused to be made (1 Kings vii. 48 f.), which Nebuchadnezzar had carried to Babylon, 2 Kings xxiv. 13. מִבְּבֶלְיָה, from towards Babylon, *i.e.* from Babylon, whither they had been taken; cf. Ew. § 216, *b*. "Now shortly," lit. hastily or speedily, *i.e.* ere long, cf. xxviii. 3, where the prophet Hananiah foretells the restoration of them within two years, in opposition to Jeremiah's affirmation that the exile will last seventy years.¹ To show more clearly the irreconcilableness of his own position with that of the false prophets, Jeremiah further tells what true prophets, who have the word of Jahveh, would do. They would betake themselves in intercession to the Lord, seeking to avert yet further calamity or punishment, as all the prophets sent by God, including Jeremiah himself, did, cf. vii. 16. They should endeavour by intercession to prevent the vessels that are still left in Jerusalem from being taken away. The extraordinary expression לְבִלְתִּי בֹאֵי has probably come from the omission of Jod from the verb, which should be read יָבֹאוּ. As it stands, it can only be imperative, which is certainly not suitable. לְבִלְתִּי is usually construed with the infinitive, but occasionally also with the *temp. fin.*; with the imperf., which is what the sense here demands, in Ex. xx. 20; with the perf., Jer. xxiii. 14.—Of the temple furniture still remaining, he mentions in ver. 19 as most valuable the two golden pillars, *Jachin* and *Boaz*, 1 Kings vii. 15 ff., the brazen sea, 1 Kings vii. 23 ff., and הַמִּכְבֹּנוֹת, the artistic waggon frames for the basins in which to wash the sacrificial flesh, 1 Kings vii. 27 ff.; and he declares they too shall be carried to Babylon, as happened at the destruction of Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxv. 13 ff. (בְּהַגְלוֹתוֹ בְּגִלְוָתוֹ).²

¹ These words are not given in LXX., and so Mov. and Hitz. pronounce them spurious. Haev., on the other hand, and with greater justice, says (*Introd.* ii. 2), that the LXX. omitted the words, because, according to an Alexandrian legend, the temple furniture was really very soon restored, even in Zedekiah's time, cf. Baruch i. 8 ff.; so that the false prophets were in the right. The passage cited from Baruch does not indeed give a very rigorous proof of this. It alleges that the silver vessels which Zedekiah had caused to be made after Jechoniah's exile had been brought back by Baruch. But considering the innumerable arbitrary interferences of the LXX. with the text of Jeremiah, the omission of the words in question cannot justify the slightest critical suspicion of their genuineness.

² The statement in vers. 19-22 is wide and diffuse; it is therefore con-

Chap. xxviii. AGAINST THE FALSE PROPHET HANANIAH.—Vers. 1-4. This man's prophecy. At the same time, namely in the fourth year of Zedekiah (cf. rem. on xxvii. 1. The *Chet.* בִּשְׁנֵי is supported by xlv. 2 and li. 59; the *Keri* בִּשְׁנֵי is an unnecessary alteration), in the fifth month, spake *Hananiah* the son of *Azur*,—a prophet not otherwise known, belonging to Gibeon, a city of the priests (Josh. xxi. 17; now *Jib*, a large village two hours north-west of Jerusalem; see on Josh. ix. 3), possibly therefore himself a priest,—in the house of the Lord, in the presence of the priests and people assembled there, saying: Ver. 2. "Thus hath Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, said: I break the yoke of the king of Babylon. Ver. 3. Within two years I bring again into this place the vessels of the house of Jahveh, which Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon took away from this place and carried them to Babylon. Ver. 4. And Jechoniah, the son of Jehoiakim the king of Judah, and all the captives of Judah that went into Babylon, bring I again to this place, saith Jahveh; for I will break the yoke of the king of Babylon."—The false prophet endeavours to stamp on

densed in the LXX., but at the same time mutilated. From the fact *Mov.*, with *Hitz.* agreeing thereto, concludes that the Hebr. text has been expanded by means of glosses. Graf has already shown in reply to this, that the hand of a later glossator interpolating materials from lii. 17, 2 Kings xxv. 13 and xxiv. 1 is not betrayed in the extended account of the furniture remaining, and of the occasion on which it was left behind. He goes on to show that it is rather the editorial hand of Baruch than the hand of the glossator that is to be presumed from the fact that, in consequence of the narrative part of ver. 20, ver. 19 is repeated in ver. 21; and from the further fact that it is impossible here to discriminate the interpolated from the original matter. Graf has also so conclusively proved the worthlessness of the distinguishing marks of the glossator adduced by *Mov.* and *Hitz.*, that we adopt in full his argument. Such marks are (we are told), (1) the *scriptio plena* of מְכוֹנוֹת here, as contrasted with lii. 17, 2 Kings xxv. 13, 2 Chron. iv. 14, and of יְכוֹנִיָּה, as against xxiv. 1, xxviii. 4, xxix. 2; and yet the interpolations in vers. 19 and 20 are said to have been taken directly from lii. 17 and xxiv. 1. (2) The expression חָרִים, which is alleged not to have come into use till the exile. But the fact of its standing here and in xxxix. 6 is enough to show it to have been earlier in use; cf. also 1 Kings xxi. 8, 11; and since it is *not* used in xxiv. 1 and xxix. 2, it is certain that it has not been got from there. (3) The "slip-shod" וִירוּשָׁלַיִם, ver. 21, for וּבִירוּשָׁלַיִם, ver. 18, which is, however, occasioned simply by the preceding accusative of place, בֵּית יְהוָה וגו' (ver. 18 also בֵּית יְהוָה).

his prediction the impress of a true, God-inspired prophecy, by copying the title of God, so often used by Jeremiah, "Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel," and by giving the utmost definiteness to his promise: "within two years" (in contrast to Jeremiah's seventy years). "Two years" is made as definite as possible by the addition of שְׁנָיִם: two years in days, *i.e.* in two full years. See on Gen. xli. 1, 2 Sam. xiii. 23.

Vers. 5-11. *Jeremiah's reply*.—First Jeremiah admits that the fulfilment of this prediction would be desirable (ver. 6), but then reminds his opponent that all the prophets of the Lord up till this time have prophesied of war and calamity (vers. 7 and 8). So that if a prophet, in opposition to these witnesses of God, predicts nothing but peace and safety, then nothing short of the fulfilment of his prediction can make good his claim to be a true prophet (ver. 9).—Jeremiah's answer is to this effect: Ver. 6. "Amen (*i.e.* yea), may Jahveh so do! may Jahveh perform thy words which thou hast prophesied, to bring again the vessels of Jahveh's house and all the captives from Babylon into this place. Ver. 7. Only hear now this word that I speak in thine ears, and in the ears of all the people. Ver. 8. The prophets that were before me and before thee from of old, they prophesied concerning many lands and great kingdoms, of war, and of trouble, and of pestilence. Ver. 9. The prophet that prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet cometh to pass, shall be known as the prophet that Jahveh hath truly sent."—As to שָׁלוֹם, *yea*, see on xi. 5. The scope of this assent is straightway defined in "may Jahveh so do." But in order that the hearers may not misunderstand his assent, Jeremiah proceeds to show that hitherto only threatening predictions have carried with them the presumption of their being true prophecies, inasmuch as it is these alone that have been in harmony with the predictions of all previous prophets. וְיִנְבְּאוּ (ver. 8) is explained by the fact that "the prophets" with the accompanying relative clause is made to precede absolute-wise. In the same absolute manner the clause "the prophet . . . peace" is disposed so that after the verb יִרְעֶה the word הַנְּבִיאַהּ is repeated. For לְרַעַה many mss. have לְרַעַב; manifestly an adaptation to passages like xiv. 12, xxi. 9, xxiv. 10, xxvii. 8, 13, xxix. 17 f., where sword, famine, and pestilence are mentioned to-

gether as three modes of visitation by God ; whereas only the general word לָחֶמֶת seems in place here, when mentioned alongside of "war." For this very reason Hitz. rejects לָחֶמֶת as being the least difficult reading, while Ew. takes it under his protection on account of the parallel passages, not considering that the train of thought is different here.—The truth expressed in ver. 9 is based on the Mosaic law concerning prophecy, Deut. xviii. 21 f., where the fulfilment of the prediction is given as the test of true, God-inspired prophecy.—Ver. 10 f. Had Hananiah been sent by the Lord, he might have been satisfied with Jeremiah's opinion, and have contentedly awaited the issue. But instead of this, he seeks by means of violence to secure credence for his prophesying. He takes the yoke from off the neck of the prophet, and breaks it in pieces, as he repeats before the people his former prediction: "Thus hath Jahveh said: Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all nations within two years."—Thereupon Jeremiah went his way without answering a word, calmly entrusting to the Lord the vindication of the truth of His own word.

Vers. 12-17. *The Lord's testimony against Hananiah.*—Apparently not long after Jeremiah had departed, he received from the Lord the commission to go to Hananiah and to say to him: Ver. 13. "Thus saith Jahveh: Yokes of wood hast thou broken, but hast made in place of them yokes of iron. Ver. 14. For thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: A yoke of iron I lay upon the neck of all these nations, that they may serve Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and they shall serve him; and the beasts of the field also have I given him."—When the prophet says: Yokes of wood hast thou broken, etc., we are not to understand him as speaking of the breaking of the wooden yoke Jeremiah had been wearing; he gives the deeper meaning of that occurrence. By breaking Jeremiah's wooden yoke, Hananiah has only signified that the yoke Nebuchadnezzar lays on the nations will not be so easily broken as a wooden one, but is of iron, *i.e.* not to be broken. The plural "yokes" is to be explained by the emblematical import of the words, and is not here to be identified, as it sometimes may be, with the singular, ver. 10. Ver. 14 shows in what sense

Hananiah put an iron yoke in the place of the wooden one: Jahveh will lay iron yokes on all nations, that they may serve the king of Babel. Hananiah's breaking the wooden yoke does not alter the divine decree, but is made to contribute to its fuller revelation. With the last clause of ver. 14, cf. xxvii. 6.—Hereupon Jeremiah forewarns the false prophets what is to be God's punishment on them for their false and audacious declarations. Ver. 15. "Hear now, Hananiah: Jahveh hath not sent thee, and thou hast made this people to believe a lie. Ver. 16. Therefore thus saith Jahveh: Behold, I cast thee from off the face of the earth; this year shalt thou die, for thou hast spoken rebellion against Jahveh." "The year" = this year, as in Isa. xxxvii. 30. The words "for thou hast spoken," etc., recall Deut. xiii. 6. They involve an application to Hananiah's case of the command there given to put such a prophet to death, and show how it can with justice be said that the Lord will cast him from off the face of the earth. The verb מִשְׁלַח is chosen for the sake of the play on לֹא שָׁלַח. God has not sent him as prophet to His people, but will send him away from off the earth, *i.e.* cause him to die.—In ver. 17 it is recorded that this saying was soon fulfilled. Hananiah died in the seventh month of that year, *i.e.* two months after his controversy with Jeremiah (cf. ver. 1).

Chap. xxix. A LETTER FROM JEREMIAH TO THE CAPTIVES IN BABYLON, TOGETHER WITH THREATENINGS AGAINST THEIR FALSE PROPHETS.—As in Jerusalem, so too in Babylon the predictions of the false prophets fostered a lively hope that the domination of Nebuchadnezzar would not last long, and that the return of the exiles to their fatherland would soon come about. The spirit of discontent thus excited must have exercised an injurious influence on the fortunes of the captives, and could not fail to frustrate the aim which the chastisement inflicted by God was designed to work out, namely, the moral advancement of the people. Therefore Jeremiah makes use of an opportunity furnished by an embassy sent by King Zedekiah to Babel, to address a letter to the exiles, exhorting them to yield with submission to the lot God had assigned to them. He counsels them to prepare, by establishing their households there,

for a long sojourn in Babel, and to seek the welfare of that country as the necessary condition of their own. They must not let themselves be deceived by the false prophets' idle promises of a speedy return, since God will not bring them back and fulfil His glorious promises till after seventy years have passed (vers. 4-14). Then he tells them that sore judgments are yet in store for King Zedekiah and such as have been left in the land (vers. 15-20); and declares that some of their false prophets shall perish miserably (vers. 21-32).

Vers. 1-3. *Heading and Introduction.*—The following circular is connected, in point of outward form, with the preceding discourses against the false prophets in Jerusalem by means of the words: "And these are the words of the letter," etc. The words of the letter, *i.e.* the main contents of the letter, since it was not transcribed, but given in substance. "Which the prophet Jeremiah sent from Jerusalem unto the residue of the elders of the captives, and to the priests and prophets, and to the whole people, which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem to Babylon." "The residue of the elders," Hitz. and Graf understand of those elders who were not at the same time priests or prophets. On this Näg. pronounces: "It is impossible that they can be right, for then 'the residue of the elders of the captivity' must have stood after the priests and prophets." And though we hear of elders of the priests, there is no trace in the O. T. of elders of the prophets. Besides, the elders, whenever they are mentioned along with the priests, are universally the elders of the people. Thus must we understand the expression here also. "The residue of the elders" can only be the remaining, *i.e.* still surviving, elders of the exiles, as יְתָר is used also in xxxix. 9 for those still in life. But there is no foundation for the assumption by means of which Gr. seeks to support his interpretation, namely, that the place of elders that died was immediately filled by new appointments, so that the council of the elders must always have been regarded as a whole, and could not come to be a residue or remnant. Jeremiah could not possibly have assumed the existence of such an organized governing authority, since in this very letter he exhorts them to set about the establishment of regular system in their affairs. The date given in ver. 2:

"after that Jechoniah the king, and the sovereign lady, and the courtiers, the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, the workmen and smiths, were gone away from Jerusalem," points to the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, to the first or second year of it. With this the advice given to the captives in the letter harmonizes well, namely, the counsel to build houses, plant gardens, etc.; since this makes it clear that they had not been long there. The despatch of this letter is usually referred to the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign, because in xxviii. 1 this year is specified. But the connection in point of matter between the present chapter and chap. xxviii. does not necessarily imply their contemporaneousness, although that is perfectly possible; and the fact that, according to li. 59, Zedekiah himself undertook a journey to Babylon in the fourth year of his reign, does not exclude the possibility of an embassy thither in the same year. The going away from Jerusalem is the emigration to Babylon; cf. xxiv. 1, 2 Kings xxiv. 15. הַנְּבִיָּא, the queen-mother, see on xiii. 18. סְרִיסִים are the officials of the court; not necessarily eunuchs. Both words are joined to the king, because these stood in closest relations to him. Then follows without copula the second class of emigrants, the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, *i.e.* the heads of the tribes, septs, and families of the nation. The artisans form the third class. This disposes of the objections raised by Mov. and Hitz. against the genuineness of the words "princes of Judah and Jerusalem," their objections being based on the false assumption that these words were an exposition of "courtiers." Cf. against this, 2 Kings xxiv. 15, where along with the סְרִיסִים the heads of tribes and families are comprehended under the head of הָאֲרָצִי. Ver. 3. "By the hand" of *Elasah* is dependent on "sent," ver. 1. The men by whom Jeremiah sent the letter to Babylon are not further known. *Shaphan* is perhaps the same who is mentioned in xxvi. 24. We have no information as to the aim of the embassy.

Vers. 4-14. At ver. 4 the contents of the letter begin. Jeremiah warns the people to prepare for a lengthened sojourn in Babylonia, and exhorts them to settle down there. Ver. 5. "Build houses and dwell (therein), and plant gardens and eat the fruit of them. Ver. 6. Take wives and beget sons and

daughters, and take for your sons wives and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; and increase there and not diminish. Ver. 7. And seek the safety of the city whither I have carried you captive, and pray for it to Jahveh, and in its safety shall be safety to you." The imperatives "increase and not diminish" give the consequence of what has been said just before. "The city whither I have carried you captive" is not precisely Babylon, but every place whither separate companies of the exiles have been transported. And pray for the city whither you are come, because in this you further your own welfare, instead of looking for advantage to yourselves from the fall of the Chaldean empire, from the calamity of your heathen fellow-citizens.—With this is suitably joined immediately the warning against putting trust in the delusive hopes held out by the false prophets. "For thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Let not your prophets, that are in the midst of you, and your soothsayers, deceive you, and hearken not to your dreams which ye cause to be dreamed; for falsely they prophesy to you in my name; I have not sent them, saith Jahveh." מַחֲלָמִים is somewhat singular, since we have no other example of the Hiph. of חָלַם in its sig. dream (in Isa. xxxviii. 16 the Hiph. of the same root means to preserve in good health); but the Hiph. may here express the people's spontaneity in the matter of dreams: which ye cause to be dreamed for you (Hitz.). Thus there would be no need to alter the reading into הַלְלִים; a precedent for the defective spelling being found in מַעֲזִירִים, 2 Chron. xxviii. 23. What the false prophets gave out is not expressly intimated, but may be gathered from the context ver. 10, namely, that the yoke of Babylon would soon be broken and captivity come to an end.—This warning is justified in vers. 10-14, where God's decree is set forth. The deliverance will not come about till after seventy years; but then the Lord will fulfil to His people His promise of grace. Ver. 10. "For thus saith Jahveh: When as seventy years are fulfilled for Babylon, I will visit you, and perform to you my good word, to bring you back to this place. Ver. 11. For I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith Jahveh, thoughts of peace and not for evil, to give you (a) destiny and hope. Ver. 12. And ye will call upon me, and go and pray

unto me, and I will hear you. Ver. 13. And ye will seek me, and find me, if ye search for me with all your heart. Ver. 14. And I will let myself be found of you, saith Jahveh, and will turn your captivity, and gather you out of all the peoples and from all the places whither I have driven you, saith Jahveh, and will bring you again to the place whence I have carried you away."—לְפִי קִלְאָתָא, according to the measure of the fulfilment of seventy years for Babel. These words point back to chap. xxv. 11 f., and we must reckon from the date of that prediction. קָרָא *c. accus.* sig. to visit in a good sense, to look favourably on one and take his part. "My good word" is expounded by the following infinitive clause. Ver. 11. "I know my thoughts" is not to be taken, as by Jerome, J. D. Mich., etc., as in contrast with the false prophets: I know, but they do not. This antithesis is not in keeping with what follows. The meaning is rather: Although I appoint so long a term for the fulfilment of the plan of redemption, yet fear not that I have utterly rejected you; I know well what my design is in your regard. My thoughts toward you are thoughts of good, not of evil. Although now I inflict lengthened sufferings on you, yet this chastisement but serves to bring about your welfare in the future (Chr. B. Mich., Graf, etc.).—To give you אֶתְרִית, lit. last, *i.e.* issue or future, and hope. For this sig. cf. Job viii. 7, Prov. v. 4, etc. This future destiny and hope can, however, only be realized if by the sorrows of exile you permit yourselves to be brought to a knowledge of your sins, and return penitent to me. Then ye will call on me and pray, and I will hear you. "And ye will go," ver. 12, is not the apodosis to "ye will call," since there is no further explanation of it, and since the simple הֵלֵךְ can neither mean to go away satisfied nor to have success. "Go" must be taken with what follows: go to the place of prayer (Ew., Umbr., Gr., Näg.). In ver. 13 וְאֵת is to be repeated after "find." Vers. 12 and 13 are a renewal of the promise, Deut. iv. 29, 30; and ver. 14 is a brief summary of the promise, Deut. xxx. 3–5, whence is taken the graphic expression אָחַת-שְׁבוּתָא; see on that passage.—Thereafter in

Vers. 15–20. Jeremiah informs the captives of the judgment that is to fall on such as are still left in the land. Ver. 15. "If

ye say: Jahveh hath raised us up prophets in Babylon—Ver. 16. Yea, thus saith Jahveh of the king that sitteth upon the throne of David, and of all the people that dwelleth in this city, your brethren that are not gone forth with you into captivity, Ver. 17. Thus saith Jahveh of hosts: Behold, I send amongst them the sword, famine, and pestilence, and make them like horrible figs, that cannot be eaten for badness, Ver. 18. And hunt after them with the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, and give them to be abused to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a curse, and an astonishment, and a hissing, and a reproach among all the peoples whither I have driven them; Ver. 19. Inasmuch as they have not hearkened to my words, saith Jahveh, wherewith I sent to them my servants the prophets, from early morning on sending them, and ye have not hearkened, saith Jahveh. Ver. 20. But ye, hear the word of Jahveh, all ye captives whom I have sent from Jerusalem to Babylon.”—

The design with which Jeremiah tells the captives of this judgment may be gathered from the terms of ver. 15, with which this prophecy is introduced: God hath raised up to us prophets in Babel (בְּבָבֶל, lit. as far as Babel, *i.e.* extending His agency so far beyond the bounds of Judah). Hence it is clear that the announcement of judgment to come on those left in the land is in direct opposition to the predictions of the prophets that had appeared in Babylon. These prophesied a swift end to Chaldean domination and an immediate return of the exiles to their fatherland. So long as one of David’s posterity sat on his throne in Jerusalem, and so long as the kingdom of Judah was maintained, the partial captivity of the people and removal of the plundered treasures of the temple would appear as a calamity which might soon be repaired. The false prophets in Babylon laid, therefore, great stress on the continued existence of the kingdom, with its capital and the temple, in their efforts to obtain belief amongst the exiles. As Näg. justly remarks, it was to take this ground from beneath their feet that Jeremiah predicted expulsion and destruction against the people of Jerusalem. The prophecy does indeed bear upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, “but not in the first reference; its immediate purpose was to overthrow the foundations on which the false prophets of the exile stood” (Näg.). Taken thus, these verses

form an integral part of the message sent by Jeremiah to the exiles, which was of no small weight for quieting the excitement, nourished by the false prophets, which reigned amongst them. One is struck by the want of connection between vers. 15 and 16. The beginning of ver. 16, "Yea, thus saith," comes directly after the end of ver. 15 without any joining link. Näg. holds the 'ַ to be the pleonastic 'ַ which often introduces a saying. But its position before the "thus saith" makes this impossible. Here it serves to strengthen the asseveration: *yea*, thus fitly introducing what Jahveh says to the contrary; and vers. 15 and 16 are, tersely and immediately, set over against one another. "If ye say" means: as regards your saying that Jahveh hath raised you up prophets in Babylon, the answer is: Thus hath Jahveh said. This is the connection of ver. 16 with ver. 15.¹ "Your brethren that," etc., is co-ordinate with "all the people." The words: "I make them like horrible figs," make allusion to the vision in chap. xxiv. 2 ff., but do not imply that this vision

¹ By the above exposition of the connection and progress of the thought, are disposed of all the objections that have been brought by Houb., Lud. Capp., Ven., etc., against the genuineness of these verses, or, at least, against the true position for them. The fact of their being wanting in the LXX., on which Hitz. mainly grounds his charge of spuriousness, proves nothing more than that these translators were unable to understand the train of thought in the verses, especially seeing that the substance of them has several times been expressed by Jeremiah, particularly vers. 17 and 18; xxiv. 9, 10, cf. xv. 4, xix. 8; with ver. 19 cf. vii. 13, 25 f. Against the attempts to alter the text, Graf's remarks are admirable: "It is much easier to explain how the passage was omitted as out of place by the LXX. than to show how it could have been introduced as an interpolation. It is too long for a mere marginal gloss that had at a later time found its way into the text; and why it should have been placed here, would remain all the more incomprehensible if it were so wholly unconnected with the body of the text. We cannot admit that it is merely an erroneous displacement of ver. 15, which originally stood before ver. 21; since it is less likely that ver. 16 could have come directly after ver. 14. In respect of form, vers. 16-20 is connected with and forms a continuation of what precedes. Ver. 20 implies the presence of ver. 16 as an antithesis, and at the same time completes again the connection that had been interrupted with ver. 15, and leads on to ver. 21 ff. Connection in thought seems to be wanting only because ver. 16 does not express the connecting idea, and because the contrast is so abrupt."—The other arguments adduced by Hitz. to throw suspicion on the passage, we can afford to pass over as wholly without force.

was known to the exiles, for they are quite intelligible to him who knows nothing of chap. xxiv. (Näg.). The adj. נָעַר is found only here, from נָעַץ, shudder; horrible, that on tasting which one shudders. With ver. 18, cf. xxiv. 9. "Wherewith I sent my servants," *i.e.* commissioned them. This verb construed with double accus. as in 2 Sam. xi. 22, Isa. lv. 11. "Ye have not hearkened," the 2d pers. instead of the 3d, is hardly to be explained by the fact that the prophet here cites in full an often quoted saying (Hitz., Näg., etc.). The reason is that the prophet is thinking of the exiles also as having been equal to their brethren remaining in Judah in the matter of not hearkening. Thus the way is prepared for the summons: But ye, hear, ver. 20.

Vers. 21-23. After having set forth the divine determination, the prophet's letter addresses itself specially against the false prophets and tells them their punishment from God. Ver. 21. "Thus saith Jahveh, the God of hosts, of Ahab the son of Kolaiah, and of Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, who prophesy to you in my name falsely: Behold, I give them into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, that he may smite them before your eyes. Ver. 22. And of them shall be taken up a curse by all the exiles of Judah that are in Babylon, saying: Jahveh make thee like Zedekiah and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire, Ver. 23. Because they have done folly in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives, and have spoken in my name lying words which I have not commanded them. But I know it and am witness, saith Jahveh."—Beyond what is here told, we know nothing of these two pseudo-prophets. The name נְבִיִּים is written in ver. 20 without ם; thus the Kametz comes to be under the ן, and in consequence of this the Pathach is changed into a Seghol. "Smite," *i.e.* slay. The manner of their death is called, probably with allusion to the name *Kolaiah*, קָלָה, roast, burn in a heated furnace; a mode of execution usual in Babylon, acc. to Dan. iii. 6. This punishment is to fall on them because of two kinds of sin: 1. Because they have done folly in Israel, namely, committed adultery with their neighbours' wives; 2. Because they have prophesied falsely in the name of Jahveh. Except in Josh. vii. 15, the phrase: commit folly in Israel, is

always used of the grosser sins of uncleanness; see on Gen. xxxiv. 7. So here also.—The *Chet.* הוירע is expounded in the *Keri* by הוירע, according to which there has been a transposition of the letters ו and י, as in ii. 25, viii. 6, etc. Still the article here is extraordinary, since ער has none. Therefore J. D. Mich., Ew., Hitz., Graf suppose we should read הוירע, the א having been dropped from הוירע in *scriptio continua*, as it often is, especially after י, in הוירע and other words, cf. xix. 15, xxxix. 16, 1 Kings xxi. 29, etc. הוירע is then the copula between subject and predicate, as in Isa. xliii. 25; cf. Ew. § 297, b.

Vers. 24–32. *Threatening against the false prophet Shemaiah.*—Jeremiah's letter to the exiles (vers. 1–23) had excited great indignation among the false prophets in Babylon, who predicted speedy restoration. One of them, named *Shemaiah*, wrote accordingly letters to Jerusalem addressed to the people, and especially to the priest *Zephaniah*, who held the highest place in the management of the temple, insisting that he should immediately take steps to punish Jeremiah and check his labours (vers. 24–28). When *Zephaniah* read this letter to Jeremiah, the latter received from God the commission to tell the pseudo-prophet of the punishment awaiting him, that he and his race should perish and not survive Israel's liberation (vers. 29–32).—This threatening accordingly dates from a somewhat later time than the letter, vers. 1–23, since it was its arrival and influence upon the exiles that led *Shemaiah* to write to Jerusalem that letter, to which the threatening of the present verse is the reply. But on account of their historical connection, the letter of Jeremiah and that of *Shemaiah* were, at the publication of Jeremiah's prophecies, placed the one after the other.—From the introductory clause of ver. 24: "And to *Shemaiah* the *Nehelamite* thou shalt speak thus," we might conclude, with Graf, that what Jeremiah had to say was not addressed by letter to *Shemaiah* himself; and hold it to have sufficed that he should read it, like all the exiles, in the letter which doubtless found its way to Babylon. But this is incompatible with the command of God, ver. 31: Send to all the captives, saying, etc. For it was only by writing that Jeremiah could send to the exiles the sentence from God on *Shemaiah* that follows in ver. 31. The introductory clause is therefore

interposed by the author of the book to form a link of connection between the two utterances regarding the pseudo-prophets at Babylon. We cannot make sure whether "the Nehelamite" refers the man to a family or to a place of which we know nothing else. Ver. 25. Next the introduction to the divine sentence comes (from "Because thou" on) a statement of the occasion that called for it, which extends to ver. 28. Then in vers. 29-31 we are told that Zephaniah read to Jeremiah the letter he had received from Shemaiah in Babylon, and that Jeremiah was then commissioned by God to intimate to Shemaiah the punishment to be sent on him by God for his false and seducing prophecies. Then, again, attached to the preliminary statement by "therefore," the introductory phrase "Thus saith Jahveh" is repeated, and what the Lord said follows.—Ver. 25. "Because thou hast sent in thy name (without divine commission) letters to all the people in Jerusalem, and to Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, and to all the priests, saying." ספרים may be a single letter, cf. 2 Kings x. 1, 2; but since these were sent to the people, the priest Zephaniah, and all the people, the word doubtless means here letters in the plural. As to Zephaniah ben Maaseiah, see at xxi. 1.—In vers. 26-28 follows the main substance of the letter: "Jahveh hath set thee to be priest in the stead of the priest Jehoiada, that there should be officers in the house of Jahveh for every man that is mad and prophesieth, that thou shouldest put him in the stocks and in neck-irons. Ver. 27. And, now, why hast thou not restrained Jeremiah of Anathoth, that prophesieth to you? Ver. 28. For therefore hath he sent to us to Babylon (a letter) to the effect: It will last long; build houses and dwell (therein), and plant gardens and eat the fruit of them." Zephaniah occupied, acc. to ver. 26, the post of a chief officer of the temple, was a chief warden, as Pashur had been before him, xxi. 1, who had charge of the police regulations of the temple. In the stead of the priest Jehoiada. These words Grot., Hitz., and Gr. refer to the high priest Jehoiada under King Joash, 2 Kings xi. 18, who set up officers (פקידות) over the temple. But this view cannot be reconciled with the words of the text: "Jahveh hath set thee to be priest in Jehoiada's stead, that there should be officers;" since from these unambiguous

words, Zephaniah filled the same post as Jehoiada had done, and was his successor in office. The other well-known Jehoiada was high priest, who appointed officers; Zephaniah, on the other hand was only "the second priest," and as such had charge of the temple arrangements and of public order there. Nor is there any hint here or elsewhere that Zephaniah was the immediate successor of Pashur in this office, nor any indication to make it unlikely that Jehoiada held the post after Pashur and that Zedekiah succeeded him. The plural "officers" is general: that at all times there should be officers. "For every man that is mad and prophesieth." מְשֻׁגָּע, the deranged or mad person, is here closely associated with מְתַנַּבֵּא, him that bears himself as prophet. The former word is used in the evil sense of the apparently deranged behaviour of the man on whom the Spirit of God has laid hold, 2 Kings ix. 11, Hos. ix. 7. The idea is not: for (or against) every prophet, but: for every madman that plays the prophet. The temple, *i.e.* the outer court of the temple, was the usual place for prophets to take their stand. Shemaiah accordingly means that it was the duty of the chief warden of the temple to repress attempts to speak in the temple on the part of pretended prophets, by putting such persons in stocks and irons. As to מִהֶפְכֶּת, see on xx. 2. יִינֶן is ἀπ. λεγ. It certainly does not mean prison after צָנַן, in Samaritan = *clausit*; but apparently neck-irons after زَنَاق, necklace, ring.

Since both words are used together here, and since the meaning is apparently that Jeremiah should be put into both instruments at once, Hitz. conjectures that both together were needed to make the stocks complete, but that each had its own proper name, because it was possible to fix in the neck, leaving hands and feet free, or conversely, as in xx. 2.—נָעַר, rebuke, check by threats, restrain, cf. Ruth ii. 16, Mal. iii. 11, etc. "For therefore," *sc.* just because thou hast not restrained him from prophesying he has sent to Babylon. שְׁלֵחַ with לֵאמֹר following, send to say, means: to send a message or letter as follows. לֵאמֹר יִרְדָּה הִיא Hitz. renders: for he thought: it (Babylon) is far away; Jeremiah's meaning being, that in Jerusalem they would know nothing about his letter he was sending to Babylon. But such a hidden purpose is utterly foreign to the character of

the prophet. He had publicly predicted in Jerusalem the long seventy years' duration of the exile; and it was not likely to occur to him to wish to make a secret of the letter of like import which he sent to Babylon. Besides, Hitz.'s interpretation is forced. Since there is no *לְאמֹר* before *בְּנֵי בָתָיִם*, the *לְאמֹר* before *אֶרְכָּה* can only be introductory to the contents of the letter. For *אָרְךָ* used of duration in time, cf. 2 Sam. iii. 1, Job xi. 9. "Long-lasting it is," *sc.* your sojourn in Babylon. These words give the burden of his prophecy, that on which he founded his counsel: build houses, etc.—Ver. 29. Zephaniah read aloud to Jeremiah the letter he had received from Babylon. With what design, we are not told; probably simply to inform him of the proceedings of the pseudo-prophets in Babylon. If we may judge by xxi. 1 and xxxvii. 3, Zephaniah seems to have been friendly to Jeremiah.—Ver. 30 ff. In consequence of this, Jeremiah received from the Lord the commission to predict to Shemaiah his punishment at the hand of God, and to send the prediction to all that are in Babylon in banishment. With ver. 31b, cf. xxviii. 15. The punishment is this: Shemaiah shall have no posterity among his people, *i.e.* of his children none shall be left amongst the people, nor shall he see, *i.e.* experience, have any share in the blessings which the Lord will yet bestow upon His people. The extinction of his race and his own exclusion from the privilege of seeing the day of Israel's redemption are the punishment that is to fall on him for his rebellion against the commandment of the Lord. With *כִּי* 'ד' cf. xxviii. 16.

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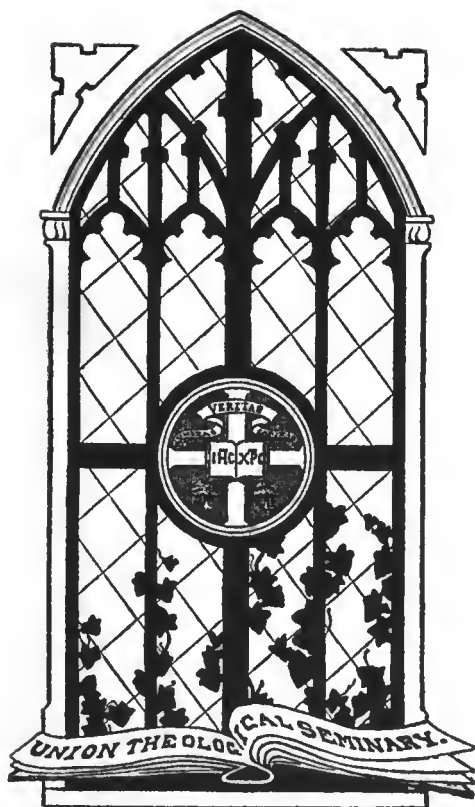
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THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAH.

B. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF DELIVERANCE FOR ALL ISRAEL.— CHAP. XXX.—XXXIII.

N view of the impending fall of the kingdom of Judah, Jeremiah seeks to present the godly with a strong anchor of hope in the realization of God's gracious promises, which were to be fulfilled after the appointed season of punishment had passed. For this purpose, after predicting the ills of exile times, the prophet gives a comprehensive statement concerning the deliverance which the Lord will vouchsafe to His people in the future, and gathers together the repeated briefer promises regarding the restoration and glorious condition of Israel and Judah, so as to give a full description of the deliverance intended for all the covenant people under the sceptre of the future David. This detailed announcement of the deliverance consists of a pretty long prophetic address (which Hengstenberg very properly designates "the triumphal hymn of Israel's salvation," chap. xxx. and xxxi.), and two pieces confirmatory of this address, viz. : (1) one recording a symbolical act performed by the prophet at God's command,—the sale of a piece of hereditary property in land during the last siege of Jerusalem, shortly before the breaking up of the kingdom, which commenced with the taking of the city,—together with a message from God explaining this act, chap. xxxii. ; and (2) another passage giving, in prophetic language, a renewed promise that Jerusalem and Judah would be restored with the blissful arrangements connected with the Davidic monarchy and the Levitical priesthood, chap. xxxiii. According to the headings given in xxxii. 1 and xxxiii. 1, these two latter pieces belong to the tenth year of Zedekiah's reign ;

the address contained in chap. xxx. and xxxi., on the other hand, belongs to a somewhat earlier period, and was not uttered publicly before the people, but simply composed in writing, and meant to be preserved for future use. As regards the exact time of its composition, the views of modern expositors are very dissimilar. While Hengstenberg, with many others, places it in the same period with the allied chapters xxxii. and xxxiii., viz. in the time when Jerusalem was being besieged, immediately before the capture and destruction of the city, Nägelsbach reckons this address among the oldest portions of the whole book, and assigns its composition to the times of King Josiah, to which iii. 11-25 belongs. But the arguments adduced in support of this view are quite insufficient to establish it. It does not by any means follow from the substantial agreement of the address with that in chap. iii., so far as it exists, that they were both composed at the same time; and if (as Nägelsbach thinks) the fact that there is no mention made of the Chaldeans *were* taken as a criterion of composition before the fourth year of Jehoiakim, then, too, would the address in chap. xxxiii. be put down as having been composed before that year, but in glaring contradiction to the inscription given xxxiii. 1. And as little reason is there for inferring, with Hengstenberg, from xxx. 5-7, that the final catastrophe of Jeremiah's time is represented as still imminent; for these verses do not refer at all to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. That learned writer is, however, quite correct in his remark, that the prophet takes his stand-point within the period of the catastrophe, as if it had already begun, but that this time is an ideal present, so that we must not allow ourselves to be deceived as to the time of composition by the circumstance that, generally, Judah no less than Israel appears to be already in a state of exile, far from the land of the Lord. The time of composition cannot be made out with perfect certainty. Yet there is nothing against the assumption that it is the tenth year of Zedekiah.

Chap. xxx. and xxxi. *Israel's Deliverance and Glorious Condition in the Future.*

A great day of judgment, before which all the world trembles, will bring to Israel deliverance from the yoke imposed on them.

The Lord will bring them out of the land of their captivity (xxx. 4-11). He will bind up and heal the wounds which He inflicted on them because of their sins; will render to those who oppressed and chastised them according to their deeds (vers. 12-17); will again build up His kingdom, and render His people glorious, both in temporal and spiritual respects (vers. 18-22). The wrath of the Lord will be poured forth upon all evil-doers like a tempest, till He has performed the thoughts of His heart at the end of the days (vers. 23, 24). At that time the Lord will become the God of all the families of Israel, and show them favour as His own people (xxxi. 1-6); He will also gather the remnant of Israel out of the land of the north, lead them back into their inheritance, and make them glad and prosperous through His blessing (vers. 7-14); the sorrow of Ephraim will He change to joy, and He will perform a new thing in the land (vers. 15-22). In like manner will He restore Judah, and make war to cease (vers. 23-26). Israel and Judah shall be raised to new life (vers. 27-30), and a new covenant will be made with them, for the Lord will write His law in their heart and forgive their sins (vers. 31-34). Israel shall for ever remain the people of God, and Jerusalem be built anew to the honour of the Lord, and, as a holy city, shall no more be laid waste for ever (vers. 35-40).

This address forms a united whole which divides into two halves. In chap. xxx. 4-22 it is the deliverance of Israel in general that is set forth; while in the passage from chap. xxx. 23 on to the end of chap. xxxi. it is deliverance, more especially in reference to Israel and Judah, that is portrayed. As there is no doubt about its unity, so neither is there any well-founded doubt regarding its genuineness and integrity. Hence the assertion of Hitzig, that, as a whole, it exhibits such a want of connection, such constant alternation of view-point, so many repetitions, and such irregularity in the structure of the verses, that there seems good ground for suspecting interpolation,—such an assertion only shows the inability of the expositor to put himself into the course of thought in the prophetic word, to grasp its contents properly, and to give a fair and unprejudiced estimate of the whole. Hitzig would reject xxxi. 38-40, and Nägelsbach xxx. 20-24, as later additions, but in neither case

is this admissible; and Kueper (*Jeremias*, p. 170 sqq.) and Graf, in his Commentary, have already so well shown with what little reason Movers and Hitzig have supposed they had discovered so many "interpolations," that, in our exposition, we merely intend to take up in detail some of the chief passages.

Chap. xxx. 1-3. INTRODUCTION, AND STATEMENT OF THE SUBJECT.—Ver. 1. "The word which came to Jeremiah from Jahveh, saying: Ver. 2. Thus hath Jahveh the God of Israel said: Write thee all the words that I have spoken unto thee in a book; Ver. 3. For, behold, days come, saith Jahveh, when I shall turn the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith Jahveh, and I shall bring them back to the land which I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it."

Ver. 1 contains the heading not merely of vers. 2 and 3, as Hitzig erroneously maintains, but of the whole prophecy, in chap. xxx. and xxxi. Vers. 2 and 3 form the introduction. Jeremiah is to write the following word of God in a book, because it refers to times still future,—regards the deliverance of Israel and Judah from exile, which will not take place till afterwards. In assigning the reason for the command to write down the word of God that had been received, there is at the same time given the subject of the prophecy which follows. From this it is further evident that the expression "all the words which I have spoken to thee" cannot, like xxxvi. 2, be referred, with J. D. Michaelis, to the whole of the prophecies which Jeremiah had up till that time received; it merely refers to the following prophecy of deliverance. The perfect *קִיָּה* is thus not a preterite, but only expresses that the address of God to the prophet precedes the writing down of the words he received. As to the expression *שָׁבוּ שְׁבוּת*, see on xxix. 14.

Vers. 4-11. *The judgment on the nations for the deliverance of Israel.*—Ver. 4. "And these are the words which Jahveh spake concerning Israel and Judah: Ver. 5. For thus saith Jahveh: We have heard a cry of terror, fear, and no peace. Ver. 6. Ask now, and see whether a male bears a child? Why do I see every man with his hands on his loins like a woman

in childbirth, and every face turned to paleness? Ver. 7. Alas! for that day is great, with none like it, and it is a time of distress for Jacob, but he will be saved out of it. Ver. 8. And it shall come to pass on that day, saith Jahveh of hosts, that I will break his yoke from upon thy neck, and I will burst thy bonds, and strangers shall no more put servitude on him; Ver. 9. But they shall serve Jahveh their God, and David their king, whom I shall raise up to them. Ver. 10. But fear thou not, O my servant Jacob, saith Jahveh, neither be confounded, O Israel; for, behold, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and be at rest, and be secure, and there shall be none making him afraid. Ver. 11. For I am with thee, saith Jahveh, to save thee; for I will make an end of all the nations whither I have scattered thee, yet of thee will I not make an end, but I will chastise thee properly and will not let thee go quite unpunished."

With ver. 4 is introduced the description of Israel's restoration announced in ver. 3. This introduction is not absolutely necessary, but neither is it for that reason spurious and to be expunged, as Hitzig seeks to do; it rather corresponds to the breadth of Jeremiah's representation. The *וְ* in ver. 5 is explicative: "Thus, namely, hath Jahveh spoken." With the lively dramatic power of a poet, the prophet at once transports the hearers or readers of his prophecy, in thought, into the great day to come, which is to bring deliverance to all Israel. As a day of judgment, it brings terror and anguish on all those who live to see it. קוֹל הַרָדָה, "A voice (sound) of trembling (or terror) we hear," viz. the people, of whom the prophet is one. וְאֵין שְׁלוֹם does not depend on שִׁמְעֵנִי, but forms with וְאֵין an independent clause: "There is fear and not peace" (or safety). Ver. 6. What is the cause of this great horror, which makes all men, from convulsive pains, hold their hands on their loins, so as to support their bowels, in which they feel the pangs, and which makes every countenance pale? In ver. 7 the cause of this horror is declared. It is the great day of judgment that is coming. "That (not *this*) day" points to the future, and thus, even apart from other reasons, excludes the supposition that it is the day of the destruction of Jerusalem that is

meant. The words "that day is great" refer to Joel ii. 11, and "there is none like it" is an imitation of Joel ii. 2; in the latter passage the prophet makes use of a judgment which he had seen passed on Judah,—its devastation by locusts,—and for the first time presents, as the main element in his prophecy, the idea of the great day of judgment to come on all nations, and by which the Lord will perfect His kingdom on this earth. This day is for Jacob also, *i.e.* for all Israel, a time of distress; for the judgment falls not merely on the heathen nations, but also on the godless members of the covenant people, that they may be destroyed from among the congregation of the Lord. The judgment is therefore for Israel as well as for other nations a critical juncture, from which the Israel of God, the community of the faithful, will be delivered. This deliverance is described more in detail in ver. 8 ff. The Lord will break the yoke imposed on Israel, free His people from all bondage to strangers, *i.e.* the heathen, so that they may serve only Him, the Lord, and David, His king, whom He will raise up. The suffix in *לְיָ* is referred by several expositors (Hitzig, Nägelsbach) to the king of Babylon, "as having been most clearly before the minds of Jeremiah and his contemporaries;" in support of this view we are pointed to Isa. x. 27, as a passage which may have been before the eyes of Jeremiah. But neither this parallel passage nor *וְיִצְחָקָה* (with the suffix of the second person), which immediately follows, sufficiently justifies this view. For, in the second half also of the verse, the second person is interchanged with the third, and *וְיִסְרְיֹהֵל*, which is parallel with *לְיָ*, requires us to refer the suffix in the latter word to Jacob, so that "his yoke" means "the yoke laid on him," as in 1 Kings xii. 4, Isa. ix. 3. It is also to be borne in mind that, throughout the whole prophecy, neither Babylon nor the king of Babylon is once mentioned; and that the judgment described in these verses cannot possibly be restricted to the downfall of the Babylonian monarchy, but is the judgment that is to fall upon all nations (ver. 11). And although this judgment begins with the fall of the Babylonian supremacy, it will bring deliverance to the people of God, not merely from the yoke of Babylon, but from every yoke which strangers have laid or will lay on them.—Ver. 9. Then Israel

will no longer serve strangers, *i.e.* foreign rulers who are heathens, but their God Jahveh, and David the king who will be raised up to them, *i.e.* the Messiah, the righteous sprout that Jahveh will raise up to David; cf. xxiii. 5. The designation of this sprout as "David their king," *i.e.* the king of the Israelites, points us back to Hos. iii. 5.—Ver. 10 f. Israel the servant of Jahveh, *i.e.* the true Israel, faithful and devoted to God, need thus fear nothing, since their God will deliver them from the land of their captivity, and stand by them as their deliverer, so that they shall be able to dwell in peace and undisturbed security in their own land. For Jahveh will make a complete end of all the nations among whom Israel has been scattered; Israel, on the other hand, He shall certainly chastise, but **לְמִשְׁכָּם** (according to what is right, in due measure), that they may be made better by their punishment. As to the expression **יִסַּר לְמִשְׁכָּם**, see on x. 24; for **לֹא עָשָׂה כָּלָה**, see on iv. 27 and v. 18 (**אֶחָד** for **אֶחָד**, v. 18); and lastly, on **נִקְרָה לֹא אֶנְקָדָה**, cf. Ex. xxxiv. 7, Num. xiv. 18, Nah. i. 3.—Vers. 10 and 11 are repeated in xvi. 27, 28, though with some slight changes.¹

Vers. 12-17. *Because Israel has been severely chastised for his sins, the Lord will now punish his enemies, and heal Israel.*—Ver. 12. "For thus saith Jahveh: It is ill with thy bruise, thy wound is painful. Ver. 13. There is none to judge thy cause; for a sore, healing-plaster there is none for thee. Ver. 14. All thy lovers have forgotten thee, thee they seek not; for I have wounded thee with the wound of an enemy, the chastisement of a cruel one, because of the multitude of thine iniquity, [because] thy sins were numerous. Ver. 15. Why

¹ The general strain of these verses is the same as that of the second portion of Isaiah; hence Hitzig, following Movers, views them as an interpolation made by the reviser. But this view is most incorrect, as Graf has already pointed out. The only expression which, besides the repetition made in xvi. 27, occurs nowhere else in Jeremiah, but frequently in the second Isaiah, is, "my-servant Jacob;" cf. Isa. xlv. 1, 2, xlv. 4, xlviii. 20 and xli. 8, xlv. 21, xlix. 3. All the rest is not characteristic of Isaiah. "Thus, 'Fear not, I am with thee,' is certainly found in Isa. xliii. 5, but also in Gen. xxvi. 24; 'Fear not, neither be afraid,' is found in a like connection in Isa. li. 7, but also in Jer. xxiii. 24, Deut. i. 21, xxxi. 8, Josh. viii. 1; cf. Isa. xlv. 2, Jer. i. 8, 17, Josh. i. 9. **יִנְקָדָה** occurs also in vers. 7, 10, 25, Lam. ii. 3. For **מִלִּשְׁכָּתָם**, cf. xiv. 8; for **מִרְחֵק**, cf. xxiii. 23, xxxi. 3,

criest thou over thy bruise, — [because] thy wound is bad? Because of the multitude of thine iniquity, [because] thy sins were numerous, have I done these things to thee. Ver. 16. Therefore all those who devour thee shall be devoured; and all thine oppressors, they shall all go into captivity; and they who spoiled thee shall become a spoil, and those that plundered thee I will give up for plunder. Ver. 17. For I will put a plaster on thee, and will heal thee of thy wounds, saith Jahveh; for they call thee an outcast, [and say], Zion is she [whom] none seeketh after."

This strophe is only a fuller expression of the idea set forth in ver. 11, that the Lord certainly chastises Israel, but will not make an end of him. The chastisement has commenced. From the wounds and blows which Israel has received, he lies motionless and helpless, getting neither sympathy nor aid from his lovers. The feminine suffix and the mention of lovers show that the address turns to the daughter of Zion. On the expression *אָנֹכְךָ לְשִׁבְרֶךָ*, "it is ill with thy bruise," cf. xv. 18. *נִחְלָה מִכָּה*, "bad, incurable is the stroke which thou hast received," as in x. 19, xiv. 17. *יֵרֶן דִּין*, "to execute justice;" cf. v. 28, xxii. 16. Hitzig well explains the meaning: "thy claims against thy heathen oppressors." *לְמִוֹר*, although connected by the accents with what precedes, does not agree well with *דִּין דִּינֶךָ*; for *מִוֹר* has not the meaning which has been attributed to it, of a "bandage," but, as derived from the verb *וָרָ*, "to press a wound," signifies the wound that has been pressed together; see on Hos. v. 13. Neither does the figure of the wound agree with the expression, "there is none to judge

li. 50. In the second part of Isaiah, *שָׁאֲנָן* occurs as seldom as *מַחֲרִיר*; on the other hand, cf. Jer. xlviii. 11, vii. 33. The expressions found in ver. 11 are as rare in the second part of Isaiah as they are frequent in Jeremiah. Thus, 'For I am with thee to save thee' is found in xv. 20, xlii. 11; 'to make a full end' occurs also in iv. 27, v. 10, 18; 'I shall certainly not let thee go unpunished,' which, like Nah. i. 3, seems to have been taken from Ex. xxxiv. 7 or Num. xiv. 18, is not found at all in the second part of Isaiah; *הַפְּעִין*, which is found in ix. 15, xiii. 24, xviii. 17, xxiii. 1 f., appears only in Isa. xli. 16; and while *לְמִשְׁפָּח* is used in the same meaning in x. 24, *יָפָר* occurs nowhere in the second part of Isaiah, and *לְמִשְׁפָּח* is found in Isa. xli. 1, liv. 17, lix. 11, in quite a different connection and meaning." (Graf.)

thy cause," so that we might, with Umbreit, render the passage, "No one gives thee thy due, in pressing thy wounds;" while, as Graf says, "רפאות dissociated from לָמָּוֹר forms a useless synonym with תַּעֲלָה," and in xlv. 11, where the thought is repeated, it is separated from the latter word. Accordingly, with Hitzig and Graf, we connect רפאות לָמָּוֹר into one clause: "for the wound, there is no healing (or medicine)—no plaster." תַּעֲלָה is what is laid upon the wound, a plaster. "All thy lovers," i.e. the nations which were once allied with thee (cf. xxii. 20 and 22), do not trouble themselves about thee, because I have smitten thee so heavily on account of the multitude of thy transgressions; cf. v. 6, xiii. 22. עַצְמוֹ still depends on the preposition עַל, which continues its force, but as a conjunction. The idea that the Israelites have richly deserved their sufferings is still more plainly presented in ver. 15: "Why criest thou, because thou hast brought this suffering on thee through thy sins?" אָנַשׁ also depends on עַל, which continues to exert its power in the sentence as a conjunction.—Ver. 16 f. Therefore (i.e. because Israel, although punished for his sins, is destitute of help) will the Lord take pity on him. He will recompense to his oppressors and spoilers according to their deeds, and will heal his wounds. The enemies of Zion will now meet the fate which they have prepared for Zion. Those who, like rapacious animals, would devour Israel (see on ii. 3), shall be devoured, and all his oppressors shall go into captivity; cf. xxii. 22. The *Kethib* שְׁאִסָּה is the Aramaic form of the participle from שָׁאָס for שָׁסַס; the *Qeri* substitutes the Hebrew form שָׁסָה, after l. 11, Isa. xvii. 14. עָלָה אֶרְבָּה, to put on a bandage, lay on a plaster. אֶרְבָּה signifies, primarily, not a bandage, but, like the Arabic اَرْبَاكَ (according to Fleischer in Delitzsch on Isa. lviii.

8), the new skin which forms over a wound as it heals, and (as is shown by the expression of Isaiah, אֶרְבָּתֶיךָ תַּעֲמִט, proves the healing of the wound. Against the direct transference of the meaning of the word in Arabic to the Hebrew אֶרְבָּה, without taking into consideration the passage in Isaiah just referred to, there is the objection that the word is always used in connection with עָלָה, "to be put on" (cf. viii. 22, 2 Chron. xxiv. 13, Neh. iv. 1), or הֶעֱלָה, "to put on" (here and in xxxiii. 6),

which is not the proper verb to be used in speaking of the formation of a new skin over a wound after suppuration has ceased. Hence the word in Hebrew seems to have received the derived sense of "a healing-plaster;" this is confirmed by the employment of the word חֲבִירָה, "plaster," in ver. 13 and xvi. 11.—The second וְ, ver. 17, is subordinate to the clause which precedes. "Because they called thee one rejected," *i.e.* because the enemies of Zion spoke of her contemptuously, as a city that has been forsaken of God, the Lord will heal her wounds.

Vers. 18–22. *Further explanation of the deliverance promised to Zion.*—Ver. 18. "Thus saith Jahveh: Behold, I will turn the captivity of the tents of Jacob, and will take pity on his dwellings; and the city shall be built again upon its own hill, and the palace shall be inhabited after its own fashion. Ver. 19. And there shall come forth from them praise and the voice of those who laugh; and I will multiply them, so that they shall not be few, and I will honour them, so that they shall not be mean. Ver. 20. And his sons shall be as in former times, and his congregation shall be established before me, and I will punish all that oppress him. Ver. 21. And his leader shall spring from himself, and his ruler shall proceed from his midst; and I will bring him near, so that he shall approach to me; for who is he that became surety for his life in drawing near to me? saith Jahveh. Ver. 22. And ye shall become my people, and I will be your God."

The dwellings of Israel that have been laid waste, and the cities that have been destroyed, shall be restored and inhabited as formerly, so that songs of praise and tones of joy shall resound from them (ver. 18 f.). "The captivity of the tents of Jacob" means the miserable condition of the dwellings of Jacob, *i.e.* of all Israel; for "to turn the captivity" has everywhere a figurative sense, and signifies the turning of adversity and misery into prosperity and comfort; see on xxix. 14. Hitzig is quite wrong in his rendering: "I bring back the captives of the tents of Jacob, *i.e.* those who have been carried away out of the tents." That "tents" does not stand for those who dwell in tents, but is a poetic expression for "habitations," is perfectly clear from the parallel "his dwellings." To "take

pity on the dwellings" means to "restore the dwellings that have been destroyed" (cf. ix. 18). The anarthrous ע"י must not be restricted to the capital, but means every city that has been destroyed; here, the capital naturally claims the first consideration. "Upon its hills" is equivalent to saying on its former site, cf. Josh. xi. 13; it does not mean "on the mound made by its ruins," in support of which Nägelsbach erroneously adduces Deut. xiii. 17. אֶרְצוֹ in like manner stands, in the most general way, for every palace. עַל-מִשְׁכָּנוֹ does not mean "on the proper place," i.e. on an open, elevated spot on the hill (Hitzig), neither does it mean "on its right position" (Ewald); both of these renderings are against the usage of the words: but it signifies "according to its right" (cf. Deut. xvii. 11), i.e. in accordance with what a palace requires, after its own fashion. יֵשְׁבֻה, to be inhabited, as in xvii. 6, etc. "Out of them" refers to the cities and palaces. Thence proceeds, resounds praise or thanksgiving for the divine grace shown them (cf. xxxiii. 11), and the voice, i.e. the tones or sounds, of those who laugh (cf. xv. 17), i.e. of the people living in the cities and palaces, rejoicing over their good fortune. "I will increase them, so that they shall not become fewer," cf. xxix. 6; "I will bring them to honour (cf. Isa. viii. 23), so that they shall not be lightly esteemed."—In ver. 20 f. the singular suffixes refer to Jacob as a nation (ver. 18). "His sons" are the members of the nation; they become as they were previously, in former times,—*sicut olim sub Davide et Salomone, florentissimo rerum statu*. "The congregation will be established before me," i.e. under my survey (הִבִּיחַ as in Ps. cii. 29), i.e. they shall no more be shaken or moved from their position.—Ver. 21. The expression "his prince will be out of him" is explained by the parallel clause, "his ruler will proceed from him." The meaning is, that the people will no longer be ruled or subdued by foreign masters, but be ruled by glorious princes, i.e. leaders endowed with princely glory, and these out of the midst of themselves. Herein is contained the truth, that the sovereignty of Israel, as restored, culminates in the kingdom of the Messiah. Yet the words employed are so general that we cannot restrict אֶדְרִי and מִשְׁלֵל to the person of the Messiah. The idea is to be taken in a more general way: As Israel was ruled by princes

of the house of David, whom God had chosen, so will it again in the future have its own rulers, whom God will raise out of their midst and exalt gloriously. This is clear from the further statement, "I will cause him to approach, and he shall come near unto me." To affirm that these words do not refer to the ruler, but to the people, is a mistake that could be made only by those expositors who view the "ruler" as being none else than the Messiah. Yet the LXX. and the Chaldee paraphrase understood the words as referring to the people; and in support of this view, it may be asserted that, in the Messianic period, Israel is to become a holy people (iii. 17), and attain its destiny of being a nation of priests (Ex. xix. 6), in reference to which it is called עַם קָרְבוֹ, Ps. cxlviii. 14. But the context evidently requires us to refer the words to the king, with regard to whom one here looks for a further statement. The verb הִקְרִיב is the regular expression employed in reference to the approach on the part of the priests to Jahveh, cf. Num. xvi. 5; and נִפְשׁ in Ex. xxiv. 2 denotes the approach of Moses to Jahveh on Mount Sinai. The two verbs thus signify a bringing near and a coming near, which, under the old covenant, was the prerogative of those persons who were consecrated by the Lord to be servants in His sanctuary, but was denied the common people. As to the kings of Israel, in regard to this matter, the ordinance proclaimed concerning Joshua held good in reference to them also: "he shall stand before Eleazar, who shall inquire for him in a matter of Urim before Jahveh" (Num. xxvii. 21). Even a David could not approach into the immediate presence of the Lord to ask His will. This prerogative of the priests the Lord will, in the future, vouchsafe also to the princes of Israel, i.e. He will then put them in such a relation to Himself as no one may now presume to occupy, except at the risk of his life. This is shown by the succeeding sentence, which assigns the reason: "For who is there that stands surety for his heart, i.e. with his heart answers for the consequences of approaching me?" לֵב and not נֶפֶשׁ is named, as the seat of physical life, in so far as the heart is the place where the soul is alone with itself, and becomes conscious of all it does and suffers as its own (Oehler in Delitzsch's *Psychology*, p. 296 of Clark's Translation). The meaning is, that nobody will stake his spiritual-

moral life on any attempt to draw near to God, because a sinful man is destroyed before the holiness of the Divine Being. Whoever approaches into the presence of Jahveh must die; Num. viii. 19; Ex. xix. 21, xxxiv. 3, etc.—Ver. 22. Then Israel shall really become the people of the Lord, and the Lord shall be their God; thus the end of their divine calling shall be attained, and the salvation of Israel shall be complete; see on vii. 23.

Vers. 23, 24. *The wicked shall be destroyed by the fire of God's anger.*—Ver. 23. "Behold, a whirlwind of Jahveh,—wrath goeth forth,—a sweeping whirlwind; it shall hurl down on the head of the wicked. Ver. 24. The heat of Jahveh's anger shall not return till He hath done and till He hath established the purpose of His heart; in the end of the days ye shall consider it."

These two verses have been already met with in chap. xxiii. 19 and 20, with a few variations. Instead of מְהוֹלֵל we have, here מְהוֹרֵר, and אֶת-יְהוָה is here strengthened by prefixing הִרָן; on the other hand, בִּינָה, which is added in the preceding passage to intensify הִתְבּוֹנֵנֶה, is here omitted. The first of these changes is more of a formal than a real kind; for by the substitution of מְהוֹרֵר for מְהוֹלֵל, the play in the latter word on יָהוּ is merely disturbed, not "destroyed," since ר and ל are kindred sounds. הִתְבּוֹנֵר has been variously rendered. The meaning of "abiding," which is founded on 1 Kings xvii. 20, is here unsuitable. Equally inappropriate is the meaning of "crowding together," or assembling in troops, which we find in Hos. vii. 14. It is more correct to derive it from הִרָן, either in the sense of sweeping away or that of blustering, which are meanings derived from the fundamental one of producing harsh sounds in the throat, and transferred to the rushing sound made by the storm as it carries everything along with it. The second and third changes affect the sense. For, by the addition of הִרָן to אֶת, the idea of a judgment in wrath is intensified; and by dropping בִּינָה, less is made of the acuteness of perception. Both of these variations correspond to differences in the context of both passages. In chap. xxiii., where the words are applied to the false prophets, it was important to place emphasis on the statement that these men would, by experience, come to a

full knowledge of the reality of that judgment they denied ; in this chapter, on the other hand, the idea of judgment in wrath must be expressly set aside. There is thus no good ground for considering these verses a later interpolation into the text, as Movers, Hitzig, and Nägelsbach think. Hitzig rejects these verses as spurious on the false ground that the judgment threatened in this chapter refers merely to the fall of the kingdom of Babylon, which Jeremiah could not have been able to know beforehand ; Nägelsbach rejects them on the ground of other erroneous assumptions.¹—The only doubtful point regarding these verses is, whether they are to be connected, as Hengstenberg thinks, with what precedes, or with what follows, as Ewald supposes. In the former case, to the promise for the true Israel would be added a threat against those who only seemed to be Israel,—like the declaration in Isaiah, “ There is no peace to the wicked : ” this addition would thus be made, lest those for whom the promise was not intended should unwarrantably apply it to themselves. But, however well-founded the thought is, that every increasing manifestation of grace is invariably accompanied by an increased manifestation of righteousness, and though all the prophets clearly testify that the godless members of the covenant people have no share in the promised salvation, but instead are liable to judgment ; yet there has not been such preparation made for the introduction of this thought as that we might be able at once to join these two verses to what precedes. The exclamation “ Behold ! ” with which the words are introduced, rather form a sign that a new addition is to be made to the prophecy. We therefore view the threat in this verse as a resumption of the threat of judgment made in ver. 5 ff., to

¹ First, he holds the groundless opinion that this prophecy originated in the time of Josiah, and therefore could not have borrowed verses from the address given in chap. xxiii., which belongs to the time of Jehoiakim ; secondly, with as little ground he affirms that these verses do not correspond with the character of the chapter, and seem like a jarring discord in the midst of the announcement of deliverance it contains ; finally, he asks whence could come “ the wicked ” mentioned, in the times described by the prophet,—as if he thought that when the captivity of the people was turned, all godless ones would suddenly disappear.—The doubts as to the genuineness of ver. 22 are based by Nägelsbach merely on the fact that the same idea is repeated in xxxi. 1.

which is attached, in xxxi. 1, the further development of the announcement of deliverance; but we refer the threat made in the verse not merely to the heathen as such, but to all "wicked ones," in such a way that it at the same time applies to the godless members of the covenant people, and signifies their exclusion from salvation.

Chap. xxxi. THE SALVATION FOR ALL THE FAMILIES OF ISRAEL.—Ewald has well stated the connection of this chapter with the conclusion of the preceding, as follows: "In order that the old form of blessing, found in the books of Moses, and here given in ver. 22, may be fulfilled, the whirlwind of Jahveh, which must carry away all the unrighteous, will at last discharge itself, as has been already threatened, xxiii. 19; this must take place in order that there may be a fulfilment of that hope to *all* the tribes of Israel (both kingdoms)." Ver. 1 announces deliverance for all the families of Israel, but afterwards it is promised to both divisions of the people separately,—first, in vers. 2-22, to the ten tribes, who have been exiles the longest; and then, in a more brief statement, vers. 23-26, to the kingdom of Judah: to this, again, there is appended, vers. 27-40, a further description of the nature of the deliverance in store for the two houses of Israel.

Vers. 1-6. *The deliverance for all Israel, and the readmission of the ten tribes.*—Ver. 1. "At that time, saith Jahveh, will I be a God to all the families of Israel, and they shall be my people. Ver. 2. Thus saith Jahveh: A people escaped from the sword found grace in the wilderness. Let me go to give him rest, even Israel. Ver. 3. From afar hath Jahveh appeared unto me, and with everlasting love have I loved thee; therefore have I continued my favour towards thee. Ver. 4. Once more will I build thee up, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel; once more shalt thou adorn [thyself] with thy tabrets, and go forth in the dance of those that make merry. Ver. 5. Once more shalt thou plant vineyards on the hills of Samaria; planters will plant them, and apply them to common use. Ver. 6. For there is a day [when] watchmen will cry on Mount Ephraim: Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion, to Jahveh our God!"

The expression "At that time" refers to xxx. 24, "in the end of the days," which means the Messianic future. The announcement of deliverance itself is continued by resumption of the promise made in xxx. 22; the transposition of the two portions of the promise is to be remarked. Here, "I will be a God to them" stands first, because the restoration and perfection of Israel have their only foundation in the love of God and in the faithfulness with which He keeps His covenant, and it is only through this gracious act that Israel again becomes the people of God. "All the families of Israel" are the families of the whole twelve tribes,—of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, separated since the death of Solomon. After this announcement of deliverance for the whole of Israel, the address turns first to Israel of the ten tribes, and continues to treat longest of them, "because, judging from appearances, they seem irrecoverably lost—for ever rejected by the Lord" (Hengstenberg). Ver. 2a is variously explained. Ewald, following Raschi and others, refers the words *מִצֵּיץ יִנּוּ וְנִי* to the leading of Israel out of Egypt: once on a time, in the Arabian desert, the people that had just barely escaped the sword of the Egyptians nevertheless found grace, when Jahveh, as it were, went to make a quiet dwelling-place for them. The love which He displayed towards them at that time He has since continued, and thus He will now once more bring back His people out of the midst of strangers. This view of the passage is supported by the use of the perfects in vers. 2 and 3, in contrast with the imperfect, "again will I build thee," ver. 4, and the employment of the expression "in the desert;" cf. ii. 2, Hos. xiii. 4, 5. But "the people of those who have escaped the sword" is an expression that cannot be reconciled with it. Raschi, indeed, understands this as referring to the sword of the Egyptians and Amalekites; but the thought that Israel, led out of Egypt through the Arabian desert, was a people that had survived or escaped the sword, is one met with nowhere else in the Old Testament, and is quite inapplicable to the condition of the people of Israel when they were led out of Egypt. Although Pharaoh wished to exterminate the people of Israel through hard servile labour, and through such measures as the order to kill all male children when they were born, yet he did not make

an exhibition of his wrath against Israel by the sword, neither did he show his anger thus at the Red Sea, where he sought to bring Israel back to Egypt by force. There God shielded His people from the attack of Pharaoh, as He did in the battle against the Amalekites, so that Israel was led through the desert as a whole people, not as a remnant. The designation, "a people escaped from the sword," unconditionally requires us to refer the words to the deliverance of the Israelites from exile; these were only a remnant of what they had formerly been, since the greater portion of them perished, partly at the downfall of the kingdom, and partly in exile, by the sword of the enemy. Hence the perfects in vers. 2 and 3 are prophetic, and used of the divine counsel, which precedes its execution in time. By using the expression "in the desert," Jeremiah makes an allusion to Israel's being led through the Arabian desert. The restoration of Israel to Canaan, from their exile among the nations, is viewed under the figure of their exodus from Egypt into the land promised to their fathers, as in Hos. ii. 16 f.; and the exodus from the place of banishment is, at the same time, represented as having already occurred, so that Israel is again on the march to his native land, and is being safely conducted through the desert by his God. There is as little ground for thinking that there is reference here made to the desert lying between Assyria or Babylon and Palestine, as there is for Hitzig's referring שָׁרִי חֶרֶב to the sword of the Medes and Persians.—The inf. abs. הָלֹךְ is used instead of the first person of the imperative (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 30), to express a summons addressed by God to Himself: "I will go." [See Gesenius, § 131, 4, b, γ.] The suffix in הָלֹכִי points out the object (Israel) by anticipation: "to bring him to rest." רָנַע in the Hiphil usually means to be at rest, to rest (Deut. xxviii. 65); here, to give rest, bring to rest.—Ver. 3. The people already see in spirit how the Lord is accomplishing His purpose, ver. 2b. "From afar (the prophet speaks in the name of the people, of which he views himself as one) hath Jahveh appeared unto me." So long as Israel languished in exile, the Lord had withdrawn from him, kept Himself far off. Now the prophet sees Him appearing again. "From afar," i.e. from Zion, where the Lord is viewed as enthroned, the God of His people (Ps. xiv. 7),

sitting there to lead them back into their land. But the Lord at once assures the people, who have been waiting for Him, of His everlasting love. Because He loves His people with everlasting love, therefore has He kept them by His grace, so that they were not destroyed. *יָצַק*, to draw, keep, restrain; hence *יִצְקֶנּוּ*, *prolongare gratiam*, Ps. xxxvi. 11, cix. 12, but construed with *ל* of a person; here, with a double accusative, to restrain any one, to preserve him constantly by grace.—Ver. 4. Israel is now to be built up again, *i.e.* to be raised to a permanent condition of ever-increasing prosperity; cf. xii. 16. The additional clause, “and thou shalt be built,” confirms this promise. The “virgin of Israel” is the congregation of Israel; cf. xiv. 17. A new and joyful phase in the life of the people is to begin: such is the meaning of the words, “with tabrets shalt thou adorn thyself, and thou shalt go forth in the dance of those who make merry.” In this manner were the popular feasts celebrated in Israel; cf. Judg. xi. 34, Ps. lxxviii. 26.—Ver. 5. “The mountains of Samaria,” *i.e.* of the kingdom of Ephraim (1 Kings xiii. 22; 2 Kings xvii. 24), shall again be planted with vineyards, and the planters, too, shall enjoy the fruits in peace,—not plant for strangers, so that enemies shall destroy the fruits; cf. Isa. lxii. 8 f., lxv. 21 f. The words “planters plant and profane” (*i.e.* those who plant the vineyards are also to enjoy the fruit of them) are to be explained by the law in Lev. xix. 23 f., according to which the fruits of newly planted fruit trees, and according to Judg. ix. 27, vines also, were not to be eaten during the first three years; those of the fourth year were to be presented as a thank-offering to the Lord; and only those of the fifth year were to be applied to common use. This application to one’s own use is expressed in Deut. xx. 6 by *לְעֹלָם*, properly, *to make common*.—Ver. 6 is attached to the foregoing by *וְ*, which introduces the reason of what has been stated. The connection is as follows: This prosperous condition of Ephraim is to be a permanent one; for the sin of Jeroboam, the seduction of the ten tribes from the sanctuary of the Lord, shall not continue, but Ephraim shall once more, in the future, betake himself to Zion, to the Lord his God. “There is a day,” *i.e.* there comes a day, a time, when watchmen call. *נֹצְרִים* here denotes the watchmen who were posted

on the mountains, that they might observe and give notice of the first appearance of the crescent of the moon after new-moon, so that the festival of the new-moon and the feasts connected with it might be fixed; cf. Keil's *Bibl. Archäol.* ii. § 74, Anm. 9 [see also the articles *Mond* and *Neumond* in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* vols. ix. and x.; *New-moon* in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, vol. ii.]. *לָאֵל*, to go up to Jerusalem, which was pre-eminent among the cities of the land as to spiritual matters.

Vers. 7-14. *The restoration of Israel.*—Ver. 7. "For thus saith Jahveh: Shout for joy over Jacob, and cry out over the head of the nations! Make known, praise, and say, O Jahveh, save Thy people, the remnant of Israel! Ver. 8. Behold, I will bring them out of the land of the north, and will gather them from the sides of the earth. Among them are the blind and lame, the woman with child and she that hath born, together; a great company shall they return hither. Ver. 9. With weeping shall they come, and with supplications will I lead them: I will bring them to streams of water, by a straight way in which they shall not stumble; for I have become a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born. Ver. 10. Hear the word of Jahveh, ye nations, and declare among the islands far off, and say: He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him, as a shepherd his flock. Ver. 11. For Jahveh hath redeemed Israel and ransomed him out of the hand of one stronger than he. Ver. 12. And they shall come and sing with joy on the height of Zion, and come like a flood to the goodness of Jahveh, because of corn, and new wine, and fresh oil, and the young of the flock and the herd; and their soul shall be like a well-watered garden, neither shall they pine away any more. Ver. 13. Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, and young men and old men together; and I will turn their mourning to joy, and will comfort them, and will cause them to rejoice after their sorrow. Ver. 14. And I will satiate the soul of the priests with fat, and my people shall be satisfied with my goodness, saith Jahveh."

In order to set forth the greatness of the salvation which the Lord will prepare for Israel, so long outcast, Israel is commanded to make loud jubilation, and exhorted to approach the Lord with entreaties for the fulfilment of His purpose of grace. The

statement regarding this salvation is introduced by כִּי, "for," since the description, given in this strophe, of Israel's being led back and re-established, furnishes the actual proof that the nation shall be built up again. The summons to rejoice comes from Jahveh (since, by His gracious dealings, He gives the people material for praise), and is addressed to the members of the nation. These are to rejoice over Jacob, *i.e.* over the glorious destiny before the people. צְהִלֵי בְּרָאשׁ הַגּוֹיִם is translated by Hitzig: "shout at the head of the nations," *i.e.* making a beginning among them all; but this is incorrect and against the context. The thought that many other enslaved nations besides Israel will rejoice over the fall of their oppressors, has not the least foundation in this passage. The summons to the nations, which follows in ver. 10, is simply a command to make known God's purpose regarding the deliverance of Israel. Of course, בְּרָאשׁ, taken literally and by itself, may be rendered "at the head" (1 Kings xxi. 12; Amos vi. 7, etc.); but in this place, the expression of which it forms the first word is the object of צְהִלֵי, which is construed with כִּי, "to rejoice over something," Isa. xxiv. 4. "The head of the nations" signifies "the first of the nations" (רִאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם, Amos vi. 1), *i.e.* the most exalted among the nations. Such is the designation given to Israel, because God has chosen them before all the nations of the earth to be His peculiar people (Deut. vii. 6; 2 Sam. vii. 23 f.), made them the highest over (עָלִיתָ עַל, Deut. xxvi. 19) all nations. This high honour of Israel, which seemed to have been taken from him by his being delivered over to the power of heathen nations, is now to appear again. הִשְׁמִיעֵי הָלְלִי, "make to be heard, sing praise," are to be combined into one thought, "sing praise loudly" (so that people may hear it). The words of praise, "Save Thy people, O Jahveh," form rather the expression of a wish than of a request, just as in many psalms, *e.g.* Ps. xx. 10, xxviii. 9, especially cxviii. 25 in הִתְשַׁבַּח נָא, with which Jesus was greeted on His entry into Jerusalem, Matt. xxi. 9 (Graf).—To the rejoicing and praise the Lord replies with the promise that He will lead back His people out of the most distant countries of the north,—every one, even the feeble and frail, who ordinarily would not have strength for so long a journey. "Hither," *i.e.* to Palestine, where Jeremiah

wrote the promise; cf. iii. 18, xvi. 15.—“With weeping,” *i.e.* with tears of joy, and with contrition of heart over favour so undeserved, they come, and God leads them with weeping, “amidst earnest prayers to the God they have found again, as a lost son returns to the arms of his father” (Umbreit). Hitzig and Graf would connect בְּתַהֲנִימִים with what precedes, and combine “I will lead them, I will bring them;” by this arrangement, it is said, the careful guidance of God, in leaving nothing behind, is properly set forth. But the symmetry of the verse is thereby destroyed; and the reason assigned for this construction (which is opposed by the accents), viz. that תַּהֲנִימִים does not mean *miseratio*, *clementia*, will not stand the test. As in Isa. lv. 12 it is the being brought בְּשִׂמְחָה that is the chief point, so here, it is the bringing בְּתַהֲנִימִים, amidst weeping, *i.e.* fervent prayer. At the same time, the Lord will care like a father for their refreshment and nurture; He will lead them to brooks of water, so that they shall not suffer thirst in the desert (Isa. xlviii. 21), and guide them by a straight (*i.e.* level) road, so that they shall not fall. For He shows Himself again to Israel as a father, one who cares for them like a father (cf. iii. 19, Deut. xxxii. 6, Isa. lxiii. 16), and treats Ephraim as His first-born. “The first-born of Jahveh,” in Ex. iv. 22, means the people of Israel as compared with the other nations of the earth. This designation is here transferred to Ephraim as the head and representative of the ten tribes; but it is not likely that there is in this any allusion to the preference which Jacob displayed for the sons of Joseph, Gen. xlix. 22 ff. compared with ver. 4 (Venema, J. D. Michaelis, Nägelsbach),—the advantage they obtained consisting in this, that Ephraim and Manasseh were placed on an equal footing with Jacob’s sons as regards inheritance in the land of Canaan; in other words, they were elevated to the dignity of being founders of tribes. There is no trace in this prophecy of any preference given to Ephraim before Judah, or of the ten tribes before the two tribes of the kingdom of Judah. That the deliverance of Ephraim (Israel) from exile is mentioned before that of Judah, and is further more minutely described, is simply due to the fact, already mentioned, that the ten tribes, who had long languished in exile, had the least hope, according to man’s estimation, of deliverance. The

designation of Ephraim as the first-born of Jahveh simply shows that, in the deliverance of the people, Ephraim is in no respect to be behind Judah,—that they are to receive their full share in the Messianic salvation of the whole people; in other words, that the love which the Lord once displayed towards Israel, when He delivered them out of the power of Pharaoh, is also to be, in the future, displayed towards the ten tribes, who were looked on as lost. The nature of fatherhood and sonship, as set forth in the Old Testament, does not contain the element of the Spirit's testimony to our spirit, but only the idea of paternal care and love, founded on the choosing of Israel out of all the nations to be the peculiar people of God; see on Ex. iv. 22 and Isa. lxiii. 16, lxiv. 7. בְּלִי is substantially the same as בְּלִי יְיָ and בְּלִי שְׁמַיִם in ver. 20.—Ver. 10 f. The most remote of the heathen, too, are to be told that Jahveh will free His people from their hands, gather them again, and highly favour them, lest they should imagine that the God of Israel has not the power to save His people, and that they may learn to fear Him as the Almighty God, who has given His people into their power, not from any inability to defend them, but merely for the purpose of chastising them for their sins. אֲרָצִים are the islands in, and countries lying along the coast of, the Mediterranean Sea; in the language of prophecy, the word is used as a designation of the distant countries of the west; cf. Ps. lxxii. 10, Isa. xli. 1, 5, xlii. 12, etc. On ver. 10b, cf. xxiii. 3, Ex. xxxiv. 12 ff., Isa. xl. 11. "Stronger than he," as in Ps. xxxv. 10; the expression is here used of the heathen master of the world.—Vers. 12–14. Thus led by the Lord through the wilderness (ver. 9), the redeemed shall come rejoicing to the sacred height of Zion (see on xvii. 12), and thence go in streams, i.e. scatter themselves over the country like a stream, for the goodness of the Lord, i.e. for the good things which He deals out to them in their native land. "To the goodness of Jahveh" is explained by "because of corn," etc. (עַל for לְ), cf. Hos. iii. 5. As to the good things of the country, cf. Deut. viii. 8. Their soul will be like a well-watered garden, an emblem of the fulness and freshness of living power; cf. Isa. lviii. 11.—Ver. 13. Then shall young men and old live in unclouded joy, and forget all their former sorrow. "In the dance" refers

merely to the virgins : to " young men and old together," only the notion of joy is to be repeated from the context.—Ver. 14. The priests and the people will refresh themselves with the fat, *i.e.* the fat pieces of the thank-offerings, because numerous offerings will be presented to the Lord in consequence of the blessing received from Him.

Vers. 15-22. *Changing of sorrow into joy, because Ephraim will turn to the Lord, and the Lord will lead him back.*—Ver. 15. " Thus saith Jahveh : A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation, bitter weeping. Rachel is weeping for her children ; she refuses to be comforted for her children, because they are not. Ver. 16. Thus saith Jahveh : Restrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears ; for there is a reward for thy work, saith Jahveh, and they shall return from the land of the enemy. Ver. 17. And there is hope for thy latter end, saith Jahveh, that children shall return to thy border. Ver. 18. I have certainly heard Ephraim complaining, Thou hast chastised me and I was chastised, like a calf not tamed. Turn me that I may turn, for Thou, O Jahveh, art my God. Ver. 19. For, after I return I repent, and after I have been taught I smite upon [my] thigh ; I am ashamed, yea, and confounded, because I bear the reproach of my youth. Ver. 20. Is Ephraim a son dear to me, or a child of delight, that, as often as I speak against him, I do yet certainly remember him ? Therefore my bowels move for him ; I shall surely pity him, saith Jahveh. Ver. 21. Set thee up way-marks, put up posts for thyself ; set thine heart to the highway, the road [by which] thou camest : return, O virgin of Israel, return to these cities of thine. Ver. 22. How long wilt thou wander about, O backsliding daughter ? For Jahveh hath created a new [thing] in the earth : a woman shall encompass a man."

In this strophe the promise is further confirmed by carrying out the thought, that Israel's release from his captivity shall certainly take place, however little prospect there is of it at present. For Israel will come to an acknowledgment of his sins, and the Lord will then once more show him His love. The hopeless condition of Israel is dramatically set forth in ver. 15 f. : Rachel, the mother of Joseph, and thus the ancestress of Ephraim, the chief tribe of the Israelites who had

revolted from the royal house of David, weeps bitterly over the loss of her children, the ten tribes who have been carried away into exile; and the Lord addresses consolation to her, with the promise that they shall return out of the land of the enemy. "A voice is heard" (וַיִּשְׁמַע, participle, to show *duration*). The "voice" is more fully treated of in the second part of the verse: loud lamentation and bitter weeping. There is a difficulty connected with רָמָה. The LXX. took it to be the name of the city *Ramah*, now called *er-Râm*, in the tribe of Benjamin, five English miles north from Jerusalem, on the borders of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel (1 Kings xv. 17), although this city is elsewhere written with the article (הָרָמָה), not only in the historical notices found in xl. 1, Josh. xviii. 25, Judg. iv. 5, etc., but also in prophetical addresses, as in Hos. vi. 8, Isa. x. 29. In this passage it cannot be a mere appellative ("on a height"), as in 1 Sam. xxii. 6, Ezek. xvi. 24; nor can we think of Ramah in Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36, also הָרָמָה), for this latter city never figures in history like the Ramah of Samuel, not far from Gibeah; see on Josh. xviii. 25 and 1 Sam. i. 1. But why is the lamentation of Rachel heard at Ramah? Most expositors reply, because the tomb of Rachel was in the vicinity of Ramah; in support of this they cite 1 Sam. x. 2. Nägelshach, who is one of these, still maintains this view with the utmost confidence. But this assumption is opposed to Gen. xxxv. 16 and 19, where it is stated that Rachel died and was buried on the way to Bethlehem, and not far from the town (see on Genesis, *l.c.*), which is about five miles south from Jerusalem, and thus far from Ramah. Nor is any support for this view to be got from 1 Sam. x. 2, except by making the groundless assumption, that Saul, while seeking for the asses of his father, came to Samuel *in his native town*; whereas, in the account given in that chapter, he is merely said to have sought for Samuel in a certain town, of which nothing more is stated, and to have inquired at him; see on 1 Sam. x. 2. We must therefore reject, as arbitrary and groundless, all attempts to fix the locality of Rachel's sepulchre in the neighbourhood of Ramah (Nägelshach); in the same way we must treat the assertion of Thenius, Knohel, Graf, etc., that the Ephratah of Gen. xxxv. 16, 19, is the same as the Ephron of 2 Chron. xiii. 19, which was situated

near Bethel; so, too, must we deal with the statements, that Ephratah, *i.e.* Bethlehem, is to be expunged from the text of Gen. xxxv. 9 and 48 as a false gloss, and that the tradition, attested in Matt. ii. 18, as to the situation of Rachel's sepulchre in the vicinity of Bethlehem, is incorrect. Nor does the passage of Jeremiah now before us imply that Rachel's sepulchre was near Ramah. Rachel does not weep at Ramah over her lost children, either because she had been buried there, or because it was in Ramah of Benjamin that the exiles were assembled, according to Jer. xl. 1 (Hitzig, and also Delitzsch on Gen. xxxv. 20). For it was the Jews who were to be carried away captive that were gathered together at Ramah, whereas it was over Israelites or Ephraimites that had been carried into exile that Rachel weeps. The lamentation of Rachel is heard at Ramah, as the most loftily situated border-town of the two kingdoms, whence the wailing that had arisen sounded far and near, and could be heard in Judah. Nor does she weep because she has learned something in her tomb of the carrying away of the people, but as their common mother, as the beloved spouse of Jacob, who in her married life so earnestly desired children. Just as the people are often included under the notion of the "daughter of Zion," as their ideal representative, so the great ancestress of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh is here named as the representative of the maternal love shown by Israel in the pain felt when the people are lost. The sing. וְאֶחָדָם signifies, "for not one of them is left."—This verse is quoted by Matthew (ii. 18), after relating the story of the murder of the children at Bethlehem, with the introductory formula, *τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ρηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου*: from this the older theologians (cf. *Calovii Bibl. illustr. ad Jer. l.c.*) conclude that Jeremiah directly prophesied that massacre of the children committed by Herod. But this inference cannot be allowed; it will not fit in with the context of the prophecy. The expression *ἐπληρώθη*, used by Matthew, only shows that the prophecy of Jeremiah received a new fulfilment through that act of Herod. Of course, we must not reduce the typical reference of the prophecy to that event at Bethlehem simply to this, that the wailing of the mothers of Bethlehem over their murdered children was as great as the lamentation made when the people were carried into exile.

Typology rather assumes a causal connection between the two events. The destruction of the people of Israel by the Assyrians and Chaldeans is a type of the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, in so far as the sin which brought the children of Israel into exile laid a foundation for the fact that Herod the Idumean became king over the Jews, and wished to destroy the true King and Saviour of Israel that he might strengthen his own dominion. Cf. Fr. Kleinschmidt, *die typolog. Citate der vier Evangelien*, 1861, S. 10 ff.; [Fairbairn's *Typology*, fifth edition, vol. i. pp. 452-3.]

The Lord will put an end to this wailing. "Cease thy weeping," He cries to the sorrowing ones, "for there is a reward for thy labour" (almost identical with 2 Chron. xv. 7). מַעֲלָה is the maternal labour of birth and rearing of children. The reward consists in this, that the children shall return out of the land of the enemy into their own land. Ver. 17 states the same thing in parallel clauses, to confirm the promise. On the expression "hope for thy latter end," cf. xxix. 11. בְּנִים without the article, as in Hos. xi. 10, etc.; cf. Ewald, § 277, b. This hope is grounded on the circumstance that Israel will become aware, through suffering, that he is punished for his sins, and, repenting of these sins, will beseech his God for favour. The Lord already perceives this repentant spirit and acknowledgment of sin. וְאִנִּי does not mean "I had myself chastised," or "I learned chastisement" (Hitzig), but "I was chastised," like an untamed calf, *i.e.* one not trained to bear the yoke and to endure labour. On this figure, cf. Hos. x. 11. The recognition of suffering as chastisement by God excites a desire after amelioration and amendment. But since man cannot accomplish these through his own powers, Israel prays, "Lead me back," *sc.* from my evil way, *i.e.* turn me. He finds himself constrained to this request, because he feels regret for his apostasy from God. אַחֲרֵי שָׁבִי in this connection can only mean, "after I turned," *sc.* from Thee, O Lord my God; on this meaning of שָׁב, cf. viii. 4. הִדַּעַ, to be brought to understanding through punishment, *i.e.* to become wise. To smite the thighs is a token of terror and horror; cf. Ezek. xxi. 17. On בִּשְׁתִּי וְנָם נִקְלַמְתִּי cf. Isa. xlv. 16. "The shame of my youth" is that which I brought on myself in my youth through the

sins I then committed. On this confession generally, cf. the similar one in iii. 21 ff.—Thereafter the Lord replies, ver. 20, with the question, whether Ephraim is so dear a son to Him that, as often as He has spoken against him, *i.e.* uttered hard words of condemnation, He still, or again, thinks of him. יִלְדָּוּ, “a child of delight,” whom one fondles; cf. Isa. v. 7. The clause explanatory of the question, “for as often as,” etc., is taken in different ways. לִפְנֵי הַיְּהוָה may signify, “to speak about one,” or “to speak against one,” or “to pay addresses to one,” *i.e.* to court him: 1 Sam. xxv. 39; Cant. viii. 8. Hitzig applies the last meaning to the expression, and translates, “as often as I have paid my suit to him;” according to this view, the basis of the representation of Jahveh’s relation to the people is that of a husband to his wife. But this meaning of the verb does not by any means suit the present context, well established though it is by the passages that have been adduced. Ephraim is here represented as a son, not a virgin to whom Jahveh could pay suit. Hence we must take the expression in the sense of “speaking against” some one. But what Jahveh says against Ephraim is no mere threatening by words, but a reprimand by deeds of judgment. The answer to the question is to be inferred from the context: If the Lord, whenever He is constrained to punish Ephraim, still thinks of him, then Ephraim must be a son dear to Him. But this is not because of his conduct, as if he caused Him joy by obedience and faithful attachment, but in consequence of the unchangeable love of God, who cannot leave His son, however much grief he causes his Father. “Therefore,” *i.e.* because he is a son to whom Jahveh shows the fulness of His paternal love, all His kindly feelings towards him are now excited, and He desires to show compassion on him. On לִפְנֵי הַיְּהוָה cf. Isa. xvi. 11 and lxiii. 15. Under “bowels” are included especially the heart, liver, reins, the noblest organs of the soul. The expression is strongly anthropopathic, and denotes the most heartfelt sympathy. This fellow-feeling manifests itself in the form of pity, and actually as deliverance from misery.

The Lord desires to execute this purpose of His everlasting love. Ver. 21. Israel is required to prepare himself for return, and to go home again into his own cities. “Set thee up way-

marks." צֵיֶן, in 2 Kings xxiii. 17 and Ezek. xxxix. 15, "a tomb-stone," probably a stone pillar, which could also serve as a way-mark. תִּמְדֵּיִם is not from טָמַר as in ver. 15, but from תָּמַר, and has the same meaning as תִּמְרָה, Joel iii. 3, Talm.

תָּמִיד, a pillar, Arab. تَامِير, pl., *cippi, signa in desertis*. "Set

thy heart," i.e. turn thy mind to the road, the way you have gone (on הִלַכְתִּי see ii. 20), not, that you may not miss it, but because it leads thee home. "Return to these cities of thine." "These" implies that the summons issues from Palestine. Moreover, the separate clauses of this verse are merely a poetic individualization of the thought that Israel is to think seriously of returning; and, inasmuch as this return to Palestine presupposes return to the Lord, Israel must first turn with the heart to his God. Then, in ver. 22, follows the exhortation not to delay. The meaning of הִתְחַמֵּק is deduced from Cant. v. 6, where הִמָּק signifies to turn one's self round; hence the Hithpael means to wander about here and there, uncertain what to do. This exhortation is finally enforced by the statement, "Jahveh creates a new thing on the earth" (cf. Isa. xliii. 19). This novelty is, "a woman will encompass a man." With regard to the meaning of these words, about which there is great dispute, this much is evident from the context, that they indicate a transformation of things, a new arrangement of the relations of life. This new arrangement of things which Jahveh brings about is mentioned as a motive which should rouse Ephraim (= Israel) to return without delay to the Lord and to his cities. If we keep this in mind, we shall at once set aside as untenable such interpretations as that of Luther in his first translation of 1532-38, "those who formerly behaved like women shall be men," which Ewald has revived in his rendering, "a woman changing into a man," or that of Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, "the woman shall protect the man," or that of Nägelsbach, "the woman shall turn the man to herself." The above-mentioned general consideration, we repeat, is sufficient to set aside these explanations, quite apart from the fact that none of them can be lexically substantiated; for סִוְבֵּב neither means to "turn one's self, *vertere*," nor to "protect," nor to "cause to return" (as if

סֹבֵב were used for שֹׁבֵב). Dent. xxxii. 10 is adduced to prove the meaning of protection; but the word there means to go about fondling and cherishing. Neither the transmutation of the female into a male, or of a weak woman into a strong man, nor the protection of the man by a woman, nor the notion that the strong succumbs to the weak, forms an effectual motive for the summons to Israel to return; nor can we call any of them a new creative act effected by Jahveh, or a new arrangement of things. But we must utterly reject the meaning of the words given by Castle, le Clerc, and Hitzig, who apply them to the unnatural circumstance, that a woman makes her suit to a man, even where by the woman is understood the virgin of Israel, and by the man, Jahveh. Luther gave the correct rendering in his editions of 1543 and 1545, "the woman shall encompass the man,"—only, "embrace" (Ger. *umfassen*) might express the sense better than "encompass" (Ger. *umgeben*). נִקְבָּה is *nomen sexus*, "femella, a female;" נִבְרָא, a "man," also "*proles mascula*," not according to the sexual relation (= נִבְרָא), but with the idea of strength. Both in the choice of these words and by the omission of the article, the relation is set forth in its widest generality; the attention is thereby steadily directed to its fundamental nature. The woman, the weak and tender being, shall lovingly embrace the man, the strong one. Hengstenberg reverses the meaning of the words when he renders them, "the strong one shall again take the weak into his closest intercourse, under his protection, loving care." Many expositors, including Hengstenberg and Hitzig of moderns, have rightly perceived that the general idea has been set forth with special reference to the relation between the woman, Israel, and the man, Jahveh. Starting with this view, which is suggested by the context, the older expositors explained the words of the conception and birth of Christ by a virgin; cf. Corn. a Lapide, Calovii *Bibl. ill.*, Cocceius, and Pfeiffer, *dubia vex.* p. 758 sqq. Thus, for example, the Berleburger Bibel gives the following explanation: "A woman or virgin—not a married woman—will encompass, i.e. carry and contain in her body, the man who is to be a vanquisher of all and to surpass all in strength." This explanation cannot be set aside by the simple remark, "that here there would be set forth the very feature

in the birth of Christ by a virgin which is not peculiar to it as compared with others ;" for this " superficial remark " does not in the least touch the real point to be explained. But it may very properly be objected, that סוּבֵב has not the special meaning of conceiving in a mother's womb. On this ground we can also set down as incorrect the other explanation of the words in the Berleburger Bibel, that the text rather speaks of " the woman who is the Jewish Church, and who, in the spirit of faith, is to bear Christ as the mighty God, Isa. ix. 6, in the likeness of a man, Rev. xii. 1, 2." However, these explanations are nearer the truth than any that have been offered since. The general statement, " a woman shall encompass (the) man," i.e. lovingly embrace him,—this new relation which Jahveh will bring about in place of the old, that the man encompasses the wife, loving, providing for, protecting her,—can only be referred, agreeably to the context, to change of relation between Israel and the Lord. סוּבֵב, " to encompass," is used tropically, not merely of the mode of dealing on the part of the Lord to His people, the faithful,—of the protection, the grace, and the aid which He grants to the pious ones, as in Ps. xxxii. 7, 10, Deut. xxxii. 10,—but also of the dealings of men with divine things. אֶסְבִּיבָה מִזְבִּיחֶךָ, Ps. xxvi. 6, does not mean, " I will go round Thine altar," in a circle or semicircle as it were, but, " I will keep to Thine altar," instead of keeping company with the wicked ; or more correctly, " I will surround Thine altar," making it the object of my care, of all my dealings,—I will make mine own the favours shown to the faithful at Thine altar. In the verse now before us, סוּבֵב signifies to encompass with love and care, to surround lovingly and carefully,—the natural and fitting dealing on the part of the stronger to the weak and those who need assistance. And the new thing that God creates consists in this, that the woman, the weaker nature that needs help, will lovingly and solicitously surround the man, the stronger. Herein is expressed a new relation of Israel to the Lord, a reference to a new covenant which the Lord, ver. 31 ff., will conclude with His people, and in which He deals so condescendingly towards them that they can lovingly embrace Him. This is the substance of the Messianic meaning in the words. The conception of the Son of God in the womb of the

Virgin Mary is not expressed in them either directly or indirectly, even though we were allowed to take סִיבַּב in the meaning of "embrace." This new creation of the Lord is intended to be, and can be, for Israel, a powerful motive to their immediate return to their God.

Vers. 23-26. *The re-establishment and blessing of Judah.*—

Ver. 23. "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Once more shall they say this word in the land of Judah and in its cities, when I turn their captivity: 'Jahveh bless thee, O habitation of righteousness, O mountain of holiness!' Ver. 24. And there shall dwell in it, [in] Judah and all its cities together, husbandmen and [those who] move about with the flock. Ver. 25. For I have satiated the weary soul, and I have filled every languishing soul. Ver. 26. Because of this I awoke and looked, and my sleep was sweet unto me."

The prophecy which treats of Judah alone is condensed, but states much in few words,—not merely the *restitutio in statum integritatis*, but also rich blessing thereafter. "May Jahveh bless thee" is a benediction, equivalent to "may you be blessed;" cf. Ps. cxxviii. 5, cxxxiv. 3. יְיָ צִדֵּק does not mean "habitation of salvation," but "habitation of righteousness;" cf. Isa. i. 21, where it is said of Jerusalem that righteousness formerly dwelt in it. This state of matters is again to exist; Jerusalem is again to become a city in which righteousness dwells. "The holy mountain" is Zion, including Moriah, where the Lord had set up His throne. That the designation "the holy mountain" was applied to the whole of Jerusalem cannot be made out from Ps. ii. 6, xlviii. 2 ff., Isa. xi. 9, xxvii. 13, which have been adduced to prove the assertion. The prayer for the blessing implies that Zion will again be the seat of the Divine King of His people. Ver. 24. "There dwell in it (in the land of Judah) Judah and all his towns," i.e. the population of Judah and of all its towns, as "husbandmen and (those who) pasture flocks," i.e. each one pursuing undisturbed his own peaceful employment, agriculture and cattle-rearing, and (ver. 25) so blessed in these callings that they are kept from every need and want. יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ may either be viewed as the perfect, before which the relative is to be supplied, or an adjectival form imitated from the Aramaic parti-

ciple, masc. נִרְמָה.—Ver. 26. Thereupon the prophet awoke from his ecstatic sleep, and said, “My sleep was pleasant” (cf. Prov. iii. 24). Very many expositors, including Rosenmüller, Umbreit, and Neumann among the moderns, understand the words, “therefore (or, because of this) I awoke,” etc., as referring to God, because in what precedes and follows Jahveh speaks, and because God is sometimes, in the Psalms, called on to awake, *e.g.* Ps. vii. 7, xxxv. 23, xlv. 24, etc. But it has been very properly objected to this, that the words, “my sleep was sweet” (pleasant), are inappropriate as utterances of God, inasmuch as He does not sleep; nowhere in Scripture is sleep attributed to God, and the summons to awake merely implies the non-interference on the part of God in the affairs of His people. Moreover, we would need to refer the sleeping of God, mentioned in this verse, to His dealing towards Israel during the exile, in such a way that His conduct as a powerful judge would be compared to a sweet sleep,—which is inconceivable. As little can the verse be supposed to contain words of the people languishing in exile, as Jerome has taken them. For the people could not possibly compare the time of oppression during the exile to a pleasant sleep. There is thus nothing left for us but to take this verse, as the Targum, Raschi, Kimchi, Venema, Dahler, Hitzig, Hengstenberg, and others have done, as a remark by the prophet regarding his feelings when he received this revelation; and we must accept something like the paraphrase of Tholuck (*die Propheten*, S. 68): “Because of such glorious promises I awoke to reflect on them, and my ecstatic sleep delighted me.” This view is not rendered less tenable by the objection that Jeremiah nowhere says God had revealed Himself to him in a dream, and that, in what precedes, there is not to be found any intimation that what he sets forth appeared to him as a vision. For neither is there any intimation, throughout the whole prophecy, that he received it while in a waking state. The command of God, given xxx. 2 at the first, to write in a book the words which Jahveh spoke to him, implies that the prophecy was not intended, in the first instance, to be publicly read before the people; moreover, it agrees with the assumption that he received the prophecy in a dream. But against the objection that Jeremiah never states,

in any other place, in what bodily condition he was when he received his revelations from God, and that we cannot see why he should make such an intimation here,—we may reply, with Nägelsbach, that this prophecy is the only one in the whole book which contains unmixed comfort, and that it is thus easy to explain why he could never forget that moment when, awaking after he had received it, he found he had experienced a sweet sleep. Still less weight is there in the objection of Graf, that one cannot comprehend why this remark stands here, because the description is evidently continued in what follows, while the dream must have ended here, when the prophet awoke. For this is against the assumption that the hand of the Lord immediately touched him again, and put him back into the ecstatic state. One might rather urge the consideration that the use of the word שָׁנָה, “sleep,” does not certainly prove that the prophet was in the ecstatic state, from the fact that the LXX. render *ἐκστασις*, in Gen. ii. 21 and xv. 2, by *ἐκστασις*. But wherever divine revelations were made in dreams, these of course presuppose sleep; so that the ecstatic state might also be properly called “sleep.” Jeremiah adds, “And I looked,” to signify that he had been thoroughly awakened, and, in complete self-consciousness, perceived that his sleep had been pleasant.

Vers. 27-30. *The renovation of Israel and Judah.*—Ver. 27. “Behold, days are coming, saith Jahveh, when I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with seed of men and seed of beasts. Ver. 28. And it shall be that, just as I have watched over them to pluck up and to break down, to pull down and to destroy and to hurt, so shall I watch over them to build and to plant, saith Jahveh. Ver. 29. In those days they shall no more say, ‘Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children become blunt;’ Ver. 30. But each man shall die for his own iniquity: every man who eats the sour grapes, his own teeth shall become blunted.”

After announcement has been made, in what preceded, that both portions of the covenant people will be led back into their own land and re-established there, both are now combined, since they are again, at the restoration, to be united under one king, the sprout of David (cf. iii. 15, 18), and to both there is pro-

mised great blessing, both temporal and spiritual. The house of Israel and the house of Judah, as separate nations, are represented as a fruitful field, which God will sow with men and cattle. בְּהֵמָה, "cattle," the tame domestic animals, contribute to the prosperity of a nation. That this seed will mightily increase, is evident from the fact that God sows it, and (as is further stated in ver. 28) will watch over it as it grows. Whereas, hitherto, He has watched for the purpose of destroying and annihilating the people, because of their apostasy, He will in time to come watch for the purpose of planting and building them up. The prophet has hitherto been engaged in fulfilling, against the faithless people, the first part of the commission given him by the Lord when he was called to his office (i. 10); hereafter, he will be engaged in building up. As certainly as the first has taken place,—and of this the people have had practical experience,—so certainly shall the other now take place.—Ver. 29. The proverb, which Ezekiel also (xviii. 2 f.) mentions and contends against, cannot mean, "The fathers have begun to eat sour grapes, but not till the teeth of their sons have become blunted by them" (Nägelsbach); the change of tense is against this, for, by the perfect נִכְלֵי and the imperfect תִּסְחֲקֶינָה, the blunting of the children's teeth is set down as a result of the fathers' eating. The proverb means, "Children atone for the misdeeds of their fathers," or "The sins of the fathers are visited on their innocent children." On this point, cf. the explanations given on Ezek. xviii. 2 ff. "Then shall they no more say" is rightly explained by Hitzig to mean, "They shall have no more occasion to say." But the meaning of the words is not yet made plain by this; in particular, the question how we must understand ver. 30 is not settled. Graf, referring to xxiii. 7, 8, supplies אָמַר after בְּיָדָם, and thus obtains the meaning, Then will they no more accuse God of unrighteousness, as in that wicked proverb, but they will perceive that every one has to suffer for his own guilt. Hitzig and Nägelsbach have declared against this insertion,—the former with the remark that, in xxiii. 7, 8, because both members of the sentence begin with protestations, the whole is clear, while here it is not so,—the latter resting on the fact that the dropping of the proverb from current use certainly

implies a correct knowledge of the righteousness of God, but one which is very elementary and merely negative; while, on the other hand, the whole connection of the passage now before us shows that it is intended to describe a period when the theocratic life is in a most flourishing condition. Then expositors take ver. 30 as the utterance of the prophet, and as embodying the notion that the average level of morality shall be so high at this future period, that only some sins will continue to be committed, and these as isolated exceptions to the rule. Taken all in all, Israel will be a holy people, in which the general spirit pervading them will repress the evil in some individuals, that would otherwise manifest itself. But we cannot imagine how these ideas can be supposed to be contained in the words, "Every man shall die for his own sins," etc. Ver. 30 unquestionably contains the opposite of ver. 29. The proverb mentioned in ver. 29 involves the complaint against God, that in punishing sin He deals unjustly. According to this view, ver. 30 must contain the declaration that, in the future, the righteousness of God is to be revealed in the punishment of sins. As we have already remarked on Ezek. xviii. 3 f., the verse in question rather means, that after the re-establishment of Israel, the Lord will make known to His people His grace in so glorious a manner that the favoured ones will fully perceive the righteousness of His judgments. The experience of the unmerited love and compassion of the Lord softens the heart so much, that the favoured one no longer doubts the righteousness of the divine punishment. Such knowledge of true blessedness cannot be called elementary; rather, it implies a deep experience of divine grace and a great advance in the life of faith. Nor does the verse contain a judgment expressed by the prophet in opposition to that of his contemporaries, but it simply declares that the opinion contained in that current proverb shall no longer be accepted then, but the favoured people will recognise in the death of the sinner the punishment due to them for their own sin. Viewed in this manner, these verses prepare the way for the following announcement concerning the nature of the new covenant.

Vers. 31-40. *The new covenant.*—Ver. 31. "Behold, days are coming, saith Jahveh, when I will make with the house of

Israel and with the house of Judah a new covenant ; Ver. 32. Not like the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I laid hold of their hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which covenant of mine they broke, though I had married them to myself, saith Jahveh ; Ver. 33. But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Jahveh : I will put my law within them, and on their heart will I write it ; and I will become to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. Ver. 34. And they shall no more teach every man his neighbour and every man his brother, saying, Know ye Jahveh, for all of them shall know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith Jahveh ; for I will pardon their iniquity, and their sins will I remember no more. Ver. 35. Thus saith Jahveh, [who] gives the sun for light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and stars for light by night, who rouses the sea so that its waves roar, Jahveh of hosts is His name : Ver. 36. If these ordinances move away from before me, saith Jahveh, then also will the seed of Israel cease to be a people before me for ever. Ver. 37. Thus saith Jahveh : If the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth below can be searched out, then will I also reject all the seed of Israel because of all that they have done, saith Jahveh. Ver. 38. Behold, days come, saith Jahveh, when the city shall be built for Jahveh, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner, Ver. 39. And the measuring-line shall once more go out straight over the hill of Gareb, and turn round towards Goah. Ver. 40. And all the valley of the corpses and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the valley of Kidron, unto the corner of the gate of the horses towards the east, [shall be] holiness to Jahveh ; it shall not be plucked up nor pulled down again for ever."

✓ The re-establishment of Israel reaches its completion in the making of a new covenant, according to which the law of God is written in the hearts of the people ; thereby Israel becomes in truth the people of the Lord, and the knowledge of God founded on the experience of the forgiveness of sins is such that there is no further need of any external means like mutual teaching about God (vers. 31-34). This covenant is to endure for ever, like the unchangeable ordinances of nature (vers.

35-37); and in consequence of this, Jerusalem shall be built as the holy city of God, which shall never be destroyed again (vers. 38-40).—Ver. 31. *כָּרַת בְּרִית* does not mean “to make an appointment,” but “to conclude a covenant,” to establish a relation of mutual duties and obligations. Every covenant which God concludes with men consists, on the side of God, in assurance of His favours and actual bestowal of them; these bind men to the keeping of the commands laid on them. The covenant which the Lord will make with all Israel in the future is called “a new covenant,” as compared with that made with the fathers at Sinai, when the people were led out of Egypt; this latter is thus implicitly called the “old covenant.” The words, “on the day when I took them by the hand,” etc., must not be restricted, on the one side, to the *day* of the exodus from Egypt, nor, on the other, to the *day* when the covenant was solemnly made at Sinai; they rather refer to the whole time of the exodus, which did not reach its termination till the entrance into Canaan, though it culminated in the solemn admission of Israel, at Sinai, as the people of Jahveh; see on vii. 22. (On the punctuation of *הַחֲוִיתִי*, cf. Ewald, § 238, *d*, Olshaus. *Gramm.* § 191, *f*.) *אֲשֶׁר* is not a conjunction, “*quod*, because,” but a relative pronoun, and must be combined with *אֶת־בְּרִיתִי*, “which my covenant,” *i.e.* which covenant of mine. “They” stands emphatically in contrast with “though I” in the following circumstantial clause, which literally means, “but I have married them to myself,” or, “I was their husband.” As to *בְּעַלְתִּי*, see on iii. 14. Hengstenberg wrongly takes the words as a promise, “but I will marry them to myself;” this view, however, is incompatible with the perfect, and the position of the words as a contrast with “they broke.”¹ The two closely connected expressions indicate why a new covenant was necessary; there is no formal statement, however, of the reason, which is merely given in a subordinate and appended clause. For the proper reason why a new covenant is made is not that the people have

¹ In the citation of this passage in Heb. viii. 8 ff., the words are quoted according to the LXX. version, *καὶ γὰρ ἡμίλησα αὐτῶν*, although this translation is incorrect, because the apostle does not use these words in proving any point. These same words, moreover, have been rendered by the LXX., in iii. 14, *ἐγὼ κατακυριεύσω ὑμῶν*.

broken the old one, but that, though Jahveh had united Israel to Himself, they have broken the covenant and thereby rendered it necessary to make a new one. God the Lord, in virtue of His unchangeable faithfulness, would not alter the relation He had Himself established in His love, but simply found it anew in a way which obviated the breaking of the covenant by Israel. For it was a defect connected with the covenant made with Israel at Sinai, that it could be broken on their part. This defect is not to exist in the new covenant which God will make in after times. The expression "after those (not *these*) days" is remarkable; הָיָה is not the same as הָיָה, and yet the days meant can only be the "coming days;" accordingly, it is "those days" (as in ver. 29) that are to be expected. The expression "after these days" is inexact, and probably owes its origin to the idea contained in the phrase "in the end of the days" (בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, cf. xxiii. 20).—Ver. 33. The character of the new covenant: "I (Jahveh) give (will put) my law within them, and write it upon their heart." בְּקִרְבָּם is the opposite of לְפָנֵיהֶם, which is constantly used of the Sinaitic law, cf. ix. 12, Deut. iv. 8, xi. 32, 1 Kings ix. 6; and the "writing on the heart" is opposed to writing on the tables of stone, Ex. xxxi. 18, cf. xxxii. 15 f., xxxiv. 8, Deut. iv. 13, ix. 11, x. 4, etc. The difference, therefore, between the old and the new covenants consists in this, that in the old the law was laid before the people that they might accept it and follow it, receiving it into their hearts, as the copy of what God not merely required of men, but offered and vouchsafed to them for their happiness; while in the new it is put within, implanted into the heart and soul by the Spirit of God, and becomes the animating life-principle, 2 Cor. iii. 3. The law of the Lord thus forms, in the old as well as in the new covenant, the kernel and essence of the relation instituted between the Lord and His people; and the difference between the two consists merely in this, that the will of God as expressed in the law under the old covenant was presented externally to the people, while under the new covenant it is to become an internal principle of life. Now, even in the old covenant, we not only find that Israel is urged to receive the law of the Lord his God into his heart,—to make the law presented to him from without the property of

his heart, as it were,—but even Moses, we also find, promises that God will circumcise the heart of the people, that they may love God the Lord with all their heart and all their soul (Deut. xxx. 6). But this circumcision of heart and this love of God with the whole soul, which are repeatedly required in the law (Deut. vi. 5, x. 12, 16), are impossibilities, unless the law be received into the heart. It thus appears that the difference between the old and the new covenants must be reduced to this, that what was commanded and applied to the heart in the old is given in the new, and the new is but the completion of the old covenant. This is, indeed, the true relation between them, as is clearly shown by the fact, that the essential element of the new covenant, “I will be their God, and they shall be my people,” was set forth as the object of the old; cf. Lev. xxvi. 12 with Ex. xxix. 45. Nevertheless the difference is not merely one of degree, but one of kind. The demands of the law, “Keep the commandments of your God,” “Be ye holy as the Lord your God is holy,” cannot be fulfilled by sinful man. Even when he strives most earnestly to keep the commands of the law, he cannot satisfy its requirements. The law, with its rigid demands, can only humble the sinner, and make him beseech God to blot out his sin and create in him a clean heart (Ps. li. 11 ff.); it can only awaken him to the perception of sin, but cannot blot it out. It is God who must forgive this, and by forgiving it, write His will on the heart. The forgiveness of sin, accordingly, is mentioned, ver. 34, at the latter part of the promise, as the basis of the new covenant. But the forgiveness of sins is a work of grace which annuls the demand of the law against men. In the old covenant, the law with its requirements is the impelling force; in the new covenant, the grace shown in the forgiveness of sins is the aiding power by which man attains that common life with God which the law sets before him as the great problem of life. It is in this that the qualitative difference between the old and the new covenants consists. The object which both set before men for attainment is the same, but the means of attaining it are different in each. In the old covenant are found commandment and requirement; in the new, grace and giving. Certainly, even under the old covenant, God bestowed on the people of Israel grace and the

forgiveness of sins, and, by the institution of sacrifice, had opened up a way of access by which men might approach Him and rejoice in His gracious gifts; His Spirit, moreover, produced in the heart of the godly ones the feeling that their sins were forgiven, and that they were favoured of God. But even this institution and this working of the Holy Spirit on and in the heart, was no more than a shadow and prefiguration of what is actually offered and vouchsafed under the new covenant, Heb. x. 1. The sacrifices of the old covenant are but prefigurations of the true atoning-offering of Christ, by which the sins of the whole world are atoned for and blotted out.

In ver. 34a are unfolded the results of God's putting His law in the heart. The knowledge of the Lord will then no longer be communicated by the outward teaching of every man to his fellow, but all, small and great, will be enlightened and taught by the Spirit of God (Isa. liv. 13) to know the Lord; cf. Joel iii. 1 f., Isa. xi. 9. These words do not imply that, under the new covenant, "the office of the teacher of religion must cease" (Hitzig); and as little is "disparity in the imparting of the knowledge of God silently excluded" in ver. 33. The meaning simply is this, that the knowledge of God will then no longer be dependent on the communication and instruction of man. The knowledge of Jahveh, of which the prophet speaks, is not the theoretic knowledge which is imparted and acquired by means of religious instruction; it is rather knowledge of divine grace based upon the inward experience of the heart, which knowledge the Holy Spirit works in the heart by assuring the sinner that he has indeed been adopted as a son of God through the forgiveness of his sins. This knowledge, as being an inward experience of grace, does not exclude religious instruction, but rather tacitly implies that there is intimation given of God's desire to save and of His purpose of grace. The correct understanding of the words results from a right perception of the contrast involved in them, viz. that under the old covenant the knowledge of the Lord was connected with the mediation of priests and prophets. Just as, at Sinai, the sinful people could not endure that the Lord should address them directly, but retreated, terrified by the awful manifestation of the Lord on the mountain, and said entreatingly to Moses,

"Speak thou with us and we will hear, but let not God speak with us, lest we die" (Ex. xx. 15); so, under the old covenant economy generally, access to the Lord was denied to individuals, and His grace was only obtained by the intervention of human mediators. This state of matters has been abolished under the new covenant, inasmuch as the favoured sinner is placed in immediate relation to God by the Holy Spirit. Heb. iv. 16; Eph. iii. 12.

In order to give good security that the promise of a new covenant would be fulfilled, the Lord, in ver. 35 f., points to the everlasting duration of the arrangements of nature, and declares that, if this order of nature were to cease, then Israel also would cease to be a people before Him; *i.e.* the continuance of Israel as the people of God shall be like the laws of nature. Thus the eternal duration of the new covenant is implicitly declared. Hengstenberg contests the common view of vers. 35 and 36, according to which the reference is to the firm, unchangeable continuance of God's laws in nature, which everything must obey; and he is of opinion that, in ver. 35, it is merely the omnipotence of God that is spoken of, that this proves He is God and not man, and that there is thus formed a basis for the statement set forth in ver. 35, so full of comfort for the doubting covenant people, that God does not lie, that He can never repent of His covenant and His promises. But the arguments adduced for this, and against the common view, are not decisive. The expression "stirring the sea, so that its waves roar," certainly serves in the original passage, Isa. li. 15, from which Jeremiah has taken it, to bring the divine omnipotence into prominence; but it does not follow from this that here also it is merely the omnipotence of God that is pointed out. Although, in rousing the sea, "no definite rule that we can perceive is observed, no uninterrupted return," yet it is repeated according to the unchangeable ordinance of God, though not every day, like the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies. And in ver. 36, under the expression "these ordinances" are comprehended the rousing of the sea as well as the movements of the moon and stars; further, the departure, *i.e.* the cessation, of these natural phenomena is mentioned [as impossible], to signify that Israel cannot cease to exist as a

people; hence the emphasis laid on the immutability of these ordinances of nature. Considered in itself, the putting of the sun for a light by day, and the appointment of the moon and stars for a light by night, are works of the almighty power of God, just as the sea is roused so that its waves roar; but, that these phenomena never cease, but always recur as long as the present world lasts, is a proof of the immutability of these works of the omnipotence of God, and it is this point alone which here receives consideration. "The ordinances of the moon and of the stars" mean the established arrangements as regards the phases of the moon, and the rising and setting of the different stars. "From being a nation before me" declares not merely the continuance of Israel as a nation, so that they shall not disappear from the earth, just as so many others perish in the course of ages, but also their continuance before Jahveh, *i.e.* as His chosen people; cf. xxx. 20.—This positive promise regarding the continuance of Israel is confirmed by a second simile, in ver. 37, which declares the impossibility of rejection. The measurement of the heavens and the searching of the foundations, *i.e.* of the inmost depths, of the earth, is regarded as an impossibility. God will not reject *the whole* seed of Israel: here כָּל is to be attentively considered. As Hengstenberg correctly remarks, the hypocrites are deprived of the comfort which they could draw from these promises. Since the posterity of Israel are not all rejected, the rejection of the dead members of the people, *i.e.* unbelievers, is not thereby excluded, but included. That the whole cannot perish "is no bolster for the sin of any single person." The prophet adds: "because of all that they have done," *i.e.* because of their sins, their apostasy from God, in order to keep believing ones from despair on account of the greatness of their sins. On this, Calvin makes the appropriate remark: *Consulto propheta hic proponit scelera populi, ut sciamus superiorem fore Dei clementiam, nec congeriem tot malorum fore obstaculo, quominus Deus ignoscat.* If we keep before our mind these points in the promise contained in this verse, we shall not, like Graf, find in ver. 37 merely a tame repetition of what has already been said, and be inclined to take the verse as a superfluous marginal gloss.¹

¹ Hitzig even thinks that, "because the style and the use of language

Vers. 38-40. Then shall Jerusalem be built up as a holy city of God, and be no more destroyed. After ימים, the Masoretic text wants ימים, which is supplied in the *Qeri*. Hengstenberg is of opinion that the expression was abbreviated here, inasmuch as it has already occurred before, several times, in its full form (vers. 27 and 31); but Jeremiah does not usually abbreviate when he repeats an expression, and ימים has perhaps been dropped merely through an error in transcription. "The city shall be built for Jahveh," so that it thenceforth belongs to Him, is consecrated to Him. The extent of the new city is described as being "from the tower of Hananeel to the gate of the corner." The tower of Hananeel, according to Neh. iii. 1 and Zech. iv. 10, was situated on the north-east corner of the city wall; the gate of the corner was at the north-west corner of the city, to the north or north-west of the present "Jaffa Gate;" see on 2 Kings xiv. 13, 2 Chron. xxvi. 9; cf. Zech. xiv. 10. This account thus briefly describes the whole north side. Ver. 39. The measuring-line (קֶמֶר) as found here, 1 Kings vii. 23 and Zech. i. 16, is the original form, afterwards shortened into קֶמֶר, the *Qeri* further goes out נִגְדוּ, "before itself," i.e. straight out over the hill Gareb. עַל does not mean "away towards, or on" (Hitzig); nor is the true reading עַד, "as far as, even to," which is met with in several codices: the correct rendering is "away over," so that a part, at least, of the hill was included within the city bounds. "And turns towards Goah." These two places last named

betoken the second Isaiah, and the order of both strophes is reversed in the LXX. (i.e. ver. 37 stands before ver. 35 f.), vers. 35, 36 may have stood in the margin at the beginning of the genuine portion in vers. 27-34, and ver. 37, on the other hand, in the margin at ver. 34." But, that the verses, although they present reminiscences of the second Isaiah, do not quite prove that the language is his, has already been made sufficiently evident by Graf, who points out that, in the second Isaiah, הָמָּה is nowhere used of the roaring of the sea, nor do we meet with תְּקוֹת and תְּקִים, יִשְׁבְּחוּ מַהֲיוֹת, כָּל-הַיָּמִים, nor again הָמָּה in the Niphal, or מוֹסְרֵי אֶרֶץ (but מוֹסְרוֹת הָאָרֶץ in Isa. xl. 21); other expressions are not peculiar to the second Isaiah, since they also occur in other writings.—But the transposition of the verses in the LXX., in view of the arbitrary treatment of the text of Jeremiah in that version, cannot be made to prove anything whatever.

are unknown. From the context of the passage only this much is clear, that both of them were situated on the west of the city; for the starting-point of the line spoken of is in the north-west, and the valley of Ben-hinnom joins in at the end of it, in the south, ver. 40. נִרְבֵּי means "itching," for נִרְבֵּי in Lev. xxi. 20, xxii. 22 means "the itch;" in Arabic also "the leprosy." From this, many expositors infer that the hill Gareb was the hill where lepers were obliged to dwell by themselves, outside the city. This supposition is probable; there is no truth, however, in the assumption of Schleussner, Krafft (*Topogr. von Jerus.* S. 158), Hitzig, and Hengstenberg, that the hill Bezetha, included within the city bounds by the third wall of Agrippa, is the one meant; for the line described in ver. 39 is not to be sought for on the north side of the city. With Graf, we look for the hill Gareb on the mount which lies westward from the valley of Ben-hinnom and at the end of the valley of Rephaim, towards the north (Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16), so that it is likely we must consider it to be identical with "the top of the mountain" mentioned in these passages. This mountain is the rocky ridge which bounds the valley of Ben-hinnom on the west, and stretches northwards, on the west side of the valley of Gihon and the Lower Pool (*Birket es Sullân*), to near the high road to Jaffa, where it turns off towards the west on the under (i.e. south) side of the Upper Pool (*Birket el Mamilla*); see on Josh. xv. 8. It is not, as Thenius supposes (*Jerusalem before the Exile*, an appendix to his commentary on the Books of Kings), the bare rocky hill situated on the north, and overhanging the Upper Pool; on this view, Goah could only be the steep descent from the plateau into the valley of Kidron, opposite this hill, towards the east. Regarding Goah, only this much can be said with certainty, that the supposition, made by Vitringa and Hengstenberg, of a connection between the name and Golgotha, is untenable; lexical considerations and facts are all against it. Golgotha was situated in the north-west: Goah must be sought for south-west from Jerusalem. The translation of the Chaldee, "cattle-pond," is a mere inference from נִרְבֵּי, "to bellow." But, in spite of the uncertainty experienced in determining the positions of the hill Gareb and Goah, this much is evident from the verse before

us, that the city, which is thus to be built anew, will extend to the west beyond the space occupied by old Jerusalem, and include within it districts or spots which lay outside old (*i.e.* pre- and post-exile) Jerusalem, and which had been divided off from the city, as unclean places.—In ver. 40, without any change of construction, the southern border is described. “The whole valley of the corpses and of the ashes . . . shall be holy to Jahveh,” *i.e.* be included within the space occupied by the new city. By “the valley of the corpses and of the ashes” expositors generally and rightly understand the valley of Ben-hinnom (פְּנִינִים) are the carcases of animals that have been killed, and of men who have been slain through some judgment of God and been left unburied). Jeremiah applies this name to the valley, because, in consequence of the pollution by Josiah of the place where the abominations had been offered to Moloch (2 Kings xxiii. 10), it had become a sort of slaughtering-place or tan-yard for the city. According to Lev. vi. 3, הֶשֶׁן means the ashes of the burnt-offerings consumed on the altar. According to Lev. iv. 12 and vi. 4, these were to be carried from the ash-heap near the altar, out of the city, to a clean place; but they might also be considered as the gross deposit of the sacrifices, and thus as unclean. Hence also it came to pass that all the sweepings of the temple were probably brought to this place where the ashes were, which thus became still more unclean. Instead of הֶשֶׁן, the *Qeri* requires הֶשֶׁרֶטוֹת, and, in fact, the former word may not be very different from שְׂרָטוֹת קִרְיוֹ, 2 Kings xxiii. 4, whither Josiah caused all the instruments used in idolatrous worship to be brought and burned. But it is improbable that שְׂרָטוֹת is a mere error in transcription for הֶשֶׁרֶטוֹת. The former word is found nowhere else; not even does the verb שָׂרַם occur. The latter noun, which is quite well known, could not readily be written by mistake for the former; and even if such an error had been committed, it would not have gained admission into all the MSS., so that even the LXX. should have that reading, and give the word as Ἀσπρημώθ, in Greek characters. We must, then, consider שְׂרָטוֹת as the correct reading, and derive the word from שָׂרַם, or

شَرْم, or صَرْم, "to cut off, cut to pieces," in the sense of "ravines, hollows" (شَرْم), or *loca abscissa*, places cut off or shut out from the holy city. "Unto the brook of Kidron," into which the valley of Ben-hinnom opens towards the east, "unto the corner of the horse-gate towards the east." The horse-gate stood on the site of the modern "Dung-gate" (*Bâb el Moghâriebh*), in the wall which ran along from the south-east end of Zion to the western border of Ophel (see on Neh. iii. 28), so that, in this verse before us, it is the south and south-eastern boundaries of the city that are given; and only the length of the eastern side, which enclosed the temple area, on to the north-eastern corner, has been left without mention, because the valley of the Kidron here formed a strong boundary.

The extent of the new city, as here given, does not much surpass that of old Jerusalem. Only in the west and south are tracts to be included within the city, and such tracts, too, as had formerly been excluded from the old city, as unclean places. Jeremiah accordingly announces, not merely that there will be a considerable increase in the size of Jerusalem, but that the whole city shall be holy to the Lord, the unclean places in its vicinity shall disappear, and be transformed into hallowed places of the new city. As being sacred to the Lord, the city shall no more be destroyed.

From this description of Jerusalem which is to be built anew, so that the whole city, including the unclean places now outside of it, shall be holy, or a sanctuary of the Lord, it is very evident that this prophecy does not refer to the rebuilding of Jerusalem after the exile, but, under the figure of Jerusalem, as the centre of the kingdom of God under the Old Testament, announces the erection of a more spiritual kingdom of God in the Messianic age. The earthly Jerusalem was a holy city only in so far as the sanctuary of the Lord, the temple, had been built in it. Jeremiah makes no mention of the rebuilding of the temple, although he had prophesied the destruction, not only of the city, but also of the temple. But he represents the new city as being, in its whole extent, the sanctuary of the Lord, which the temple only had been, in

ancient Jerusalem. Cf., as a substantial parallel, Zech. xiv. 10, 11.—The erection of Jerusalem into a city, within whose walls there shall be nothing unholy, implies the vanquishment of sin, from which all impurity proceeds; it is also the ripe fruit of the forgiveness of sins, in which the new covenant, which the Lord will make with His people in the days to come, consists and culminates. This prophecy, then, reaches on to the time when the kingdom of God shall have been perfected: it contains, under an old Testament dress, the outlines of the image of the heavenly Jerusalem, which the seer perceives at Patmos in its full glory. This image of the new Jerusalem thus forms a very suitable conclusion to this prophecy regarding the restoration of Israel, which, although it begins with the deliverance of the covenant people from their exile, is yet thoroughly Messianic. Though clothed in an Old Testament dress, it does not implicitly declare that Israel shall be brought back to their native land during the period extending from the time of Cyrus to that of Christ; but, taking this interval as its stand-point, it combines in one view both the deliverance from the exile and the redemption by the Messiah, and not merely announces the formation of the new covenant in its beginnings, when the Christian Church was founded, but at the same time points to the completion of the kingdom of God under the new covenant, in order to show the whole extent of the salvation which the Lord will prepare for His people who return to Him. If these last verses have not made the impression on Graf's mind, that they could well have formed the original conclusion to the prophecy which precedes, the reason lies simply in the theological inability of their expositor to get to the bottom of the sacred writings.

Chap. xxxii. *The Purchase of a Field as a Symbol of the Restoration of Judah after the Exile.*

This chapter, after an introduction (vers. 1–5) which accurately sets forth the time and circumstances of the following event, contains, first of all (vers. 6–15), the account of the purchase of a hereditary field at Anathoth, which Jeremiah, at the divine command, executes in full legal form, together with a statement of the meaning of this purchase; then (vers.

16-25) a prayer of the prophet for an explanation as to how the purchase of the field could be reconciled with the delivering up of the people and the city of Jerusalem to the Chaldeans; together with (vers. 26-35) the Lord's reply, that He shall certainly give up Jerusalem to the Chaldeans, because Israel and Judah, by their sins and their idolatries, have roused His wrath; but (vers. 36-44) that He shall also gather again His people out of all the lands whither they have been scattered, and make an everlasting covenant with them, so that they shall dwell safely and happily in the land in true fear of God.

Vers. 1-5. *The time and the circumstances of the following message from God.*—The message came to Jeremiah in the tenth year of Zedekiah, *i.e.* in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar (cf. xxv. 1 and lii. 12), when the army of the king of Babylon was besieging Jerusalem, and Jeremiah was kept in confinement in the fore-court of the royal palace. These historical data are inserted (vers. 2-5) in the form of circumstantial clauses: 'וַאֲזַיִן הָיָה לָאָרְמִי' "for at that time the army of the king of Babylon was besieging Jerusalem." The siege had begun in the ninth year of Zedekiah (xxxix. 1, lii. 4), and was afterwards raised for a short time, in consequence of the approach of an auxiliary corps of Egyptians; but, as soon as these had been defeated, it was resumed (xxxvii. 5, 11). Jeremiah was then kept confined in the court of the prison of the royal palace (cf. Neh. iii. 25), "where Zedekiah, king of Judah, had imprisoned him, saying: Why dost thou prophesy, 'Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give this city into the hand of the king of Babylon, so that he shall take it; Ver. 4. And Zedekiah, the king of Judah, shall not escape out of the hand of the Chaldeans, but shall assuredly be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon, and his mouth shall speak with his mouth, and his eyes shall behold his eyes; Ver. 5. And he shall lead Zedekiah to Babylon, and there shall he be until I visit him, saith the Lord. Though ye fight with the Chaldeans, ye shall not succeed?'"—We have already found an utterance of like import in chap. xxi., but that is not here referred to; for it was fulfilled at the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem, and did not bring on Jeremiah the consequences mentioned here. From

chap. xxxvii. we learn that Jeremiah, during the siege of Jerusalem, on till the time when it was raised through the approach of the Egyptian army, had not been imprisoned, but went freely in and out among the people (xxxvii. 4 ff.). Not till during the temporary raising of the siege, when he wanted to go out of the city into the land of Benjamin, was he seized and thrown into a dungeon, on the pretence that he intended to go over to the Chaldeans. There he remained many days, till King Zedekiah ordered him to be brought, and questioned him privately as to the issue of the conflict; when Jeremiah replied, "Thou shalt be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon." On this occasion Jeremiah complained to the king of his imprisonment, and requested that he might not be sent back into the dungeon, where he must soon perish; the king then ordered him (xxxvii. 11-24) to be taken into the court of the prison-house (הַבֵּית הַסִּפֵּר, xxxvii. 21), where he remained in confinement till the city was taken (xxxviii. 13, 28, xxxix. 14). The statement in our verses as to the cause of this imprisonment does not contradict, but agrees with the notice in chap. xxxvii., as soon as we perceive that this account contains merely a brief passing notice of the matter. The same holds true of the utterance of the prophet in vers. 3-5. Jeremiah, even at the beginning of the siege (xxi. 3 ff.), had sent a message of similar import to the king, and repeated the same afterwards: xxxiv. 3-5, xxxvii. 17, xxxviii. 17-23. The words of our verses are taken from these repeated utterances; ver. 4 agrees almost verbatim with xxxiv. 3; and the words, "there shall he remain אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ," till I regard him with favour," are based upon the clearer utterance as to the end of Zedekiah, xxxiv. 4, 5.—The circumstances under which Jeremiah received the following commission from the Lord are thus exactly stated, in order to show how little prospect the present of the kingdom of Judah offered for the future, which was portrayed by the purchase of the field. Not only must the kingdom of Judah inevitably succumb to the power of the Chaldeans, and its population go into exile, but even Jeremiah is imprisoned, in so hopeless a condition, that he is no longer sure of his life for a single day.

Vers. 6-15. *The purchase of the field.*—In ver. 6, the introduction, which has been interrupted by long parentheses, is

resumed with the words, "And Jeremiah said," etc. The word of the Lord follows, ver. 7. The Lord said to him: "Behold, Hanameël, the son of Shallum, thine uncle, cometh to thee, saying, 'Buy thee my field at Anathoth, for thou hast the redemption-right to purchase it.'" According to a mode of construction common elsewhere, חָנַמְאֵל might be taken as in apposition to חָנַמְאֵל: "Hanameël, son of Shallum, thine uncle." But vers. 8, 9, in which Jeremiah calls Hanameël בְּנוֹ דִּי שָׁלּוּם, son of my uncle, show that חָנַמְאֵל is in apposition to שָׁלּוּם: "son of Shallum, [who is] thine uncle." The right of redemption consisted in this, that if any one was forced through circumstances to sell his landed property, the nearest blood-relation had the right, or rather was obliged, to preserve the possession for the family, either through pre-emption, or redemption from the stranger who had bought it (Lev. xxv. 25). For the land which God had given to the tribes and families of Israel for a hereditary possession could not be sold, so as to pass into the hands of strangers; and for this reason, in the year of jubilee, what had been sold since the previous jubilee reverted, without payment of any kind, to the original possessor or his heirs. (Cf. Lev. xxv. 23-28, and Keil's *Bibl. Archäol.* ii. § 141, p. 208 ff.)—Ver. 8. What had been announced to the prophet by God took place. Hanameël came to him, and offered him his field for sale. From this Jeremiah perceived that the proposed sale was the word of the Lord, i.e. that the matter was appointed by the Lord. Ver. 9. Jeremiah accordingly bought the field, and weighed out to Hanameël "seven shekels and ten the silver" (חֲמִשָּׁה שֶׁקֶלִי הַכֶּסֶף is definite, as being the amount of money asked as price of purchase). But the form of expression is remarkable: "seven shekels and ten" instead of "seventeen" (שֶׁבַע וְעֶשְׂרִי שֶׁקֶלִי הַכֶּסֶף). The Chaldee consequently has "seven manehs and ten shekels of silver;" and J. D. Michaelis supposes that the seven shekels which are first named, and are separated from the ten, were shekels of gold: "seven shekels of gold, and seven shekels of silver." But both assumptions are gratuitous, and perhaps only inferences, not merely from the unusual separation of the numerals, but likewise from the fact that seventeen silver shekels (less than two pounds sterling) was too small a price for an arable field. The sup-

position of Hitzig has more in its favour, that the mode of expression "seven shekels and ten (shekels) of silver" was a law form. Some have sought to explain the smallness of the price on the ground that the seller was compelled to part with his property through poverty, and that the land had become depreciated in consequence of the war. Both may be true; but, as Nägelsbach has already remarked, neither explains the smallness of the price. For instances have very properly been adduced from Roman history (Livy, xxvi. 11, and Florus, ii. 6) which show that occupation of a country by an enemy did not lessen the value of ground-property. It is rather to be taken into consideration, that in the first place we do not know the real value of arable land among the Hebrews; and secondly, the sale of portions of land was, correctly speaking, only the sale of the harvests up till the year of jubilee, for then the property returned to the former possessor or his heirs. In the case of a sale, then, the nearer the jubilee-year, the smaller must be the price of purchase in the alienation of the land.—Ver. 10 ff. The purchase was concluded in full legal form. "I wrote it (the necessary terms) in the letter (the usual letter of purchase), and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed out the money on the balance" (it was then and still is the custom in the East to weigh money). חתם means here, not to append a seal instead of subscribing the name, or for attestation (cf. 1 Kings xxi. 8, Neh. x. 2), but to seal up, make sure by sealing (Isa. xxix. 11, etc.). For, from vers. 11, 12, we perceive that two copies of the bill of purchase were prepared, one sealed up, and the other open; so that, in case the open one were lost, or were accidentally or designedly injured or defaced, a perfect original might still exist in the sealed-up copy. Then "Jeremiah took the bill of purchase, the sealed one,"—the specification and the conditions,—“and the open one.” The words חַמְצָה וְהַחֲקִים are in apposition with אֶת-סֵפֶר וגו'. The Vulgate renders *stipulationes et rata*; Jerome, *stipulatione rata*, which he explains by *stipulationibus et sponsionibus corroborata*. חַמְצָה, usually “a command, order,” is probably employed here in the general sense of “specification,” namely, the object and the price of purchase; חֲקִים, “statutes,” the conditions and stipulations of sale. The apposition has the meaning, “containing the agree-

ment and the conditions." Both copies of this bill, the prophet,—before the eyes of Hanameël, his cousin (חָנַמְעֵל, either in the general sense of a near relation, since the relationship has been stated exactly enough already, or חָנַמְעֵל has been inadvertently omitted), and before the eyes of, *i.e.* in the presence of "the witnesses, who wrote in the letter of purchase," *i.e.* had subscribed it as witnesses in attestation of the matter, and in the eyes of all the Jews who were sitting in the court of the prison, and in whose presence the transaction had been concluded,—delivered up to his attendant Baruch, son of Nerijah, the son of Mahsejah, with the words, ver. 14: "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Take these letters, this sealed-up letter of purchase and this open letter, and put them into an earthen vessel, that they may remain a long time [there]. Ver. 15. For thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Houses, and fields, and vineyards shall still be bought in this land."—The second utterance of the Lord (ver. 15) declares the reason why the letters were to be preserved in an earthen vessel, in order to protect them from damp, decay, and destruction, namely, because one could make use of them afterwards, when sale of property would still be taking place. There is also implied the intimation, that the present desolation of the land and the transportation of its inhabitants will only last during their time; and then the population of Judah will return, and enter again on the possession of their land. The purchase of the field on the part of Jeremiah had this meaning; and for the sake of this meaning it was announced to him by God, and completed before witnesses, in the presence of the Jews who happened to be in the court of the prison.

Vers. 16–25. *The prayer of Jeremiah.*—Although Jeremiah has declared, in the words of the Lord, ver. 14 f., the meaning of the purchase of the field to the witnesses who were present at the transaction, yet the intimation that houses, fields, and vineyards would once more be bought, seemed so improbable, in view of the impending capture and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, that he betakes himself to the Lord in prayer, asking for further disclosures regarding the future of the people and the land, less for his own sake than for that of the people, who could with difficulty rise to such confidence of faith. The

prayer runs thus, ver. 17: "Ah, Lord Jahveh! behold, Thou hast made the heaven and the earth by Thy great power and Thine outstretched arm; to Thee nothing is impossible. Ver. 18. Thou showest mercy unto thousands, and repayest the iniquity of fathers into the bosom of their children after them, Thou great and mighty God, whose name is Jahveh of hosts. Ver. 19. Great in counsel and mighty in deed, whose eyes are open to all the ways of the children of men, to give unto every one according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his works: Ver. 20. Thou who didst signs and wonders in the land of Egypt until this day, both in Israel and among [other] men, and madest for Thyself a name, as it is this day; Ver. 21. And didst lead Thy people Israel out of the land of Egypt with signs and wonders, and with strong hand and outstretched arm, and with great terror, Ver. 22. And didst give them this land, which Thou hast sworn to their fathers to give them, a land flowing with milk and honey; Ver. 23. And they came and took possession of it, but they hearkened not to Thy voice and walked not in Thy law: all that Thou commandedst them to do they did not, therefore didst Thou cause all this evil to come against them. Ver. 24. Behold, the besiegers' mounds are come to the city, to take it, and the city will be given into the hands of the Chaldeans, who fight against it, because of the sword, hunger, and pestilence; and what Thou didst speak is come to pass, and, behold, Thou seest it. Ver. 25. Yet Thou hast said to me, O Lord Jahveh, 'Buy thee the field for money, and take witnesses,' while the city is being delivered into the hands of the Chaldeans."

This prayer contains a laudation of the omnipotence of the Lord and the justice of His dealing among all men (vers. 17-19), and especially in the guidance of the people Israel (vers. 20-23), with the view of connecting with it the question, how the divine command to buy the field is to be reconciled with the decreed deliverance of the city into the power of the Chaldeans (vers. 24, 25). Ver. 17. God proclaims His omnipotence in the creation of the heaven and the earth, cf. xxvii. 5. From this it is plain that nothing is too wonderful for God, *i.e.* is impossible for Him, Gen. xviii. 14. As Creator and Ruler of the world, God exercises grace and justice. The words of

ver. 18 are a reminiscence and free imitation of the passages Ex. xx. 5 ff. and xxxiv. 7, where the Lord so depicts His dealings in the guidance of men. To "recompense iniquity into the bosom" (see Isa. lxxv. 6, cf. Ps. lxxix. 12), *i.e.* to pour into the bosom of the garment the reward for iniquity, so that it may be carried away and borne; cf. Ruth iii. 15, Prov. xvii. 23. "The great and mighty God," as in Deut. x. 17. On "Jahveh of hosts is His name," cf. x. 16, xxxi. 35. יהוה is to be explained thus: "O Thou great God, whose name is Jahveh of hosts."—Ver. 19. God shows His greatness and might in the wisdom with which He regards the doings of men, and in the power with which He executes His decrees, so as to recompense to every one according to his deeds. On 19a cf. Isa. xxviii. 29, Ps. lxvi. 5. "To give to every one," etc., is repeated, word for word, from xvii. 10.—Vers. 20–22. The Lord has further shown this omnipotence and righteousness in His guidance of Israel, in His leading them out of Egypt with wonders and signs; cf. Deut. vi. 22, xxxiv. 11. "Until this day" cannot mean that the wonders continue in Egypt until this day,—still less, that their glorious remembrance continues till this day (Calvin, Rosenmüller, etc.). Just as little can we connect the words with what follows, "until this day, in Egypt and among men," as Jerome supposed; although the idea *et in Israel et in cunctis mortalibus quotidie tua signa complentur* is in itself quite right. Logically considered, "until this day" belongs to the verb. וְשִׁמְתָּ יְיָ, and the construction is pregnant, as in xi. 7: "Thou hast done wonders in Egypt, and hast still been doing them until this day in Israel and among other men." "Men," in contrast to "Israel," are mankind outside of Israel,—other men, the heathen; on the expression, cf. Judg. xviii. 7, Isa. xliii. 4, Ps. lxiii. 5. "As at this day:" cf. xi. 5, xxv. 18. Through signs and wonders the Lord wrought, leading Israel out of Egypt, and into the land of Canaan, which had been promised to their fathers. Ver. 21 is almost exactly the same as Deut. xxvi. 8, cf. iv. 34. מִוְרָא נִרְיָא refers to the terror spread among the neighbouring nations, Ex. xv. 14 ff., by the wonders, especially the slaying of the first-born among the Egyptians, Ex. xii. 30 f., and the miracle at the Red Sea. On "a land flowing with milk and honey," cf. Ex. iii. 8.—Ver. 23.

These wonders of grace which the Lord wrought for His people, Israel requited with base unthankfulness. When they had got into possession of the land, they did not listen to the voice of their God, and did the reverse of what He had commanded. (The *Kethib* בְּתוֹרָתָם might be read as a plural. But since תּוֹרָה in the plural is always written elsewhere תּוֹרוֹת (cf. Gen. xxvi. 5, Ex. xvi. 28, xviii. 20, Lev. xxvi. 46, etc.), and the omission of the ם in plural suffixes is unusual (cf. xxxviii. 22), the word rather seems to have been incorrectly written for בְּתוֹרָתָם (cf. xxvi. 4, xlv. 10, 23), i.e. the ם seems to have been misplaced. Therefore the Lord brought on them this great calamity, the Chaldean invasion (חֲמִיִּשׁ for חֲמִיָּה); cf. xiii. 22, Deut. xxxi. 29. With this thought, the prophet makes transition to the questions addressed to the Lord, into which the prayer glides. In ver. 24, the great calamity is more fully described. The ramparts of the besieging enemy have come to the city (בָּאָה with *acc.*), to take it, and the city is given (נִתְּנָה, *prophetic perfect*) into the hands of the Chaldeans. "Because of the sword;" i.e. the sword, famine, and pestilence (cf. xiv. 16, xxv. 16, etc.) bring them into the power of the enemy. "What Thou spakest," i.e. didst threaten through the prophets, "is come to pass; and, behold, Thou seest it (viz. what has happened), and yet (וְאַתָּה adversative) Thou sayest to me, 'Buy the field,'" etc. The last clause, וְהָעִיר נִי, is a "circumstantial" one, and is not a part of God's address, but is added by Jeremiah in order to give greater prominence to the contrast between the actual state of matters and the divine command regarding the purchase. The prayer concludes with this, which is for men an inexplicable riddle, not (as Nägelsbach thinks) for the purpose of leaving to the reader the solution of the problem, after all aids have been offered him,—for Jeremiah would not need to direct his question to God for that purpose,—but in order to ask from God an explanation regarding the future. This explanation immediately follows in the word of the Lord, which, from ver. 26 onwards, is addressed to the prophet.

Vers. 26-44. *The answer of the Lord.*—Behold, I am Jahveh, the God of all flesh; is there anything impossible to me? Ver. 28. Therefore, thus saith Jahveh: Behold, I give this city into

the hand of the Chaldeans, and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, that he may take it. Ver. 29. The Chaldeans that fight against this city shall come, and shall set fire to this city, and burn it and the houses on whose roofs you have burned incense to Baal and poured out libations to other gods, to provoke me. Ver. 30. For the children of Israel and the children of Judah have done only what is evil in mine eyes from their youth; for the children of Israel have only provoked me with the work of their hands, saith Jahveh. Ver. 31. For this city has been to me [a burden] upon mine anger and upon my wrath from the day that it was built till this day, that I might remove it from before my face; Ver. 32. Because of all the wickedness of the children of Israel and the children of Judah, which they have done, to provoke me,—they, their kings, their princes, their priests, and their prophets, the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Ver. 33. They turned to me the back and not the face; and though they were constantly being taught, they would not hear so as to receive instruction. Ver. 34. And they placed their abominations in the house which is called by my name, in order to defile it; Ver. 35. And built high places to Baal in the valley of Ben-hinnom, to devote their sons and their daughters to Moloch,—which I did not command them, nor did it come into my mind that they would do such abomination,—that they might lead Judah to sin. Ver. 36. And now, therefore, thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel, concerning this city, of which ye say, ‘It shall be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon, through the sword, famine, and pestilence:’ Ver. 37. Behold, I shall gather them out of all lands whither I have driven them in my wrath, and in mine anger, and in great rage, and shall bring them back to this place, and make them dwell safely. Ver. 38. And they shall be my people, and I will be their God. Ver. 39. And I will give them one heart and one way, to fear me always, for good to them and to their children after them. Ver. 40. And I will make with them an everlasting covenant, that I shall not turn aside from doing them good; and I will put my fear in their heart, that they may not depart from me. Ver. 41. And I shall rejoice over them, to do them good, and shall plant them in this land, in truth, with my whole heart and

my whole soul. Ver. 42. For thus saith Jahveh: 'Just as I have brought all this great evil on this people, so shall I bring on them all the good of which I speak regarding them.' Ver. 43. And fields shall be bought in this land, of which ye say, It is a desolation, without man or beast, and it is given into the hand of the Chaldeans. Ver. 44. They shall buy fields for money, and write it in the letter, and seal it up, and take witnesses, in the land of Benjamin, and in the places round Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, and in the cities of the hill-country, and in the cities of the plain, and in the cities of the south; for I shall turn again their captivity, saith Jahveh."

The Lord replies to the three points touched on in the prayer of the prophet. First, in ver. 27, He emphatically confirms the acknowledgment that to Him, as Creator of heaven and earth, nothing is impossible (ver. 17), and at the same time points out Himself as the God of all flesh, *i.e.* the God on whom depend the life and death of all men. This description of God is copied from Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16, where Jahveh is called "the God of the spirits of all flesh." "All flesh" is the name given to humanity, as being frail and perishing.—Then God reaffirms that Jerusalem will be given into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, and be burned by the Chaldeans (ver. 28 ff.), because Israel and Judah have always roused His wrath by their idolatry and rebellion against His commands (vers. 30-35). The substance of these verses has been often given before. On וְהָיָה cf. xxi. 10, xxxvii. 8; on אֲשֶׁר קָפְרוּ וְנָו'וּ cf. xix. 13 with vii. 9, 18. The mention of the children of Israel in connection with the children of Judah is not to be understood as if the destruction of Jerusalem was partly owing to the former; but it is here made, to signify that Judah can expect no better fate than the Israelites, whose kingdom has been destroyed long before, and who have for a long time now been driven into exile. וְהָיָה עֲשִׂים, "they were only doing," *i.e.* doing nothing else than what is displeasing to the Lord. In ver. 30b "the children of Israel" is a designation of the whole covenant people. The whole sentence has reference to Deut. xxxi. 29. "The work of their hands" is not the idols, but signifies the whole conduct and actions of the people. Ver. 31. The difficult construction וְהָיָה לִי . . . הָיָה לִי is most easily explained from the employment

of יהיה על with reference to the superincumbency of a duty or burden lying on one. "This city became to me a burden on my wrath," an object which lay upon my wrath, called it forth. No other explanation can be vindicated. The passages lii. 3 and 2 Kings xxiv. 3, 20, are of a different character, and the meaning *juxta, secundum* for על, after vi. 14 (Hitzig), is quite unsuitable. The words, "from the day when it was built," are not to be referred to the earliest founding of Jerusalem, but to that time when the Israelites first built it; and even in reference to this, they are not to be pressed, but to be viewed as a rhetorically strong expression for, "from its earliest times." Even so early as David's time, opposition against Jahveh showed itself in the conspiracy of Absalom; and towards the end of Solomon's reign, idolatry had been introduced into Jerusalem, 1 Kings xi. 5 ff. After the words "to remove it from before my face," there follows once more, in ver. 32, the reason of the rejection; cf. vii. 12, xi. 17, and for enumeration of the several classes of the population, ii. 26, xvii. 25. The sins are once more specified, vers. 33-35; in ver. 33, as a stiff-necked departure from God, and in ver. 34 f. the mention of the greatest abomination of idolatry, the setting up of idols in the temple, and of the worship of Moloch. With 33a cf. ii. 27. The inf. abs. לִמְסַר stands with special emphasis instead of the finite tense: though they were taught from early morn, yet they were inattentive still. On this point cf. ii. 13, 25, xxv. 3, 4. On לִקְחָתָם מִסֵּד cf. xvii. 23, vii. 28. Vers. 34, 35 are almost identical with vii. 30, 31. לַעֲשׂוֹת וְנֹא does not belong to the relative clause לִהְיוֹת עֲוֵרִים (Nägelsbach), but is parallel to לִהְיוֹת עֲוֵרִים, continuing the main clause: "that they should commit these abominations, and thereby cause Judah to sin," i.e. bring them into sin and guilt. הִחֲמִי with א dropped; see xix. 15.—After setting forth the sin for which Judah had drawn on herself the judgment through the Chaldeans, the Lord proclaims, ver. 36 ff., the deliverance of the people from exile, and their restoration; thus He answers the question which had been put to Him, ver. 25. וְעַתָּה, "but now," marks what follows as the antithesis to what precedes. "Therefore, thus saith Jahveh," in ver. 36, corresponds to the same words in ver. 28. Because nothing is impossible to the Lord, He shall, as God of Israel, gather again

those who have been scattered through every land, and bring them back into their own country. "To this city,"—namely, of which ye speak. The suffix of **מִצְרַיִם** refers to **הָעִיר**, whose inhabitants are meant. Jerusalem, as the capital, represents the whole kingdom. "The dispersed" are thus, in general, the inhabitants of Judah. Hence, too, from the nature of the case, "this place" is the kingdom of Judah. On this point cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 11, 33, Hos. xi. 11.—Vers. 38, 39 are to be understood like xxxi. 33. They must in very deed become the people of the Lord, for God gives them one heart and one way [of life], to fear Him always, *i.e.* through His Spirit He renews and sanctifies them (xxxi. 33, xxiv. 7; Ezek. xi. 19). "*One heart and one way*," that they may all with one mind and in one way fear me, no longer wander through many wicked ways (xxvi. 3; Isa. liii. 6). **יִרְאַה** is an infinitive, as often in Deut., *e.g.* iv. 10, from which the whole sentence has been derived, and vi. 24, to which the expression **לֵב אֶחָד וְדֶרֶךְ אֶחָד** points. The everlasting covenant which the Lord wishes to conclude with them, *i.e.* the covenant-relationship which He desires to grant them, is, in fact, the new covenant, xxxi. 33 ff. Here, however, only the eternal duration of it is made prominent, in order to comfort the pious in the midst of their present sufferings. Consequently, only the idea of the **עוֹלָם** is mainly set forth: "that I shall not turn away from them, to do them good,—no more withdraw from them my gracious benefits;" but the uninterrupted bestowal of these implies also faithfulness to the Lord on the part of the people. The Lord desires to establish His redeemed people in this condition by putting His fear in their heart, namely, through His Spirit; see xxxi. 33, 34. **וְשִׂחִיתִי**, "And I shall rejoice over them, by doing them good," as was formerly the case (Deut. xxviii. 63), and is again to be, in time to come. **בְּאֵמֶת**, in truth, properly, "in faithfulness." This expression is strengthened by the addition, "with my whole heart and my whole soul."—So much for the promise of restoration and renewal of the covenant people. This promise is confirmed, vers. 42-44, by the assurance that the accomplishment of deliverance shall follow as certainly as the decree of the calamity has done; the change is similar to that in xxxi. 38. Finally, vers. 43, 44, there is the application made of this to the purchase of the

field which the prophet had been commanded to fulfil; and the signification of this purchase is thus far determined, that after the restoration of Judah to their own land, fields shall once more be bought in full legal form: with this, the discourse returns to its starting-point, and finishes. The article is used generically in הַשָּׂדֶה; hence, on the repetition of the thought, ver. 44, the plural שָׂדוֹת is employed instead. The enumeration of the several regions of the kingdom, as in xvii. 26, is a rhetorical individualization for strengthening the thought. The land of Benjamin is here made prominent in relation to the field purchased by Jeremiah at Anathoth in the land of Benjamin. The final sentence כִּי אָשִׁיב וְנִי also serves for further proof. The Hiphil in this expression does not mean the same as the usual אָשִׁיב: "I turn the captivity," i.e. I change the adversity into prosperity. הָשִׁיב expresses *restitutio in statum incolumitatis seu integritatis* more plainly than שָׁב, —not merely the change of misfortune or misery; but it properly means, to lead back or restore the captivity, i.e. to remove the condition of adversity by restoration of previous prosperity. The expression is analogous to קִיַּם or בָּנָה הָרָבוֹת, to build or raise ruins, Isa. xlv. 26, lviii. 12, lxi. 4, and שִׁמְמוֹת קִיַּם, to raise up desolate places, Isa. lxi. 4, which does not mean to restore ruins or desolate places, but to build them up into inhabitable places (cf. Isa. lxi. 4), to remove ruins or desolations by the building and restoration of cities.

Chap. xxxiii. *Renewed Promise of the Restoration and Glorious Condition of the People of God.*

Ver. 1. While Jeremiah was still in confinement in the court of the prison belonging to the palace (see xxxii. 2), the word of the Lord came to him the second time. This word of God is attached by שְׁנִיִּית to the promise of chap. xxxii. It followed, too, not long, perhaps, after the other, which it further serves to confirm.—After the command to call on Him, that He might make known to him great and hidden things (vers. 2, 3), the Lord announces that, although Jerusalem shall be destroyed by the Chaldeans, He shall yet restore it, bring back the captives of Judah and Israel, purify the city from its iniquities, and make it the glory and praise of all the people of the earth (vers.

4-9), so that in it and in the whole land joy will again prevail (vers. 10-13). Then the Lord promises the restoration of the kingdom through the righteous sprout of David,—of the priesthood, too, and sacrificial worship (vers. 14-18); He promises also the everlasting duration of these two ordinances of grace (vers. 19-22), because His covenant with the seed of Jacob and David shall be as enduring as the natural ordinance of day and night, and the laws of heaven and earth (vers. 23-26).—The promises thus fall into two parts. First, there is proclaimed the restoration of the people and kingdom to a new and glorious state of prosperity (vers. 4-13); then the re-establishment of the monarchy and the priesthood to a new and permanent condition (vers. 14-26). In the first part, the promise given in chap. xxxii. 36-44 is further carried out; in the second, the future form of the kingdom is more plainly depicted.

Vers. 2, 3. *Introduction.*—Ver. 2. “Thus saith Jahveh who makes it, Jahveh who forms it in order to establish it, Jahveh is His name: Ver. 3. Call on me and I will answer thee, and tell thee great and hidden things which thou knowest not.” The reference of the suffixes in עֲשֶׂה, אֶתֵּן, and הִכִּינֵה is evident from the contents of the propositions: the Lord does what He says, and forms what He wants to make, in order to accomplish it, *i.e.* He completes what He has spoken and determined on. יָצַר, *to frame*, namely, in the mind, as if to think out, just as in xviii. 11: the expression is parallel with הָשִׁב מַחֲשָׁבָה; in this sense also we find Isa. xlv. 11. הִכִּין, *to establish*, realize what has been determined on, prepare, is also found in Isa. ix. 6, xl. 20, but more frequently in Jeremiah (x. 12, li. 12, 15), and pretty often in the Old Testament generally. On the phrase “Jahveh is His name,” cf. xxxi. 35. The idea contained in ver. 2 reminds us of similar expressions of Isaiah, as in xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26, xlv. 11, etc.; but this similarity offers no foundation for the doubts of Movers and Hitzig regarding the genuineness of this verse. The same holds as regards ver. 3. The first proposition occurs frequently in the Psalms, *e.g.* iv. 4, xxviii. 1, xxx. 9, also in Jer. vii. 27, xi. 14; but הִכִּין with אֵל is unusual in Isaiah. The words בְּצִרְתָּ לֹא יִדְעָתָם are certainly an imitation of בְּצִרְתָּ לֹא יִדְעָתָם, Isa. xlviii. 6; but they are modified, in the manner peculiar to Jeremiah, by the change of נִצְרֹת into בְּצִרְתָּ.

The combination **גְּרָלוֹת וּבְצֻרוֹת** is elsewhere used only of the strong cities of the Canaanites, Deut. i. 28, ix. 1, Josh. xiv. 12, cf. Num. xiii. 28; here **בְּצֻרוֹת** is transferred to things which lie beyond the limits of human power to discover, and become known to men only through divine revelation. There is no good reason for Ewald's change of **בְּצֻרוֹת** in accordance with Isa. xlvi. 6.—On the contents of these verses Hengstenberg remarks: "It may seem strange that, though in the opening part the prophet is promised a revelation of greater, unknown things, for which he is to call on God, yet the succeeding announcement contains scarcely anything remarkable or peculiar." Graf also adds the remark of Hitzig, that the command to pray, addressed to Jeremiah, cannot have the effect of keeping us from the conclusion that the verses are an addition by a later hand. Nägelsbach replies that the mode of expression presents nothing specially unlike Jeremiah, and that what is most calculated to give the impression of being unlike Jeremiah's, namely, this introduction in itself, and especially the peculiar turn of ver. 3, "Call unto me," etc., is occasioned by the prayer of the prophet, xxxii. 16–25. To this prayer the prophet had received an answer, xxxii. 36–44; but he is here admonished to approach the Lord more frequently with such a request. The God who has the power to execute as well as make decrees is quite prepared to give him an insight into His great thoughts regarding the future; and of this a proof is at once given. Thus, vers. 1–3 must be viewed as the connecting link between chap. xxxii. xxxiii. Yet these remarks are not sufficient to silence the objections set forth against the genuineness of vers. 2, 3; for the specializing title of our chapter, in ver. 1, is opposed to the close connection which Nägelsbach maintains between chap. xxxii. xxxiii. The fact that, in chap. xxxii., Jeremiah addresses the Lord in prayer for further revelation regarding the purchase of the field, as commanded, and that he receives the information he desired regarding it, gives no occasion for warning to the prophet, to betake himself more frequently to God for disclosures regarding His purposes of salvation. And Nägelsbach has quite evaded the objection that Jeremiah does not obey the injunction. Moreover, the succeeding revelation, made in vers. 4–26 is not of the nature of a

“proof,” for it does not contain a single great leading feature in God’s purposes as regards the future.—Hengstenberg also points out the difficulty, “that the Scripture everywhere refuses to recognise a dead knowledge as true knowledge, and that the hope of restoration has an obstacle in the natural man, who strives to obscure and to extinguish it; that, consequently, the promise of restoration is always new, and the word of God always great and grand;” but what he adduces for the solution of the difficulty contained in the command, “Call on me, and I will show thee great and unknown things,” is insufficient for his purpose. The objection which expositors have taken to these verses has arisen from an improper application of them; the words קרא אל have been understood as referring to the request that God should give some revelation regarding the future, or His purposes of deliverance, and ענה as referring to the communication of His purposes for increasing our knowledge of them. But “to call on God” rather signifies to pray to God, i.e. to beseech Him for protection, or help, or deliverance in time of need, cf. Ps. iii. 5, xxviii. 1, xxx. 9, lv. 17, etc.; and to “answer” is the reply of God made when He actually vouchsafes the aid sought for; cf. *e.g.* Ps. lv. 17, “I call on God, and Jahveh answers me (saves me);” Ps. iv. 2, 4, xviii. 7, xxvii. 7, etc. Consequently, also, “to make known” (הגיד) is no mere communication of knowledge regarding great and unknown things, no mere letting them be known, but a making known by deeds. The words עשה and יגיד אותה, ascribed to the Lord, suggest and require that the words should be thus understood. With the incorrect reference of these words to knowing and making known there is connected the further error, that the command, “Call unto me,” is directed to the person of the prophet, and gives an admonition for his behaviour towards God, for which the text affords no foundation whatever; for it does not run: “Thus saith Jahveh to me” (אל), and the insertion of this אל is unwarranted, and inconsistent with the use of כי which introduces the announcement. Hitzig, Graf, and others have passed by this כי without remark; and what Nägelsbach says about it is connected with his view, already refuted, as to the essential unity of chap. xxxii. xxxiii. Lastly, Ewald has enclosed ver. 3 within parentheses, and considers that

the introductory formula of ver. 2 is resumed in ver. 4: "Yea, thus saith Jahveh." This is a conclusion hastily formed by one who is in difficulty, for ver. 3 has not the nature of a parenthesis. If we allow the arbitrary addition "to me" after the words, "Thus saith the Lord," ver. 2, and if we take the words in their simplest sense,—the invocation of the Lord as a call to God for help in need,—then vers. 2, 3 do not contain a mere prelude to the revelation which follows, but an exhortation to the people to betake themselves to the Lord their God in their calamity, when He will make known to them things unattainable by human discernment; for (יְיָ, ver. 4) He announces, in reference to the ruined houses of the city, that He will repair their injuries.

Vers. 4-13. *Repair of the injuries and renewal of the prosperity of Jerusalem and Judah.*—Ver. 4. "For thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel, concerning the houses of this city, and concerning the houses of the kings of Judah, which are broken down because of the besiegers' mounds and because of the sword, Ver. 5. While they come to fight with the Chaldeans, and to fill them with the corpses of men, whom I have slain in my wrath and in my fury, and for all whose wickedness I have hidden my face from this city: Ver. 6. Behold, I will apply a bandage to it and a remedy, and will heal them, and will reveal to them abundance of peace and truth. Ver. 7. And I will turn again the captivity of Judah and the captivity of Israel, and will build them up as at the first. Ver. 8. And I will purify them from all their iniquity by which they have sinned against me, and will pardon all their iniquities, by which they have sinned and have transgressed against me. Ver. 9. And it (the city) shall become to me a name of joy, a praise, and an honour among all the people of the earth that shall hear all the good which I do them, and shall tremble and quake because of all the good and because of all the prosperity that I show to it. Ver. 10. Thus saith Jahveh: Again shall there be heard in this place,—of which ye say, 'It is desolate, without man and without beast,'—in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, which are laid waste, without men, and without inhabitants, and without beasts, Ver. 11. The voice of gladness and the voice of joy, the voice of the bridegroom

and the voice of the bride, the voice of those who say, 'Praise Jahveh of hosts, for Jahveh is good, for His mercy is for ever,' who bring thank-offerings into the house of Jahveh. For I will turn again the captivity of the land, as in the beginning, saith Jahveh. Ver. 12. Thus saith Jahveh of hosts: In this place, which is laid waste, without man and beast, and in all its cities, there will yet be pasture-ground for shepherds making their flocks lie down in. Ver. 13. In the cities of the hill-country, in the cities of the plain, and in the cities of the south, in the land of Benjamin, and in the environs of Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, the flock shall yet pass under the hand of one who counts them, saith Jahveh."

With ver. 4 begins the statement concerning the great and incomprehensible things which the Lord will make known to His people; it is introduced by 'וְ, which marks the ground or reason,—so far as the mere statement of these things gives reason for the promise of them. The word of the Lord does not follow till ver. 6 and onwards. In vers. 4 and 5 are mentioned those whom the word concerns,—the houses of Jerusalem (ver. 4), and the people that defend the city (ver. 5). Corresponding to this order, there comes first the promise to the city (ver. 6), and then to the people. Along with the houses of the city are specially named also the houses of the kings of Judah; not, perhaps, as Hitzig thinks, because these, being built of stone, afforded a more suitable material for the declared object,—for that these alone were built of stone is an unfounded supposition,—but in order to show that no house or palace is spared to defend the city. "Which are broken down" refers to the houses, not only of the kings, but also of the city. They are broken, pulled down, according to Isa. xxii. 10, in order to fortify the walls of the city against the attacks of the enemy, partly to strengthen them, partly to repair the damage caused by the battering-rams directed against them. This gives the following meaning to the expression אֶל-הַפְּלִלִיּוֹת וְאֶל-הַחֲרוֹב in order to work against the mounds, i.e. the earthworks erected by the enemy, and against the sword. The sword is named as being the chief weapon, instead of all the instruments of war which the enemy employs for reducing the city; cf. Ezek. xxvi. 9. It is against the laws of grammar to understand נִשְׁמָה

as referring to the destruction of the enemy by the siege material; for, on such a supposition, **אֵל** would require to designate the efficient cause, *i.e.* to stand for **מַצָּדִי** (cf. iv. 26), but neither **אֵל** nor **עַל** can mean this.—The first half of ver. 5 is difficult, especially **בָּאִים**, which the LXX. have omitted, and which Movers and Hitzig would expunge, with the absurd remark, that it has come here from xxxi. 38; this is an easy and frivolous method of setting aside difficulties. All other ancient translations have read **בָּאִים**, and have attempted to point out how its genuineness is ascertained on critical grounds.¹ To connect **בָּאִים** closely with what precedes is impossible; and to understand it as referring to the houses, *quæ dirutæ adhibentur ad dimicandum cum Chaldæis* (C. B. Michaelis), is incompatible with the idea contained in **בֹּא**. Still more inadmissible is the view of L. de Dieu, Venema, Schnurrer, Dahler, and Rosenmüller: *venientibus ad oppugnandum cum Chaldæis*; according to this view, **אֶת־בְּשָׂרֵם** must be the nominative or subject to **בָּאִים**. **לְהִלָּחֵם אֶת־הַכַּדְדָּאִים** can only signify, “to contend with the Chaldeans” (against them); cf. xxxii. 5. According to this view, only the Jews can be the subject of **בָּאִים**. “They come to make war with the Chaldeans, and to fill them (the houses) with the dead bodies of men, whom I (the Lord) slay in my wrath.” The subject is not named, since it is evident from the whole scope of the sentence what is meant. We take the verse as a predication regarding the issue of the conflict,—but without a copula; or, as a statement added parenthetically, so that the participle may be rendered, “while they come,” or, “get ready, to fight.” **בֹּא**, used of the approach of an enemy (cf. Dan. i. 1), is here employed with regard to the advance of the Jews to battle

¹ The different attempts to solve the difficulty by conjectures are of such a nature as scarcely to deserve mention. Ewald would change **בָּאִים** to **הִתְחַבְּרָם**, “that are broken down opposite the earthworks and the cannons.” But the plural of **חָרֶב** is **חֲרִיבוֹת**, Ezek. xxvi. 29, and cannot possibly mean *cannons*. E. Meier would read **בָּאִים** to **הִתְחַבְּרָם**, “and for the destruction of those who are pressing in.” Then **בָּאִים** must be the enemy who are pressing in; but how does this agree with what follows, “in order to fight with the Chaldeans”? Lastly, Nägelsbach would change **אֶת־הַבְּשָׂרִים** into **עַל־יְרֵמְלִים**, to obtain the idea that the earthworks and the sword come for the purpose of contending against Jerusalem (!).

against the besiegers of the city. The second infinitival clause, "to fill them," represents the issue of the struggle as contemplated by the Jews, in order to express most strongly its utter fruitlessness; while the relative clauses, "whom I have slain," etc., bring out the reasons for the evil consequences. Substantially, the statement in ver. 5 is parallel to that in ver. 4, so that we might supply the preposition *עַל* (*עָלַי*): "and concerning those who come to fight," etc. Through the attachment of this second predication to the first by means of the participle, the expression has become obscured. In the last clause, *אֲשֶׁר* is to be connected with *עַל־רַעְתָּם*.

In view of the destruction of Jerusalem now beginning, the Lord promises, ver. 6, "I will apply to it (the city) a bandage (see xxx. 17) and a remedy," *i.e.* a bandage which brings healing, "and heal them" (the inhabitants); for, although the suffix in *רַפְּאֵתֵם* might be referred to the houses, yet the following clause shows that it points to the inhabitants. Hitzig takes *נָלִיתִי* in the meaning of *נָלַל*, "I roll to them like a stream," and appeals to Am. v. 24, Isa. xlviii. 18, lxvi. 12, where the fulness of prosperity is compared to a stream, and the waves of the sea; but this use of *נָלַל* is as uncertain here as in xi. 20. We keep, then, to the well-established sense of revealing, making known (cf. Ps. xcvi. 2, where it is parallel with *הוֹדִיעַ*), without any reference to the figure of sealed treasure-chambers (Deut. xxviii. 12), but with the accessory notion of the unfolding of the prosperity before all nations (ver. 9), as in Ps. xcvi. 2. *עֲתֶרֶת* is here to be taken as a noun, "fulness, wealth," from *עָתַר*, an Aramaizing form for *עָשַׂר*, to be rich (Ezek. xxxv. 13). *שְׁלוֹם וְאֱמֶת* does not mean "prosperity and stability," but "peace and truth;" but this is not to be toned down to "true peace," *i.e.* real, enduring happiness (Nägelsbach). *אֱמֶת* is the truth of God, *i.e.* His faithfulness in His promises and covenants, as in Ps. lxxxv. 11, 12, where mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, are specified as the gracious benefits with which the Lord blesses His people. — Ver. 7. The attainment of this prosperity consists in the change of the wretchedness and misery of Judah and Israel (the whole covenant people) into permanent happiness, and their being built up,—*i.e.* the firm establishment of their civil prosperity through the secure possession

and enjoyment of the good things of the land,—as in the beginning, *i.e.* the time previous to the rending of the state through the falling away of the people into idolatry; cf. Isa. i. 26, 1 Kings xiii. 6. For יָשִׁיב אֶת שְׁבוּתָא see xxxii. 44.—Ver. 8. This prosperity gains stability and permanence through the people's being cleansed from their sins by their being forgiven, which, according to xxxi. 34, will form the basis of the new covenant. Regarding the anomalous form לְכֹל for לְכָל, Hitzig supposes that in the *scriptio continua* a transcriber wished to keep the two datives לִּפְנֵי הָעוֹלָמִים לְכָל separate by inserting the ו. But the form כָּלָם, xxxi. 34, is equally irregular, except that there the insertion of the ו may be explained in this, or in some similar way.—Ver. 9. In consequence of the renovation of Israel externally and internally, Jerusalem will become to the Lord a name of delight, *i.e.* a name which affords joy, delight. שֵׁם here signifies, not fame, but a name. But the name, as always in Scripture, is the expression of the essential nature; the meaning therefore is, “she will develop into a city over which men will rejoice, whenever her name is mentioned.” On the following words, “for praise and for glory,” *i.e.* for a subject of praise, etc., cf. xiii. 11. לְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ, “to all,” or “among all nations.” How far Jerusalem becomes such is shown by the succeeding clauses: “who shall hear . . . and tremble and quake because of the good,” *i.e.* not from fear “because they are seized with terror through these proofs of the wonderful power of God in contrast with the helplessness of their idols, and through the feeling of their miserable and destitute condition as contrasted with the happiness and prosperity of the people of Israel” (Graf). Against this usual view of the words, it has already been remarked in the Berleburger Bible, that it does not agree with what precedes, viz. with the statement that Jerusalem shall become a name of joy to all nations. Moreover, פָּחַד and רָגַז, in the sense of fear and terror, are construed with מִפְּנֵי or מִן; here, they signify to shake and tremble for joy, like פָּחַד in Isa. lx. 5, cf. Hos. iii. 5, *i.e.*, as it is expressed in the Berleburger Bible, “not with a slavish fear, but with the filial fear of penitents, which will also draw and drive them to the reconciled God in Christ, with holy fear and trembling.” Calvin had previously recognised this Messianic

idea, and fitly elucidated the words thus: *hæc duo inter se conjuncta, nempe pavor et tremor, qui nos humiliet coram Deo, et fiducia quæ nos erigat, ut audeamus familiariter ad ipsum accedere.* אֱתָם may be for אֲתָם, cf. i. 16; but probably עֲשֶׂה is construed with a double accusative, as in Isa. xlii. 16.

The prosperity which the Lord designs to procure for His people is, vers. 10-13, further described in two strophes (vers. 10-11 and 12-13); in vers. 10, 11, the joyous life of men. In the land now laid waste, gladness and joy shall once more prevail, and God will be praised for this. The description, "it is desolate," etc., does not imply the burning of Jerusalem, lii. 12 ff., but only the desolation which began about the end of the siege. "In this place" means "in this land;" this is apparent from the more detailed statement, "in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem." "The voice of gladness," etc., forms the subject of the verb יִשְׁמַע. On the expression see vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxv. 10. There is here added: "the voice of those who say, 'Praise the Lord,'" etc.—the usual liturgic formula in thanksgiving to God; cf. 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, Ezra iii. 11, Ps. cvi. 1. תִּזְכֶּר, praise and thanks in word and deed; see xvii. 26. On אֲשִׁיב אֶת-שִׁבְתָּם see xxxii. 44. The rendering, "I shall bring back the captives of the land" (here as in ver. 7), is both grammatically indefensible, and further, unsuitable: (a) inappropriate, on account of בְּכִרְאֲשָׁנָה, for no previous restoration of captives had taken place; the leading of the people out of Egypt is never represented as a bringing back from captivity. And (b) it is grammatically untenable, because restoration to Canaan is expressed either by יָרֵבֵּא אֶל-הָאָרֶץ, after Deut. xxx. 5; or by הֵשִׁיב, with the mention of the place (אֶל-הָאָרֶץ); cf. Jer. xvi. 15, xxiv. 6, xxxii. 37, etc.—Vers. 12, 13. In the land which is now laid waste, and emptied of men and beasts, shepherds, with their flocks, shall again move about and lie down. "This place" is specified by the mention of the several parts of the land, as in xxxii. 44, xvii. 26. עַל-יְדֵי מֹנֶה, at the hands, i.e. under the guidance, of him who counts them, viz. the shepherd, who counted the sheep when he took them out to the pasture as well as when he brought them back into the fold; cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 34.

Vers. 14-26. *The re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy*

and of the Levitical priesthood.—Ver. 14. “Behold, days are coming, saith Jahveh, when I will perform the good word which I have spoken to the house of Israel, and concerning the house of Judah. Ver. 15. In those days and at that time will I cause to sprout unto David a sprout of righteousness, and he shall do judgment and righteousness in the land. Ver. 16. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely; and this is how she shall be called, ‘Jahveh our righteousness.’ Ver. 17. For thus saith Jahveh: David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel. Ver. 18. Nor shall the Levitical priests want a man before me to offer a burnt-offering, to burn a meat-offering, or to perform sacrifice every day.

Ver. 19. “And the word of Jahveh came unto Jeremiah, saying: Ver. 20. Thus saith Jahveh, If ye shall be able to break my covenant (with) the day and my covenant (with) the night, so that there shall not be day and night in their proper time, Ver. 21. Then also shall my covenant with David my servant be broken, so that he shall not have a son to reign upon his throne, and with the Levites, the priests, my ministers. Ver. 22. As the host of heaven cannot be numbered, nor the sand of the sea measured, so will I multiply the seed of David my servant, and the Levites who serve me.

Ver. 23. “And the word of Jahveh came to Jeremiah, saying: Ver. 24. Hast thou not seen what this people have spoken, saying, ‘The two families which the Lord hath chosen, these He hath rejected?’ and my people they have despised, so that they are no longer a nation before them. Ver. 25. Thus saith Jahveh: If my covenant with day and night doth not exist, if I have not appointed the laws of heaven and earth, Ver. 26. Then also will I reject the seed of Jacob and David my servant, so as not to take any of his seed as rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For I will turn their captivity, and take pity on them.”

Vers. 14–18 contain the promise of the restoration of the monarchy and the priesthood. Vers. 19–26 further present two special messages from God, in the form of supplements, which guarantee the eternal continuance of these institutions.¹

¹ The portion contained within vers. 14–26 is wanting in the LXX.; for

The promise in vers. 14-16 has already been given in substance in chap. xxiii. 5, 6, and in our verses it is only formally extended, and thereby made more prominent. In ver. 14 it is designated as the establishment, *i.e.* the realization, of the good word which the Lord has spoken concerning Israel and Judah. "The good word" is, according to Deut. xxviii. 1-14, the blessing which the Lord has promised to His people if they obey His commands; cf. 1 Kings viii. 56. Here also must "the good word" be taken in the same general meaning; for our verse forms the transition from the promise of the restoration and blessing of Israel in the future (vers. 6-13) to the special promise of the renewal and completion of the Davidic monarchy (ver. 15 ff.). In xxix. 10, on the contrary, "the good word" is specially referred, by the following infinitival clause, to the deliverance of the people from Babylon. But it is unlikely that "the good word" refers to the "sprout" of David, which is expressly promised in xxiii. 5 ff., and repeated here, ver. 15 f.; for here a like promise to the Levites follows, while there is none in chap. xxiii., and it is here so closely linked with the promise regarding David, that it must be viewed as a portion of the "good word." In the change from לָאֵל to לְיָ in ver. 14, we must not, with Hengstenberg, seek a real difference; for in Jeremiah these prepositions often interchange without any difference of meaning, as in xi. 2, xviii. 11, xxiii. 35, etc. The blessing promised to the people in the "good word" culminates in the promise, ver. 15 f., that the Lord will cause a righteous sprout to spring up for David. On the meaning of this promise, see the remarks on xxiii. 5, 6. The difference made in the repeti-

this reason, and chiefly because of the promise of the eternal duration, not merely of the royal house of David, but also of the Levitical priests, and their innumerable increase, J. D. Michaelis and Jahn have considered it spurious. To these must be added Movers, who takes vers. 18, 21b-25 as later interpolations, and Hitzig, who treats the whole passage as a series of separate additions made in a later age. On the other side, Kueper, Wichelhaus, and Hengstenberg (*Christology*, vol. ii. pp. 459-461 of Clark's Translation) have shown the utter worthlessness of these reasons, and Graf also has defended the genuineness of the passage. So too has Ewald, who says (*Propheten*, ii. 269), "Nothing can be so preposterous and unreasonable as to find in this passage, xxxiii. 19-26, or in chap. xxx.-xxxiii. generally, additions by a later prophet."

tion of that promise is really unimportant. צִמְחָה instead of הִצְמִיחַ does not change the sense. הִצְמִיחַ, to cause to sprout or grow, corresponds to the figure of the צֶמַח, under which the Messiah is represented in both passages. צֶמַח צִדְקָה is only a more sonorous expression for צֶמַח צְדִיק. The words "He shall rule as king and deal wisely," which in xxiii. 5 bring into prominence the contrast between the kingdom of the Messiah and that of the godless shepherd of the people, were unnecessary for the connection of our passage. Besides, in xxiii. 6 Israel is named together with Judah, instead of which, we have here, in ver. 16, Jerusalem; accordingly, the name "*Jahveh Tsidkenu*" is referred to Jerusalem, while in xxiii. 6 it is predicated of the sprout of David. The mention of Jerusalem instead of Israel is connected with the general scope of our prophecy, viz. to comfort the covenant people over the destruction of Jerusalem (ver. 4 f.). But that, through the mention simply of Judah and its capital, the ten tribes are not to be excluded from participation in the coming prosperity, may be seen even from ver. 14, where "the good word" is referred to Israel and Judah, and still more plainly from vers. 24, 26, where this promise is made sure to the whole seed of Israel. The transference of the name *Jahveh Tsidkenu* from the sprout of David to the city of Jerusalem is connected with the fact, that the name only expresses what the Messiah will bring to the people (see xxiii. 6); the righteousness which He works in and on Jerusalem may, without changing the substance of the thought, be attributed to Jerusalem itself, inasmuch as Jerusalem reflects the righteousness which is bestowed on her by the Messiah.—This promise is, ver. 17, further confirmed by the renewal of that which the Lord had given King David, through Nathan the prophet, 2 Sam. vii. 12–16, and that, too, in the form in which David himself had expressed it in his address to Solomon, shortly before his death, 1 Kings ii. 4, and in which Solomon had repeated it, 1 Kings viii. 25 and ix. 5. The formula לֹא יִכָּרֵת וּנְוֹ, "there never will be cut off from David one sitting," etc., has the meaning, David will never want a descendant to occupy his throne; or, the posterity of David will possess the kingdom for ever. A temporary loss of the throne is not thereby excluded, but only such a permanent loss as

would be caused by the family of David becoming extinct, or by the kingdom in Israel either passing over to some other family, or in some way or other coming to an end; see on 1 Kings ii. 4.—The very same promise is given to the Levitical priests, *i.e.* the priests of the tribe or family of Levi (לֵוִיִּים) as in Deut. xvii. 9, 18, xviii. 1, etc.). They shall never want one to bring and prepare an offering before the Lord. Burnt-offering, meat-offering, and sin-offering are the three species of sacrifice which were to be brought, according to the law, as in xvii. 26. By means of the apposition “the Levites,” the priests are designated as the legitimate priesthood, established as such in virtue of God’s choice of the tribe of Levi, in contrast with priests such as Jeroboam appointed, out of the common people, for the worship set up by him. Not only shall Israel have priests, but priests out of the tribe of Levi, which was chosen by God for the sacerdotal office, as the medium of communicating His gracious gifts. The designation of the priests as “the Levites” corresponds, accordingly, to the kings of the family of David. Such a view explains this addition to our passage, to which critics such as Hitzig have taken objection. The Davidic kingdom and the Levitical priesthood were the two pillars and bases of the Old Testament theocracy, on which its existence and continuance depended. The priesthood formed the medium of approach for the people into divine favour. The kingdom assured them of the divine guidance.¹ Both of these pillars were broken with the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple; the theocracy then appeared to have ceased to exist. At this time, when the kingdom, with its ordinances of justice and of grace, bestowed by God, was being dissolved, the Lord, in order to keep His people from despair, declares that these two institutions, in accordance with His promise, shall not fall to the ground, but shall stand for ever. By this, God’s own people received a pledge for the re-establishment and renovation of the kingdom of God. Such is the object of this promise.—As to the kind and mode of reinsti-

¹ *Continebatur autem salus populi duabus istis partibus. Nam, sine rege, erant veluti corpus truncum aut mutilum; sine sacerdote mera erat dissipatio. Nam sacerdos erat quasi medius inter Deum et populum, rex autem representabat Dei personam.*—CALVIN.

tution of both of these ordinances, which were abolished when the state came to ruin, the prophecy now before us gives no explanation; but in the emphatic confirmation of the prophecy which follows, we find brief indications which clearly show that the restoration spoken of will not be a reinstitution of the old form which is now perishing, but a renovation of it, in its essential features, to a permanent existence.

The confirmations of these promises, which follow them in vers. 19-26, are each introduced by separate headings, perhaps not merely to render them more prominent, but because the Lord revealed them separately to the prophet; but it by no means follows from this that they are later additions, without any connection. Ver. 20 f. "If ye shall break my covenant with the day, . . . then also will my covenant with David . . . be broken." This *if* betokens the impossible; man cannot alter the arrangement in nature for the regular alternation of day and night. הַיּוֹם and הַלַּיְלָה are in apposition to בְּרִיתִי, "my covenant the day—the night," for "my covenant with regard to the day and the night, which is this, that day and night shall return at their appointed times." The ׀ before לַבֵּיָמִים is explanatory. יוֹמִים-וַלַּיְלָה are adverbs, "day and night," for "the regular alternation of day and night." These divine arrangements in nature are called a *covenant*; because God, after the flood, gave a pledge that they should uninterruptedly continue, in a covenant made with the human race; cf. Gen. ix. 9 with viii. 22. As this covenant of nature cannot be broken by men, so also the covenant of grace of the Lord with David and the Levites cannot be broken, *i.e.* annulled. The covenant with David consisted in the promise that his kingdom should endure for ever (see ver. 17); that with the Levites, in the eternal possession of the right to the priesthood. The institution of the priesthood is certainly not represented in the law as a covenant; it consisted merely in the choice of Aaron and his sons as priests by God, Ex. xxviii. 1. But, inasmuch as they were thereby brought into a peculiar relation to the Lord, and thus had vouchsafed to them not merely privileges and promises, but also had laid on them duties, the fulfilment of which was a condition of receiving the privileges, this relation might be called a covenant; and indeed, in Num. xxv. 11 ff., the promise

given to Phinehas, that he should have the priesthood as an eternal possession, is called a covenant of peace and an eternal covenant of priesthood. This promise concerned the whole priesthood in the person of Phinehas, and the Levites also, inasmuch as the Levites were given to the priests; hence there is mention made in Mal. ii. 4, 8, of a covenant with Levi. In this prophecy, too, mention is made of the priests alone. The general idea contained in the words "the Levites," placed first, is more clearly defined by the apposition "the priests," and restricted to the priests of the tribe of Levi.—Ver. 22. In order to make still more impressive the pledge given, that the covenant with David and the Levitical priesthood can never be broken, the Lord adds the promise of a numerous increase of the seed of David and the Levites. וְאֵשׁ as correlative to כִּי stands for כַּאֲשֶׁר; for in the accusative lies the general reference to place, time, kind, and manner; cf. Ew. § 360a, 333a. The comparison with the innumerable host of stars and the immeasurable quantity of the sand reminds us of the patriarchal promises, Gen. xv. 5, xxii. 17. In this way, the promises that apply to all Israel are specially referred to the family of David and the Levites ("the Levites," ver. 22, is abbreviated from "the Levites, the priests," ver. 21). This transference, however, is not a mere hyperbole which misses the mark; for, as Jahn observes, an immense increase of the royal and priestly families would only have been a burden on the people (Graf). The import of the words of the verse is simply that the Lord purposes to fulfil the promise of His blessing, made to the patriarchs in favour of their whole posterity, in the shape of a numerous increase; but this promise will now be specially applied to the posterity of David and to the priests, so that there shall never be wanting descendants of David to occupy the throne, nor Levites to perform the service of the Lord. The question is not about a "change of the whole of Israel into the family of David and the tribe of Levi" (Hengstenberg); and if the increase of the family of David and the Levites correspond in multitude with the number of all the people of Israel, this increase cannot be a burden on the people. But the question, whether this promise is to be understood literally, of the increase of the ordinary descendants of David and the

Levites, or spiritually, of their spiritual posterity, cannot be decided, as Hengstenberg and Nägelsbach think, by referring to the words of the Lord in Ex. xix. 6, that all Israel shall be a kingdom of priests, and to the prophetic passages, Isa. lxi. 6, lxvi. 23 ff., according to which the whole people shall be priests to God, while Levites also shall be taken from among the heathen. For this prophecy does not treat of the final glory of the people of God, but only of the innumerable increase of those who shall attain membership in the family of David and the Levitical priests. The question that has been raised is rather to be decided in accordance with the general promises regarding the increase of Israel; and in conformity with these, we answer that it will not result from the countless increase of the descendants of Jacob according to the flesh, but from the incorporation, among the people of God, of the heathen who return to the God of Israel. As the God-fearing among the heathen will be raised, for their piety, to be the children of Abraham, and according to the promise, Isa. lxvi. 20 ff., even Levitical priests taken from among them, so shall the increase placed in prospect before the descendants of David and Levi be realized by the reception of the heathen into the royal and sacerdotal privileges of the people of God under the new covenant.

This view of our verse is confirmed by the additional proof given of the promised restoration of Israel, vers. 23–26; for here there is assurance given to the seed of Jacob and David, and therefore to all Israel, that they shall be kept as the people of God. The occasion of this renewed confirmation was the allegation by the people, that the Lord had rejected the two families, *i.e.* Israel and Judah (cf. xxxi. 27, 31, xxxii. 20), called, Isa. viii. 14, the two houses of Israel. With such words they despised the people of the Lord, as being no longer a people before them, *i.e.* in their eyes, in their opinion. That those who spoke thus were Jews, who, on the fall of the kingdom of Judah, despaired of the continuance of God's election of Israel, is so very evident, that Hengstenberg may well find it difficult to understand how several modern commentators could think of heathens,—Egyptians (Schnurrer), Chaldeans (Jahn), Samaritans (Movers), or neighbours of the Jews and

of Ezekiel on the Chebar (Hitzig). The verdict pronounced on what these people said, "they despise, or condemn, my people," at once relieves us from any need for making such assumptions, as soon as we assign the full and proper force to the expression "*my people*" = the people of Jahveh. Just as in this passage, so too in xxix. 32, "this people" is interchanged with "my people" as a designation of the Jews. Moreover, as Graf correctly says, the expression "this people" nowhere occurs in the prophets of the exile as applied to the heathen; on the contrary, it is very frequently employed by Jeremiah to designate the people of Judah in their estrangement from the Lord: iv. 10, v. 14, 23, vi. 19, vii. 33, viii. 5, ix. 14, xiii. 10, xiv. 10, xv. 1, 20, and often elsewhere. "My people," on the other hand, marks Judah and Israel as the people of God. In contrast with such contempt of the people of God, the Lord announces, "If my covenant with day and night does not stand, if I have not appointed the laws of heaven and earth, then neither shall I cast away the seed of Jacob." The לֹא is repeated a second time before the verb. Others take the two antecedent clauses as one: "If I have not made my covenant with day and night, the laws of heaven and earth." This construction also is possible; the sense remains unchanged. בְּרִיתִי יוֹסֵם וְלֵילָה is imitated from ver. 20. "The laws of heaven and earth" are the whole order of nature; cf. xxxi. 35. The establishment, institution of the order of nature, is a work of divine omnipotence. This omnipotence has founded the covenant of grace with Israel, and pledged its continuance, despite the present destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the temporary rejection of the guilty people. But this covenant of grace includes not merely the choosing of David, but also the choosing of the seed of Jacob, the people of Israel, on the ground of which David was chosen to be the ruler over Israel. Israel will therefore continue to exist, and that, too, as a nation which will have rulers out of the seed of David, the servant of the Lord. "The mention of the three patriarchs recalls to mind the whole series of the promises made to them" (Hengstenberg). The plural מִשְׁלֵי does not, certainly, refer directly to the promise made regarding the sprout of David, the Messiah, but at the same time does not stand in contradiction with

it; for the revival and continued existence of the Davidic rule in Israel culminates in the Messiah. On *כִּי אֶשׁוּב וְנִי* cf. xxxi. 23, xxx. 3, 18, and the explanations on xxxii. 44. The *Qeri* *אֶשׁוּב* rests on ver. 11, but is unnecessary; for *אֶשׁוּב* makes good enough sense, and corresponds better to *וְיִרְחֲמֵתִים*, in so far as it exactly follows the fundamental passage, Deut. xxx. 3, where *יָרָם* is joined with *אֶת-שְׁבוֹת*.

III.—THE LABOUR AND SUFFERING OF THE PROPHET BEFORE AND AFTER THE CONQUEST AND DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.—CHAP. XXXIV.—XLV.

Under this title may be placed the whole of the contents of these twelve chapters, which fall into three divisions. For ch. xxxiv.—xxxvi. contain partly utterances of Jeremiah in the early part of the siege of Jerusalem under Zedekiah, partly matters of fact in Jehoiakim's time. Next, mention is made, in ch. xxxvii.—xxxix., of the toils and sufferings of the prophet during that siege, until the fall of the city; then, in ch. xl.—xlv., is depicted his active labour among the people who had been left behind in the land by the Chaldeans, and who afterwards fled to Egypt; finally, as an appendix to the account of his labours among the people, we find, in ch. xlv., the words of comfort addressed to Baruch by Jeremiah. The second of these divisions is marked by a historical introduction, ch. xxxvii. 1, 2, and the third by a somewhat lengthened prophetic heading. Only ch. xxxiv.—xxxvi., which we regard as the first division, seems to be without an external bond of unity. Graf, Ewald, Nägelsbach, and others have consequently marked them as appendices; but in this way neither their position nor their connection is at all accounted for. The relation of ch. xxxiv. to the following is analogous to that of ch. xxi. Just as the collection of special announcements regarding judgment and deliverance, ch. xxi., was introduced by the utterances of the prophet in the beginning of the last siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; so too, in our third division, the collected evidences of the labours of Jeremiah before and after the

destruction of Jerusalem, are introduced, ch. xxxiv., by the utterances which predict quite definitely what shall be the issue of the siege of the city and the fate of the king and people. The first of these utterances is set in a frame of historical statements regarding the siege (vers. 1, 7); this setting marks it out as an introduction to the notices following. But the second utterance, vers. 8-22, refers to the fact of the manumission of the Hebrew men- and maid-servants during the siege, and the cancelling of that measure afterwards. The following chaps., xxxv. xxxvi., furnish two proofs of the activity of the prophet under Jehoiakim, which, on account of their historical nature, could not be introduced till now, since they would not admit of being inserted in the collection of the particular prophecies of coming judgment, ch. xxi.-xxix.

A. PROPHECIES DELIVERED UNDER ZEDEKIAH, AND EVENTS OF JEHOIAKIM'S TIME.—CHAP. XXXIV.—XXXVI.

Chap. xxxiv. *Concerning Zedekiah and the Emancipation of the Men- and Maid-servants.*

This chapter contains two prophecies of the time of the siege of Jerusalem under Zedekiah, of which the first, vers. 1-7, announces to the king the fruitlessness of resistance to the power of the Chaldeans; the second, vers. 8-22, threatens the princes and people of Judah with severe judgments for annulling the manumission of the Hebrew men- and maid-servants. Both of these utterances belong to the first period of the siege, probably the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah.

Vers. 1-7. *The message to Zedekiah* is regarded by Hitzig, Ewald, Graf, Nägelsbach, etc. as a supplement to ch. xxxii. 1 ff., and as giving, in its complete form, the prophecy to which ch. xxxii. 3 ff. was referred, as the reason of the confinement of Jeremiah in the court of the prison. Certainly it is so far true that Jeremiah, in vers. 2-5, expresses himself more fully regarding the fate of King Zedekiah at the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Chaldeans than in ch. xxxii. 3-5, xxi. 3 ff., and xxxvii. 17; but we are not warranted in drawing the inference that this message forms a historical appendix or sup-

plement to ch. xxxii. 3 ff., and was the occasion or reason of Jeremiah's imprisonment. See, on the contrary, the remarks on xxxii. 3 ff. It is not given here as an appendix to explain the reason of the prophet's imprisonment, but as a prophecy from which we may see how King Zedekiah was forewarned, from the very beginning of the siege, of what its issue would be, that he might frame his conduct accordingly. Nor does it belong to the period when Nebuchadnezzar, after beating off the Egyptians who had come to the relief of the beleaguered city, had returned to the siege of Jerusalem, but to the earliest period of the siege, when Zedekiah might still cherish the hope of defeating and driving off the Chaldeans through the help of the Egyptians.—According to ver. 1, the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah when "Nebuchadnezzar and," i.e. with, "all his host, and all the kingdoms of the land of the dominion of his hand, and all the nations, were fighting against Jerusalem and all her towns." The words are multiplied to represent the strength of the Chaldean army, so as to deepen the impression of overpowering might, against which resistance is vain. The army consists of men drawn from all the kingdoms of the territory he rules, and of all nations. *אֶרֶץ מְשֻׁלָּתוֹ יְדוֹ* means the same as *אֶרֶץ מְשֻׁלָּתוֹ*, li. 28, the territory over which his dominion, which includes many kingdoms, extends. The LXX. have omitted "all the nations" as superfluous. See a like conglomeration of words in a similar description, Ezek. xxvi. 7. "All her towns" are the towns of Judah which belong to Jerusalem; see xix. 15. According to ver. 7, the strong towns not yet taken are meant, especially those strongly fortified, *Lachish* and *Azekah* in the plain (Josh. xv. 39, 35), the former of which is shown still under the name *Um Lakhis*, while the latter is to be sought for in the vicinity of *Socho*; see on Josh. x. 3, 10, and 2 Chron. xi. 9.—Jeremiah is to say to the king:

Ver. 2b. "Thus saith Jahveh: Behold, I will deliver this city into the hand of the king of Babylon, that he may burn it with fire. Ver. 3. And thou shalt not escape from his hand, but shalt certainly be seized and delivered into his hand; and thine eyes shall see the eyes of the king of Babylon, and his mouth shall speak with thy mouth, and thou shalt go to Babylon. Ver. 4. But hear the word of Jahveh, O Zedekiah, king

of Judah. Thns saith Jahveh concerning thee: Thon shalt not die by the sword. Ver. 5. In peace shalt thou die; and as with the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings who were before thee, so shall they make a burning for thee, and they shall wail for thee, [crying,] 'Alas, lord!' for I have spoken the word, saith Jahveh."—On vers. 2, 3, cf. xxxii. 3-5. "But hear," ver. 4, introduces an exception to what has been said before; but the meaning of vers. 4, 5 is disputed. They are usually understood in this way: Zedekiah shall be carried into exile to Babylon, but shall not be killed with the sword, or executed, but shall die a peaceful death, and be buried with royal honours. But C. B. Michaelis, Venema, Hitzig, and Graf take the words as an exception that will occur, should Zedekiah follow the advice given him to deliver himself up to the king of Babylon, instead of continuing the struggle. Then what is denounced in ver. 3 will not happen; Zedekiah shall not be carried away to Babylon, but shall die as king in Jerusalem. This view rests on the hypothesis that the divine message has for its object to induce the king to submit and give up himself (cf. xxxviii. 17 f.). But this supposition has no foundation; and what must be inserted, as the condition laid before Zedekiah, "if thou dost willingly submit to the king of Babylon," is quite arbitrary, and incompatible with the spirit of the words, "But hear the word of Jahveh," for in this case ver. 4 at least would require to run, "Obey the word of Jahveh" (שָׁמַע בְּדְבָרֵי יְהוָה), as xxxviii. 20. To take the words שָׁמַע דְּבָרֵי in the sense, "Give ear to the word, obey the word of Jahveh," is not merely inadmissible grammatically, but also against the context; for the word of Jahveh which Zedekiah is to hear, gives no directions as to how he is to act, but is simply an intimation as to what the end of his life shall be: to change or avert this does not stand in his power, so that we cannot here think of obedience or disobedience. The message in vers. 4, 5 states more in detail what that was which lay before Zedekiah: he shall fall into the hands of the king of Babylon, be carried into exile in Babylon, yet shall not die a violent death through the sword, but die peacefully, and be buried with honour,—not, like Jehoiakim, fall in battle, and be left unmonrned and unburied (xxii. 18 f.). This intimation accords with the notices

given elsewhere as to the end of Zedekiah (xxxii. 5, xxxix. 5-7). Although Zedekiah died a prisoner in Babylon (lii. 11), yet his imprisonment would not necessarily be an obstacle in the way of an honourable burial after the fashion of his fathers. When Jehoiachin, after an imprisonment of thirty-seven years, was raised again to royal honours, then also might there be accorded not merely a tolerably comfortable imprisonment to Zedekiah himself, but to the Jews also, at his death, the permission to bury their king according to their national custom. Nor is anything to be found elsewhere contrary to this view of the words. The supposition that Zedekiah caused the prophet to be imprisoned on account of this message to him, which Nägelsbach has laboured hard to reconcile with the common acceptance of the passage, is wholly devoid of foundation in fact, and does not suit the time into which this message falls; for Jeremiah was not imprisoned till after the time when the Chaldeans were obliged for a season to raise the siege, on the approach of the Egyptians, and that, too, not at the command of the king, but by the watchman at the gate, on pretence that he was a deserter. "Thou shalt die in peace," in contrast with "thou shalt die by the sword," marks a peaceful death on a bed of sickness in contrast with execution, but not (what Graf introduces into the words) in addition, his being deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers. "With the burnings of thy fathers," etc., is to be understood, according to 2 Chron. xvi. 14, xxi. 19, of the burning of aromatic spices in honour of the dead; for the burning of corpses was not customary among the Hebrews: see on 2 Chron. xvi. 14. On "alas, lord!" see xxii. 18. This promise is strengthened by the addition, "for I have spoken the word," where the emphasis lies on the אָנִי: I the Lord have spoken the word, which therefore shall certainly be fulfilled.—In vers. 6, 7 it is further remarked in conclusion, that Jeremiah addressed these words to the king during the siege of Jerusalem, when all the cities of Judah except Lachish and Azekah were already in the power of the Chaldeans. עָרֵי מְבָצָר is not in apposition to עָרֵי יְהוּדָה, but belongs to נִשְׁאָרֵי: "they were left among the towns of Judah as strong cities;" i.e. of the strong cities of Judah, they alone had not yet been conquered.

Vers. 8-22. THREATENING BECAUSE OF THE RE-ENSLAVEMENT OF THE LIBERATED HEBREW MEN- AND MAID-SERVANTS.

—Vers. 8-11 describe the occasion of the word of the Lord, which follows in vers. 12-22. It came to Jeremiah “after King Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people in Jerusalem, to proclaim liberty to them, that every one should send away his man-servant, or his maid-servant, being a Hebrew or Hebrewess, so that none should impose servitude on any one of them who was a Jew, his brother. Ver. 10. And all the princes and all the people who entered into the covenant obeyed, each one setting free his man-servant and his maid-servant, and not imposing servitude on them any more: they obeyed and each one set them free. Ver. 11. But they turned round afterwards, and brought back the servants and the handmaids whom they had set free, and brought them under subjection, for servants and for handmaids.” The covenant which Zedekiah concluded with all the people at Jerusalem, according to what follows, consisted in a solemn vow made before the Lord in the temple, probably confirmed by sacrifices, to set free the male and female slaves of Hebrew descent, in conformity with the law, Ex. xxi. 1-4, Deut. xv. 12. The law required the gratuitous manumission of these after seven years of service. This time, indeed, is not mentioned in our verses, but it is assumed as well known through the law. But, in the general departure of the people from the Lord and His commandments, the observance of this law had probably long been intermitted, so that, in consequence of the solemn engagement to obey it once more, a great number of Hebrew male and female slaves received their freedom, inasmuch as very many had served longer than seven years; however, we need not suppose that all bond men and women were liberated at once. The resolution, ver. 9, that every one should liberate his Hebrew man- or maid-servant, and that no one should continue to impose servitude on a Jew, his brother, *i.e.* compel him any longer to serve as a slave, is conditioned by the law, which is assumed as well known: this also accords with the expression לְבִלְתִּי עֲבֹדָם, which is used in a general way of the treatment of Hebrew men- and maid-servants, Lev. xxv. 39. However, it is also possible that a liberation of all bond men and women took place without regard to the

duration of their servitude, partly for the purpose of averting, by such obedience to the law, the calamity now threatening the city, and partly also to employ the liberated slaves in the defence of the city; for, according to ver. 21 f., the emancipation took place during the siege of Jerusalem, and after the departure of the Chaldeans the solemn promise was revoked. The expression קָרָא לְרִירוֹ, "to proclaim liberty," is taken from Lev. xxv. 10, but it does not prove that the manumission took place on a sabbath- or a jubilee-year. לָהֶם refers *ad sensum* to those who were bondmen and had a right to be set free. The general expression is explained by שָׁלַח חֲפָשִׁים, and this again is more closely defined by לְבִלְתִּי עֲבֹד־בָּם (cf. Lev. xxv. 39). בִּיהוּדִי אָחִיהוּ, (that no one should labour) "through a Jew, who is his brother," i.e. a fellow-countryman; i.e. that no one should impose servitude on a Jew, as being a compatriot. "To enter into a covenant" is to assume its obligation; cf. 2 Chron. xv. 12, Ezek. xvi. 8. The *Kethib* יִבְרִישׁוּם receives, in the *Qeri*, the vowels of the Kal, since the Hiphil of this verb does not occur elsewhere, only the Kal, cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 10; but the alteration is unnecessary,—the Hiphil may intensify the active meaning.

Vers. 12–22. *The threat of punishment.*—Ver. 12. "Then came the word of Jahveh to Jeremiah from Jahveh, saying: Ver. 13. Thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel, 'I made a covenant with your fathers in the day when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, from a house of bondmen, saying, Ver. 14. At the end of seven years shall ye set free each man his brother, who is a Hebrew that sold himself to thee; and he shall serve thee six years, then shalt thou send him away from thee free: but your fathers hearkened not unto me, nor inclined their ear. Ver. 15. But *you* had turned just now, and had done what is right in mine eyes, because each man proclaimed liberty to his neighbour, and ye had made a covenant before me in the house on which my name is called. Ver. 16. But ye turned again and profaned my name, and each one made his man-servant and his handmaid, whom he had sent away free, at their pleasure, to return, and ye brought them into subjection, to be men- and maid-servants to you. Ver. 17. Therefore, thus saith Jahveh, *Ye* have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty each man to his brother, and each man

to his neighbour: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith Jahveh, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to famine, and I will deliver you up for maltreatment to all the kingdoms of the earth. Ver. 18. And I shall make the men who have transgressed my covenant, that have not kept the words of the covenant which they concluded before me, like the calf which they cut in two, and between whose pieces they passed. Ver. 19. The princes of Judah and the princes of Jerusalem, the courtiers, and the priests, and all the people of the land, who passed through between the pieces of the calf, Ver. 20. Them will I give into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those who seek their life, so that their corpses shall be for food to the birds of heaven and to the beasts of the earth. Ver. 21. And Zedekiah, king of Judah, and his princes will I give into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those who seek their life, and into the hand of the army of the king of Babylon, that has departed from against you. Ver. 22. Behold, I will command, saith Jahveh, and will make them return to this city, and they shall fight against it, and shall take it, and shall burn it with fire; and the cities of Judah will I make a desolation, without an inhabitant."

In vers. 13-16 the Lord sets before the people and their rulers their new offence; in vers. 17-22 He announces to them the punishment for this new deed by which the covenant is broken. In order to place the transgression in its proper light, He mentions, first of all, that, when He led Israel out of Egypt, He concluded with them a covenant to the effect that every one of them should set free his Hebrew servant at the end of seven years; He also mentions that their fathers had transgressed this covenant (vers. 13, 14). The designation of Egypt as a house of bondmen, as in Ex. xiii. 3, 14, xx. 2, Deut. vi. 12, etc., possesses a special emphasis, and points to what is mentioned in Deut. xv. 15 as the motive for obeying the law referred to in the address. Because Israel was a servant in Egypt, and the Lord has redeemed him out of this house of bondmen, therefore must they not treat as slaves their brethren who had fallen into poverty, but set them free after six years of service. The expression "at the end (after the lapse) of seven years" is to be understood in the same way as the expression "after

eight days." As this just means "when seven days are completed," so also, according to the law, Ex. xxi. 2, Deut. xv. 12, the emancipation was to follow in the seventh year, after six full years of service. "Who sold himself to thee" is an expression copied from Deut. xv. 12.—From this sin of their fathers they had now for a little turned away, and, in a solemn covenant, resolved to free the bondmen, as the law decreed (ver. 15); but they have immediately profaned the name of the Lord again by revoking this decree, viz. by breaking the covenant made before God. לְנַפְשָׁם, "according to their pleasure," like לְנַפְשָׁם, Deut. xxi. 14.—Ver. 17 ff. The announcement of punishment. Because ye have not hearkened, by proclaiming, every one, liberty to his bondman (this certainly had been done, but was again undone by annulling the decree), therefore I proclaim liberty for you; i.e. you, who have hitherto been my servants (Lev. xxv. 55), I discharge from this relation,—deliver you up to your fate as regards the sword, etc., that the sword, famine, and pestilence may have power over you. For לְוָמָהּ see xv. 4.—In ver. 18 the construction is disputed. Many, including Luther, take הָעֵגֶל as the second object to נָתַתִּי: "I will make the men . . . the calf," i.e. like the calf. But, though נָתַתִּי is frequently construed with a double accusative with the meaning of making some thing another thing (cf. e.g. ver. 22, Gen. xvii. 5, Ex. vii. 1), yet in such a case the predicative-object does not readily take the article. Moreover, נָתַתִּי, in the sense required here, to make like=treat as, is joined with בְּ, as in Isa. xli. 2, Ezek. xxviii. 2, 6, Gen. xlii. 30, 1 Kings x. 27, etc. Finally, Rosenmüller objects: *continuata versu 19 personarum descriptio et repetitio verbi נָתַתִּי ver. 20 vix permittunt, propositionem hoc versu absolvi*. For these reasons, L. de Dieu, Rosenmüller, Ewald, and Graf have taken הָעֵגֶל as being in apposition to הַפְּרִיט, and the enumeration "princes of Judah," etc., ver. 19, as a continuation or exposition of הָאֲנָשִׁים, ver. 18, and נָתַתִּי אוֹתָם, ver. 20, as a resumption of the same words in ver. 18. According to this view, vers. 18–20 would form a series of appositions: "I will give the men . . . that have not kept the words of the covenant which they concluded before me . . . the princes of Judah who passed between the parts of the calf,—these will I give into the hands of their enemies."

But, apart from the consideration that the enumeration of the covenant-breakers (viz. the princes of Judah, etc.), which is added by way of apposition in ver. 19, ought not to come in till after the apposition to *הַכִּבְרִית*, which would be a harsh and complicated arrangement of the members of the sentence, this construction seems untenable for the following reasons: (a) "The calf that they cut," etc., which forms the explanatory apposition to "the covenant," is separated from it by the intervening clause, "which they made before me." And (b), even though we might modify this harshness by repeating *אֶת־הַכִּבְרִית* before *הָעֵגֶל*, yet the mode of expression, "they have not performed the words of the calf which they cut in two, and between whose parts they passed," would be a very stiff and unnatural one for "they have not performed what they vowed or swore in presence of the parts of the calf which they had halved, and when they passed through between these pieces." With Maurer and Hitzig, therefore, we abide by the older view, which takes *הָעֵגֶל* as the second object to *וְנָתַתִּי*: "I will make the men . . . the calf," or, better, "like the calf which they cut in two," etc. The article is used with *עֵגֶל* because this predicate is more exactly determined by relative clauses, and *הָעֵגֶל* stands for *בָּעֵגֶל*, since, as often happens, the *בְּ* of likeness is dropped to give more point to the idea. We make ver. 19 begin a new sentence, and take the names of this verse as objects absolute, which, by *אֲנִי* following *וְנָתַתִּי*, are subordinated to the verb: "As for the princes of Judah . . . them shall I give . . ."—From ver. 18 we see that, when alliances were entered into, the contracting parties slaughtered an *עֵגֶל*, "calf," i.e. a young bullock, cut it in two halves, and went through between the pieces that were placed opposite one another. See on Gen. xv. 10 for details regarding this most ancient custom and its meaning: according to the account of Ephraem Syrus, it is of Chaldean origin. Thus are explained the phrases used to signify the making of a covenant. *כָּרַת בְּרִית*, to cut a covenant, *ῥακία τέμνειν*, *fœdus ferire*, i.e. *ferienda hostia fœdus facere*. We cannot with certainty infer, from the threatening pronounced in this passage, that this rite originally signified nothing more than that he who broke his promise would be treated like the animal that had been slaughtered. For the threatening is merely a conclusion

drawn from the sacred act; but this does not exclude a deeper meaning of the rite.—Vers. 19–22 give the real explanation of the threatening attached to the ritual of the covenant. Princes, officers of the court, priests and people, who have transgressed the covenant, shall die by the hand of the enemy, and perish ignominiously. On ver. 20*b*, cf. vii. 33, xvi. 4, etc. On קריסים see on Gen. xxxvii. 36. King Zedekiah also, with his princes, his retinue, shall fall into the hand of his enemies, ay, into the hands of the Chaldeans, who have now withdrawn from Jerusalem (on עָלָה מֵעַל see on xxi. 2). See also xxxvii. 5–8.

Chap. xxxv. *The Example of the Rechabites.*

By the command of God, Jeremiah brings the family of the Rechabites (who had fled for refuge to Jerusalem before the approach of the Chaldeans) into one of the chambers of the temple, and sets before them some wine to drink (vers. 1–5). They decline to drink, because the head of their family had forbidden them the use of wine, as well as the possession of houses and the cultivation of the soil, and had commanded them to live in tents (vers. 6–11). Jeremiah is to put this before the people of Judah. The Rechabites faithfully observe the command of their ancestor, while the people of Judah transgress the commands of their God, which are continually presented to them (vers. 12–16). Therefore the threatened calamity shall fall upon Judah; but the house of Rechab, as a reward for their faithfulness to the injunctions of their ancestor, shall continue for ever (vers. 17–19).

According to ver. 1, this word of the Lord came to Jeremiah in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, and, according to ver. 11, previous to the arrival of Nebuchadnezzar and his host before Jerusalem; therefore perhaps in the summer of the year 606 B.C., for Jerusalem was taken for the first time by Nebuchadnezzar in the ninth month (December) of that year.

Vers. 1–11. *Jeremiah's dealings with the Rechabites*—Ver. 2. Jeremiah is to go to the house, *i.e.* the family, of the Rechabites, speak with them, and bring them into one of the chambers of the temple, and set before them wine to drink. בֵּית הַרְחָבִים, vers. 2, 3, 18, is exchanged for בֵּית הַרְחָבִים, ver. 5, from which it is apparent that “the house of the Rechabites”

does not mean their dwelling-place, but the family, called in 1 Chron. ii. 55 בְּיַת־רֵכָב. According to this passage, the Rechabites were a branch of the Kenites, *i.e.* descendants of the *Kenite*, the father-in-law of Moses (Judg. i. 16), who had gone to Canaan with the Israelites, and dwelt among them, partly in the wilderness on the southern frontier of the tribe of Judah (1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29), partly at Kadesh in Naphtali (Judg. iv. 11, 17, v. 24). Their ancestor, or father of the tribe, was Rechab, the father of Jonadab, with whom Jehu made a friendly alliance (2 Kings x. 15, 23). Jonadab had laid on them the obligation to live in the special manner mentioned below, in order to keep them in the simplicity of nomad life observed by their fathers, and to preserve them from the corrupting influences connected with a settled life. לְשִׁבּוֹת, "cells of the temple," were additional buildings in the temple fore-courts, used partly for keeping the stores of the temple (1 Chron. xxviii. 12), partly as dwellings for those who served in it, and as places of meeting for those who came to visit it; see Ezek. xl. 17.—Ver. 3. In executing the command of the Lord, Jeremiah took (went for) Jaazaniah, son of Jeremiah, son of Habaziniyah, and all his brethren, and sons, and the whole house of the Rechabites, and brought them into the temple-chamber of the sons of Hanan. Jaazaniah was probably the then chief of the Rechabites. The chamber of the sons of Hanan was situated next the princes' chamber, which stood over that of Maaseiah the door-keeper. Nothing further is known about Hanan the son of Jigdaliah; here he is called "the man of God," an honourable title of the prophets,—see *e.g.* 1 Kings xii. 22,—for, according to the usual mode of construction, אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים does not belong to *Jigdaliah*, but to *Hanan*, cf. xxviii. 1, Zech. i. 1. "The chamber of the princes" is the chamber where the princes, the chiefs of the people, used to assemble in the temple. Its position is more exactly described by כַּמְעֵל לְ, "over the chamber of Maaseiah," but not very clearly for us, since the buildings of the temple fore-courts are nowhere else more exactly described; however, see on xxxvi. 10. Maaseiah was שֹׁמֵר הַפֶּתַח, "keeper of the threshold," *i.e.* overseer of the watchmen of the temple gates, of which, according to lii. 24 and 2 Kings xxv. 18, there were three, who are

there mentioned along with the high priest and his substitute Maaseiah is probably the same whose son Zephaniah was זְפַנְיָהּ, cf. lii. 24 with xxxvii. 3, xxix. 25, and xxi. 1.—Ver. 5 f. There, Jeremiah caused bowls filled with wine to be set before the Rechabites, and commanded them to drink. (כַּסִּיתִים are large goblets, bowls, out of which drinking-cups [כַּסִּיתִים] were filled.) But they explained that they did not drink wine, because their father, *i.e.* their ancestor, Jonadab had forbidden them and their posterity to drink wine for ever, as also to build houses, to sow seed, and to plant vineyards, *i.e.* to settle themselves down in permanent dwellings and to pursue agriculture. וְלֹא יִהְיֶה לָכֶם, “And there shall not be to you,” *sc.* what has just been named, *i.e.* ye must not possess houses, growing-crops, or vineyards (cf. ver. 9),¹ but ye are to dwell in tents all your life, that ye may live long, etc. This promise is an imitation of that found in Ex. xx. 12.—Vers. 8–10. This command of their forefather they observe in all points, and therefore dwell in tents; and only because of Nebuchadnezzar’s arrival in the country have they come to Jerusalem, in order to find refuge for a time from the army of the Chaldeans and that of Aram (the Arameans). The special mention of the army of *Aram* in connection with that of the Chaldeans is perhaps due to the frequent predatory incursions made, at an earlier period, on Israel and Judah by the Syrians. According to 2 Kings xxiv. 2, after Jehoiakim had rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, hostile bands of Arameans invaded Judah for the purpose of laying waste the country.

Vers. 12–19. *The example of the Rechabites is one for Judah.*—Jeremiah is to proclaim the word of the Lord to the people of Judah, as follows: Ver. 13. “Thus saith Jahveh of hosts,

¹ These injunctions, given by Jonadab to his posterity, that he might make them always lead a nomad life, are quoted by Diodorus Siculus, xix. 94, as a law among the Nabateans: *Νόμος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, μὴτε αἶνον σπείρειν, μὴτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον, μὴτε οἶνον χρῆσθαι, μὴτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν*; while the object of the law is stated to have been the maintenance of their freedom against the more powerful who sought to bring them into subjection. And even at the present day the Bedouins imagine that they are prevented, by the nobility of their descent from Ishmael, from engaging in agriculture, handicraft, or the arts; cf. Arvieux, *Sitten der Beduinen-Araber*, 5 f.

the God of Israel: Go and say to the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Will ye not receive instruction by listening to my words? saith Jahveh. Ver. 14. The words of Jonadab the son of Rechab, who commanded his sons not to drink wine, are performed, and they have drunk no wine to this day, but have obeyed the command of their father. But *I* have spoken unto you, rising up early and speaking, yet ye have not listened unto me. Ver. 15. And I sent unto you all my servants the prophets, rising early and sending them, saying, Turn ye, now, every one from his evil way, and do good deeds, and do not go after other gods, to serve them; then shall ye dwell in the land which I have given to you and to your fathers. But ye did not incline your ear, nor hearken unto me. Ver. 16. Yea, the children of Jonadab the son of Rechab have observed the commandment of their father which he commanded them, while this people have not hearkened unto me. Ver. 17. Therefore, thus saith Jahveh, the God of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will bring upon Judah and on the inhabitants of Jerusalem all the evil which I have uttered regarding them, because I spake unto them and they did not hear, and I called unto them, but they did not answer. Ver. 18. And to the house of the Rechabites Jeremiah said: Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, Because ye have listened to the command of Jonadab your father, and have kept all his commandments, and have done according to all that he commanded you, Ver. 19. Therefore, thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever."

The command, "Go and speak to the men of Judah," etc., shows that it was not in the chamber of the temple, in presence of the Rechabites, but probably in one of the temple fore-courts, that Jeremiah addressed the following word of the Lord to the people assembled there. In order to shame the Jews thoroughly, he shows them the faithfulness with which the Rechabites observe the ordinances of their ancestor Jonadab. The character of the address, as one intended to rouse feelings of shame, is indicated even at the beginning of ver. 13: "Will ye not receive instruction by hearkening to the words of the Lord?" The Hoph. הִיָּס is construed as a passive with the accus.; in the

older writers we frequently find this construction, in which the passive is used impersonally, hence the sing. is here employed : cf. Ges. § 143, 1, Ew. § 295, *b*. "To this day"—now for nearly 300 years without interruption ; for Jonadab was already held in high esteem when Jehu ascended the throne, 883 B.C. (2 Kings x. 15). Judah, on the contrary, does not listen to the commandments which his God unceasingly inculcates on him, but rather wanders after other gods, to serve them. On ver. 15 cf. xxv. 4, 5. אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים stands for עַל־הָאֱלֹהִים , xxv. 5.—In ver. 16, where the introductory כִּי , *imo*, indicates a culmination, the idea is once more briefly expressed. Nägelsbach incorrectly renders כִּי "*because*," and makes ver. 16 the protasis to ver. 17. "Such a protasis with *because* (*quia*), without any connection with what precedes, is contrary to the use of language" (Hitzig). On the threat of punishment in ver. 17, see xi. 11.—Ver. 18. The declaration concerning the Rechabites is introduced by the formula, "And to the house of the Rechabites Jeremiah said ;" thereby, too, it is shown that the statement does not form an integral portion of the preceding address, but was uttered by Jeremiah perhaps at the close of his transactions with them (ver. 11). But it is not given till now, in order to signify to the people of Judah that even fidelity to paternal commands has its own rewards, to make the threat uttered against Judah all the more impressive. On the promise ver. 19, cf. xxxiii. 18. Since עָמַד לְפָנַי denotes the standing of a servant before his master, and in vii. 10 is used of the appearance of the people before the Lord in the temple, עָמַד לְפָנַי seems here also to express not merely the permanence of the family, but in addition, their continuance in the service of the Lord, without, of course, involving sacerdotal service ; cf. on the other hand, xxxiii. 18, where this service is more exactly described. The acknowledgment of the Lord on the part of the Rechabites is a necessary result of their connection with Israel.¹

¹ According to the account of the Jewish missionary Wolff, there are still some Rechabites in Asia, in Mesopotamia and Yemen, who affirm that they are descended from Hobab the brother-in-law [A.V. "father-in-law ;" but see Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, vol. i. *Robab*] of Moses. Wolff points out that part of the desert of Yemen near Senaa as the special locality where these Rechabites live. Cf. Dr. Joseph Wolff, *ein Wanderleben*, von Dr. Sengelmann, Hamburg 1863, S. 65 u. 196.

Chap. xxxvi. *Jeremiah's Discourses are written down, and read in the Temple.*

In the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, bidding him commit to writing all the addresses he had previously delivered, that Judah might, if it were possible, still regard the threatenings and return (vers. 1-3). In accordance with this command, he got all the words of the Lord written down in a book by his attendant Baruch, with the further instruction that this should be read on the fast-day in the temple to the people who came out of the country into Jerusalem (vers. 4-8). When, after this, in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, a fast was appointed, Baruch read the prophecies to the assembled people in the chamber of Gemariah in the temple. Michaiiah the son of Gemariah mentioned the matter to the princes who were assembled in the royal palace; these then sent for Baruch with the roll, and made him read it to them. But they were so frightened by what was read to them that they deemed it necessary to inform the king regarding it (vers. 9-19). At their advice, the king had the roll brought and some of it read before him; but scarcely had some few columns been read, when he cut the roll into pieces and threw them into the pan of coals burning in the room, at the same time commanding that Baruch and Jeremiah should be brought to him; but God hid them (vers. 20-26). After this roll had been burnt, the Lord commanded the prophet to get all his words written on a new roll, and to predict an ignominious fate for King Jehoiakim; whereupon Jeremiah once more dictated his addresses to Baruch (vers. 27-32).

Since Jeremiah, according to vers. 3, 6, 7, is to get his addresses written down that Baruch may be able to read them publicly on the fast-day, now at hand, because he himself was prevented from getting to the temple, the intention of the divine command was not to make the prophet put down in writing and gather together all the addresses he had hitherto given, but the writing down is merely to serve as a means of once more presenting to the people the whole contents of his prophecies, in order to induce them, wherever it was possible, to return to the Lord. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar, after

vanquishing the Egyptians at the Euphrates, advanced against Judah, took Jerusalem, and made Jehoiakim tributary. In the same year, too, Jeremiah had delivered the prophecy regarding the giving up of Judah and all nations for seventy years into the power of the king of Babylon (chap. xxv.); this was before he had been bidden write down all his addresses. For, that he did not receive this command till towards the end of the fourth year, may be gathered with certainty from the fact that the public reading of the addresses, after they were written down, was to take place on the fast-day, which, according to ver. 9, was not held till the ninth month of the fifth year. The only doubtful point is, whether they were written down and read before or after the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Most modern commentators take the former view; *e.g.* Hitzig says, briefly and decidedly, "According to ver. 29, the Chaldeans had not as yet appeared in the country." But this is not mentioned in ver. 29. The threatening in this verse, "The king of Babylon shall come and destroy this land, and exterminate men and beasts from it," does not prove that the king of Babylon had not yet come to Judah, but merely that the country had not yet been destroyed, and men and cattle exterminated from it. When Jerusalem was first taken, Nebuchadnezzar contented himself with subjecting Jehoiakim under his supreme authority and requiring the payment of tribute, as well as carrying away some of the vessels of the temple and some hostages. The devastation of Judah and the extirpation of men and beasts did not commence till the second subjugation of Jerusalem under Jehoiakim, and was completed when the city was utterly destroyed, in Zedekiah's time, on its third subjugation. The settlement of the question that has been raised depends on the determination of the object for which the special fast-day in the fifth year was appointed, whether for averting the threatened invasion by the Chaldeans, or as a memorial of the first capture of Jerusalem. This question we have already so far decided in the Commentary on *Daniel*, p. 66, where it is stated that the fast was held in remembrance of that day in the year when Jerusalem was taken for the first time by Nebuchadnezzar; we have also remarked in the same place, that Jehoiakim either appointed or permitted this special

fast "for the purpose of rousing the popular feeling against the Chaldeans, to whom they were in subjection,—to evoke in the people a religious enthusiasm in favour of resistance; for Jehoiakim keenly felt the subjugation by the Chaldeans, and from the first thought of revolt." However, every form of resistance to the king of Babylon could only issue in the ruin of Judah. Accordingly, Jeremiah made Baruch read his prophecies publicly to the people assembled in the temple on that day, "by way of counterpoise to the king's desire;" the prophet also bade him announce to the king that the king of Babylon would come, *i.e.* return, to destroy the land, and to root out of it both men and beasts. These circumstances give the first complete explanation of the terror of the princes when they listened to the reading of the book (ver. 16), as well as of the wrath of the king, exhibited by his cutting the book in pieces and throwing it into the fire: he saw that the addresses of the prophet were more calculated to damp those religious aspirations of the people on which he based his hopes, than to rouse the nation against continued submission to the Chaldeans. Not till now, too, when the object of the appointment of the fast-day was perceived, did the command given by God to the prophet to write down his prophecies appear in its proper light. Shortly before, and in the most earnest manner, Jeremiah had reminded the people of their opposition to the word of God preached by him for twenty-three years, and had announced to them, as a punishment, the seventy years' subjugation to the Chaldeans and the desolation of the country; yet this announcement of the fearful chastisement had made no deeper or more lasting impression on the people. Hence, so long as the threatened judgment was still in the distance, not much could be expected to result from the reading of his addresses in the temple on the fast-day, so that the command of God to do so should appear quite justified. But the matter took a considerably different form when Nebuchadnezzar had actually taken Jerusalem and Jehoiakim had submitted. The commencement of the judgments which had been threatened by God was the proper moment for laying before the hearts of the people, once more, the intense earnestness of the divine message, and for urging them to deeper penitence. Just at this point

the reading of the whole contents of the prophecies delivered by Jeremiah appears like a final attempt to preserve the people, on whom judgment has fallen, from complete destruction.

Vers. 2-8. The word of the Lord to Jeremiah was to this effect: "Take thee a book-roll, and write on it (עָלֶיָּהּ for אֵלֶיהָ) all the words that I have spoken unto thee concerning Israel and Judah, and concerning all the nations, from the day I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah till this day. Ver. 3. Perhaps the house of Judah will hear all the evil which I meditate doing to them, that they may return every one from his evil way, and that I may forgive their iniquity and their sin." שָׁמַע here means, to hear correctly and lay to heart; cf. xxvi. 3. Hitzig views the command as meaning, not that Jeremiah is now for the first time to write down his addresses (which would be an impossibility for the most faithful memory), but that he is merely to write them down together in one book, out of the several scattered leaves and scraps. Graf has already refuted this view, though more fully than was necessary. It is not a copying, word for word, of every separate address that is meant, but merely a writing down of the essential contents of all his oral discourses. This is quite clear, not merely from what is stated in ver. 3 as the object of this command, but also from the character of these collected addresses, as they are preserved to us. That the expression "all the words" is not to be understood in the most rigid sense, follows from the very fact that, when Jeremiah anew wrote down his prophecies, ver. 32, he further added "many similar words" to what had been contained in the first book-roll, which was burned by Jehoiakim. But Jeremiah might perhaps be able to retain in his memory the substance of all the addresses he had delivered during the twenty-three years, since all of them treated of the same subjects—reproof of prevailing sins, threat of punishment, and promises.—Ver. 4. Jeremiah carries out the divine command by making Baruch write down on a book-roll all the words of the Lord, out of his mouth (כַּפִּי יְרֵמִי, i.e. at the dictation of Jeremiah); and since he himself is prevented from getting to the house of the Lord, he bids him read the words he had written down in the ears of the people in the temple on the fast-day, at the same time expressing the hope, ver. 7: "Perhaps their

supplication will fall down before the Lord, and they will return each one from his wicked way; for great is the wrath and the anger which the Lord hath expressed concerning this people." Baruch, who is mentioned so early as xxxii. 12 ff. as the attendant of the prophet, was, according to the passage now before us, his amanuensis, and executed his commissions. אֲנִי עֶצֶר, according to xxxiii. 1 and xxxix. 15, might mean, "I am in prison;" but this does not accord with the request of the princes, ver. 19, that Jeremiah should hide himself. Moreover, עֶצֶר does not mean "seized, *captus*," but "stopped, restrained, hindered;" see on Neh. vi. 10. The cause of hindrance is not mentioned, as being away from the purpose of the narrative. "To read in the roll in the ears of the people," i.e. to read to the people out of the book. מִיּוֹם צוֹם does not mean "on any fast-day whatever," but, "on the fast-day." The article is omitted because there was no need for defining the fast-day more exactly. The special fast-day mentioned in ver. 9 is intended. תְּהַלֵּל תְּהַחֲזִקֵם וְהִ' "their supplication will fall down before the Lord," i.e. reach unto God, as if it were laid before His feet. תְּהַלֵּל is transferred from the posture of the suppliant—his falling down before God—to his supplication. Hence, in Hiphil, to make the supplication fall down before the Lord is equivalent to laying the request at His feet; xxxviii. 26, xlii. 9, Dan. ix. 18, 20. If the supplication actually comes before God, it is also heard and finds success. This success is pointed out in וְיִשְׁכְּבוּ וְהִ' "that they may repent." If man, in a repentant spirit, supplicates God for grace, God grants him power for conversion. But the return of the people from their wicked way is indispensable, because the wrath which God has expressed concerning it is great, i.e. because God has threatened a heavy judgment of wrath.—Ver. 8. Baruch executes his commission.

Vers. 9-19. *The reading of the book in the temple.*—Ver. 9. In the fifth year of Jehoiakim, in the ninth month, "they proclaimed a fast before the Lord,—all the people in Jerusalem, and all the people who had come out of the cities of Judah to Jerusalem." קָרָא צוֹם, to call, declare, appoint a fast; cf. 1 Kings xxi. 9, 12, 2 Chron. xx. 3. From the tenor of the words, the people who lived in Jerusalem and those who had come thither out of the country might seem to have called the

fast. But this is impossible; for the people from the cities of Judah evidently came to Jerusalem only in consequence of the fast being appointed. Hence Graf is of opinion that קָרָא צוֹם seems here used in a general way of the keeping of such a fast. This view is not confirmed by any parallel instances. The expression is inexact, and the inexactness has arisen from the effort to attain greater conciseness of expression. The meaning is this: a fast was proclaimed, and all the people in Jerusalem and out of the cities of Judah came to worship the Lord in the temple. It remains doubtful with whom the appointment originated,—whether with the king, or with the high priest and the priesthood. The ninth month corresponds to our December, and consequently came round with the cold season; cf. ver. 22 f. The fast-day was a special one; for in the law only the day of atonement, in the seventh month, was prescribed as a fast-day. On the object of this measure, see *supra*, p. 94 f.—Ver. 10. On this day Baruch read the addresses of Jeremiah out of the book to the people who had come to the temple, in the “chamber of Gemariah, the son of Shaphan, the scribe, in the upper fore-court, at the entrance of the new gate of the house of the Lord.” Gemariah the son of Shaphan was one of the king’s private scribes, a secretary of state. For, according to ver. 12, he belonged to the princes, and was probably a brother of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, who had already shown himself, before this, a protector of the prophet (xxvi. 24). The chamber which he had in the temple was situated in the upper fore-court, at the entrance of the new gate, whose position we cannot exactly determine (see on xxvi. 10), but which led from the outer to the inner court of the priests, which rose higher than the others.—Ver. 11. Micaiah, a son of Gemariah, was also listening to the reading; and he it was who brought the news into the palace. He made for the room, *i.e.* the office, of Elishama, the secretary of state, where the princes, viz. Elishama, Delaiah the son of Shemaiah, Elnathan the son of Achhor (cf. xxvi. 22), Gemariah the son of Shaphan, and Zedekiah the son of Hananiah, had just met for a consultation; and he mentioned to them what he had heard.—Ver. 14. On this information the princes sent Jehudi (perhaps one of the under-officers of the secretary of state) to Baruch, to bring him, with the book

from which he had read. From the designation, "Jehudi son of Nethaniah, son of Shelemiah, son of Cushi," Hitzig and Graf conclude that the first and last are not proper names, but appellatives, "the Jew" and "the Cushite," and account for the use of them on the ground that, through the application of the law given in Deut. xxiii. 7, 8 to Cushites as well as Egyptians, the ancestor was a Cushite, and only his great-grandson became a Jew, or Jewish citizen, and was called "Jehudi." But this view is opposed (1) by the fact that the names of the father and the grandfather are true proper names, and these, moreover, contain the name *Jah* (*Jahveh*), — hence are genuine proper names of Israelites; moreover, (2) even in olden times *Jehudith* occurs as a woman's name, Gen. xxvi. 34. According to this, *Jehudi* is a true proper name, and at the most, *Cushi* is but a surname of the great-grandfather, given him because of his descent from the Cushites. Further, the law, Deut. xxiii. 7, applies only to the posterity of the Edomites and Egyptians, that these should not be received into the congregation of the Lord till the third generation; this ordinance was based on grounds which did not permit of its application to other nations. These might be naturalized even in the first generation on undergoing circumcision, with the exception of Canaanites, Ammonites, and Moabites, who were not to be admitted into the Israelitish community even in the tenth generation, Deut. xxiii. 3.—Ver. 15. When Baruch came, the princes, in token of friendly and respectful treatment, bade him sit down and read to them out of the book he had brought with him. Ver. 16. But when they heard all the words read, "they were afraid one at another;" i.e. by looks, gestures, and words, they gave mutual expression of their fear, partly because of the contents of what had been read. Although they were generally acquainted with the sense and the spirit of Jeremiah's addresses, yet what had now been read made a powerful impression on them; for Baruch plainly had read, both to the people in the temple and to the princes, not the whole book, but only the main portions, containing the sternest denunciations of sin and the strongest threats of punishment. The statement, "he read in (out of) the book the words of Jeremiah" (ver. 10), does not mean that he read the whole book;

this would only have wearied the people and weakened the impression made. But they were partly also terrified, perhaps, by the boldness of a declaration which so decidedly opposed the desires and hopes of the king; for the thought of the event mentioned xxvi. 20 ff. would at once suggest to them the danger that might arise to the lives of Jeremiah and Baruch from the despotic character of the king. They said therefore to Baruch, "We must tell the king all these things." For it was clear that the matter could not long remain concealed from the king, after the public reading in the temple. Hence they dared not, agreeably to their official relation to the king, hide from him what had taken place.—Ver. 17. Meanwhile, in order to inform themselves more exactly regarding what had happened, they ask Baruch, "Tell us, how hast thou written all these words at his mouth?" Thereupon Baruch replied, "He used to call aloud these words to me," *i.e.* he used to dictate them to me by word of mouth, "and I wrote them in the book with ink." The imperfect expresses the repeated or continued doing of anything; hence יִקְרָא here means to dictate, which requires considerable time. In the following circumstantial clause is found the participle וְאֵנִי כֹתֵב, while I was writing; and so I myself was doing nothing else all the time than writing down what was dictated. Some commentators have found a stumbling-block in בְּפִי in the question of the princes (ver. 17); the LXX. and Ewald omit this word, inasmuch as Baruch does not explain till afterwards that he had written down the words from the mouth of Jeremiah. Others, like Venema, take בְּפִי as a question = הֲבֵינִי. Both explanations are arbitrary and unnecessary. The princes knew quite well that the substance of the book was from the mouth of Jeremiah, *i.e.* contained his addresses; but Baruch, too, might have composed the book from the oral discourses of the prophet without being commissioned by him, without his knowledge also, and against his will. Accordingly, to attain certainty as to the share of the prophet in this matter, they ask him, and Baruch answers that Jeremiah had dictated it to him.—Ver. 19. Thereupon the princes advised Baruch to hide himself and Jeremiah; for they know beforehand that Jehoiakim would put to death the witnesses of the truth.

Vers. 20-26. *The reading of the book before the king.*—Ver. 20. The princes betook themselves to the king *הַמֶּלֶךְ*, into the inner fore-court (leaving the book-roll in the chamber of the secretary of state), and gave him an account of the matter. *הַמִּצְרִי* is the inner court of the palace, in which the royal dwelling-apartments are situated. *הִפְקִיד*, to entrust a thing or person to any one (xl. 7), hence to deposit, preserve, Isa. x. 28.—Ver. 21. Thereupon the king makes Jehudi fetch the book, and causes it to be read before himself and the assembled princes. *עָמַד*, to stand over, since the one who is standing before his master, while the latter is sitting, overtops him; cf. Gen. xviii. 8. The king was sitting, as is stated in ver. 22 by way of preparation for what follows, in the winter-house, *i.e.* in that portion of the palace which was erected for a winter residence, in the ninth month, *i.e.* during the winter, and the pot of coals was burning before him. The rooms of eastern houses have no stoves, but in the middle of the floor there is a depression, in which is placed a sort of basin with burning coals, for the purpose of heating the apartment: cf. Keil's *Bibl. Archæol.* ii. § 95, S. 7. For the expression *וַאֲתֵּרֶחָא*, "and as for the fire-pot, it was burning before him," cf. Ewald, § 277, *d.*—Ver. 23. Now, "when Jehudi had read three or four columns, he [the king] cut it [the book-roll] with the pen-knife and threw [the pieces] into the fire, in the pot of coals, till the whole roll was consumed on the fire in the pot of coals." *דְּלָתוֹת*, properly "doors," are not leaves, but divisions of a book. The opinion of Hitzig, that leaves are to be understood, and that the *Megillah*, therefore, was not a roll, properly speaking, but a book with leaves, cannot be substantiated. In the synagogues, the Jews even at the present day, according to the ancient custom, use real rolls, which are rolled up on a stick. On these the Scripture text is written, though not in lines which occupy the whole breadth of the roll; the whole space is divided into parts. "*Scribebatur*," says Buxtorf in *Institutione epistolari Hebr.* p. 4, "*volumen lineis, non per longitudinem totius chartæ aut pergamenti deductis, sed in plures areas divisus, quomodo sunt latera paginarum in libris complicatis. Istæ propterea voce metaphoricâ vocantur דְּלָתוֹת januæ valvæ, quod figuram januæ referant.*" The subject of *וַיִּקְרָא* is not Jehudi, as Hitzig thinks, but the

king, and the word does not signify "he cut it out," but "he cut it in pieces" (the suffix refers to **הַפְּנִיָּה**). We are not, with many expositors, to view the conduct of the king in such a way as to think that, whenever Jehudi had read some portions, he cut these off and threw them into the fire, so that the book was, with these interruptions, read through to the end, and at the same time gradually destroyed. Such conduct Graf justly characterizes as trifling and silly, and not in harmony with the anger of a king having a violent disposition. But we cannot see how the imperfect **יָקַר** (in Nägelsbach's opinion) proves that Jehudi read the whole, when the text states that only three or four columns were read. The meaning, peculiar to the imperfect, of the continuation or repetition of an act, is fully made out by supposing that the king cut down the roll bit by bit, and threw the pieces into the fire one after the other. Neither does the expression **עַד-כִּלְהַפְּנִיָּה** imply that the whole book was read; for **חָמַם** does not denote the completion of the reading, but the completion of the burning: hence the words are to be translated, "till the whole roll had completely got upon the fire," *i.e.* was completely burnt; cf. **חָמַם אֵל**, Gen. xlvii. 18. The inf. absol. **וְהִשְׁלֵךְ** is a continuation of the finite verb, as frequently occurs, *e.g.* in xiv. 5, xxxii. 44.—Ver. 24 f. In order to characterize the conduct of the king, the writer remarks, "Yet the king and his servants who heard all these words (which Jehudi had read) were not afraid, nor did they rend their garments (in token of deep sorrow); and even when Elnathan, Delaiah, and Gemariah addressed the king, requesting him not to burn the roll, he did not listen to them." So hardened was the king, that he and his servants neither were terrified by the threatenings of the prophet, nor felt deep sorrow, as Josiah did in a similar case (2 Kings xxii. 11, cf. 1 Kings xxi. 27), nor did they listen to the earnest representations of the princes. **עֲבָדָיו** are the court-attendants of the king in contrast with the princes, who, according to ver. 16, had been alarmed by what they heard read, and wished, by entreaties, to keep the king from the commission of such a wicked act as the destruction of the book. Ewald, on the contrary, has identified **עֲבָדָיו** with the princes, and thereby marred the whole account, while he reproaches the princes with "acting as the wretched

instruments of what they knew to be the sentiments prevailing at court."—Ver. 26. Not content with destroying the book, Jehoiakim also wished to get Baruch and Jeremiah out of the way; for he ordered the king's son Jerahmeel and two other men to go for Baruch the scribe and Jeremiah the prophet; "but the Lord hid them," *i.e.* graciously kept them out of the sight of the spies. בן-יהויכין is not the son of Jehoiakim,—if so, we would find simply אֶת-בְּנוֹ; but a royal prince is meant, cf. xxxviii. 6, 1 Kings xxii. 26, 2 Kings xi. 1, 2, Zeph. i. 8.

Vers. 27-32. *The punishment which is to come on Jehoiakim for his wicked act.*—Ver. 27 ff. After the burning of the roll by the king, Jeremiah received from the Lord the command to get all that had been on the former roll written on another, and to announce the following to Jehoiakim the king: Ver. 29. "Thus saith Jahveh: Thou hast burned this roll, whilst thou sayest, Why hast thou written thereon, The king of Babylon shall surely come and destroy this land, and root out man and beast from it? Ver. 30. Therefore thus saith Jahveh regarding Jehoiakim the king of Judah: He shall not have one who sits upon the throne of David, and his corpse shall be cast forth to the heat by day and to the frost by night. Ver. 31. And I shall punish him, his servants, and his seed for their iniquity, and bring on them and on all the inhabitants of Judah and all the men of Judah all the evil which I have spoken to them; but they did not hear." On the meaning of ver. 29b see p. 94, *supra*. The threatening expressed in ver. 30 f. is really only a repetition of what is given in xxii. 18, 19, and has already been explained there. "There shall not be to him one who sits upon the throne of David," *i.e.* he is not to have a son that shall occupy the throne of David after him. This does not contradict the fact that, after his death, his son Jehoiachin ascended the throne. For this ascension could not be called a sitting on the throne, a reign, inasmuch as he was immediately besieged in Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and compelled to surrender after three months, then go into exile to Babylon. On ver. 31 cf. xxxv. 17, xix. 15.—Ver. 22. Thereupon Jeremiah made his attendant Baruch write all the words of the former roll on a new one, "out of his mouth," *i.e.* at his dictation; and to these he added many other words like them.

כְּהִמָּה, *i.e.* of like import with those on the previous roll. Hence we perceive that on the first roll there were written down not all the several addresses fully, but only the most important parts of his oral announcements.

B. EXPERIENCES AND UTTERANCES OF JEREMIAH DURING THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.—CHAP. XXXVII.—XXXIX.

Chap. xxxvii. *Declaration regarding the Issue of the Siege; Imprisonment of Jeremiah and Conversation with the King.*

Vers. 1–10. The account of what befell Jeremiah and what he did during the last siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, until the taking of the city, is introduced, vers. 1 and 2, with the general remark that Zedekiah,—whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had made king in the land of Judah in place of Coniah (on which name see on xxii. 24),—when he became king, did not listen to the words of the Lord through Jeremiah, neither himself, nor his servants (officers), nor the people of the land (the population of Judah). Then follows, vers. 3–10, a declaration of the prophet regarding the issue of the siege, which he sent to the king by the messengers who were to beseech him for his intercession with the Lord. Vers. 3–5. The occasion of this declaration was the following: Zedekiah sent to Jeremiah two of his chief officers, Jehucal the son of Shelemiah (see on xxxviii. 1), and Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah, the priest (see xxi. 1 and xxix. 25), with this charge: “Pray now for us to Jahveh our God.” This message was sent to Jeremiah while he still went in and out among the people, and had not yet been put in prison (כְּלִי, ver. 4 and lii. 31, an unusual form for כְּלִי, vers. 15 and 18, for which the *Qeri* would have us in both instances read כְּלִי); the army of Pharaoh (Hophra, xlv. 30), too, had marched out of Egypt to oppose the Chaldeans; and the latter, when they heard the report of them (שְׂמָעָם, the news of their approach), had withdrawn from Jerusalem (עָלָה מִיֵּרוּשָׁלַם, see on xxi. 2), *viz.* in order to repulse the Egyptians. Both of these circumstances are mentioned for the purpose of giving a clear view of the state of things: (a) Jeremiah’s freedom to go in

and out, not to prepare us for his imprisonment afterwards, but to explain the reason why the king sent two chief officers of the realm to him, whereas, after his imprisonment, he caused him to be brought (cf. ver. 17 with xxxviii. 14); and (b) the approach of the Egyptians joined with the raising of the siege, because this event seemed to afford some hope that the city would be saved.—This occurrence, consequently, falls within a later period than that mentioned in chap. xxi.—Ver. 6. Then came the word of the Lord to this effect: Ver. 7. “Thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel: Thus shall ye say to the king of Judah who hath sent you to me to ask at me, Behold, the army of Pharaoh, which marched out to your help, will return to Egypt, their own land. Ver. 8. And the Chaldeans shall return and fight against this city, and take it, and burn it with fire. Ver. 9. Thus saith Jahveh: Do not deceive yourselves by thinking, The Chaldeans will quite withdraw from us; for they will not withdraw. Ver. 10. For, even though ye had beaten the whole army of the Chaldeans who are fighting with you, and there remained of them only some who had been pierced through and through, yet they would rise up, every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire.” In order to cut off every hope, the prophet announces that the Egyptians will bring no help, but withdraw to their own land before the Chaldeans who went out to meet them, without having accomplished their object; but then the Chaldeans will return, continue the siege, take the city and burn it. To assure them of this, he adds: “Ye must not deceive yourselves with the vain hope that the Chaldeans may possibly be defeated and driven back by the Egyptians. The destruction of Jerusalem is so certain that, even supposing you were actually to defeat and repulse the Chaldeans, and only some few grievously wounded ones remained in the tents, these would rise up and burn the city.” In *יָלֵךְ הָלַךְ* the inf. abs. is to be observed, as strengthening the idea contained in the verb: “to depart wholly or completely;” *הָלַךְ* is here to “depart, withdraw.” *אֲנָשִׁים* in contrast with *חַיִּל* are separate individuals. *מִדָּקֶרֶךְ*, pierced through by sword or lance, i.e. grievously, mortally wounded.

Vers. 11-15. *The imprisonment of Jeremiah.*—During the time when the Chaldeans, on account of the advancing army

of Pharaoh, had withdrawn from Jerusalem and raised the siege, "Jeremiah went out of the city to go to the land of Benjamin, in order to bring thence his portion among the people." יהיה, in accordance with later usage, for יהי, as in iii. 9; cf. Ewald, § 345, b. לְחַלֵּק מַשָּׁם is explained in various ways. לְחַלֵּק for לְהַחֲלִיק can scarcely have any other meaning than to share, receive a share; and in connection with מַשָּׁם, "to receive a portion thence," not, to receive an inheritance (*Syr., Chald., Vulg.*), for מַשָּׁם does not suit this meaning. The LXX. render τοῦ ἀγοράσαι ἐκεῖθεν, which Theodoret explains by πλάσθαι ἄφρους. All other explanations have still less in their favour. We must connect בְּחוֹף הַיָּם with לֵלְכָת וְנָּ, since it is unsuitable for מַשָּׁם לְחַלֵּק.—Ver. 13. When he was entering the gate of Benjamin, where Jeriah the son of Shelemiah kept watch, the latter seized him, saying, "Thou desirest to go over to the Chaldeans" (נָפַל אֵלַי, see on xxi. 9). The gate of Benjamin (xxxviii. 7; Zech. xiv. 10) was the north gate of the city, through which ran the road to Benjamin and Ephraim; hence it was also called the gate of Ephraim, 2 Kings xiv. 13, Neh. viii. 16. בַּעַל פִּקְדָּתָהּ, "holder of the oversight," he who kept the watch, or commander of the watch at the gate. "The accusation was founded on the well-known views and opinions of Jeremiah (xxi. 9); but it was mere sophistry, for the simple reason that the Chaldeans were no longer lying before the city" (Hitzig).—Ver. 14. Jeremiah replied: "A lie [= not true; cf. 2 Kings ix. 12]; I am not going over to the Chaldeans. But he gave no heed to him; so Jeriah seized Jeremiah, and brought him to the princes. Ver. 15. And the princes were angry against Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison, in the house of Jonathan the scribe; for they had made it the prison,"—probably because it contained apartments suitable for the purpose. From ver. 16 we perceive that they were subterranean prisons and vaults into which the prisoners were thrust; and from ver. 28 and xxxviii. 26, it is clear that Jeremiah was in a confinement much more severe and dangerous to his life. There he sat many days, i.e. a pretty long time.

Vers. 16–21. *Examination of the prophet by the king, and alleviation of his confinement.*—Ver. 16 ff. "When Jeremiah had got into the dungeon and into the vaults, and had sat there

many days, then Zedekiah the king sent and fetched him, and questioned him in his own house (palace) secretly," etc. Ver. 16 is by most interpreters joined with the foregoing, but the words בִּי בָא do not properly permit of this. For if we take the verse as a further confirmation of $\text{וַיִּקְצְפוּ הַמְּלָכִים}$, "the princes vented their wrath on Jeremiah, beat him," etc., "for Jeremiah came . . .," then it must be acknowledged that the account would be very long and lumbering. בִּי בָא is too widely separated from וַיִּקְצְפוּ . Hence the LXX. have $\kappa\alpha\iota \eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$,—some codices, indeed, $\delta\tau\iota \eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$; and Ewald, Hitzig, and Graf would change בִּי בָא into וַיָּבֹא . But the passages, 1 Sam. ii. 21, where בִּי פָקֵד is supposed to stand for וַיִּפְקֵד , and Isa. xxxix. 1, where וַיִּשְׁמַע is thought to have arisen out of בִּי שָׁמַע , 2 Kings xx. 12, are not very strong proofs, since there, as here, no error in writing is marked. The Vulgate has *itaque ingressus*; many therefore would change בִּי into בָּן ; but this also is quite arbitrary. Accordingly, with Rosenmüller, we connect ver. 16 with the following, and take בִּי as a temporal particle; in this, the most we miss is וְ copulative, or וַיְהִי . In the preceding sentence the prison of the prophet is somewhat minutely described, in order to prepare us for the request that follows in ver. 20. Jeremiah was in a בֵּית-בּוֹר , "house of a pit," cf. Ex. xii. 29, i.e. a subterranean prison, and in הַחֲזִיטוֹת . This word only occurs here; but in the kindred dialects it means vaults, stalls, shops; hence it possibly signifies here subterranean prison-cells, so that אֶל-הַחֲזִיטוֹת more exactly determines what בֵּית-הַבּוֹר is. This meaning of the word is, at any rate, more certain than that given by Eb. Scheid in Rosenmüller, who renders חֲזִיטוֹת by *flewa, curvata*; then, supplying *ligna*, he thinks of the stocks to which the prisoners were fastened.—The king questioned him בְּפֶתֶר , "in secret," namely, through fear of his ministers and court-officers, who were prejudiced against the prophet, perhaps also in the hope of receiving in a private interview a message from God of more favourable import. To the question of the king, "Is there any word from Jahveh?" Jeremiah replies in the affirmative; but the word of God is this, "Thou shalt be given into the hand of the king of Babylon," just as Jeremiah had previously announced to him; cf. xxxii. 4, xxxiv. 3.—Jeremiah took this opportunity of complain-

ing about his imprisonment, saying, ver. 18, "In what have I sinned against thee, or against thy servants, or against this people, that ye have put me in prison? Ver. 19. And where are your prophets, who prophesied to you, The king of Babylon shall not come against you, nor against this land?" Jeremiah appeals to his perfect innocence (ver. 18), and to the confirmation of his prediction by its event. The interview with the king took place when the Chaldeans, after driving the Egyptians out of the country, had recommenced the siege of Jerusalem, and, as is evident from ver. 21, were pressing the city very hard. The *Kethib* יִנִּי is to be read יָנִי, formed from יָנִי with the suffix י; the idea of the suffix has gradually become obscured, so that it stands here before a noun in the plural. The *Qeri* requires יָנִי. The question, Where are your prophets? means, Let these prophets come forward and vindicate their lying prophecies. Not what these men had prophesied, but what Jeremiah had declared had come to pass; his imprisonment, accordingly, was unjust.—Besides thus appealing to his innocence, Jeremiah, ver. 20, entreats the king, "Let my supplication come before thee, and do not send me back into the house of Jonathan the scribe, that I may not die there." For 'חָפְצִי לָמוּת see on xxxvi. 7. The king granted this request. "He commanded, and they put Jeremiah into the court of the watch [of the royal palace, see on xxxii. 2], and gave him a loaf of bread daily out of the bakers' street, till all the bread in the city was consumed;" cf. lii. 6. The king did not give him his liberty, because Jeremiah held to his views, that were so distasteful to the king (see on xxxii. 3). "So Jeremiah remained in the court of the guard."

Chap. xxxviii. *Jeremiah in the Mire Pit. Last Interview with the King.*

In this chapter two events are mentioned which took place in the last period of the siege of Jerusalem, shortly before the capture of the city by the Chaldeans. According to ver. 4, the number of fighting men had now very much decreased; and according to ver. 19, the number of deserters to the Chaldeans had become large. Moreover, according to ver. 9, famine had already begun to prevail; this hastened the fall of the city.

Vers. 1-13. Jeremiah is cast into a miry pit, but drawn out again by Ebedmelech the Cushite. Vers. 1-6. Being confined in the court of the guard attached to the royal palace, Jeremiah had opportunities of conversing with the soldiers stationed there and the people of Judah who came thither (cf. ver. 1 with xxxii. 8, 12), and of declaring, in opposition to them, his conviction (which he had indeed expressed from the beginning of the siege) that all resistance to the Chaldeans would be fruitless, and only bring destruction (cf. xxi. 9 f.). On this account, the princes who were of a hostile disposition towards him were so embittered, that they resolved on his death, and obtain from the king permission to cast him into a deep pit with mire at the bottom. In ver. 1 four of these princes are named, two of whom, Jucal the son of Shelemiah, and Pashur the son of Malchiah, are known, from xxxvii. 3 and xxi. 1, as confidants of the king; the other two, Shephatiah the son of Mattan, and Gedaliah the son of Pashur, are not mentioned elsewhere. Gedaliah was probably a son of the Pashur who had once put Jeremiah in the stocks (xx. 1, 2). The words of the prophet, vers. 2, 3, are substantially the same as he had already uttered at the beginning of the siege, xxi. 9 (יחיה as in xxi. 9). Ver. 4. The princes said to the king, "Let this man, we beseech thee, be put to death [for the construction, see on xxxv. 14]; for therefore [*i.e.* because no one puts him out of existence,—על־כן as in xxix. 28] he weakens the hands of the men of war who remain in this city, and the hands of all the people, by speaking words like these to them; for this man does not seek the welfare of this people, but their ill." מְרַפֵּא for מְרַפֵּה, to cause the hands of any one to be relaxed, *i.e.* to make him dispirited; cf. Ezra iv. 4, Isa. xxxv. 3. יָרַשׁ with לָ, as Job x. 6, Deut. xii. 30, 1 Chron. xxii. 19, etc., elsewhere with the accusative אֶת; cf. xxix. 7 *et passim*. On this point cf. xxix. 7. The allegation which the princes made against Jeremiah was possibly correct. The constancy with which Jeremiah declared that resistance was useless, since, in accordance with the divine decree, Jerusalem was to be taken and burnt by the Chaldeans, could not but make the soldiers and the people unwilling any longer to sacrifice their lives in defending the city. Nevertheless the complaint was unjust, because Jeremiah was not ex-

pressing his own personal opinion, but was declaring the word of the Lord, and that, too, not from any want of patriotism or through personal cowardice, but in the conviction, derived from the divine revelation, that it was only by voluntary submission that the fate of the besieged could be mitigated; hence he acted from a deep feeling of love to the people, and in order to avert complete destruction from them. The courage of the people which he sought to weaken was not a heroic courage founded on genuine trust in God, but carnal obstinacy, which could not but lead to ruin.—Ver. 5. The king said, “Behold, he is in your hand, for the king can do nothing alongside of you.” This reply indicates not merely the weakness and powerlessness of the king against his princes, but also his inward aversion to the testimony of the man of God. “That he would like to save him, just as he afterwards does (ver. 10),” is not implied in what he says, with which he delivers up the prophet to the spite of his enemies. Though the princes had at once put Jeremiah to death, the king would not even have been able to reproach them. The want of courage vigorously to oppose the demand of the princes did not spring from any kindly feeling towards the prophet, but partly from moral weakness of character, partly from inward repugnance to the word of God proclaimed by Jeremiah. On the construction *אֵין יָבֹל* instead of the participle from *יָבֹל*, which does not occur, cf. Ewald, § 321, a. *אֲחֶיכֶם* is certainly in form an accusative; but it cannot be such, since *דָּבָר* follows as the accusative: it is therefore either to be pointed *אֲחֶיכֶם* or to be considered as standing for it, just as *אִתְּךָ* often occurs for *אִתְּךָ*, “with,” i.e. “along with you.”—Ver. 6. The princes (*שָׂרִים*) now cast Jeremiah into the pit of the king’s son (*בְּרִמְיָה*, see on xxxvi. 26) Malchiah, which was in the court of the prison, letting him down with ropes into the pit, in which there was no water, but mud; into this Jeremiah sank. The act is first mentioned in a general way in the words, “they cast him into the pit;” then the mode of proceeding is particularized in the words, “and they let him down,” etc. On the expression *הַבּוֹר מִלְכִּיָּהוּ*, “the pit of Malchiah,” cf. Ewald, § 290, d: the article stands here before the *nomen regens*, because the *nomen rectum*, from being a proper name, cannot take it; and yet the pit must be pointed out as

one well known and definite. That it was very deep, and that Jeremiah must have perished in it if he were not soon taken out again, is evident from the very fact that they were obliged to use ropes in letting him down, and still more so from the trouble caused in pulling him out (vers. 10-12). That the princes did not at once put the prophet to death with the sword was not owing to any feeling of respect for the king, because the latter had not pronounced sentence of death on him, but because they sought to put the prophet to a painful death, and yet at the same time wished to silence the voice of conscience with the excuse that they had not shed his blood.—Vers. 7-13. The deliverance of Jeremiah. Ebedmelech the Cushite, a eunuch, heard of what had happened to Jeremiah. **אִישׁ כְּרִיס** signifies a eunuch: the **אִישׁ** shows that **כְּרִיס** is here to be taken in its proper meaning, not in the metaphorical sense of an officer of the court. Since the king had many wives (ver. 22 f.), the presence of a eunuch at the court, as overseer of the harem, cannot seem strange. The law of Moses, indeed, prohibited castration (Deut. xxiii. 2); but the man was a foreigner, and had been taken by the king into his service as one castrated. **עֲבֶד־מֶלֶךְ** is a proper name (otherwise it must have been written **הַמֶּלֶךְ**); the name is a genuine Hebrew one, and probably may have been assumed when the man entered the service of Zedekiah.—On hearing of what had occurred, the Ethiopian went to the king, who was sitting in the gate of Benjamin, on the north wall of the city, which was probably the point most threatened by the besiegers, and said to him, Ver. 9, “My lord, O king, these men have acted wickedly in all that they have done to Jeremiah the prophet, whom they have cast into the pit; and he is dying of hunger on the spot, for there is no more bread in the city.” **הָרַעוּ אֶת־אִשְׁרֵי עַמִּי**, *lit.*: “they have done wickedly what they have done.” **וַיָּמָת** cannot be translated, “and he died on the spot,” for Ebedmelech wishes to save him before he dies of hunger. But neither does it stand for **וַיָּמָת**, “so that he must die.” The imperfect with Vav consecutive expresses the consequence of a preceding act, and usually stands in the narrative as a historic tense; but it may also declare what necessarily follows or will follow from what precedes; cf. Ewald, § 342, a. Thus **וַיָּמָת** stands here in the sense, “and so he is

dying," i.e. "he must die of hunger." תַּחֲתָיו, "on his spot," i.e. on the place where he is; cf. 2 Sam. ii. 23. The reason, "for there is no longer any bread (הֶלֶם with the article, the necessary bread) in the city," is not to be taken in the exact sense of the words, but merely expresses the greatest deficiency in provisions. As long as Jeremiah was in the court of the prison, he received, like the officers of the court, at the king's order, his ration of bread every day (xxxvii. 21). But after he had been cast into the pit, that royal ordinance no longer applied to him, so that he was given over to the tender mercies of others, from whom, in the prevailing scarcity of bread, he had not much to hope for.—Ver. 10. Then the king commanded the Ethiopian, "Take hence thirty men in thine hand, and bring up Jeremiah out of the pit before he dies." בְּיָדְךָ, "in thine hand," i.e. under your direction; cf. Num. xxxi. 49. The number thirty has been found too great; and Ewald, Hitzig, and Graf would read שְׁלֹשָׁה, because the syntax requires the singular שָׁלוֹשׁ after שְׁלֹשִׁים, and because at that time, when the fighting men had already decreased in number (ver. 4), thirty men could not be sent away from a post in danger without difficulty. These two arguments are quite invalid. The syntax does not demand שָׁלוֹשׁ; for with the tens (20–90) the noun frequently follows in the plural as well as in the singular, if the number precede; cf. 2 Sam. iii. 20, 2 Kings ii. 16, etc.; see also Gesenius' *Grammar*, § 120, 2. The other argument is based on arbitrary hypotheses; for the passage neither speaks of fighting men, nor states that they would be taken from a post in danger. Ebedmelech was to take thirty men, not because they would all be required for drawing out the prophet, but for making surer work in effecting the deliverance of the prophet, against all possible attempts on the part of the princes or of the populace to prevent them.—Ver. 11. Ebedmelech took the men at his hand, went into the king's house under the treasury, and took thence rags of torn and of worn-out garments, and let them down on ropes to Jeremiah into the pit, and said to him, "Put, I pray thee, the rags of the torn and cast-off clothes under thine arm-pits under the ropes." Jeremiah did so, and then they drew him out of the pit by the ropes. תַּחַת הָאוֹצָר is a room under the treasury. בְּלֹאִי, in ver. 12 בְּלֹאִים, from בָּלָה,

to be worn away (of clothes), are rags. סָהָבֹת (from סָהַב, to drag, drag about, tear to pieces) are torn pieces of clothing. מְלָחִים, worn-out garments, from מָלַח, in Niphal, Isa. li. 6, to vanish, dissolve away. The article at הַסָּהָבֹת is expunged from the *Qeri* for sake of uniformity, because it is not found with מְלָחִים; but it may as well be allowed to stand as be removed. אֲצִילוֹת יָדַי, properly the roots of the hands, are not the knuckles of the hand, but the shoulders of the arms. מִתַּחַת לַחֲבִלִים, under the ropes; i.e. the rags were to serve as pads to the ropes which were to be placed under the arm-pits, to prevent the ropes from cutting the flesh. When Jeremiah had been drawn out in this way from the deep pit of mire, he remained in the court of the prison.

Vers. 14-28. *Conversation between the king and the prophet.*—

Ver. 14. King Zedekiah was desirous of once more hearing a message of God from the prophet, and for this object had him brought into the third entrance in the house of the Lord. Nothing further is known about the situation and the nature of this entrance; possibly it led from the palace to the temple, and seems to have been an enclosed space, for the king could carry on a private conversation there with the prophet. The king said to him, "I ask you about a matter, do not conceal anything from me." He meant a message from God regarding the final issue of the siege, cf. xxxvii. 7. Jeremiah, knowing the aversion of the king to the truth, replies, ver. 15: "If I tell thee [*sc.* the word of the Lord], wilt thou not assuredly kill me? And if I were to give thee advice, thou wouldst not listen to me." Ver. 16. Then the king swore to him secretly, "As Jahveh liveth, who hath made us this soul, I shall certainly not kill thee, nor deliver thee into the hand of these men who seek thy life." אִם אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר, as in xxvii. 8, properly means, "with regard to Him who has created us." The *Qeri* expunges אֵלֶּם. "These men" are the princes mentioned in ver. 1.—Ver. 17 f. After this solemn asseveration of the king, Jeremiah said to him, "Thus saith Jahveh, the God of hosts, the God of Israel: If thou wilt assuredly go out to the princes of the king of Babylon [*i.e.* wilt surrender thyself to them, cf. 2 Kings xviii. 31, xxiv. 12], then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burned with fire, and thou and thy house shall live. But if thou dost

not go out to the princes of the king of Babylon, then this city will be given into the hand of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand." The word of God is the same that Jeremiah had already repeatedly announced to the king, cf. xxxiv. 2-5, xxxii. 4, xxi. 4-10. The princes (chiefs, generals) of the king of Babylon are named, because they commanded the besieging army (xxxix. 3, 13); Nebuchadnezzar himself had his headquarters at Riblah, xxxix. 5.—Ver. 19 ff. Against the advice that he should save his life by surrendering to the Chaldeans, Zedekiah suggests the consideration, "I am afraid of the Jews, who have deserted [נִפְלְאוּ] as in xxxvii. 13] to the Chaldeans, lest they give me into their hands and maltreat me." וְהִתְעַלְלָה בִּי, *illudere alicui*, to abuse any one by mockery or ill-treatment; cf. Num. xxii. 29, 1 Chron. x. 4, etc. Jeremiah replies, ver. 20 f., "They will not give thee up. Yet, pray, listen to the voice of Jahveh, in that which I say to thee, that it may be well with thee, and that thy soul may live. Ver. 21. But if thou dost refuse to go out [i.e. to surrender thyself to the Chaldeans], this is the word which the Lord hath shown me [has revealed to me]: Ver. 22. Behold, all the women that are left in the house of the king of Judah shall be brought out to the princes of the king of Babylon, and those [women] shall say, Thy friends have misled thee and have overcome thee; thy feet are sunk in the mud, they have turned away back. Ver. 23. And all thy wives and thy children shall they bring out to the Chaldeans, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand; for thou shalt be seized by the hand of the king of Babylon, and thou shalt burn this city with fire."—After Jeremiah had once more assured the king that he would save his life by voluntary surrender, he announces to him that, on the other alternative, instead of his becoming the sport of the deserters, the women of his harem would be insulted. The women who remain in the king's house, as distinguished from "thy wives" (ver. 23), are the women of the royal harem, the wives of former kings, who remain in the harem as the concubines of the reigning king. These are to be brought out to the generals of the Chaldean king, and to sing a satire on him, to this effect: "Thy friends have misled thee, and overpowered thee," etc. The first sentence of this

song is from Obad. ver. 7, where הַפִּתְיוֹן stands instead of הַפִּתְיוֹן. The friends (אֲנָשֵׁי שְׁלֵמָה, cf. xx. 10) are his great men and his false prophets. Through their counsels, these have led him astray, and brought him into a bog, in which his feet stick fast, and then they have gone back; i.e. instead of helping him out, they have deserted him, leaving him sticking in the bog. The expression is figurative, and the meaning of the figure is plain (הַפִּתְיוֹן is plural). בִּץ, ἀπ. λεγ., is equivalent to בִּצְה, a bog, Job viii. 11. Moreover, the wives and children of Zedekiah are to fall into the hands of the Chaldeans. מוֹצֵאִים, the participle, is used instead of the finite tense to express the notion of indefinite personality: "they bring them out." תִּתְּמַשׁ בִּיד, properly, "to be seized in the hand," is a pregnant construction for, "to fall into the hand and be held fast by it." "Thou shalt burn this city," i.e. bring the blame of burning it upon thyself. Ewald, Hitzig, and Graf, following the LXX., Syr., and Chald., would change מִשְׁרָה into מִשְׁרָה, but needlessly.—Vers. 24-27. From the king's weakness of character, and his dependence on his evil counsellors, neither could this interview have any result. Partly from want of firmness, but chiefly from fear of the reproaches of his princes, he did not venture to surrender himself and the city to the Chaldeans. Hence he did not wish that his interview with the prophet should be known, partly for the purpose of sparing himself reproaches from the princes, partly also, perhaps, not to expose the prophet to further persecutions on the part of the great men. Accordingly, he dismissed Jeremiah with this instruction: "Let no man know of these words, lest thou die." But if the princes should learn that the king had been speaking with him, and asked him, "Tell us, now, what thou hast said to the king, do not hide it from us, and we will not kill thee; and what did the king say to thee?" then he was to say to them, "I presented my supplication before the king, that he would not send me back to the house of Jonathan, to die there." As to the house of Jonathan, see on xxxvii. 15. On מִפִּל הַחֲתָנִי cf. xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 20.—Vers. 27, 28. What the king had supposed actually occurred, and Jeremiah gave the princes, who asked about the conversation, the reply that the king had prepared for him. יִהְיֶה שִׁמְעָה, they went away in silence from him, and left him in peace; cf. 1 Sam. vii. 8. כִּי לֹא נִשְׁמַע הַדָּבָר, for

the matter, the real subject of the conversation did not become known. So Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison till the day of the capture of Jerusalem.—The last sentence of ver. 28 belongs to the following chapter, and forms the introductory sentence of the passage whose conclusion follows in xxxix. 3.

Chap. xxxix. *Capture of Jerusalem; Fate of Zedekiah and Jeremiah. Consolatory Message to Ebedmelech.*

In vers. 1–14 the events which took place at the taking of Jerusalem are summarily related, for the purpose of showing how the announcements of Jeremiah the prophet have been fulfilled.¹

Vers. 1–3. “And it came to pass, when Jerusalem had been taken (in the ninth year of Zedekiah the king of Judah, in

¹ The greater portion of the section vers. 1–14 is set down by Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, and Graf as the interpolation of a later glosser, compiled either out of chap. lii. 4–16, or from 2 Kings xxv. Vers. 3, 11, 12, and 14 are supposed by Hitzig to be all that are genuine, on the ground that these are the only portions containing independent statements, not derived from any other source. They treat simply of the person of the prophet, and state how, at the command of Nebuchadnezzar, *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of the body-guard, brought Jeremiah out of the court of the prison and delivered him over to the care of Gedaliah. If we gather together the verses that are left as genuine, we find, of course, that the subject treated of in them is what occurred when Jeremiah was liberated from his confinement in the court of the prison. But neither is the difference between ver. 14 and chap. xl. 1 ff. thereby settled, nor the difficulty removed, that *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of the body-guard, was not present with the army when Jerusalem was taken; according to lii. 12, it was not till a month after that event that he was sent to Jerusalem from Riblah by the king, who was staying there. Vers. 11 and 12, too, retain the appearance of being interpolations. Ewald and Graf, accordingly, consider these two verses also as later insertions. But even this view does not settle the differences and difficulties that have been raised, but only increases them; for it would represent Jeremiah as being set at liberty, not by *Nebuzaradan*, as is related xl. 1 ff., but by the Chaldean generals named in ver. 3.—When, however, we inquire into the grounds taken as the foundation of this hypothesis, the fact that the LXX. have omitted vers. 4, 10, and 13 can prove nothing, since vers. 1 and 2 are found in the LXX., although these also are supposed to be spurious. The only argument adduced for the attempted excision, viz. that vers. 1, 2, 4–10 break the connection, proves absolutely nothing in itself, but merely receives importance on the

the tenth month, Nebuchadrezzar and all his army had come against Jerusalem and besieged it; in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, on the ninth of the month, was the city broken into), then came all the princes of the king of Babylon and sat down at the middle gate,—Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim, chief chamberlain, Nergal-sharezer, chief magician, and all the rest of the princes of the king of Babylon." These three verses, to which the last clause of chap. xxxviii. 28 belongs, form one period, broken up by a pretty long piece inserted in it, on the beginning and duration of the siege of Jerusalem; so that, after the introductory clause וַיְהִי בַּאֲשֶׁר (וַיְהִי = וַיְהִי as in xxxvii. 11), chap. xxxviii. 28, the conclusion does not come till the word וַיָּבֹאוּ, ver. 3. In the parenthesis, the length of the siege, as stated, substantially agrees with lii. 4-7a and 2 Kings xxv. 1-4a, only that in these passages

supposition that the present section could only treat of the liberation of Jeremiah, and must contain nothing that is mentioned elsewhere regarding the taking of Jerusalem. But this supposition is quite unwarranted. That vers. 1 and 2 are inserted parenthetically cannot afford any ground of suspicion as regards their genuineness; and that, in vers. 4-10, mention is briefly made of Zedekiah's being seized and condemned, of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the carrying away of the people, except the very meanest,—this also cannot throw suspicion on the genuineness of these verses; for these statements obviously aim at showing how the word of the Lord, which Jeremiah had proclaimed repeatedly, and once more a short time before the storming of the city, had been fulfilled. Finally, it follows from this that these statements agree with those given in chap. lii. and in 2 Kings xxv. regarding the capture and destruction of Jerusalem; but it does *not* follow that they have been derived from the latter as their source. The language in the disputed verses is peculiarly that of Jeremiah. The expression וַיְהִי בַּאֲשֶׁר is found in Jer. xxvii. 20; while in lii. 10, instead of it, we find וַיְהִי בַּאֲשֶׁר, and in 2 Kings xxv. the whole sentence is wanting. So, also, וַיָּבֹאוּ, ver. 5 and lii. 9, is an expression peculiar to Jeremiah (see on i. 16); in 2 Kings xxv. 6 it is changed to וַיָּבֹאוּ. Thus we must set down as groundless and erroneous the allegation made by Hitzig and Graf, that these verses of our chapter have been derived from 2 Kings xxv.; for the form of the name Nehuchadnezzar (with *n*) in ver. 5 instead of Nebuchadrezzar, which agrees with 2 Kings xxv., and which has been brought to bear on this question, can prove nothing, just because not only in ver. 11 but also in ver. 1 (which also is said to be taken from 2 Kings xxv.) we find Nebuchadrezzar.

the time when the siege began is further determined by the mention of the day of the month, בָּקָעֶשֶׁר לְחֹדֶשׁ, which words are omitted here. The siege, then, lasted eighteen months, all but one day. After the besiegers had penetrated into the city through the breaches made in the wall, the princes, *i.e.* the chief generals, took up their position at "the gate of the midst." יָשְׁבוּ, "they sat down," *i.e.* took up a position, fixed their quarters. "The gate of the midst," which is mentioned only in this passage, is supposed, and perhaps rightly, to have been a gate in the wall which divided the city of Zion from the lower city; from this point, the two portions of the city, the upper and the lower city, could most easily be commanded.—With regard to the names of the Babylonian princes, it is remarkable (1) that the name Nergal-sharezer occurs twice, the first time without any designation, the second time with the official title of chief magician; (2) that the name Samgar-nebo has the name of God (Nebo or Nebu) in the second half, whereas in all other compounds of this kind that are known to us, Nebu forms the first portion of the name, as in Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan, Nebushasban (ver. 13), Naboned, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, etc.; (3) from this name, too, is omitted the title of office, while we find one with the following name. Moreover (4) in ver. 13, where the Babylonian grandees are again spoken of, instead of the four names, only three are given, but every one of them with a title of office; and only the third of these, Nergal-sharezer, the chief magician, is identical with the one who is named last in ver. 3; while Nebushasban is mentioned instead of the Sarsechim of ver. 3 as רַב־פָּרִים, chief of the eunuchs (high chamberlain); and in place of Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, we find Nebuzaradan as the commander of the body-guards (רַב מִבְּחָתִים). On these four grounds, Hitzig infers that ver. 3, in the passage before us, has been corrupted, and that it contained originally only the names of three persons, with their official titles. Moreover, he supposes that פָּרִים is formed from the Persian جام and the derivation-syllable שָׂר, Pers. سر, and means "he who has or holds the cup," the cup-bearer; thus corresponding to רַב שָׁקָה, Rab-shakeh, "chief cup-bearer," 2 Kings xviii. 17, Isa. xxxvi. 2. He also considers שָׂרִים a Hebraizing form of

רַב קָרִים ; רַב קָרִים, “to cut,” by transposition from קָרַץ, Arab. *ḥaṣī*, from which comes *ḥaṣī*, “a eunuch,” plur. *ḥaṣīm*; hence *ḥaṣīm* = *ḥaṣīm*, of which the former has been a marginal gloss, afterwards received into the text. This complicated combination, however, by which Hitzig certainly makes out two official titles, though he retains no more than the divine name *Nebu* as that of *Rabsaris*, is founded upon two very hazardous conjectures. Nor do these conjectures gain much support from the renewal of the attempt, made about fifty years since by the late P. von Bohlen, to explain from the Neo-Persian the names of persons and titles occurring in the Assyrian and Old-Babylonian languages, an attempt which has long since been looked upon as scientifically unwarranted. Strange as it may seem that the two persons first named are not further specified by the addition of an official title, yet the supposition that the persons named in ver. 3 are identical with those mentioned in ver. 13 is erroneous, since it stands in contradiction with lii. 12, which even Hitzig recognises as historically reliable. According to lii. 12, Nebuzaradan, who is the first mentioned in ver. 13, was not present at the taking of Jerusalem, and did not reach the city till four weeks afterwards; he was ordered by Nebuchadnezzar to superintend arrangements for the destruction of Jerusalem, and also to make arrangements for the transportation of the captives to Babylon, and for the administration of the country now being laid waste. But in ver. 3 are named the generals who, when the city had been taken by storm, took up their position within it.—Nor do the other difficulties, mentioned above, compel us to make such harsh conjectures. If Nergal-sharezer be the name of a person, compounded of two words, the divine name, *Nergal* (2 Kings xvii. 30), and *Sharezer*, probably *dominator tuebitur* (see Delitzsch on Isa. xxxvii. 38), then Samgar-Nebu-Sarsechim may possibly be a proper name compounded of three words. So long as we are unable with certainty to explain the words *ḥaṣīm* and *ḥaṣīm* out of the Assyrian, we can form no decisive judgment regarding them. But not even does the hypothesis of Hitzig account for the occurrence twice over of the name Nergal-sharezer. The Nergal-sharezer mentioned in the first passage was, no doubt,

the commander-in-chief of the besieging army; but it could hardly be maintained, with anything like convincing power, that this officer could not bear the same name as that of the chief magician. And if it be conceded that there are really errors in the strange words שִׁרְכָּיִים and מְנַיִרְנָיִי, we are as yet without the necessary means of correcting them, and obtaining the proper text.

In vers. 4-7 are narrated the flight of Zedekiah, his capture, and his condemnation, like what we find in lii. 7-11 and 2 Kings xxv. 4-7. "When Zedekiah the king of Judah and all the men of war saw them (the Chaldean generals who had taken up their position at the mid-gate), they fled by night out of the city, by the way of the king's garden, by a gate between the walls, and he went out by the way to the Arabah. Ver. 5. But the army of the Chaldeans pursued after them, and overtook Zedekiah in the steppes of Jericho, and captured him, and brought him to Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, to Riblah, in the land of Hamath; and he pronounced judgment on him." Hitzig and Graf consider that the connection of these events, made by בַּאֲשֶׁר נָאָם, is awkward, and say that the king would not have waited till the Chaldean generals took up their position at the mid-gate, nor could he see these in the night-time; that, moreover, he would hardly have waited till the city was taken before he fled. These objections are utterly worthless. If the city of Zion, in which the royal palace stood, was separated from the lower city by a wall, then the king might still be quite at ease, with his men of war, in the upper city or city of Zion, so long as the enemy, who were pushing into the lower city from the north, remained at the separating wall, near the middle gate in it; and only when he saw that the city of Zion, too, could no longer be held, did he need to betake himself to flight with the men of war around him. In actual fact, then, he might have been able to see the Chaldean generals with his own eyes, although we need not press נָאָם so much as to extract this meaning from it. Even at this juncture, flight was still possible through the south gate, at the king's garden, between the two walls. Thenius, on 2 Kings xxv. 4, takes הַמִּתְחִים to mean a double wall, which at the southern end of Ophel closed up the ravine between Ophel and Zion. But a double wall must also

have had two gates, and Thenius, indeed, has exhibited them in his plan of Jerusalem; but the text speaks of but one gate (שַׁעַר). "The two walls" are rather the walls which ran along the eastern border of Zion and the western border of Ophel. The gate between these was situated in the wall which ran across the Tyropœan valley, and united the wall of Zion and that of Ophel; it was called the horse-gate (Neh. iii. 28), and occupied the position of the modern "dung-gate" (*Bab-el Moghâribeh*); see on Neh. iii. 27, 28. It was not the "gate of the fountain," as Thenius (*Bücher der Kön.* S. 456), Nägelsbach, and others imagine, founding on the supposed existence of the double wall at the south end of Ophel. Outside this gate, where the valley of the Tyropœon joined with the valley of the Kidron, lay the king's garden, in the vicinity of the pool of Siloam; see on Neh. iii. 15. The words וַיֵּצֵא וְנָאִו introduce further details as to the king's flight. In spite of the preceding plurals וַיִּבְרְחוּ וַיֵּצֵאוּ, the sing. וַיֵּצֵא is quite suitable here, since the narrator wishes to give further details with regard to the flight of the king alone, without bringing into consideration the warriors who fled along with him. Nor does the following וַיִּמְלִיכוּם militate against this view; for the Chaldean warriors pursued the king and his followers, not to capture these followers, but the king. Escaped from the city, the king took the direction of the עֲרֵבָה, the plain of the Jordan, in order to escape over Jordan to Gilead. But the pursuing enemy overtook him in the steppes of Jericho (see on Josh. iv. 13, pp. 50, 51 of Clark's Translation), and thus before he had crossed the Jordan; they led him, bound, to Riblah, before the king of Babylon. "Riblah in the land of Hamath" is still called *Ribleh*, a wretched village about 20 miles S.S.W. from *Hums* (Emesa) on the river *el Ahsy* (Orontes), in a large fertile plain in the northern portion of the *Bekâa*, on the great caravan-track which passes from Palestine through Damascus, Emesa, and Hamath to Thapsacus and Carchemish on the Euphrates; see Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* iii. 545, and on 2 Kings xxiii. 33 (vol. ii. p. 160 of Clark's Translation).—On וַיִּפְּדֵם, to speak judgment, pronounce sentence of punishment, see on i. 16. Nebuchadnezzar caused the sons of Zedekiah and all the princes of Judah (חֲרִים, nobles, lords, as in xxvii. 30) to be slain before the eyes of the Jewish king; then he put out

his eyes and bound him with brazen fetters, to carry him away to Babylon (לְהַבִּי־אָ לְבָבֶל), where, according to lii. 11, he remained in confinement till his death.

Vers. 8-10 contain a brief notice regarding the fate of the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants, joined on to the passage preceding, in order to prepare the way for a short account of the treatment which Jeremiah experienced at the same time. From the more detailed notice regarding the fate of the city, given in lii. 12 ff., 2 Kings xxv. 8 ff., we see that the destruction of the city and the carrying away of the people took place one month after their fall, and that the king of Babylon had appointed Nebuzaradan, the commander of his body-guards, to go to Jerusalem for the purpose of carrying out these matters. In these verses of ours, also, Nebuzaradan is mentioned as the one who carried out the judgment that had been pronounced (ver. 10 ff.); but the fact of his being sent from Riblah and the date of the execution of his commission are here omitted, so that it appears as if it had all occurred immediately after the capture of the city, and as if Nebuzaradan had been always on the spot. For the writer of this chapter did not need to give a historically exact account of the separate events; it was merely necessary briefly to mention the chief points, in order to place in proper light the treatment experienced by the prophet. The Chaldeans burned the king's house (the palace) and בֵּית-הַמֶּלֶךְ. This latter expression, taken in connection with "the king's house," signifies the rest of the city apart from the king's palace; hence בֵּית is used in a collective sense. The temple is not mentioned, as being of no consequence for the immediate purpose of this short notice.—Ver. 9. "And the rest of the people that had remained in the city, and the deserters who had deserted to him, and the rest of the people that remained, Nebuzaradan, the chief of the body-guards, led captive to Babylon. Ver. 10. But of the poorest of the people, who had nothing, Nebuzaradan left some in the country, and he gave them vineyards and arable fields at the same time." עָלֵי after נִקְּלֵי refers, *ad sensum*, to the king of Babylon; his name, certainly, is not given in the immediate context, but it is readily suggested by it. In lii. 15 we find אֶל-מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל instead of עָלֵי; yet we might also refer this last-named word to the following subject, Nebuzaradan, as the

representative of the king. רִב־טַבָּחִים, properly, chief of the slayers, i.e. of the executioners, is the chief of the king's body-guard, who occupied the first place among the royal attendants; see on Gen. xxxvii. 36. By the addition of the words בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, on that day, i.e. then, the more general account regarding Jerusalem and its inhabitants is concluded, for the purpose of attaching to it the notice regarding the fate of the prophet Jeremiah, vers. 11-14.

Vers. 11-14. Nebuchadnezzar gave orders regarding Jeremiah, through Nebuzaradan, the chief of the body-guards: "Take him, and set thine eyes upon him, and do him no harm; but, just as he telleth thee, so do with him." In obedience to this command, "Nebuzaradan, the chief of the body-guards, sent,—and Nebushasban the head chamberlain, and Nergal-sharezer the chief magician, and all (the other) chief men of the king of Babylon,—they sent and took Jeremiah out of the court of the prison, and delivered him over to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, to take him out to the house. Thus he dwelt among the people."—On the names of the Chaldean grandees, see on ver. 3. Instead of the chief chamberlain (רִב־טַבָּחִים) Sarsechim, there is here named, as occupying this office, Nebushasban, who, it seems, along with Nebuzaradan, was not sent from Riblah till after the taking of Jerusalem, when Sarsechim was relieved. We cannot come to any certain conclusion regarding the relation in which the two persons or names stand to one another, since Nebushasban is only mentioned in ver. 13, just as Sarsechim is mentioned only in ver. 3. Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the man who had already on a former occasion given protection to Jeremiah (xxvi. 24), was, according to xl. 5, placed by the king of Babylon over the cities of Judah, i.e. was nominated the Chaldean governor over Judah and the Jews who were left in the land. To him, as such, Jeremiah is here (ver. 14) delivered, that he may take him into the house. בֵּית is neither the temple (Hitzig) nor the palace, the king's house (Graf), but the house in which Gedaliah resided as the governor; and we find here הֵבֵיתוֹ, not בְּבֵיתוֹ, since the house was neither the property nor the permanent dwelling-place of Gedaliah.—According to this account, Jeremiah seems to have remained in the court of the prison till Nebuchadnezzar

came, to have been liberated by Nebuzaradan only at the command of the king, and to have been sent to Gedaliah the governor. But this is contradicted by the account in xl. 1 ff., according to which, Nebuzaradan liberated the prophet in Ramah, where he had been kept, confined by manacles, among the captives of Judah that were to be carried to Babylon: Nebuzaradan sent for him, and gave him his liberty. This contradiction has arisen simply from the intense brevity with which, in this verse, the fate of Jeremiah at the capture and destruction of Jerusalem is recorded; it is easy to settle the difference in this way:—When the city was taken, those inhabitants, especially males, who had not carried arms, were seized by the Chaldeans and carried out of the city to Ramah, where they were held prisoners till the decision of the king regarding their fate should be made known. Jeremiah shared this lot with his fellow-countrymen. When, after this, Nebuzaradan came to Jerusalem to execute the king's commands regarding the city and its inhabitants, at the special order of his monarch, he sent for Jeremiah the prophet, taking him out from among the crowd of prisoners who had been already carried away to Ramah, loosed him from his fetters, and gave him permission to choose his place of residence. This liberation of Jeremiah from his confinement might, in a summary account, be called a sending for him out of the court of the prison, even though the prophet, at the exact moment of his liberation, was no longer in the court of the prison of the palace at Jerusalem, but had been already carried away to Ramah as a captive.

Vers. 15–18. *Jeremiah's message of comfort to Ebedmelech.*—Ver. 15. "Now to Jeremiah there had come the word of the Lord, while he remained shut up in the court of the prison, as follows: Ver. 16. Go and speak to Ebedmelech the Cushite, saying, Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will bring my words against this city for evil and not for good, and they shall take place before thee on that day. Ver. 17. But I will deliver thee on that day, saith Jahveh; neither shalt thou be given into the hand of the men of whom thou art afraid. Ver. 18. For I will surely save thee, neither shalt thou fall by the sword, and thine own life shall be thy spoil, because thou hast trusted me, saith Jahveh."—This word of God for Ebed-

melech came to the prophet, no doubt, very soon after his deliverance from the miry pit by this pious Ethiopian; but it is not given till now, and this by way of supplement, lest its introduction previously should break the chain of events which occurred at the time of that deliverance, chap. xxxviii. 14-xxxix. 13. Hence הָיָה, ver. 15, is to be translated as a pluperfect. "Go and say," etc., is not inconsistent with the fact that Jeremiah, from being in confinement, could not leave the court of the prison. For Ebedmelech could come into the prison, and then Jeremiah could go to him and declare the word of God. "Behold, I will bring my words against this city," i.e. I shall cause the evil with which I have threatened Jerusalem and its inhabitants to come, or, to be accomplished (מִבִּי with א dropped, as in xix. 15, and אֶל־ for אֵל־). הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ, "and these words are to take place before thy face," i.e. thou shalt with thine own eyes behold their fulfilment, בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, i.e. at the time of their occurrence. But thou shalt be saved, not fall into the hands of the enemy and be killed, but carry away thy body out of it all as booty; cf. xxi. 9, xxxviii. 2. "Because thou hast trusted me;" i.e. through the aid afforded to my prophet thou hast continued thy faith in me.

C. JEREMIAH'S PREDICTIONS AND EXPERIENCES AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.—CHAP. XL.—XLV.

Chap. xl. and xli. *Liberation of Jeremiah. Murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael, and its results.*

Chap. xl. 1-6. The *liberation of Jeremiah* by Nebuzaradan, the chief of the body-guards.—The superscription, "The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord, after that Nebuzaradan, the captain of the body-guard, had let him go from Ramah," does not seem to be appropriate; for in what follows there is no word of God declared by Jeremiah, but first, 2-6, we are told that Jeremiah was liberated and given in charge to Gedaliah; then is told, xl. 7-xli. 18, the story of the murder of Gedaliah the governor by Ishmael, together with its consequences; and not till xlii. 7 ff. is there communicated a word of God, which Jeremiah uttered regarding the Jews who wished to flee to

Egypt, and had besought him for some revelation from God (xlii. 1-6). The heading of our verse cannot refer to this prophecy, not merely for the reason that it is too far removed, but still more because it has a historical notice introducing it, xlii. 1-6. Our superscription rather refers to i. 1-3; and **יְרֵמְיָהּ** here, as well as there, means, not a single prophecy, but a number of prophecies. Just as **יְרֵמְיָהּ יְהוָה** in i. 2 forms the heading for all the prophecies uttered by Jeremiah from the thirteenth year of Josiah till the destruction of Jerusalem and the carrying away of the people in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, so the words **יְרֵמְיָהּ אֲשֶׁר וְגו'** of this verse form the superscription for the prophecies which Jeremiah uttered after the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* to the section formed by chap. xl.-xlv., although chap. xlv. have headings of their own; these, however, are subordinate to the heading of this chapter, in the same way as the titles in vii. 1, xi. 1, xiv. 1, etc. fall under the general title given in i. 2, 3.—Regarding Nebuzaradan and the discharge of Jeremiah at Ramah (*i.e.* *er Rām*, see on xxxi. 15), cf. the explanations given on xxxix. 13 (p. 124 of this volume). In what follows, from **בְּקִרְתּוֹ** onwards, further details are given regarding Jeremiah's liberation. "When he (Nebuzaradan) sent for him, he (Jeremiah), bound with fetters, was among all the captives of Jerusalem and Judah who were being carried away to Babylon." Those who were to be carried away had been gathered together to Ramah, which lies about five miles north from Jerusalem; thence they were to set out for Babylon. **אֲזַקִּים** (= **אֲזָקִים**, Job xxxvi. 8, Isa. xlv. 14), "fetters,"—here, according to ver. 4, "manacles," by which, perhaps, two or more prisoners were fastened to one another.—Vers. 2-4. When Jeremiah had been brought, the commander of the guards said to him, "The Lord thy God hath declared this evil against this place, and the Lord hath brought it on (brought it to pass), and hath done as He spake; for ye have sinned against the Lord, and have not hearkened to His voice: thus hath this thing happened to you." The mode of expression is that of Jeremiah; but Nebuzaradan may have expressed the *thought*, that now there had been fulfilled what Jeremiah had predicted in the name of God, because the people, by their rebellion, had broken the oath they had sworn before their God

(cf. Ezek. xvii. 13 ff.), and had thereby sinned against Him. The article before יָדָךְ, required by the *Qeri*, is unnecessary; cf. Ewald, § 293, a; Gesenius, § 112, 2, a.—Ver. 4. Nebuzaradan then declared him free: “And now, behold, I free thee this day from the shackles on thine hands. If it please thee to come with me to Babylon, then come, and I will set mine eye upon thee (i.e. take thee under my protection, cf. xxxix. 12). But if it please thee not to come with me to Babylon, then let it be so. See, the whole country is before thee (cf. Gen. xiii. 9, xx. 5, etc.); whithersoever it pleases thee, and seems right to thee to go, go.” Ver. 5. And because Jeremiah had not yet returned, he said, “Go back to Gedaliah, . . . whom the king of Babylon hath set over the cities of Judah, and remain with him among the people; or go wherever it seemeth right to thee to go.” And the commander of the guard gave him what provisions he required and a present, and sent him away; thereafter Jeremiah went to Gedaliah to Mizpah, and remained there among the people who had been left behind in the land (ver. 6). The words וְעָרַבְתָּ לֹא יָשֹׁב were certainly misunderstood by the old translators, who made various conjectures as to their meaning; even yet, Dahler, Movers, Graf, and Nägelsbach are of opinion that “it is impossible to understand” this sentence, and that the text is plainly corrupt. Luther renders: “for no one will any longer return thither.” Hitzig considers this translation substantially correct, and only requiring to be a little more exactly rendered: “but there, no one returns home again.” Apart, however, from the consideration that on this view וְעָרַבְתָּ, which stands at the head of the sentence, does not get full justice paid to it, the thought does not accord with what precedes, and the reference of the suffix to the indefinite “person” or “one” is extremely forced. According to what goes before, in which Nebuzaradan gives the prophet full liberty of choosing whether he would go with him to Babylon or remain in the country, in whatever part he likes, and from the following advice which he gives him, “Go, or return, to Gedaliah,” the words וְעָרַבְתָּ לֹא יָשֹׁב, on account of the third person (יָשֹׁב), cannot certainly be an address of the chief captain to Jeremiah, and as little can they contain a remark about going to Babylon. The words are evidently, both as to

their form and their contents, a circumstantial clause, containing a statement regarding the relation of Jeremiah to the proposal of the chief captain (and this is the view taken long ago by Kimchi), *i.e.* a parenthetical remark of the narrator, according to which Nebuzaradan demands that he shall remain with Gedaliah, in the sense, "and yet he was not going back," or, still better, on account of the imperfect *לֹא שָׁבָה*, "because he was still unwilling to go back," namely, to this or that place indefinitely; then Nebuzaradan further said, "Return, then, to Gedaliah." If we supply *וַיֵּאמֶר* before *לִשְׁבוּתָהּ וְנִי*, with which Nebuzaradan brings the matter to a close, the meaning is quite clear. It is evident from ver. 4 that Nebuzaradan stopped a little in order to let Jeremiah decide; but since the prophet did not return, *i.e.* neither decided in the one way nor the other, he adds *לִשְׁבוּתָהּ וְנִי*, and thereby puts an end to the indecision. *אֲרָחָה* means a portion of food, or victuals; cf. lii. 34 and Prov. xv. 17. Mizpah, where Gedaliah had taken up his position, is the Mizpah of the tribe of Benjamin, where Samuel judged the people and chose Saul to be king (1 Sam. vii. 15 ff., x. 17); doubtless the modern *Neby Samwil*, five miles north-west from Jerusalem, a short distance south-west from Ramah; see on Josh. xviii. 26.

Vers. 7-12. *Return of those who had been dispersed: they gather round Gedaliah.*—Whilst the country and its capital were being conquered, many of the men of war had dispersed here and there through the land, and fled for refuge to regions difficult of access, where they could not be reached by the Chaldeans; others had even escaped into the territory of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites. When these heard that now, after the destruction of Jerusalem and the carrying away of the captives, the king of Babylon had appointed Gedaliah as governor over the few people who had been left behind in the country, they returned from their several places of refuge, and came to Mizpah to Gedaliah, who promised them protection and safety, on condition that they would recognise the authority of the king of Babylon and peaceably cultivate the soil. *שָׂרֵי חַיִּלִּים*, "leaders of the forces, captains." *בְּשָׂדָה*, "in the country," as opposed to the city; *שָׂדֵה*, "fields," as in xvii. 3. *אֲנָשֵׁיהֶם*, "their men," the troops under the captains.

וְיָהוֹנָתָן בֶּן־נְתַנְיָהוּ, "that he had committed to his oversight and care." "Men," viz. old, weak, infirm men; "women and children," whose husbands and fathers had perished; "and some of the poor of the country, of those who had not been carried captive to Babylon" (וְיָהוֹנָתָן partitive), i.e. the poor and mean people whom the Chaldeans had left behind in the country (xxxix. 10).—Ver. 8 ff. These captains came to Mizpah, namely (וְיָהוֹנָתָן explicative), Ishmael the son of Nethaniah (according to xli. 1, the grandson of Elishama, and of royal blood), Johanan and Jonathan the sons of Kareah (cf. ver. 13 and xli. 11, 16, xlii. 1 ff.; the name Jonathan is omitted in 2 Kings xxv. 23; see on this passage), Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, and the sons of Ephai the Netophathite (from Netophah in the vicinity of Bethlehem, 1 Chron. ii. 54, Ezra ii. 22), Jezaniah (וְיָהוֹזָבָב; but in 2 Kings xxv. 23 וְיָהוֹזָבָב) the Maachathite, from Maachah, a district in Syria near Hermon, Deut. iii. 14, Josh. xii. 5. These men, who had borne arms against the Chaldeans, were concerned for their safety when they returned into the country. Gedaliah swore to them, i.e. promised them on oath, "Be not afraid to serve the Chaldeans; remain in the country and serve the king of Babylon, and it shall be well with you. And as for me, behold, I shall remain at Mizpah to stand before the Chaldeans who will come to us," i.e. as lieutenant of the king of Babylon, to represent you before the Chaldean officers and armies, to maintain your rights and interests, so that you may be able to settle down where you choose, without anxiety, and cultivate the land. "And as for yourselves, gather ye wine and fruit (וְיָהוֹזָבָב, see on 2 Sam. xvi. 1) and oil, and put them in your vessels." וְיָהוֹזָבָב is used of the ingathering of the fruits of the ground. It was during the fifth or sixth month (2 Kings xxv. 8), the end of July or beginning of August, that grapes, figs, and olives became ripe; and these had grown so plentifully in comparison with the small number of those who had returned, that they could gather sufficient for their wants. "And dwell in your cities, cities which ye seize," i.e. which you shall take possession of. Ver. 11 ff. Those Jews also who had fled, during the war, into the neighbouring countries of Moab, Ammon, Edom, etc., returned to Judah when they learned that the king of Babylon had left a remnant, and

placed Gedaliah over them; they came to Mizpah to Gedaliah, who appointed them places to dwell in, and they gathered much wine and fruit, i.e. made a rich vintage and fruit harvest. *נָתַן שְׂאִירִית*, "to give a remainder," as it were to leave a remainder (*הוֹחִיר ש'*, xliv. 7, or *שום ש'*, Gen. xlv. 7).

Vers. 13-16. *Gedaliah is forewarned of Ishmael's intention to murder him.*—After the return of those who had taken refuge in Moab, etc., Johanan the son of Kareah, together with the rest of the captains who were scattered here and there through the country, came to Gedaliah at Mizpah, to say to him: "Dost thou know indeed that Baalis the king of the Ammonites hath sent Ishmael the son of Nethaniah to take thy life?" The words "that were in the country" are neither a gloss, nor a thoughtless repetition by some scribe from ver. 7 (as Hitzig and Graf suppose), but they are repeated for the purpose of distinguishing plainly between the captains with their men from the Jews who had returned out of Moab, Ammon, and Edom. *הַכּוֹת נַפֶּשׁ*, "to strike the soul, life" = to kill; cf. Gen. xxxvii. 21, Deut. xix. 6. What induced the king of Ammon to think of assassination,—whether it was personal hostility towards Gedaliah, or the hope of destroying the only remaining support of the Jews, and thereby perhaps putting himself in possession of the country,—cannot be determined. That he employed Ishmael for the accomplishment of his purpose, may have been owing to the fact that this man had a personal envy of Gedaliah; for Ishmael, being sprung from the royal family (xl. 1), probably could not endure being subordinate to Gedaliah.—The plot had become known, and Gedaliah was secretly informed of it by Johanan; but the former did not believe the rumour. Johanan then secretly offered to slay Ishmael, taking care that no one should know who did it, and urged compliance in the following terms: "Why should he slay thee, and all the Jews who have gathered themselves round thee be scattered, and the remnant of Judah perish?" Johanan thus called his attention to the evil consequences which would result to the remnant left in the land were he killed; but Gedaliah replied, "Do not this thing, for thou speakest a lie against Ishmael." The *Qeri* needlessly changes *שְׂאִירִית* into *שָׂאִירִית*; cf. xxxix. 12.

Chap. xli. vers. 1-10. *Murder of Gedaliah and his followers, as well as other Jews, by Ishmael.*—Vers. 1-3. The warning of Johanan had been only too well founded. In the seventh month,—only two months, therefore, after the destruction of Jerusalem and the appointment of Gedaliah as governor,—Ishmael came with ten men to Mizpah, and was hospitably received by Gedaliah and invited to his table. Ishmael is here more exactly described as to his family descent, for the purpose of throwing a stronger light upon the exceeding cruelty of the murders afterwards ascribed to him. He was the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama,—perhaps the secretary of state mentioned xxxvi. 12, or more likely the son of David who bore this name, 2 Sam. v. 6, 1 Chron. iii. 8, xiv. 7; so that Ishmael would belong to a lateral branch of the house of David, be of royal extraction, and one of the royal lords. *וְרֵבִי הַמֶּלֶךְ* cannot be joined with Ishmael as the subject, because in what follows there is no further mention made of the royal lords, but only of Ishmael and his ten men; it belongs to what precedes, *מִצְפָּה*, so that we must repeat *בְּ* before *וְרֵבִי*. The objections of Nägelsbach to this view will not stand examination. It is not self-evident that Ishmael, because he was of royal blood, was therefore also one of the royal nobles; for the *וְרֵבִים* certainly did not form a hereditary caste, but were perhaps a class of nobles in the service of the king, to which class the princes did not belong simply in virtue of their being princes. But the improbability that Ishmael should have been able with ten men to overpower the whole of the Jewish followers of Gedaliah, together with the Chaldean warriors, and (according to ver. 7) out of eighty men to kill some, making prisoners of the rest, is not so great as to compel us to take *וְרֵבִי הַמֶּלֶךְ* in such a meaning as to make it stand in contradiction with the statement, repeated twice over, that Ishmael, with his ten men, did all this. Eleven men who are determined to commit murder can kill a large number of persons who are not prepared against such an attempt, and may also keep a whole district in terror.¹ “And they did eat bread there together,” *i.e.* they were invited by Gedaliah to

¹ There is still less ground, with Hitzig, Graf, and Nägelsbach, for assuming that *וְרֵבִי הַמֶּלֶךְ* is a gloss that has crept into the text. The fact that *וְרֵבִים*, which is used here, is elsewhere applied only to Chaldean nobles,

his table. While at meat, Ishmael and his ten men rose and slew Gedaliah with the sword. On account of *וַיַּמָּת אֹתוֹ*, which comes after, Hitzig and Graf would change *וַיַּמָּת* into *וַיַּכּוּ*, *he slew him*, Gedaliah; this alteration is possibly warranted, but by no means absolutely necessary. The words *וַיַּמָּת אֹתוֹ וְגו'*, "and he killed him," contain a reflection of the narrator as to the greatness of the crime; in conformity with the facts of the case, the murder is ascribed only to the originator of the deed, since the ten men of Ishmael's retinue were simply his executioners. Besides Gedaliah, Ishmael killed "all the Jews that were with him, with Gedaliah in Mizpah, and the Chaldeans that were found there, the men of war." The very expression shows that, of the Jews, only those are meant who were present in the house with Gedaliah, and, of the Chaldean soldiers, only those warriors who had been allowed him as a guard, who for the time being were his servants, and who, though they were not, as Schmidt thinks, *hausto liberalius vino inebriati*, yet, as Chr. B. Michaelis remarks, were *tunc temporis inermes et imparati*. The Jews of post-exile times used to keep the third day of the seventh month as a fast-day, in commemoration of the murder of Gedaliah; see on Zech. vii. 3.—Ver. 4 ff. On the next day after the murder of Gedaliah, "when no man knew it," *i.e.* before the deed had become known beyond Mizpah, "there came eighty men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria," having all the tokens of mourning, "with their beards shaven, their clothes rent, and with cuts and scratches on their bodies (*מִתְחַרְחֲרְחִים*, see on xvi. 6), and a meat-offering and frankincense in their hand, to bring them into the house of Jahveh." The order in which the towns are named is not geographical; for Shiloh lay south from Shechem, and a little to the side from the straight road leading from Shechem to Jerusalem. Instead of *שֵׁלֹה*, the LXX. (*Cod. Vat.*) have *Σαλήμ*; they use the same word as the name of a place in Gen. xxxiii. 18, although the Hebrew *שֵׁלֹה* is there an adjective, meaning *safe*, in *good condition*. According to Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 102), there is a village named *Sâlim*

is insufficient to show this; and even Ewald has remarked that "the last king (Zedekiah) may well be supposed to have appointed a number of *grandeess*, after the example of the Chaldeans, and given them, too, Chaldean names."

three miles east from *Nablûs* (Shechem); Hitzig and Graf, on the strength of this, prefer the reading of the LXX., to preserve the order of the names in the text. But Hitzig has renounced this conjecture in the second edition of his Commentary, "because *Sâlim* in Hebrew would be שֶׁלִּים, not שֶׁלִּם." There is absolutely no foundation for the view in the LXX. and in Gen. xxxiii. 18; the supposition, moreover, that the three towns are given in their topographical order, and must have stood near each other, is also unfounded. Shechem may have been named first because the greater number of these men came from that city, and other men from Shiloh and Samaria accompanied them. These men were pious descendants of the Israelites who belonged to the kingdom of Israel; they dwelt among the heathen colonists who had been settled in the country under Esarhaddon (2 Kings xvii. 24 ff.), but, from the days of Hezekiah or Josiah, had continued to serve Jahveh in Jerusalem, where they used to attend the feasts (2 Chron. xxxiv. 9, cf. xxx. 11). Nay, even after the destruction of Jerusalem, at the seasons of the sacred feasts, they were still content to bring at least unbloody offerings—meat-offerings and incense—on the still sacred spot where these things used to be offered to Jahveh; but just because this could now be done only on the ruins of what had once been the sanctuary, they appeared there with all the signs of deep sorrow for the destruction of this holy place and the cessation of sacrificial worship. In illustration of this, Grotius has adduced a passage from Papinian's *instit. de rerum divis. § sacræ*: "*Locus in quo aedes sacræ sunt ædificatæ, etiam diruto ædificio, sacer adhuc manet.*"—Ver. 6. Ishmael went out from Mizpah to meet these men, always weeping as he went (וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּבְכֶּה, cf. Ges. § 131, *a*^b; Ew. § 280, *b*). If they came from Ephraim by way of Gibeon (el Jîb), the road on to Jerusalem passed close by Mizpah. When Ishmael met them, he asked them to come to Gedaliah (to Mizpah). But when they had entered the city, "Ishmael slew them into the midst of the pit" (which was there), *i.e.* killed them and cast their corpses into the pit. Ver. 8. Only ten men out of the eighty saved their lives, and this by saying to Ishmael, "Do not kill us, for we have hidden stores in the field—wheat, and barley, and oil, and honey." פְּטָמִים are excavations in the form of

cisterns, or subterranean storehouses in the open country, for keeping grain; the openings or entrances to these are so concealed that the eye of a stranger could not perceive them. Such places are still universally employed in Palestine at the present day (Robinson's *Palestine*, i. pp. 324-5), and are also to be found in other southern countries, both in ancient and modern times; see proofs of this in Rosenmüller's *Scholia ad hunc locum*. It is remarked, in ver. 9, of the pit into which Ishmael threw the corpses, that it was the same that King Asa had made, *i.e.* had caused to be made, against, *i.e.* for protection against, Baasha the king of Israel. In the historical books there is no mention made of this pit in the account of the war between Asa and Baasha, 1 Kings xv. 16-22 and 2 Chron. xvi. 1-6; it is only stated in 1 Kings xv. 22 and 2 Chron. xvi. 6 that, after Baasha, who had fortified Ramah, had been compelled to return to his own land because of the invasion of Benhadad the Syrian king, whom Asa had called to his aid, the king of Judah ordered all his people to carry away from Ramah the stones and timber which Baasha had employed in building, and therewith fortify Geba and Mizpah. The expression *בְּעֵשֶׂה חֲפֵזִי* certainly implies that the pit had been formed as a protection against Baasha, and belonged to the fortifications raised at that time. However, *הַבּוֹר* cannot mean the burial-place belonging to the city (Grotius), but only a cistern (cf. 2 Kings x. 14); and one such as could contain a considerable store of water was as necessary as a wall and a moat for the fortification of a city, so that it might be able to endure a long siege (Graf). Hitzig, on the other hand, takes *בּוֹר* to mean a long and broad ditch which cut off the approach to the city from Ephraim, or which, forming a part of the fortifications, made a break in the road to Jerusalem, though it was bridged over in times of peace, thus forming a kind of tunnel. This idea is certainly incorrect; for, according to ver. 7, the "ditch" was inside the city (*בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר*). The expression *בְּיַד גִּדְּלִיָּהוּ* is obscure, and cannot be explained with any degree of certainty. *בְּיַד* cannot mean "through the fault of" Gedaliah (Raschi), or "because of" Gedaliah—for his sake (Kimchi, Umbreit), or "*coram*" Gedaliah (Venema), but must rather be rendered "by means of, through the medium of," or "at the side of, together with." Nägelsbach has decided

for the rendering "by means of," giving as his reason the fact that Ishmael had made use of the name of Gedaliah in order to decoy these men into destruction. He had called to them, "Come to Gedaliah" (ver. 6); and simply on the authority of this name, they had followed him. But the employment of the name as a means of decoy can hardly be expressed by בְּיָד. We therefore prefer the meaning "at the hand = at the side of" (following the Syriac, L. de Dieu, Rosenmüller, Ewald), although this signification cannot be established from the passages cited by Rosenm. (1 Sam. xiv. 34, xvi. 2, Ezra vii. 23), nor can the meaning "together with" (Ewald) be shown to belong to it. On the other hand, a passage which is quite decisive for the rendering "by the hand of, beside," is Job xv. 23: "there stands ready at his hand (בְּיָדוֹ, i.e. close to him) a day of darkness." If we take this meaning for the passage now before us, then בְּיָד בְּיָדוֹ cannot be connected with אֲשֶׁר הָבָה, in accordance with the Masoretic accents, but with הַשְׁלִיךְ שָׁם, "where Ishmael cast the bodies of the men whom he had slain, by the side of Gedaliah;" so that it is not stated till here and now, and only in a casual manner, what had become of Gedaliah's corpse. Nothing that admits of being proved can be brought against this view.¹ The הוּא which follows is a predicate: "the ditch wherein . . . was that which Asa the king had formed."

The motive for this second series of assassinations by Ishmael is difficult to discover. The supposition that he was afraid of

¹ Because the LXX. have, for בְּיָד בְּיָדוֹ הוּא, *φράσιν μέγα τοῦτο ἐστίν*, J. D. Michaelis, Dahler, Movers, Hitzig, and Graf would change the text, and either take בְּיָד נָדוּל הוּא (Dahler, Movers) or בְּיָד הַנָּדוּל הוּא (= בּוֹר) as the original reading, inasmuch as one codex of De Rossi's also has בּוֹר. But apart from the improbability of בּוֹר נָדוּל or בְּיָד הַנָּדוּל being incorrectly changed into בְּיָד בְּיָדוֹ, we find that הוּא stands provokingly in the way; for it would be superfluous, or introduce an improper emphasis into the sentence. The LXX. have not been attempting to guess at a translation of a text they did not understand. What Hitzig further supposes has no foundation, viz. that this "ditch" is identical with that mentioned 1 Sam. xix. 22, in שִׁכְנֵי, and with τὸ φράσιν τὸ μέγα of 1 Macc. vii. 19; for the ditch at Sechu was near Ramah, which was about four miles from Mizpah, and the large fountain 1 Macc. vii. 19 was ἐν Βηζῖθ, an unknown place in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

being betrayed, and for this reason killed these strangers, not wishing to be troubled with them, is improbable, for the simple reason that these strangers did not want to go to Mizpah, but to Jerusalem. For the supposition of Thenius (on 2 Kings xxv. 23) and of Schmieder, that the people had intended going to Mizpah to a house of God that was there, is very properly rejected by Hitzig, because no mention is made in history of a place of worship at Mizpah; and, according to the express statement of ver. 6 ff., Ishmael had enticed them into this city only by inviting them to come and see Gedaliah. Had Ishmael wished merely to conceal the murder of Gedaliah from these strangers, he ought to have done anything but let them into Mizpah. As little can we regard this deed (with Graf) as an act of revenge on these Israelites by Ishmael for the murder of his relations and equals in rank by Nebuchadnezzar (lii. 10), because these men, who had now for a long time been living together with heathens, were Assyrian and Chaldean subjects. For we cannot comprehend how he could look on these Israelites as friends of the Chaldeans, and vent his anger against the Chaldean rule by murdering them; the mournful procession which they formed, and the offerings they were carrying to present, proclaimed them faithful adherents of Judah. Nägelsbach, accordingly, is of opinion that Ishmael had simply intended robbery. As it is evident that he, a rough and wild man, had assassinated the noble Gedaliah from personal jealousy, and in order to further the political interest of his Ammonite patron, he must have been seeking to put himself in the position of his victim, or to flee. "When we find, moreover, that he soon murdered a peaceable caravan of pilgrims, and preserved the lives only of a few who offered to show him hidden treasures; when, finally, we perceive that the whole *turba imbellis* of Mizpah were seized and carried off into slavery, Ishmael proves himself a mere robber." But, though the fact that Ishmael spared the lives of the ten men who offered to show him hidden treasures seems to support this view, yet the supposition that nothing more than robbery was intended does not suffice to explain the double murder. The two series of assassinations plainly stand in the closest connection, and must have been executed from one and the same motive. It was at the instiga-

tion of the Ammonite king that Ishmael murdered Gedaliah; moreover, as we learn from the report brought to Gedaliah by Johanan (xl. 15), the crime was committed in the expectation that the whole of Judah would then be dispersed, and the remnant of them perish. This murder was thus the work of the Ammonite king, who selected the royally-descended Ishmael as his instrument simply because he could conveniently, for the execution of his plans, employ the personal envy of one man against another who had been preferred by the king of Babylon. There can be no doubt that the same motive which urged him to destroy the remnant of Judah, *i.e.* to frustrate the attempt to gather and restore Judah, was also at work in the massacre of the pilgrims who were coming to the temple. If Ishmael, the leader of a robber-gang, had entered into the design of the Ammonite king, then everything that might serve for the preservation and consolidation of Judah must have been a source of pain to him; and this hatred of his towards Judah, which derived its strength and support from his religious views, incited him to murder the Jewish pilgrims to the temple, although the prospect of obtaining treasures might well co-operate with this in such a way as to make him spare the ten men who pretended they had hidden stores. With this, too, we can easily connect the hypocritical dealing on the part of Ishmael, in going forth, with tears, to meet these pious pilgrims, so that he might deceive them by making such a show of grief over the calamity that had befallen Judah; for the wicked often assume an appearance of sanctity for the more effectual accomplishment of their evil deeds. The LXX. evidently did not know what to make of this passage as it stands; hence, in ver. 6, they have quite dropped the words "from Mizpah," and have rendered הָלַךְ הָלַךְ וַיִּבְכֶּה by αὐτοὶ ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἔκλαιον. Hitzig and Graf accept this as indicating the original text, since Ishmael had no ostensible ground for weeping. But the reasons which are supposed to justify this conjecture are, as Nägelsbach well remarks, of such a nature that one can scarcely believe they are seriously held.—Ver. 10. After executing these murderous deeds, Ishmael led away into captivity all the people that still remained in Mizpah, the king's daughters and all the people whom Nebuchadnezzar had committed to the care of

Gedaliah, intending to go over with them to the Ammonites. As the object of וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ is very far removed through the intervention of a relative clause, the connection is resumed by וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ. "The king's daughters" are not only the daughters of Zedekiah, but female members generally of the royal house, princesses, analogous to בֶּן־מֶלֶךְ, king's son = prince, xxxvi. 26, xxxviii. 6.

Vers. 11.-18. *The struggle against Ishmael; intended flight to Egypt.*—Ver. 11 ff. When Johanan and the rest of the captains heard of what had taken place in Mizpah, they marched out with all their men to fight Ishmael, and came on him at the great water at Gibeon, i.e. by the pool at Gibeon which is mentioned 2 Sam. ii. 13, one of the large receptacles for water which are still found there; see on 2 Sam. ii. 13. Gibeon, now called *el Jib* (see on Josh. ix. 3), was situated only about two miles north from Mizpah; from which we may conclude that it was soon known what had happened, and the captains quickly assembled their men and marched after Ishmael.—Ver. 13 ff. When those who had been carried off by Ishmael saw these captains, they were glad, since they had followed their captor merely because they were forced to do so. They all turned, and went over to Johanan; but Ishmael escaped from Johanan, with eight men,—having thus lost two in the fight with Johanan,—and went to the Ammonites.—Ver. 16 ff. After the escape of Ishmael, it was to be feared that the Chaldeans would avenge the murder of the governor, and make the Jews who remained atone for the escape of the murderer by executing them or carrying them away to Babylon. Accordingly, Johanan and the other captains determined to withdraw to Egypt with the men, women, and children that had been carried off by Ishmael; these they conducted first to Bethlehem, where they encamped for the purpose of deliberating as to the rest of the journey, and taking due precautions. The account given in ver. 16 is clumsily expressed, especially the middle portion, between "whom he had brought back" and "the son of Ahikam;" and in this part the words "from Mizpah" are particularly troublesome in breaking the connection: "whom he (Johanan) had brought back from Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, from Mizpah, after he (Ishmael) had slain Gedaliah," while it is more correctly stated in the second

relative clause, "whom he had brought back from Gibeon." Hitzig and Graf accordingly suppose that, originally, instead of אֲשֶׁר הָשִׁיב מִצְפָּה, there stood in the text אֲשֶׁר שָׁבָה, "whom he (Ishmael) had led captive from Mizpah, after he had slain Gedaliah." Thus the whole becomes clear. Against this conjecture there only stands the fact that the LXX. translate οὐδ' ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ Ἰσμαήλ; they must thns have read אֲשֶׁר הָשִׁיב מִצְפָּה, and omitted merely הַמִּצְפָּה as unsuited to the passage. However, the error may be even older than the LXX., and הָשִׁיב מִצְפָּה may easily have arisen through a scribe having glanced at the words אֲשֶׁר הָשִׁיב of the last clause. The words from "men" to "chamberlains" form the more exact specification of the general expression "all the remnant of the people:" "men, viz. men of war, women (including the king's daughters, ver. 10), and children and chamberlains" (סְרִיסִים, guardians and servants of the female members of the royal family).—Ver. 17. "They marched and stopped (made a halt) at the inn of Chimham, which is near Bethlehem." חִמְחָם, ἄπ. λεγ., considered etymologically, must mean *diversorium*, *hospitium*, an inn, khan, or caravanserai. Instead of the *Kethib* כְּמִחָם, many codices read כְּמָחָם (like the *Qeri*); nor have any of the old translators read *ch* or *i* in the word. The *Qeri* is evidently correct, and we are to read כְּמָחָם, the name of a son of Barzillai the rich Gileadite, 2 Sam. xix. 38, 41, who is supposed to have built or founded this caravanserai for the convenience of travellers. The words "because of the Chaldeans" in the beginning of ver. 18 depend on "to go to Egypt" at the end of the preceding verse: "to go to Egypt for fear of the Chaldeans," on account of the murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael.

Chap. xlii. *The Word of God concerning the Flight to Egypt.*

At the halting-place near Bethlehem the captains and the people whom they led deem it necessary to inquire through Jeremiah as to the will of God regarding their intention; they betake themselves to the prophet with the request that he would address God in prayer for them regarding this matter, and they promise that they will, in any case, comply with the message that he may receive from God (vers. 1-6). Whereupon, after ten days, the word of the Lord came to the prophet, vers. 7-22,

to the effect that, if they remained in the country, the Lord would take pity on them and protect them from the Chaldeans, and establish them; but, should they go to Egypt, against the will of the Lord, then the evil which they feared would follow them thither, so that they would perish by the sword, hunger, and pestilence.

Vers. 1-6. "And there drew near all the captains, namely, Johanan the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah the son of Hoshaiah, and all the people, from little to great, Ver. 2. And said to Jeremiah the prophet, Let our supplication come before thee, and pray for us to Jahveh thy God, for all this remnant (for we are left a few out of many, as thine eyes see us); Ver. 3. That Jahveh thy God may tell us the way in which we should go, and the thing that we should do." Of the captains, two, viz. Johanan and Jezaniah, are mentioned as the leaders of the people and the directors of the whole undertaking, who also, xliii. 1 ff., insolently accuse the prophet of falsehood, and carry out the proposed march to Egypt. Jezaniah is in xl. 8 called the Maachathite; here he is named in connection with his father, "the son of Hoshaiah;" while in xliii. 2, in conjunction with Johanan the son of Kareah, Azariah the son of Hoshaiah is mentioned, which name the LXX. also have in ver. 1 of this chapter. Hitzig, Ewald, etc., are consequently of the opinion that יְהִיָּה in our verse has been written by mistake for עֲזַרְיָה. But more probable is the supposition that the error is in the עֲזַרְיָה of xliii. 2, inasmuch as there is no reason to doubt the identity of Jezaniah the son of Hoshaiah with the Jezaniah descended from Maacha (xl. 8); and the assumption that יְהִיָּה is incorrect in two passages (xlii. 1 and xl. 8) is highly improbable. They go to the prophet Jeremiah, whom they had taken with them from Mizpah, where he was living among the people, with the rest of the inhabitants of the place (xli. 16). תְּפִלָּתָם as in xxxvii. 20; see on xxxvi. 7. The request made to the prophet that he would intercede for them with the Lord, which they further urge on the ground that the number left out of the whole people is small, while there is implied in this the wish that God may not let this small remnant also perish;—this request Nägelsbach considers a piece of hypocrisy, and the form of asking the prophet "a mere farce,"

since it is quite plain from xliii. 1-6 that the desire to go to Egypt was already deeply rooted in their minds, and from this they would not allow themselves to be moved, even by the earnest warning of the prophet. But to hypocrites, who were playing a mere farce with the prophet, the Lord would have probably replied in a different way from what we find in vers. 8-22. As the Searcher of hearts, He certainly would have laid bare their hypocrisy. And however unequivocally the whole address implies the existence of disobedience to the voice of God, it yet contains nothing which can justify the assumption that it was only in hypocrisy that they wished to learn the will of God. We must therefore assume that their request addressed to the prophet was made in earnest, although they expected that the Lord's reply would be given in terms favourable to their intention. They wished to obtain from God information as to which way they should go, and what they should do,—not as to whether they should remain in the country or go to Egypt. "The way that we should go" is, of course, not to be understood literally, as if they merely wished to be told the road by which they would most safely reach Egypt; neither, on the other hand, are the words to be understood in a merely figurative sense, of the mode of procedure they ought to pursue; but they are to be understood of the road they ought to take in order to avoid the vengeance of the Chaldeans which they dreaded,—in the sense, whither they ought to go, in order to preserve their lives from the danger which threatened them.—Ver. 4. Jeremiah replies: "I have heard (*i.e.* acceded to your request); behold, I will pray to Jahveh your God, according to your words; and it shall come to pass that whatever Jahveh answers you I will tell you, I will not keep anything from you." Ver. 5. They said further: "Let Jahveh be a true and faithful witness against us, if we do not just according to all the word which Jahveh thy God shall send thee (to declare) unto us. Ver. 6. Whether it be good or bad, we shall obey the voice of Jahveh our God, to whom we send thee, that it may be well with us when we obey the voice of Jahveh our God." עֵר אֱמֶת, Prov. xiv. 25, and אֱמֶת, Isa. viii. 2, Ps. lxxxix. 38. Both predicates occupy emphatic positions. God is to be a faithful witness, not in regard to the

truth of what they say, but as regards the fulfilment of their promise, so that, if they would not obey His word, He might come forward to punish them. *שְׁלַחְךָ* is construed with a double accusative: to send away a person with something, *i.e.* to give him a commission. After "whether it be good or evil," there is no need for supplying "in our eyes" (*בְּעֵינֵינוּ*), as Hitzig and Graf allege: "whether it please us or not;" the subject is *הַדָּבָר*: "we will obey the word, whether it be good or evil," *i.e.* whether it announce good or evil to come (cf. Eccles. xii. 14). The *Kethib* *אֵל* occurs only in this passage in the Old Testament; the *Qeri* accordingly substitutes *אֱלֹהֵינוּ*: the former, however, is taken from the vulgar tongue, and should not be altered here. *כִּי נִשְׁמָע* does not mean "because we obey," but "when we obey." The hearing is the condition, not the cause of the prosperity.

Vers. 7-22. *The word of the Lord.*—At the end of ten days, the reply that had been asked for came from the Lord. Hitzig and Graf think that Jeremiah had lingered ten days with the answer, in order to obtain strong and clear conviction, "matured through his own meditation, probably also in part confirmed by the arrival of further news." This opinion is characterized by Nägelsbach as "in harmony with modern science, but unhistorical;" it should rather be called unscriptural, as resting on a denial of divine inspiration. The reason why the Lord did not make known His will to the prophet for ten days was a disciplinary one. By waiting, those who asked would get time for bethinking themselves, and for quietly considering the situation of affairs, so that they might be able, calmly and collectedly, to receive and obey the answer of God, which was far from satisfying the fears and wishes of their heart. Ver. 8. Jeremiah called the captains and all the people together, and announced to them as follows: Ver. 9. "Thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel, to whom ye have sent me, that I might bring your supplication before Him: Ver. 10. If ye will indeed abide in this land, then will I build you up and not pull down; and I will plant you, but not root out; for I repent of the evil that I have done to you. Ver. 11. Be not afraid of the king of Babylon, whom ye fear, be not afraid of him, saith Jahveh; for I am with you to save you and to deliver you out

of his hand. Ver. 12. And I will get pity for you, so that he shall take pity on you, and bring you back to your land. Ver. 13. But if ye say, We will not remain in this land, so that ye will not obey the voice of Jahveh your God, Ver. 14. Saying, Nay, but we will go to the land of Egypt, that we may not see war nor hear the sound of a trumpet, and we shall not hunger after bread, and we will dwell there.—Ver. 15. Now therefore hear the word of Jahveh, ye remnant of Judah : Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, If ye do indeed set your face to go to Egypt, and go to sojourn there, Ver. 16. Then shall the sword, of which ye are afraid, overtake you there, in the land of Egypt, and hunger, which ye dread, shall there follow hard after you, in Egypt, and there shall ye die. Ver. 17. And all the men who have set their face to go to Egypt, to sojourn there, shall die by the sword, and through hunger, and from the plague; nor shall they have any one left or escaped from the evil which I will bring on them. Ver. 18. For thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel : As mine anger and my wrath were poured out upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so shall my wrath be poured out upon you when ye go to Egypt, and ye shall become an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach, and ye shall not see this place again.—Ver. 19. Jahveh hath spoken to you, O remnant of Judah. Go not to Egypt: ye shall know for certain that I have warned you to-day. Ver. 20. For ye err at the risk of your souls when ye sent me to Jahveh your God, saying, Pray for us to Jahveh our God, and according to all that Jahveh our God shall say to us, so tell us, and we will do it. Ver. 21. Now I have told you to-day, and ye have not obeyed the voice of Jahveh your God, nor in anything for which He hath sent me unto you. Ver. 22. Now, therefore, ye must surely know that ye shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence in the place whither ye have been pleased to go to sojourn.”

The Lord's reply extends as far as ver. 18; the last four verses (19-22) form an epilogue, a further address by the prophet, in which he once more specially impresses God's resolution on the minds of the people. The answer of God consists (1) in the promise that, if they will remain in the land, the Lord is willing to build them up, and protect them from

the wrath of the king of Babylon (vers. 9-12); and (2) the threat that, if they will go to Egypt against the advice and will of the Lord, they shall certainly perish there by the sword, famine, and pestilence (vers. 13-18). On the expression *הַפִּיל הַחֲנָה*, see on xxxvi. 7. *שׁוּב* (ver. 10) can only be inf. abs. of *שָׁב*, for *שׁוּב*; if we view it as coming from *שָׁב*, we get no suitable meaning, for the thought *si revertendo illuc manseritis in hac terrâ* (C. B. Michaelis) could not be expressed by *שׁוּב הָשָׁב*. Certainly there is no other instance of such a form as *שׁוּב* being used for *שָׁב*; in a verb like *שָׁב*, however, which drops the ' in the inf. constr., a like omission in the inf. abs. is quite conceivable, while the supposition of some injury having been done to the text (Olshausen, *Gram.* § 89) is less probable. On the expression, "I will build you," etc., cf. xxiv. 6, xxxi. 4, xxxiii. 7. "I repent of the evil" is an anthropopathic expression for the cancelling of a penal sentence: cf. Joel ii. 14, etc.—In ver. 11, the repetition of the words "do not fear him" produces special emphasis.—Ver. 12. "I shall give you compassion," *i.e.* obtain it for you, so that the king of Babylon will show pity on you; cf. Gen. xliii. 14, 1 Kings viii. 50. J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, Ewald, and Graf, following the LXX., Vulgate, and Syriac, would change *הַיִּשִׁיב* into *הַיִּשִׁיב* (make you dwell); but there is no necessity for this, since *הַיִּשִׁיב* makes good enough sense, provided we refer it, not to the return of those who had been exiled to Babylon, but, as the connection requires, to the departure from Mizpah, after the halt near Bethlehem, in the intended flight to Egypt; we must, besides, view this departure as a complete forsaking of their country, and the leaders in this emigration as being fugitives who had fled before the Chaldeans, and had returned only a short time before, for the purpose of settling down again in the country.—Vers. 13-18. The threatening if, in spite of warning and against God's will, they should still persist in going to Egypt. The protasis of the conditional sentence begun in ver. 13, "If ye say," etc., extends onwards through ver. 14; the apodosis is introduced co-ordinately with the commencement of ver. 15, "Now therefore," etc. *קוֹל שׁוֹפָר*, "the sound of war-trumpet," as in iv. 19. On "hungering after bread," cf. Amos viii. 11. *הָלָקָם* (with

the article) is the bread necessary for life. "The remnant of Judah" is to be understood of those who still remained in the land, as is shown by ver. 2; see also ver. 19, xliii. 5, xliv. 12, 14. The warning given in ver. 16 contains the idea that the very evil which they feared would come on them in Judah will befall them in Egypt. There they shall perish by sword, famine, and plague, since Nebuchadnezzar will conquer Egypt; cf. xliii. 8-13.—Ver. 17. וְיָהִי, used instead of the impersonal וְיִהְיֶה, is referred to the following subject by a rather unusual kind of attraction; cf. Ewald, § 345, *b*. All the men who set their faces, *i.e.* intend, to go to Egypt shall perish; not a single one shall escape the evil; for the same judgment of wrath which has befallen Jerusalem shall also come on those who flee to Egypt; cf. vii. 20. On the expression "ye shall become a curse," etc., cf. xxiv. 9, xxv. 18, xxix. 18.

Taking for granted that the leaders of the people will not obey, Jeremiah appends to the word of the Lord an earnest address, in which several points are specially insisted on, *viz.* that the Lord had spoken to them, that He had forbidden them to go to Egypt, and that he (the prophet), by proclaiming the word of the Lord, had warned them (וְהָיִיתִי לְעֵד, to testify, bear witness against a person, *i.e.* warn him of something, cf. xi. 7). Thus he discloses to them the dangerous mistake they are in, when they first desire some expression of the mind of the Lord regarding their intentions, and, in the hope that He will accede to their request, promise unconditional obedience to whatever He may direct, but afterwards, when they have received a message from the Lord, will not obey it, because it is contrary to what they wish. The *Kethib* וְהָיִיתִי לְעֵד has been incorrectly written for וְהָיִיתִי לְעֵד, the Hiphil from וָעָה, to err; here, as in Prov. x. 17, it means to make a mistake. וְנִפְשׁוֹתֵיכֶם, not, "you mislead your own selves," *deceperitis animas vestras* (Vulg.), nor "in your souls,"—meaning, in your thoughts and intentions (Nägelsbach),—but "at the risk of your souls," your life; cf. xvii. 21. וְלִכְלֵל אֲשֶׁר (ver. 21), "and that in regard to all that for which Jähveh has sent me to you," points back to their promise, ver. 5, that they would do "according to all the word." By employing the perfect in vers. 20, 21, the thing is represented as quite certain, as if it had already taken place. Ver. 22 concludes

the warning with a renewed threat of the destruction which shall befall them for their disobedience.

Chap. xliii. *The Flight to Egypt: the Conquest of Egypt predicted.*

Vers. 1-7. *The march of the people to Egypt.*—When Jeremiah had thus ended all the words which the Lord had announced to him for the people, then came forward Azariah (probably an error for Jezaniah, see on xlii. 1) the son of Hoshaiah, Johanan the son of Kareah, and the rest of the insolent men, and said to Jeremiah, “Thou dost utter falsehood; Jahveh our God hath not sent thee unto us, saying, Ye must not go to Egypt to sojourn there; Ver. 3. But Baruch the son of Neriah inciteth thee against us, in order to give us into the hand of the Chaldeans, to kill us, and to take us captive to Babylon.” כִּלְהַאֲשִׁים is not the predicate to אֲמַרְיָם, but forms a resumption of וַיֹּאמֶר, with which it thus serves to connect its object, Jeremiah, and from which it would otherwise be pretty far removed. Azariah (or, more correctly, Jezaniah) occupies the last place in the enumeration of the captains, xl. 8, and in xlii. 1 is also named after Johanan, who is the only one specially mentioned, in what follows, as the leader on the march. From this we may safely conclude that Jezaniah was the chief speaker and the leader of the opposition against the prophet. To avoid any reference to the promise they had made to obey the will of God, they declare that Jeremiah’s prophecy is an untruth, which had been suggested to him, not by God, but by his attendant Baruch, with the view of delivering up the people to the Chaldeans.—Vers. 4-7. Thereupon Johanan and the other captains took “all the remnant of Judah, that had returned from all the nations whither they had been driven, to dwell in the land of Judah,—the men and women and children, the king’s daughters, and all the souls whom Nebuzaradan, chief of the body-guard, had committed to Gedaliah . . . and Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch the son of Neriah,—and went to the land of Egypt—for they did not hearken to the voice of Jahveh—and came to Tahpanhes.” In this enumeration of those who were conducted to Egypt, Hitzig, Graf, and others distinguish two classes:

(1) the men, women, children, etc., who had been in Mizpah with Gedaliah, and had been led to Gibeon, after the murder of the latter, by Ishmael, but had afterwards been brought to Bethlehem by Johanan and the other captains (ver. 6, cf. xl. 7, xli. 10, 16); (2) those who had returned from the foreign countries whither they had fled, but who had hitherto lived in the country, scattered here and there, and who must have joined the company led by Johanan to Bethlehem during the ten days of halt at that resting-place (ver. 5, cf. xl. 11, 12). There is no foundation, however, for this distinction. Neither in the present chapter is there anything mentioned of those who had been dispersed through the land joining those who had marched to Bethlehem; nor are the Jews who had returned from Moab, Ammon, Edom, and other countries to their own home distinguished, in chap. xl. and xli., as a different class from those who had been with Gedaliah in Mizpah; but on the other hand, according to xl. 12, these returned Jews also came to Gedaliah at Mizpah, and gathered grapes and fruit. Besides, in these verses the distinction can only be made after the insertion into the text of the conjunction *וְאֶת־הַנִּבְרִיִּים* before *אֶת־הַיְּהוּדִים*. To "all the remnant of Judah who had returned from the nations" belong the men, women, children, etc., whom Nebuzar-adan had committed to the care of Gedaliah. The enumeration in ver. 6 gives only one specification of the "whole remnant of Judah," as in xli. 16. "And all the souls;" as if it were said, "and whoever else was still left alive;" cf. Josh. x. 28. Tahpanhes was a frontier town of Egypt on the Pelusian branch of the Nile, and named *Δάφναι* by the Greeks; see on ii. 16. Here, on the borders of Egypt, a halt was made, for the purpose of coming to further resolutions regarding their residence in that country. Here, too, Jeremiah received a revelation from God regarding the fate now impending on Egypt.

Vers. 8-13. *Prediction regarding Egypt.*—Ver. 8. "And the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, Ver. 9. Take in thine hand large stones, and hide them in the clay in the brick-kiln, which is at the entrance to the house of Pharaoh in Taphanhes, in the eyes of the Jews; Ver. 10. And say to them: Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel,

Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant, and will place his throne over these stones which I have hidden, and he shall stretch his tapestry over them. Ver. 11. And he shall come and smite the land of Egypt, (he who is) for death, to death,—(he who is) for captivity, to captivity,—(he who is) for the sword, to the sword. Ver. 12. And I will kindle fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them and carry them away; and he shall wrap the land of Egypt round him as the shepherd wraps his cloak round him, and thence depart in peace. Ver. 13. And he shall destroy the pillars of Beth-shemesh, which is in the land of Egypt, and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire."

This prophecy is introduced by a symbolical action, on which it is based. But in spite of the fact that the object of the action is stated in the address which follows, the action itself is not quite plain from the occurrence of מִלְּבֵן, whose usual meaning, "brick-kiln" (cf. Nah. iii. 14), does not seem suitable here. Eichhorn and Hitzig think it absurd that there should be found before the door of a royal habitation a brick-kiln on which

a king was to place his throne. From the Arabic مَلْبَن, which also signifies a rectangular figure like a tile or brick, and is used of the projecting entablature of doors,—from the employment, also, in the Talmud of the word מִלְּבֵן to signify a quadrangular tablet in the form of a tile,—Hitzig would claim for the word the meaning of a *stone floor*, and accordingly renders, "and insert them with mortar into the stone flooring." But the entablatures over doors, or quadrangular figures like bricks, are nothing like a stone flooring or pavement before a palace. Besides, in the way of attaching to the word the signification of a "brick-kiln,"—a meaning which is well established,—or even of a brickwork, the difficulties are not so great as to compel us to accept interpretations that have no foundation. We do not need to think of a brick-kiln or brickwork as being always before the palace; as Neumann has observed, it may have indeed been there, although only for a short time, during the erecting of some part of the palace; nor need it have been just at the palace gateway, but a considerable distance away from it, and

on the opposite side. Alongside of it there was lying mortar, an indispensable building material. סִתּוֹ, "to hide," perhaps means here not merely to embed, but to embed in such a way that the stones could not very readily be perceived. Jeremiah was to press down the big stones, not into the brick-kiln, but into the mortar which was lying at (near) the brick-kiln,—to put them, too, before the eyes of the Jews, inasmuch as the meaning of this act had a primary reference to the fate of the Jews in Egypt. The object of the action is thus stated in what follows: Jahveh shall bring the king of Babylon and set his throne on these stones, so that he shall spread out his beautiful tapestry over them. שִׁפְרִיר (*Qeri שִׁפְרִיר*), an intensive form of שָׁפַר, שִׁפְרָה, "splendour, beauty," signifies a glittering ornament,—here, the decoration of the throne, the gorgeous tapestry with which the seat of the throne was covered. The stones must thus form the basis for the throne, which the king of Babylon will set up in front of the palace of the king of Egypt at Tahpanhes. But the symbolical meaning of this action is not thereby exhausted. Not merely is the laying of the stones significant, but also the place where they are laid,—at the entrance, or opposite Pharaoh's palace. This palace was built of tiles or bricks: this is indicated by the brick-kiln and the mortar. The throne of the king of Babylon, on the contrary, is set up on large stones. The materials of which the palace and the throne are formed, shadow forth the strength and stability of the kingdom. Pharaoh's dominion is like crumbling clay, the material of bricks; the throne which Nebuchadnezzar shall set up opposite the clay-building of the Pharaohs rests on large stones,—his rule will be powerful and permanent. According to Jeremiah's further development of the symbol in ver. 11 ff., Nebuchadnezzar will come to Egypt (the *Kethib* בָּאָה is to be read בָּאָה, "he came down," to Egypt, בָּאָה being construed with the accus.), and will smite the land together with its inhabitants, so that every man will receive his appointed lot, viz. death by pestilence, imprisonment, and the sword, i.e. death in battle. On the mode of representation here, cf. xv. 2.—Ver. 12. He shall burn the temples of the gods of Egypt, and carry away the idols. The first person וְהָרַס, for which LXX., Syriac, and Vulgate have the third, must not be meddled with;

it corresponds to שָׁמַי in ver. 10. What Nebuchadnezzar does as Jahveh's servant (עֲבָדָי, ver. 10) is done by God. The suffixes in שָׁרַפּם and שָׁבָם are assigned in such a way that the one is to be referred to the temples, the other to the idols; see on xlvi. 7.—עָטָה has been variously interpreted. עָטָה with the accus. מְעִיל or שְׁלָמָה means to envelope one's self with a garment, put on a garment, wrap the cloak round; cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 14, Ps. cix. 19, Isa. lix. 17, etc. This is the meaning of the verb here, as is shown by the clause expressing the comparison. The point of likeness is the easiness of the action. Ewald has very well explained the meaning of the whole: "As easily as any shepherd in the open field wraps himself in his cloak, so will he take the whole of Egypt in his hand, and be able to throw it round him like a light garment, that he may then, thus dressed as it were with booty, leave the land in peace, without a foe,—a complete victor." Other explanations of the word are far-fetched, and lexically untenable.—Ver. 13. In conclusion, mention is further made of the destruction of the famous temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, to show the fulfilment of the prophecy that all Egypt would fall under the power of Nebuchadnezzar. בֵּית שָׁמֶשׁ, "House of the Sun," is the Hebrew rendering of the Egyptain *Pe-rá*, i.e. House of the Sun, the sacred name of the city vulgarly called *On*; see on Gen. xli. 45. It lay north-east from Cairo, near the modern village of Matarieh, and thus pretty far inland; it was renowned for its magnificent temple, dedicated to *Rá*, the Sun-god. At the entrance to this building stood several larger and smaller obelisks, of which the two larger, added to the two older ones by Pheron the son of Sesostris, were about 150 feet high. One of these the Emperor Augustus caused to be brought to Rome; the other was thrown down in the year 1160; while one of the more ancient but smaller obelisks still stands in its original position, raising its head in the midst of a beautiful garden over a mass of dense foliage. These obelisks are signified by מִצְבֹּת. The additional clause, "which is in the land of Egypt," does not belong to Beth-shemesh, as if it were appended for the purpose of distinguishing the city so named from Beth-shemesh in the land of Judah; the words are rather connected with מִצְבֹּת, and correspond with אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרַיִם in the parallel member of the verse. The obelisks

of the most famous temple of the Egyptian Sun-god are well known as the most splendid representatives of the glory of the Egyptian idolatry: the destruction of these monuments indicates the ruin of all the sanctuaries of the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs. The last clause is a kind of re-echo from ver. 12a; וְיִשְׂרָאֵל is strengthened by the addition of וְיִשְׂרָאֵל for the purpose of giving a sonorous ending to the whole.—The king of Egypt is not named in the prophecy, but according to xlv. 30 it is *Pharaoh-Hophra*, who is to be given into the power of Nebuchadnezzar.

When we inquire as to the fulfilment of this prediction, we find M. Duncker, in his *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. 841, giving a reply in these words: "Nebuchadnezzar did not fulfil these expectations (of Jeremiah, chap. xliii. 8-13, xlv. 30, and of Ezekiel, chap. xxix. 32). He contented himself with having repelled the renewed attack of Egypt. The establishment of his dominion in Syria did not depend on his conquering Egypt; but Syria must obey him, throughout its whole extent. The capture of Jerusalem followed the siege of the island-town of Tyre (B.C. 586), the last city that had maintained its independence. The army of the Chaldeans lay thirteen years before Tyre without being able to bring the king Ethbaal (Ithobal) under subjection. At last, in the year 573, a treaty was concluded, in which the Tyrians recognised the supremacy of the king of Babylon." That Tyre was brought into subjection is inferred by Duncker (in a note, p. 682), first, from the generally accepted statement of Berosus, that the whole of Phœnicia was subdued by Nebuchadnezzar (Josephus' *Ant.* x. 11. 1, and *contra Ap.* i. 19); secondly, from Josephus' statement (*contra Ap.* i. 21), that the kings Merbal and Hiram had been brought by the Tyrians from Babylon; and lastly, from the fact that, with the close of the siege, the reign of Ithobal ends and that of Baal begins. "It would thus appear that Ithobal was removed, and his family carried to Babylon." These facts, which are also acknowledged by Duncker, sufficiently show (what we have already pointed out in Ezekiel) that the siege of Tyre ended with the taking of this island-city. For, unless the besieged city had been taken by storm, or at least compelled to surrender, the king would not have let himself be dethroned

and carried to Babylon.—But whence has Duncker derived the information that Nebuchadnezzar had no concern with the subjugation of Egypt, but merely with the establishment of his authority in Syria? Although Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of the island-city of Tyre soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, and required thirteen years to reduce it, yet it does not by any means follow from this that he had only to do with the strengthening of his authority in Syria, and no connection with the subjugation of Egypt; all that we can safely infer is, that he thought he could not attempt the conquest of Egypt with any certain prospect of success until he had subdued the whole of Syria. Besides, so long as such an one as Pharaoh-Hophra occupied the throne of Egypt,—who had not only sent an army to Zedekiah king of Judah to raise the siege of Jerusalem, but also (according to Herodotus, ii. 161, who draws from Egyptian sources) led an army to Sidon and fought a naval battle with the Tyrians; who (as Diod. Sic. i. 68 relates, also following Egyptian tradition) set out for Cyprus with abundant war-material and a strong army and fleet, and took Sidon by storm, while the rest of the towns submitted through fear; who, moreover, had defeated the Phœnicians and Cyprians in a naval engagement, and had returned to Egypt with immense spoil;—how could Nebuchadnezzar possibly think that his rule in Syria was firmly established? Such statements as those now referred to even Duncker does not venture to reject. We must, however, view them with a regard to the usual exaggerations by which the Egyptians were accustomed to extol the deeds of their Pharaohs; but after making all due allowance, we are led to this, that, after the fall of Tyre, Hophra sought to prevent the island of Cyprus as well as Tyre from becoming a dependency of Nebuchadnezzar. Could Nebuchadnezzar leave unmolested such an enemy as this, who, on the first suitable opportunity, would attempt to wrest the whole of Syria from him? So short-sighted a policy we could not attribute to such a conqueror as Nebuchadnezzar. Much more considerate is the judgment previously expressed regarding this by Vitringa, on Isa. xix.: “*Etiam si omnis historia hic sileret, non est probabile, Nebucadnezarem magnum dominatorem gentium, post Palæstinam et Phœniciam subactam, non tentasse*

Ægyptum, et si tentaverit, tentasse frustra; et quâ parte Ægyptum occupavit, eam non vastasse et desolasse."

It is also to be borne in mind that the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, which is denied by Hitzig and Graf as well as Duncker, as it formerly was by Volney, is vouched for by the trustworthy testimony of Berosus (in Josephus, *contra Ap.* i. 19), who says that Nebuchadnezzar took Egypt (*κρατήσαι Αἰγύπτου, Ἀραβίας, κ.τ.λ.*); the denial, too, rests on a mere inference from the account given by Herodotus from the traditions of the priests regarding the reign of Apriës (Hophra). If the witness of Berosus regarding the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia be trustworthy, why should his testimony concerning Egypt be unreliable? The account of Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9. 7), that Nebuchadnezzar, in the fifth year after the capture of Jerusalem, and the twenty-third year of his reign, invaded Egypt, killed the king (Hophra), put another in his place, and led captive to Babylon the Jews that had fled to Egypt,—this account will not admit of being brought forward (as has often been attempted, and anew, of late, by Mrc. von Niebuhr, *Assur und Babel*, S. 215) as sufficient testimony for a successful campaign carried on by Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt during the siege of Tyre. The difficulty in the way of proving that such a campaign actually took place is not so much that the death of Hophra in battle with Nebuchadnezzar, or his execution afterwards, contradicts all authenticated history, as that the particular statements of Josephus regarding this campaign, both as to the date and the carrying away to Babylon of the Jews that had fled to Egypt, are simply conclusions drawn from a combination of Jer. xliii. 8-13 and xliv. 30 with Jer. lii. 20; besides, the execution of King Hophra by Nebuchadnezzar is foretold neither by Jeremiah nor by Ezekiel. Ezekiel, in chap. xxix.-xxxii., merely predicts the decline of the Egyptian influence, the breaking of the arm of Pharaoh, *i.e.* of his military power, and his fall into Sheol; but he does it in so ideal a manner, that even the words of xxx. 13, "there shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt,"—*i.e.* Egypt shall lose all her princes, just as her idols have been destroyed,—even these words cannot well be applied to the execution of Pharaoh-Hophra. But Jeremiah, in chap. xliii. and in xlv. 13 ff., predicts merely

the downfall of the pride and power of Pharaoh, and the conquest, devastation, and spoiling of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. And even in the words of xlv. 30, "I (Jahveh) will deliver Pharaoh-Hophra into the hand of his enemies, and of those who seek his life, just as I delivered Zedekiah the king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar his enemy, and of those who sought after his life," there is nothing definitely stated regarding Hophra's being executed by Nebuchadnezzar, or killed in battle with him. Such a reference cannot be made out from the words, even though we lay no emphasis on the plural "his enemies," in contrast with the expression "Nebuchadnezzar his enemy," and, according to xlvi. 26, understand Nebuchadnezzar and his servants as being included under the "enemies;" for certainly Zedekiah was not killed by Nebuchadnezzar, but merely taken prisoner and carried to Babylon. Besides, there was no need of special proof that the prophecies of Jeremiah regarding Egypt declare much more important matters than merely an expedition of Chaldean soldiers to Egypt, as well as the plunder of some cities and the carrying away of the Jews who resided there; and that, in chap. xlv., what the Jews who went to Egypt against the will of God are threatened with, is not transportation to Babylon, but destruction in Egypt by sword, hunger, and pestilence, until only a few individuals shall escape, and these shall return to Judah (xlv. 14, 27, 28).

But if we compare with the prophecy of Jeremiah in chap. xliii. 8-13, and in xlvi. 13-26, that of Ezekiel in chap. xxix. 17-21, which was uttered or composed in the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, *i.e.* in the year 573, it becomes abundantly evident that Nebuchadnezzar cannot have invaded and conquered Egypt before that year, and not till after the fall of Tyre, which immediately ensued. And that this was actually the case, is put beyond doubt by the statement of Herodotus, ii. 161 ff., regarding Apriës, that he lost his throne and his life in consequence of being defeated in battle with the Cyrenians. What Herodotus assigns as the cause of the fall of Apriës, is insufficient to account for the unhappy end of this king. Herodotus himself states, ii. 169, that the Egyptians were filled with the most intense hatred

against Apriës; the monuments also bear witness to this fact. This bitter feeling must have had a deeper source than merely the unsuccessful issue of a war with Cyrene; it receives its explanation only when we find that Apriës, by his attempts against Nebuchadnezzar, had deserved and brought on the subjugation of Egypt by the king of Babylon; cf. Hävernicks on Ezekiel, p. 500. By sending an auxiliary army to Judah, for the purpose of driving back the Chaldeans, and by forming an expedition to Cyprus and the cities of Phœnicia, which was evidently directed against the establishment of the Chaldean power in Phœnicia, Apriës had so provoked the king of Babylon, that the latter, immediately after the subjugation of Tyre, entered on the campaign against Egypt, which he invaded, subdued, and spoiled, without, however, killing the king; him he preferred allowing to rule on, but as his vassal, and under the promise that he would recognise his authority and pay tribute, just as had been done with King Jehoiakim when Jerusalem was first taken. If all this actually took place (which we may well assume), Apriës might probably have begun another war against Cyrene, after the Chaldeans had departed, in the hope of procuring some small compensation to the Egyptians for the defeat they had suffered from the Chaldeans, by subduing that province in the west; in this war the king might have lost his life, as Herodotus relates, through want of success in his attempt. In this way, the account of Herodotus regarding the death of Apriës quite agrees with the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. But that Herodotus makes no mention of the conquest of Egypt, is sufficiently accounted for when we remember that he derived his information from the stories of the priests, who carefully omitted all mention of a struggle between Egypt and the power of Chaldea, since this had ended in the humiliation of Egypt; hence also mention was made only of the victories and mighty deeds of Necho II., while his defeat at Carchemish was passed over in silence.

Chap. xlv. *Warning against Idolatry, and Intimation of its Punishment.*

When the Jews had settled down in Egypt in different places, they betook themselves zealously to the worship of the

queen of heaven ; to this they were probably induced by the example of the heathen round about them, and by the vain expectation of thereby promoting their interests as members of the community (cf. ver. 17 ff.). Accordingly, when all the people who were living here and there through the country had assembled in Upper Egypt (ver. 15) for the celebration of a festival, the prophet seized the opportunity of setting before them, in an earnest manner, the ruinous consequences of their doings. First of all, he reminds them of the judgments which they and their fathers, by their continued apostasy from the Lord, and by their idolatry, had brought on Jerusalem and Judah (vers. 2-7) ; and he warns them not to bring destruction on the remnant of Judah still left, by continuing in their idolatry (vers. 8-10). The threatening also is expressed, that the Lord will destroy all those who marched to Egypt with the sword, famine, and pestilence (vers. 11-14). But the whole assembly declare to him that they will not obey his word, but persist in worshipping the queen of heaven ; alleging that their fathers prospered so long as they honoured her, and war and famine had come on them only after they ceased to do so (vers. 15-19). Jeremiah refutes this false notion (vers. 20-23), and once more solemnly announces to them the sentence of destruction by sword and famine in Egypt. As a sign that the Lord will keep His word, he finally predicts that King Hophra shall be delivered into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.

Ver. 1. "The word that came to Jeremiah regarding all the Jews who were living in the land of Egypt, who dwelt in Migdol, in Tahpanhes, in Noph, and in the land of Pathros." From this heading we perceive that those who (according to chap. xliii.) had gone to Egypt, had settled there in various parts of the country, and that the following denunciations, which at the same time form his last prophecy, were uttered a long time after that which is given in xliii. 8-13 as having been delivered at Tahpanhes. The date of it cannot, indeed, be determined exactly. From the threatening that King Hophra shall be delivered over to the power of Nebuchadnezzar (vers. 24-30), only this much is clear, that Egypt was not yet occupied by the Chaldeans, which, as we have shown above

(p. 154), did not take place before the year 572. But it by no means follows from this that Jeremiah did not utter these words of threatening till shortly before this event. He may have done so even five or ten years before, in the period between 585 and 580, as we have already observed on p. 17, vol. i. The Jews had settled down, not merely in the two northern frontier towns, *Migdol* (i.e. *Magdolo*, *Μαγδῶλος*, according to the *Itiner. Anton.*, twelve Roman miles from Pelusium, Copt. *Meschôtôl*, Egypt. *Ma'ktr*, the most northerly place in Egypt; see on Ezek. xxix. 10) and *Tahpanhes* (i.e. *Daphne*, see on xliii. 7), but also in more inland places, in *Noph* (i.e. *Memphis*, see on ii. 16) and the land of *Pathros* (LXX. *Παθούρης*, Egypt. *Petorēs*, i.e. *Southland*, viz. Upper Egypt, the *Thebais* of the Greeks and Romans; see on Ezek. xxix. 14). The word of the Lord runs as follows:—

Vers. 2-14. *The warning and threatening.*—"Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Ye yourselves have seen all the evil which I have brought on Jerusalem, and on all the cities of Judah; and, behold, they are a desolation this day, and there is no inhabitant in them; Ver. 3. Because of their wickedness which they have done, by provoking me through going to burn incense, (and) to serve other gods whom they knew not, (neither) they (nor) ye, nor your fathers. Ver. 4. And I sent unto you all my servants the prophets, rising early and sending (them), to say, Do not this abominable thing which I hate. Ver. 5. But they did not hear, nor inclined their ear to turn from their wickedness, by not burning incense to other gods. Ver. 6. Therefore my wrath and mine anger poured itself out, and burned up the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem; so that they have become a desolation and a waste, as at this day. Ver. 7. Now therefore thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Why do ye great evil against your souls, by cutting of from yourselves man and woman, child and suckling, out of the midst of Judah, so leaving no remnant for yourselves; Ver. 8. Through provoking me by the works of your hands, burning incense to other gods in the land of Egypt, whither ye have gone to sojourn, that ye might bring destruction on yourselves, and that ye might become a curse and a reproach among all the nations of the

earth? Ver. 9. Have ye forgotten the evil deeds of your fathers, and the evil deeds of the kings of Judah, and the evil deeds of their wives, and your own evil deeds, and the evil deeds of your wives, which they committed in the land of Judah and on the streets of Jerusalem? Ver. 10. They have not been contrite to this day, and are not afraid, nor do they walk in my law, and in my statutes, which I have set before you and before your fathers. Ver. 11. Therefore thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will set my face against you for evil, and to cut off all Judah. Ver. 12. And I will take the remnant of Judah, that have set their faces to go to the land of Egypt in order to sojourn there, and they shall all be consumed; in the land of Egypt shall they fall, by sword and famine shall they be consumed; small and great, by sword and famine shall they die, and they shall become an execration and an astonishment, and a curse and a reproach. Ver. 13. And I will punish those who dwell in the land of Egypt, as I punished Jerusalem, by sword, and famine, and pestilence. Ver. 14. There shall not be one escaped or left to the remnant of Judah that came to sojourn there in the land of Egypt, so as to return to the land of Judah, whither they long to return and dwell; for they shall not return except [as] escaped ones."

In order to make an impression on the people by his warning against idolatry, Jeremiah begins his address with a reference to the great calamity which the fathers have brought on the kingdom of Judah through their continued idolatry (vers. 2-6). "Ye have seen all the evil," etc.; all the cities are laid waste and depopulated, because their inhabitants have roused the anger of the Lord, and have not let themselves be dissuaded by the admonitions of the prophets whom God has sent. "This day," *i.e.* now, at present. On ver. 3, cf. xi. 17, xix. 4, xxxii. 32, etc.; and as to the meaning of קָטַר, see on i. 16. In ver. 3b the address becomes more direct, through the change into the second person, "ye;" the audience then present only continue these sins of their fathers. On ver. 4, cf. vii. 25, xxy. 4, etc. דְּבַר הַתְּעֵבָה הַזֶּה, "the thing of this abomination," which is equivalent to "this abominable idolatry." דְּבַר serves to render the subject more prominent, as in Judg. xix. 24. On ver. 6, cf. xlii. 18, vii. 20. The wrath

of God burned in the cities, for the fire of destruction was a manifestation of the divine wrath. As to **בְּיוֹם הַהוּא**, see on xi. 5. In vers. 7-10 follows the application of what has been said to those present, who are asked how they come to continue in the old sins, to their own destruction, "doing evil in regard to your souls," i.e. for the injury, destruction of your souls, yourself; cf. xxvi. 19, where **עַל-נִי** stands for **אֶל-נִי**. This is immediately afterwards more exactly specified by **לְהַכְרִית וְנִי**, to exterminate the whole of you, without an exception. As to the enumeration "man and woman," etc., cf. 1 Sam. xv. 3, xxii. 19. The inf. **לְהַכְעִיכֵנִי** and **לְקַטֵּר** are used as gerundives: "inasmuch as (through this that) ye provoke me." For the expression "the works of your hands," see on i. 16. In ver. 8, an object must be supplied from ver. 7 for the expression **לִמְעַן הַכְּבִּיר לָכֶם**; for, to take **לָכֶם** (with Hitzig) in a reflexive sense is a very harsh construction. On **לְקַלְלָהּ וְנִי**, cf. xlii. 18, xxvi. 6. The answer to the question now asked follows in vers. 9 and 10, in the form of the further question, whether they have forgotten those former sins, and that these sins have been the cause of the evil which has befallen the land. The interrogation expresses the reproach that they have been able to forget both, as is evidenced by their continuance in sin. In ver. 9, the expression "the evil deeds of *his* wives" (**נָשָׁיו**) is remarkable. Hitzig and Nägelsbach, following Kimchi, refer the suffix to the kings, since there was always but one king at a time. But this is an unnatural explanation; the suffix refers to Judah as a nation, and is used in order to comprehend the wives of the fathers and of the kings together. It is quite arbitrary in Ewald and Graf to change **נָשָׁיו** to **שָׂרֵיו**, following the LXX. **τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑμῶν**; for these translators have mutilated the text by the omission of the following **וְאֵת רַעֲתֵיכֶם**. **וְאֵת נָשָׁיו** is not merely conserved, but even required, by **וְאֵת רַעֲתֵיכֶם**. But the prophet gives special prominence to the evil deeds of the wives, since it was they who were most zealous in worshipping the queen of heaven; cf. vers. 15 and 19. **לֹא רָכְבָּיו**, "they have not been crushed," viz. by repentance and sorrow for these sins. The transition to the third person is not merely accounted for by the fact that the subject treated of is the sins of the fathers and of the present generation,—for,

as is shown by the expression "till this day," the prophet has chiefly his own contemporaries in view; but he speaks of these in the third person, to signify the indignation with which he turns away from men so difficult to reform. On the expression, "they had not walked in my law," cf. xxvi. 4, ix. 12. For this the Lord will punish them severely, vers. 11-14. All those who have fled to Egypt, with the intention of remaining there, will be quite exterminated. On "Behold, I will set my face," etc., cf. xxi. 10. "For evil" is more exactly defined by "to cut off all Judah," i.e. those of Judah who are in Egypt, not those who are in Babylon. This limitation of the words "all Judah" is necessarily required by the context, and is plainly expressed in ver. 12, where "Judah" is specified as "the remnant of Judah that were determined to go to Egypt." וְיִשְׁאָרֵינוּ has the meaning of taking away, as in xv. 15. וְיִשְׁאָרֵינוּ are to be taken by themselves; and בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, as is shown by the accents, is to be attached to what follows, on which, too, the emphasis is placed; in like manner, וְיִשְׁאָרֵינוּ are to be attached to the succeeding verb. The arrangement of the words, like the accumulation of sentences all expressing the same meaning, reveals the spirit of the address in which God vents His wrath. On "they shall become an execration," etc., see xlii. 18. In vers. 13, 14, the threatened extermination is further set forth. Those who dwell in Egypt shall be punished with sword, famine, and plague, like Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Egypt generally are meant; and by the judgment which is to fall on that country, the remnant of Judah there shall be so completely destroyed, that none shall escape. The leading member of the sentence is continued by וְלֹא־יָשׁוּב, "and that they should return to the land of Judah, after which their soul longs, that they may live there." A reason is further assigned, and with this the address, reduced within becoming limits, concludes: "for there shall return none except (בְּיָחִיד) fugitives," i.e. except a few individual fugitives who shall come back. This last clause shows that we are not to understand the declaration "none shall escape" in the strictest meaning of the words. Those who escape and return to Judah shall be so few, in comparison with those who shall perish in Egypt, as to be quite inconsiderable. Cf. the like instance of a

seeming contradiction in vers. 27, 28. On נָשָׂא אֶת־נִפְשָׁם, cf. xxii. 27.

Vers. 15-19. *The answer of the people to this threatening address.*—Ver. 15. "Then all the men who knew that their wives burned incense to other gods, and all the women standing [there], a great multitude, and all the people who dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying, Ver. 16. [As for] the word which thou hast spoken unto us in the name of Jahveh, we will not hearken unto thee: Ver. 17. But we will certainly perform every word that has proceeded out of our own mouth, by burning incense to the queen of heaven, and pouring out libations to her, just as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem; and we were filled with bread, and became prosperous, and saw no evil. Ver. 18. But since we ceased to offer incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out libations to her, we have been in want of everything, and are consumed by sword and famine. Ver. 19. And when we [women] have been burning incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out libations to her, have we made cakes to her without our husbands, making an image of her, and offering libations to her?" To the word of the prophet the men and women oppose their pretended experience, that the adoration of the queen of heaven has brought them comfort and prosperity, while the neglect of this worship, on the other hand, has brought want and misfortune. No doubt they inferred this, by the argument *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, from the fact that, after idolatry had been rooted out by Josiah, adversity had befallen the land of Judah; while, up till that time, the kingdom of Judah had been independent, and, for more than a century before, had been spared the suffering of misfortune. Thus, through their blindness, peculiar to the natural man, they had overlooked the minor transient evils with which the Lord visits His people when they sin. Not till near the end of Josiah's reign did misfortune fall on Judah: this was when the Egyptian army, under Pharaoh-Necho, marched through Palestine; Josiah was slain in the battle he had lost, the land was laid waste by the enemy, and its inhabitants perished by sword and famine. In ver. 15, those

who are represented speaking are all the men who knew of their wives' idolatry, *i.e.* who permitted it, and all the women, "a great company," *i.e.* gathered together in great numbers, and all the rest of the people who lived in Egypt. The specification "in Pathros" is not in apposition to the words "in the land of Egypt," but belongs to the verb וַיִּגְנוּ; it tells where the gathering took place, viz. in a district of Upper Egypt. From the presence of a large number of women, we may conclude that the assembly was a festival in honour of the queen of heaven. The former portion of ver. 16 forms an absolute clause, from הִרְבֵּר to בָּשָׂם י, "as regards the word which . . . we will not listen to thee," *i.e.* with regard to this word we obey thee not. The expression, "the word which has gone forth out of our mouth," points to the uttering of vows: cf. Num. xxx. 3, 13; Deut. xxiii. 24. מִל־הִרְבֵּר אֲשֶׁר וַיִּגְנוּ means "all that we have uttered as a vow," every vow to offer incense, etc., *i.e.* to present meat and drink offerings to the queen of heaven,—that shall we keep, fulfil, as we and our fathers have done in the land of Judah. On this mode of worship, cf. vii. 17 f., and the remarks there made. "And we were satisfied with bread," *i.e.* in consequence of this worship we had amply sufficient food. טוֹבִים, "good," well, comfortable; cf. xxii. 16. מִן אֵן, "from that time" = since. מֵאֵן is for מֵאֵן, from מֵאֵן, as in Num. xvii. 28; cf. Ewald, § 197, a. To this statement on the part of the men, the women further add, ver. 19, that they do not engage in this sacrificial worship or prepare the sacrificial cakes without their husbands, *i.e.* without their knowledge and approval. This is put forward by the women in the way of self-vindication; for, according to the law, Num. xxx. 9 ff., the husband could annul, *i.e.* declare not binding, any vow which had been made by his wife without his knowledge. Although it is women who are speaking, the *masc.* מְקַטְרִים is used as being the gender which most commonly occurs; it also pretty often stands for the feminine. The *inf. constr.* לְהַקְטִיר (with ל) is here employed, in conformity with later usage, instead of the *inf. abs.*, for the finite verb, by way of continuation; cf. Ewald, § 351, c, where, however, many passages have been set down as falling under this rule that demand a different explanation. The meaning of לְהַקְטִיר is disputed; the

final ך is a suffix, written with Raphe, though Mappik also occurs in some MSS. The Hiphil of this verb is found elsewhere only in Ps. lxxviii. 40, and there in the signification of vexing, grieving, like the Piel in Isa. lxiii. 10, Ps. lvi. 6. Ewald translates "in order to move her," i.e. make her well-disposed,—but quite arbitrarily, for to provoke is the very opposite of rendering propitions. The verb יָצַב also signifies "to form, shape," Job x. 8; and in this sense the Hiphil is used here, "in order to pnt them into shape," i.e. to form the moon-goddess (queen of heaven) in or on the sacrificial cakes (Kimchi, Raschi, Dahler, Maurer, Graf, etc.). The sacrificial cakes (כִּיָּיִם, see on vii. 18) probably had the form of a crescent, or even of the full moon, like the *σεληναί* of the Greeks, which used to be offered in Athens at the time of the full moon in the month of Munychion, to Artemis, as goddess of the moon; cf. Hermann, *gottesdienstliche Alterthümer der Griechen*, 2 Ausg. S. 146, Anm. 13, u. S. 414.

Vers. 20-23. *Refutation of these statements of the people.*—

Ver. 20. "And Jeremiah spake to all the people, to the men and women, and to all the people that had given him answer, saying, Ver. 21. Did not the incense-burning which ye performed in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jernsalem, ye and your fathers, your kings and your princes, and the people of the land,—did not Jahveh remember them, and did it not arise in His mind? Ver. 22. And Jahveh could no longer endure it, because of the wickedness of your deeds, because of the abominations which ye committed; thus your land became a desolation, and a waste, and a curse, without an inhabitant, as at this day. Ver. 23. Because ye burned incense and sinned against Jahveh, and did not hearken to the voice of Jahveh, and in His law, in His statutes, and in His testimonies ye walked not; therefore this evil hath befallen you, as at this day." Jeremiah answers them that their idol-worship, by which they have provoked the Lord their God, is the very cause of the misfortune that has befallen them, because God could no longer endure this abomination which they would not forsake. *קִיָּיִם* is a noun, "the burning of incense," which includes, besides, all the other elements of idolatrous worship; hence the word is resumed, at the close, under the plur. *אִנִּים*, "these

things." וַיֵּלֶךְ is 3d pers.'sing. neut., lit. "it has come into His mind," i.e. He has carefully considered it, and that in the way of punishment, for He could no longer endure such abomination. The imperf. יֵלֵךְ is used for the historic tense (imperf. with ו consec.), because the ו would necessarily be separated from the verb by the לֵךְ; and it is employed instead of the perfect, which we would be inclined to expect after the preceding וַיֵּלֶךְ, since that which is treated of is something that endures for a considerable time; cf. Ewald, § 346, b. On the expression "because of the evil," etc., cf. xxi. 12, iv. 4, etc.; on the last clause in ver. 22, cf. vers. 6 and 12.—Ver. 23 is an emphatic and brief repetition of what has already been said. קָרָא is for קָרָאָה, as in Deut. xxxi. 29: cf. Gesenius, § 74, note 1; Ewald, § 194, b.

Vers. 24–30. *Announcement of the punishment for this idolatry.*—Ver. 24. "And Jeremiah said unto all the people, and unto all the women, Hear the word of Jahveh, all of Judah that are in the land of Egypt; Ver. 25. Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: Ye and your wives have both spoken with your mouth, and fulfilled it with your hands, saying, We will assuredly perform our vows which we have vowed, by burning incense to the queen of heaven, and by pouring out libations to her: ye will by all means perform your vows, and carry out your vows. Ver. 26. Therefore hear the word of Jahveh, all Judah that dwell in the land of Egypt: Behold, I have sworn by my great name, saith Jahveh, truly my name shall no more be named in the mouth of any man of Judah, saying, 'As the Lord Jahveh liveth,' in all the land of Egypt. Ver. 27. Behold, I will watch over them for evil, and not for good; and all the men of Judah that are in the land of Egypt shall be consumed by the sword and by famine, till they are annihilated. Ver. 28. And those who escape the sword shall return out of the land of Egypt to the land of Judah, a small number; and all the remnant of Judah, that went to the land of Egypt to sojourn there, shall know whose word shall stand, mine or theirs. Ver. 29. And this shall be the sign to you, saith Jahveh, that I will punish you in this place, that ye may know that my words shall surely rise up against you for evil: Ver. 30. Thus hath Jahveh

spoken, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of those who seek his life, just as I have given Zedekiah the king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, who was his enemy, and sought his life."

After refuting the false assertion of the people, Jeremiah once more announces to them, on behalf of God, in the most solemn manner, the punishment of extermination by sword and famine in Egypt; this he does for the purpose of giving the greatest possible emphasis to his warning against persevering in idolatry. For substance, this announcement is similar to that of vers. 11-14, but the expression is stronger. Even in the summary account of their offences, ver. 25, the words are so chosen and arranged as to bring out clearly the determination of the people to persevere in worshipping the queen of heaven. "As for you and your wives, ye have spoken with your mouth and fulfilled it with your hand" (on the *Vav consec.* attached to הַדְּבָרִיכֶם, cf. Ewald, § 344, *b*), *i.e.* ye have uttered vows and then carried them out; for ye say, We must keep the vows that we have vowed. It is to be observed that the verbs הַדְּבָרִיכֶם, and in the concluding portion הָקִימְנָה and תַּעֲשִׂינָהּ, are feminine, since the address chiefly applies to the wives, who clung most tenaciously to idolatry. In the clause הָקִימְנָה וְגו', "ye will make your vows and perform them," there is unmistakeable irony, in which the reference is to the wilfulness of the people in this idolatry. This *ἐθελοθρησκεία* is shown by the inf. abs. הָקִימְנָה, which strengthens הָקִימְנָה. "To establish vows," *i.e.* to make them, was not a thing commanded, but left to one's free determination. Hence, also, no appeal to the maxim that vows which have been made or uttered must be fulfilled, can justify the making of the vows. The form הָקִימְנָה for הָקִימְנָה is an unusual one; and the ' which the *Hirik* takes after it is occasioned by the form הָקִימְנָה; cf. Ewald, § 196, *c*.—The announcement of the punishment is introduced by a solemn oath on the part of God. Jahveh swears by His great name, *i.e.* as the one who has shown Himself God by His mighty deeds—who has the power of keeping His word. The name is, of course, only a manifestation of His existence. אִם as a particle used in swearing = certainly not. His name shall no more be named in the

mouth of any Jew in the land of Egypt, *i.e.* be used in asseverations, because all the Jews in Egypt shall be exterminated. On the expression, "Behold, I will watch over them," etc., cf. xxxi. 28 and xxi. 10. In ver. 28, it is more exactly stated that only a few individuals shall escape the sword and return to Judah; thus, no one shall remain behind in Egypt. By this judgment, all the remnant of Judah that went to Egypt shall find out whose word—Jahveh's or theirs—will endure, *i.e.* prove true. וְיָדָעוּ מִמִּנִּי וּמִיָּהֶם properly depends on דְּבַר, "the word from me or from them" (the people).—Ver. 29. In confirmation of this threatening, the Lord gives them another sign which, when it is fulfilled, will let them know that the destruction announced to them shall certainly befall them. The token consists in the giving up of King Hophra into the hand of his enemies. As certainly as this shall take place, so certainly shall the extermination of the Jews in Egypt ensue. The name הֲפֹרָה is rendered *Ouáφpυς* in Manetho, in the classical writers *Ἀπρίης*, *Apriēs*, who, according to Herodotus (ii. 161), reigned twenty-five years, but nineteen according to Manetho (cf. Boeckh, *Manetho*, etc., p. 341 ff.). His death took place in the year 570 B.C. This date is reached by a comparison of the following facts:—Cambyses conquered Egypt in the year 525; and in the preceding year Amasis had died, after a reign of forty-four years (Herod. iii. 10). Hence Amasis—who took Apriēs prisoner, and gave him up to the common people, who killed him (Herod. ii. 161–163, 169)—must have commenced his reign in the year 570. On the death of Apriēs, or Hophra, cf. the explanation given on p. 154 f., where we have shown that the words, "I will give him into the hand of his enemies, and of those who seek his life," when compared with what is said of Zedekiah, "into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar his enemy," do not require us to assume that Hophra was killed by Nebuchadnezzar, and can very well be harmonized with the notice of Herodotus regarding the death of this king.

Hitzig and Graf have taken objection to this sign given by Jeremiah, and regard vers. 29, 30 as a spurious *vaticinium ex eventu*, the work of another hand. The reasons they urge are, that it is scarcely possible Jeremiah could have lived till 570; that ver. 29 f. would be the only place where Jeremiah offered

such a criterion; and that, even as it is, these verses contain nothing original, but, by their stiff and lifeless parallelism, are easily seen to be an artificial conclusion. Of these three arguments, the last can prove nothing, since it is merely a subjective opinion on an æsthetic point. The second, again, rather declares for than against the genuineness. For "if it were not Jeremiah's usual, elsewhere, to offer some criterion, then such an interpolation would have been all the more carefully avoided" (Nägelsbach). Of course we do not find any other signs of this kind in Jeremiah; but it does not follow from this that he could not offer such a thing in a special case. Yet the ground taken up by Nägelsbach, as sufficient to establish this position, seems quite untenable, viz. that the announcement of the fate in store for the king must have been the answer of the true God to the presumptuous boast of Apriës, mentioned by Herodotus, "that even God could not dethrone him, so firmly did he think he was established:" this view of the matter seems too remote from the object of Jeremiah's address. And finally, the first-named objection receives importance only on the supposition that "an event which was intended to serve as מֵסָמָה, a sign or criterion, must be something that was to happen immediately, or within a brief appointed period of time, so that a person might be able, from the occurrence of the one, to conclude that what had been foretold about a later period would as certainly take place" (Graf). But there are no sufficient grounds for this hypothesis. If no definite time be fixed for the occurrence of this sign, then it may not appear till a considerable time afterwards, and yet be a pledge for the occurrence of what was predicted for a still later period. That Jeremiah lived till the year 570 is certainly not inconceivable, but it is not likely that he uttered the prophecy now before us at the advanced age of nearly eighty years. Now, if his address is allowed to be a real prophecy, and not a mere *vaticinium ex eventu*, as Hitzig, looking from his dogmatic standpoint, considers it, then it must have been uttered before the year 570; but whether this was two, or five, or ten years before, makes no material difference. The address itself contains nothing to justify the assumption of Graf, that it is closely connected with the prophecy in xliii. 8-13, and with the warning against the migration into Egypt,

chap. xlii. That the Jews spoken of had not been long in Egypt, cannot be inferred from vers. 8, 12, and 18; on the contrary, the fact that they had settled down in different parts of Egypt, and had assembled at Pathros for a festival, shows that they had been living there for a considerable time before. Nor does it follow, from the statement in ver. 14 that they longed to return to Judah, that they had gone to Egypt some months before. The desire to return into the land of their fathers remains, in a measure, in the heart of the Jew even at the present day. After all, then, no valid reason can be assigned for doubting the genuineness of these verses.

On the fulfilment of these threatenings Nägelsbach remarks: "Every one must be struck on finding that, in chap. xliv., the extermination of the Jews who dwelt in Egypt is predicted; while some centuries later, the Jews in Egypt were very numerous, and that country formed a central point for the Jewish exiles (cf. Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* xvii. S. 285). Alexander the Great found so many Jews in Egypt, that he peopled with Jews, in great measure, the city he had founded and called after himself (cf. Herzog, i. S. 235). How did these Jews get to Egypt? Whence the great number of Jews whom Alexander found already in Egypt? I am inclined to think that we must consider them, for the most part, as the descendants of those who had come into the country with Jeremiah. But, according to this view of the matter, Jeremiah's prophecy has not been fulfilled." Nägelsbach therefore thinks we must assume that idolatrous worship, through time, almost entirely ceased among the exiled Jews in Egypt as it did among those in Babylon, and that the Lord then, in return, as regards the penitents, repented of the evil which He had spoken against them (xxvi. 13, 19). But this whole explanation is fundamentally wrong, since the assertion, that Alexander the Great found so many Jews in Egypt, that with them mainly he peopled the city of Alexandria which he had founded, is contrary to historic testimony. In Herzog (*Real-Encycl.* i. S. 235), to which Nägelsbach refers for proof on the point, nothing of the kind is to be found, but rather the opposite, viz. the following: "Soon after the foundation of Alexandria by Alexander the Great, this city became not merely the centre of Jewish Hellenism in Egypt, but generally

speaking the place of union between Oriental and Occidental Jews. The external condition of the Jews of Alexandria must, on the whole, be characterized as highly prosperous. The first Jewish settlers had, indeed, been compelled by Alexander the Great to take up their residence in the city (Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 3. 1); so, too, were other Jews, by Ptolemy I. or Lagi (*ibid.* xii. 2. 4). But both of these monarchs granted them the same rights and privileges as the Macedonians, including Greek citizenship; and in consequence of the extremely advantageous position of the city, it speedily increased in importance. A still larger number, therefore, soon went thither of their own accord, and adopted the Greek language." In this account, the quotation from Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 3. 1, is certainly incorrect; for neither is there in that passage any testimony borne to the measures attributed to Alexander, nor are there any other historical testimonies given from antiquity. But as little can we find any proofs that Alexander the Great found so many Jews in Egypt that he could, to a large extent, people with them the city he had founded. It is merely testified by Josephus (*Antt.* xi. 8. 5), and by Hecataeus in Josephus (*contra Ap.* i. 22; p. 457, ed. Haverc.), that Alexander had Jewish soldiers in his army; it is further evident, from a notice in Josephus, *de bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 7, *contra Ap.* ii. 4 (cf. Curtius Rufus, iv. 8), that the newly founded city, even under Alexander, immediately after it was commenced, and still more under Ptolemy Lagi (cf. Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 1, and Hecataeus in Jos. *contra Ap.* i. 22, p. 455), attracted a constantly increasing multitude of Jewish immigrants. This same Ptolemy, after having subdued Phœnicia and Coele-Syria in the year 320, and taken Jerusalem also, it would seem, by a stratagem on a Sabbath day, transported many captives and hostages out of the whole country into Egypt; many, too, must have been sold at that time as slaves to the inhabitants of such a wealthy country as Egypt: see a statement in the book of *Aristeas*, at the end of Havercamp's edition of Josephus, ii. p. 104. In the same place, and in Josephus' *Antt.* xii. 1, Ptolemy is said to have armed 30,000 Jewish soldiers, placed them as garrisons in the fortresses, and granted them all the rights of Macedonian citizens (*ισπολιτεία*). Ewald well says, *History of the People*

of *Israel*, vol. iv. of second edition, p. 254 : "When we further take into consideration, that, in addition to all other similar disasters which had previously befallen them, many Jews were removed to Egypt (especially by Ochus, after Egypt had been reconquered), we can easily explain how Ptolemy Philadelphus can be said to have liberated 100,000 Egyptian Jews. *Aristeas' Book*, p. 105." This much, at least, is proved by these various notices,—that, in order to understand how such a vast increase took place in the number of the Jews in Egypt, we do not need to regard them as the descendants of those who removed thither with Jeremiah, and so to question the fulfilment of the prophecy now before us. Jeremiah does not, of course, threaten with destruction all those Jews who live in Egypt, but only those who at that time went thither against the divine will, and there persevered in their idolatry. We do not know how great may have been the number of these immigrants, but they could hardly exceed two thousand,—perhaps, indeed, there were not so many. All these, as had been foretold them, may have perished in the conquest of Egypt by the Chaldeans, and afterwards, through the sword, famine, and pestilence; for the myriads of Jews in Egypt at the time of Ptolemy Lagi could easily have removed thither during the period of 250 years intermediate between the immigration in Jeremiah's time and the foundation of Alexandria, partly as prisoners and slaves, partly through voluntary settlement.

Chap. xlv. *A Promise addressed to Baruch.*

Ver. 1. "The word which Jeremiah the prophet spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, when he wrote these words in a book at the mouth of Jeremiah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, saying, Ver. 2. Thus saith Jahveh, the God of Israel, to thee, O Baruch: Ver. 3. Thou saidst, Woe to me now! for Jahveh hath added sorrow to my pain: I am weary with sighing, and no rest do I find. Ver. 4. Thus shalt thou say unto him, Thus saith Jahveh: Behold, what I have built I will destroy, and what I have planted I will pluck up, and that is the whole earth. Ver. 5. And thou seekest great things for thyself; seek them not: for,

behold, I will bring evil on all flesh, saith Jahveh; but I will give thy life unto thee for booty in all places whither thou shalt go."

From the superscription in ver. 1, it appears that this word of God came to Baruch through Jeremiah the prophet, in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, when Baruch was writing out, or had written ont, in a book-roll the prophecies that had been uttered by Jeremiah up till that time. It is not necessarily implied in the infin. בְּכָתְבִי that the word of God came during the transcription, while he was still engaged in writing: it may also mean, "when he was ready with the writing," had got done with it; and Hitzig is wrong when he rejects as "misleading" the view which Movers takes—"when he had written." The writing down of the addresses of Jeremiah in the year mentioned is related in chap. xxxvi.; thus the substance of this chapter and that of chap. xxxvi. agree. "These words" can only be the addresses (words) of Jeremiah which Baruch was then writing down. From this, Hitzig, Graf, Nägelsbach, and others, infer that this small piece was the last in the copy of Jeremiah's prophecies originally prepared under Jehoiakim,—if not of the first one which was intended to be read in the temple, at least of the second copy which was made after the former one had been destroyed; and that it was only after the collection had been enlarged to the extent of the collection handed down to us, that this portion was affixed as an appendix to the end of the prophecies of Jeremiah which relate to his own country. But this inference is not a valid one. "These words" are the addresses of the prophet in general, which Baruch wrote down; and that only those which were uttered up to the fourth year of Jehoiakim are intended, is implied, not in the demonstrative "these," but in the date given afterwards, by which "these" is further specified. In ver. 1 it is merely stated that at that time the word of God, given below, came to Jeremiah, and through him to Baruch, but not that Baruch wrote down this also on that occasion, and appended it to the roll of Jeremiah's prophecies which had been prepared at his dictation. It may have been written down much later, possibly not till the whole of Jeremiah's prophecies were collected and arranged in Egypt. Moreover, the position occupied by this chapter in the collection shows

that this message of comfort to Baruch was added as an appendix to those predictions of Jeremiah which concern Judah and Israel.

The occasion for this message of comfort addressed to the prophet's attendant is pointed out in ver. 3, in the words which Baruch had uttered: "Woe to me! for Jahveh adds sorrow to my pain." Baruch felt "pain," *i.e.* pain of soul, at the moral corruption of the people, their impenitence and obduracy in sin and vice, just like the prophet himself, xv. 18. To this pain God adds sorrow, by threatening the judgment which shall fall on Judah for sin, and which was even then beginning to break over the land; cf. viii. 18 ff. Baruch sighs over this till he is wearied, and finds no rest; cf. Lam. v. 5. "I am weary with my sighing," is a reminiscence from Ps. vi. 7. This sorrow in addition to his pain was not caused in him for the first time by writing down the discourses of the prophet, but was rather thus freshened and increased. The answer of the Lord to this sighing is of a stern character, yet soothing for Baruch. The sentence of destruction has been determined on. What the Lord has built He will now destroy: it is not said why, since the reason was sufficiently known from the prophet's utterances. As to the expression in ver. 4, cf. i. 10, xxxi. 28. The destruction regards the whole earth, **כָּל-הָאָרֶץ הִיא**, lit. "and as regards the whole earth, it is it," namely that I destroy. On the employment of **הִיא** in introducing the subject, cf. Dan. ix. 13, Hag. ii. 5, and Ewald, § 277 *d*. **כָּל-הָאָרֶץ** does not mean "the whole land," but "the whole earth:" this is indubitably evident from the parallel "upon all flesh," ver. 5, *i.e.* the whole of humanity, as in xxv. 31. The sentence is passed on all the earth, in accordance with the announcement made in chap. xxv. 15 ff.—Ver. 5. But when the judgment extends over the whole of humanity, an individual man cannot ask for anything great. "To seek for great things," *i.e.* to ask for things which in general or under certain circumstances are unattainable (cf. Ps. cxxxi. 1), is here used with reference to worldly prosperity. When the whole world is visited with judgment, an individual man must not make great demands, but be content with saving his life. This is promised to Baruch in ver. 5b, to alleviate his pain

and sorrow. "To give life to any one for booty," means to let him escape with his life; cf. xxi. 9, xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 18. In the words, "in all places whither thou shalt go," it is intimated that he will be obliged to avoid destruction by flight, but will thereby save his life.

IV. PROPHECIES DIRECTED AGAINST FOREIGN NATIONS.—

CHAP. XLVI.—LI.

Like Amos, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, Jeremiah has uttered predictions concerning a number of heathen nations, and incorporated them with the collection of his prophecies regarding Judah and Israel. But while in Amos the utterances regarding six nations round about the kingdom of God, as representatives of the whole heathen world, merely pave the way for announcing judgment on Judah and Israel, and are given for the purpose of teaching the necessity for judgment on the whole world that is opposed to God, in order that the kingdom of God may be advanced; Isaiah, on the other hand, when the power of Assyria appeared against the kingdom of God, brought forward the thought, in a pretty long series of oracles against the nations, chap. xiii.—xxiii., that all kingdoms and peoples, cities and men of the world that had apostatized from God, and still continued in apostasy, shall be humbled, and compelled by judgments inflicted on them to seek refuge with the God of Israel,—to submit to Him, and to offer their gifts for the establishment of His kingdom; and he concludes this announcement with an apocalyptic description of the judgment on the whole earth, and the consummation of the kingdom of God in glory, chap. xxiv.—xxvii. The object aimed at by Ezekiel and Jeremiah in their oracles against the heathen nations is more specific. Ezekiel, in view of the destruction of Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah, directs a series of oracles against seven nations; and in these addresses he predicts the destruction of the heathen world, and the fall of all heathen powers into Sheol, in order that these may not exult over the fall of the people of God, but rather, in the judgment on Israel, recognise the omnipotence and justice of the Lord, the Judge of all the earth. And Jeremiah, in his addresses to the nations, chap.

xlvi.-li., merely brings out more fully the execution of that sentence which he had already proclaimed (chap. xxv.) to all the peoples and kingdoms of the earth, shortly before the appearance of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign. The multitude of nations and tribes, far and near, to which, in xxv. 17-26, he gives the cup of the divine wrath out of Jahveh's hand, is in chap. xlvi.-li. reduced to nine nations; and these are named in such order, that here, as there (chap. xxv.), Egypt heads the list (chap. xlvi.), while Babylon closes it (chap. l., li.). Of the rest of these nations, those related to Israel, viz. Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, have special prophecies addressed to them, chap. xlviii. and xlix. 1-22; but the others are more summarily addressed. Thus, in the oracle pronounced against the Philistines, the Phœnicians also (Tyre and Sidon) are threatened with extermination (chap. xlvii.); the many Arabian tribes severally named in chap. xxv. are comprehended under the general designations "Kedar" and "the kingdoms of Hazor" (xlix. 28-33); while the kingdoms of the north are represented by Damascus (xlix. 23-27), and the distant nations of the east (Media and Elam) by Elam, xlix. 34-39.

Ewald, Hitzig, Graf, and Nägelsbach would account for several smaller nations being taken together in one prophecy, on the ground that the prophet wished to make out the significant number seven,—just as Amos (i. 1-ii. 5) brings forward seven kingdoms before his address is directed to Israel, and as Ezekiel also has arranged his prophecies against the nations in accordance with the number seven. But though the number seven plainly appears in Amos and Ezekiel, such an assumption cannot be established in the case of Jeremiah. To make out this number, the oracles against Elam and Babylon are viewed as later additions, on the ground that both of them are connected with the first years of the reign of Zedekiah. But the assertion that the first seven belong to the fourth year of Jehoiakim cannot be proved. The second prophecy regarding Egypt (xlvi. 14-28), and that against the Philistines (chap. xlvii.), contain, in their headings, indications of the time of composition, which do not point to the fourth year of Jehoiakim. With this also accords the remark further brought to bear on the alleged

composition of those seven prophecies in the fourth year of Jehoiakim,—that this follows, not merely from the general agreement of their contents with chap. xlv. as well as with chap. xxv., but also from the fact that “the same expressions which the prophet uses in chap. xxv. with reference to the judgment of all nations, are re-echoed in chap. xlv.–xlix. 33: *e.g.* cf. xxv. 31, 34, with xlv. 10; xxv. 35 with xlv. 5, 6; xxv. 29, 31, with xlvii. 6, 7; and particularly xxv. 28, 29, with xlix. 12 (Caspari on Obadiah, p. 16): cf. also xxv. 27 with xlviii. 26; xxv. 30 with xlviii. 33; xxv. 34 with xlix. 20; xxv. 38 with xlix. 19 and xlv. 16.” For, of all these passages, none belongs to the second prophecy against Egypt (xlv. 14–28), and to that against the Philistines (chap. xlvii.), except the last-quoted passage, xlv. 16, in which the expression *הָרֶב הַיּוֹנָה* agrees with xxv. 38, if in the latter passage we read *הָרֶב* for *הָרֶחַץ*. But this expression is also repeated in the oracle against Babylon, l. 16; so that no proof can be drawn, from a consideration of the language employed, to show that the prophecies against Egypt (xlv. 14–28) and against the Philistines (chap. xlvii.) belong to the same time, as has been supposed. And the assertion that the prophecy against Elam forms an appendix to those which precede, could have been made only by a mind in a state of perplexity. Its position, after that against the Arabian tribes, and before that against Babylon, exactly agrees with the place occupied by Elam in xxv. 5.¹

¹ From the above statement, the propriety and correctness of arrangement among these oracles in the Hebrew text will both be apparent. On the other hand, the transposition made in the Greek text of the LXX. (already referred to in the note on p. 33 of vol. i.) is characterized, even by Ewald and Hitzig, as “arbitrary” and “incorrect.” Ewald remarks: “We cannot find that any other principle was acted upon in their arrangement than that the large portion about Babylon, chap. l. ff., should be made as prominent as possible; the small piece about the Elamites which precedes it, xlix. 34–39, was put the very first, probably because it was thought desirable that, seeing they were then under Persian rule, what plainly referred to Persia should be made conspicuous; the portion directed against the Babylonians was then placed immediately after that referring to Egypt; that referring to the Philistines was then put in its place, but that referring to Edom, as being longer, was inserted after it; then the three small pieces on Ammon, Kedar, and Damascus were put together, while the large one about Moab concluded this much-distorted series.” But the assertion of Movers and Hitzig

When we examine the contents of these nine oracles, we find that the one against Babylon differs from all the preceding in this, that it announces not merely the ruin of Babylon, but also the salvation of Israel; but this peculiarity is the very point in which it agrees with the prophecies against Egypt, of which the second ends with a promise in Israel's favour (xli. 27, 28). This correspondence shows us that we cannot separate the prophecy regarding Babylon from the others, or even place it in contrast with them. Egypt and Babylon were, at that time, the two great powers of this world which sought to oppress and destroy the kingdom of God. The fall of one or the other of these powers was thus for Israel a pledge that they would be preserved and saved. In the remaining oracles, the reference to the theocracy is quite placed in the background. Only in that against Ammon do we meet with the complaint that it had taken possession of the cities of Israel, as if Israel had no heir (xlix. 1). In the others there is no mention made of offence against the theocracy, but only of pride, arrogance, and carnal reliance on their earthly power, for which they shall be humbled and punished. Further, it is to be observed that the oracles against Egypt, Moab, Ammon, and Elam conclude with the promise of restoration at the end of the days, *i.e.* in the Messianic future (cf. xli. 26, xlviii. 47, xlix. 6 and 39). All these things plainly show that these oracles against the people merely repeat, in greater detail, the sentence already pronounced, chap. xxv., against all nations: God the Lord has appointed the king of Babylon to execute this sentence, and for this end will give him, in the immediate future, and till his appointed time shall end, supremacy over the nations; after that, Babylon also shall

—that this arrangement in the Greek text did not originate with the translator, but was found in the original, and that, too (according to Movers), at the time of Alexander's campaign against Persia—rests on critical conjectures regarding chap. xli. 27, 28, which are decidedly erroneous. Moreover, the insertion of these oracles into the middle of chap. xxv., between vers. 13 and 15, in the LXX. text, is due to the arbitrary conduct of the Alexandrine translator, as even Hitzig allows that whoever arranged the chapter did not find it in a fragmentary condition, but had himself dismembered it. Yet Hitzig is of opinion that these oracles originally belonged to somewhere about chap. xxv.,—a view that rests on grounds which, in the note on p. 376 ff. of vol. i., we have already shown to be untenable.

succumb to the sentence of ruin passed on it; and for Israel, with the deliverance from Babylon, there will arise a state of prosperity in which all nations will afterwards participate. In giving details with regard to these announcements of judgment, Jeremiah throughout falls back on the expressions of the older prophets, just as he does in his prophecies regarding Israel and Judah; these expressions he reproduces in a manner suited to the circumstances of his time, and still further developes. Cf. the collection of these references in Kueper on Jeremiah, p. 79 ff.; see further the proofs given in the following commentary on each particular case.

Chap. xlv. *On Egypt.*

Vers. 1 and 2. *Superscriptions.*—Ver. 1 contains the title for the whole collection of prophecies regarding the nations (גוֹיִם, as contrasted with Israel, mean the heathen nations), chap. xlv.–li. As to the formula, “What came as the word of Jahveh to Jeremiah,” etc., cf. the remarks on xiv. 1.—In ver. 2, the special heading of this chapter begins with the word לְמִצְרַיִם. לְמִצְרַיִם is subordinated by לְ to the general title,—properly, “with regard to Egypt:” cf. לְמוֹאָב, etc., xlviii. 1, xlix. 1, 7, 23, 28, also xxiii. 9. This chapter contains two prophecies regarding Egypt, vers. 2–12, and vers. 13–28. לְמִצְרַיִם refers to both. After this there follows an account of the occasion for the first of these two prophecies, in the words, “Concerning the army of Pharaoh-Necho, the king of Egypt, which was at the river Euphrates, near Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah.” נָכְח, as in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, or נָכַח, as in 2 Kings xxiii. 29, in LXX. Νεχαώ; Egyptian, according to Brugsch (*Hist. d’Egypte*, i. p. 252), *Nekāou*; in Herodotus *Νεκῶς*,—is said by Manetho to have been the sixth king of the twenty-sixth (Saïte) dynasty, the second Pharaoh of this name, the son of Psammetichus I., and grandson of Necho I. Brugsch says he reigned from 611 to 595 B.C. See on 2 Chron. xxiii. 29. The two relative clauses are co-ordinate, *i.e.* אֲשֶׁר in each case depends on הָיָה. The first clause merely states where Pharaoh’s army was, the second tells what befell it at the Euphrates. It is to this that the following prophecy refers.

Pharaoh-Necho, soon after ascending the throne, in the last year of Josiah's reign (610 B.C.), had landed in Palestine, at the bay of Acre, with the view of subjugating Hither Asia as far as the Euphrates, and had defeated and slain King Josiah, who marched out against him. He next deposed Jehoahaz, whom the people had raised to the throne as Josiah's successor, and carried him to Egypt, after having substituted Eliakim, the elder brother of Jehoahaz, and made him his vassal-king, under the name of Jehoiakim. When he had thus laid Judah under tribute, he advanced farther into Syria, towards the Euphrates, and had reached Carchemish on that river, as is stated in this verse: there his army was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim (606 B.C.); see on 2 Kings xxiii. 29 f. *Carchemish* is *Κερκήσιον*, *Circesium*, or *Cer-*

cusium of the classical writers,¹ Arabic كَرْتَيْسِيَّة, a fortified city at the junction of the Chebar with the Euphrates, built on the peninsula formed by the two rivers (Ammian. Marc. xxiii. 5, Procop. *bell. Pers.* ii. 5, and Marasç. under *Karkesija*). All that now remains of it are ruins, called by the modern Arabs *Abu Psera*, and situated on the Mesopotamian side of the Euphrates, where that river is joined by the Chebar (Ausland, 1864, S. 1058). This fortress was either taken, or at least besieged, by Necho. The statement, "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim," can be referred exegetically only to the time of the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish, or the year of the battle, and is actually so understood by most interpreters. No one but Niebuhr (*Gesch. Ass. u. Bab.* S. 59, 86, 370 ff.) alters the date of the battle, which he places in the third year of Jehoiakim, partly from consideration of Dan. i. 1, partly from other chronological calculations; he would refer the date given in our verse to the time when the following song was composed or published. But Dan. i. 1 does not necessarily require us to make any such assumption (see on that passage), and the other chronological computations are quite uncertain. Exegetically, it is as impossible to insert a period after "which Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon smote" (Nieb. p. 86, note 3), as to

¹ See the opinion of Rawlinson in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 278.

connect the date "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim" with "which word came to Jeremiah" (ver. 1). The title in ver. 1 certainly does not refer specially to the prophecy about Egypt, but to *על-הנביאים*. But if we wished to make the whole of ver. 2 dependent on *אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְּבַר יְהוָה*, which would, at all events, be a forced, unnatural construction, then, from the combination of the title in ver. 1 with the specification of time at the end of ver. 2, it would follow that all the prophecies regarding the nations had come to Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim,—which would contradict what is said in the heading to the oracle against Elam (xlix. 34), not to mention the oracle against Babylon. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that the first prophecy against Egypt was revealed to Jeremiah, and uttered by him, in the same fourth year of Jehoiakim in which Necho was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar. In this way, the argument brought forward by Niebuhr in support of his forced interpretation, viz. that all specifications of time in the addresses of Jeremiah refer to the period of composition, loses all its force. In xlv. 1 also, and in li. 9, the time when the event occurred coincides with the time when the utterance regarding it was pronounced. Although we assume this to hold in the case before us, yet it by no means follows that what succeeds, in vers. 3-12, is not a prophecy, but a song or lyric celebrating so important a battle, "the picture of an event that had already occurred," as Niebuhr, Ewald, and Hitzig assume. This neither follows from the statement in the title, "which Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth year of Jehoiakim smote," nor from the contents of the succeeding address. The superscription does not naturally belong to what Jeremiah has said or uttered, but must have been prefixed, for the first time, only when the address was committed to writing and inserted in the collection, and this not till after the battle had been fought; but it is evident that the address is to be viewed as substantially a prophecy (see vers. 6b and 10b), although Jeremiah depicts, in the most lively and dramatic way, not merely the preparation of the mighty host, ver. 3, and its formidable advance, vers. 7-9, but also its flight and annihilation, in ver. 5 and vers. 10-12.

Ver. 3. "Prepare shield and target, and advance to the battle. Ver. 4. Yoke the horses [to the chariots]; mount the

steeds, and stand with helmets on; polish the spears, put on the armour. Ver. 5. Why do I see? they are terrified and turned back, and their heroes are beaten, and flee in flight, and do not turn: terror is round about, saith Jahveh. Ver. 6. Let not the swift one flee, nor let the hero escape; towards the north, by the side of the river Euphrates, they stumble and fall. Ver. 7. Who is this that cometh up like the Nile? his waters wave like the rivers. Ver. 8. Egypt cometh up like the Nile, [his] waters are moved like the rivers; and he saith, I will go up, I will cover the earth; I will destroy the city, and those who dwell in it. Ver. 9. Go up, ye horses; and drive furiously, ye chariots; and let the heroes go forth; Cushites and Phutites, bearing the shield; and Lydians, handling [and] bending the bow. Ver. 10. But that day [belongs] to the Lord Jahveh of hosts, a day of vengeance for avenging Himself on His enemies: and the sword shall devour and be satisfied, and shall drink its fill of their blood; for the Lord Jahveh of hosts holdeth a slaying of sacrifices in the land of the north at the river Euphrates. Ver. 11. Go up to Gilead, and take balsam, O virgin, daughter of Egypt: in vain hast thou multiplied medicines; cure there is none for thee. Ver. 12. The nations have heard of thine ignominy, and thy cry hath filled the earth: for heroes stumble against heroes, both of them fall together."

This address falls into two strophes, vers. 3-6 and 7-12. In both are depicted in a lively manner, first the advance of the Egyptian host to the battle, then their flight and destruction. The whole has been arranged so as to form a climax: in the first strophe, the admirable equipment of the armies, and their sudden flight and defeat, are set forth in brief sentences; in the second, there is fully described not merely the powerful advance of the host that covers the earth, but also the judgment of inevitable destruction passed on them by God: the reason for the whole is also assigned. Ver. 3 f. In order to represent the matter in a lively way, the description begins with the call addressed to the army, to make ready for the battle. "Make ready, shield and target," the two main pieces of defensive armour. לָמָוּ was the small [round] shield; לָמָוּ, *scutum*, the large shield, covering the whole body. "Advance to the fight," i.e. go for-

ward into the battle. Then the address turns to the several portions of the army: first to those who fight from chariots, who are to yoke the horses; then to the horsemen, to mount the steeds. פָּרָשִׁים are not horsemen, but riding-horses, as in 1 Kings v. 6, x. 26, Ezek. xxvii. 14. עֲלֶה is construed with the accus., as in Gen. xlix. 4. The rendering given by Dahler and Umbreit, "Mount, ye horsemen," and that of Hitzig, "Advance, ye horsemen," are against the parallelism; and the remark of the last-named writer, that "Mount the steeds" would be רָכְבוּ, does not accord with 1 Sam. xxx. 17. Next, the address is directed to the foot-soldiers, who formed the main portion of the army. These are to take up their position with helmets on, to polish the spears, i.e. to sharpen them, and to put on the pieces of armour, in order to be arrayed for battle. מָרַק, to rub, polish, remove rust from the spear, and thereby sharpen it. מְרִיץ, here and in li. 3 for שְׂרִיץ, a coat of mail, pieces of armour.—Vers. 5, 6. Thus well arrayed, the host advances to the fight; but suddenly the seer perceives the magnificent army terror-stricken, retreating, and breaking out into a disorderly flight. The question, "Why (wherefore) do I see?" points to the unexpected and incomprehensible turn in the progress of events. הִמָּה חֲתִים is not an accus. dependent on רָאִיתִי, but an independent clause: "What do I see? They are terror-stricken" (חֲתִים, terrified, broken-spirited through terror). יָבֵרִי, Hoph. from בָּתַר, to be broken, here and in Job iv. 20 applied to persons. מָנוֹס is added to the verb instead of the inf. abs., to give emphasis to the idea contained in the word; cf. Ewald, § 281, a. מְנוֹר מַסְבִּיב, "horror, terror around" (cf. vi. 25), is taken by Ewald as the reply of Jahveh to the question, "Wherefore is this? On every side there is danger;" and this is appropriately followed by the imperatives in ver. 6, "Let no one, then, attempt to flee; not one shall escape to Egypt, but they must fall at the Euphrates." The perfects נִפְּלוּ וַיִּשְׁלָחוּ are prophetic; the stumbling and falling are as certain as if they had already happened. The second strophe commences at ver. 7. The description begins anew, and that with a question of astonishment at the mighty host advancing like the Nile when it bursts its banks and inundates the whole country. יָרַד is the name of the Nile, taken from

the Egyptian into the Hebrew language; cf. Gen. xli. ff., Ex. i. 22, etc. הִתְנַשֵּׁשׁ, dash about (v. 22), wave backwards and forwards: the Hithpa. is here interchanged with the Hithpo. without any difference of meaning.—Ver. 8 brings the answer to the question of astonishment: “Egypt approaches, its hosts cover the land like the waves of the Nile, to destroy cities and men.” On the form אֲבִירָה (with א contracted from אֵם), cf. Ewald, § 192, *d*; Gesenius, § 68, Rem. 1. עִיר is used in an indefinite general sense, “cities,” as in viii. 16.—In ver. 9, the imperat. stands as in ver. 3 f.: “Let the formidable army approach,—cavalry, chariots, and infantry, with all their splendidly equipped auxiliaries,—nevertheless it shall perish.” עֲלֵי הַסּוּסִים does not here mean “Mount the steeds,” which is against the parallelism, but “Get up (*i.e.* prance), ye horses;,” this meaning is guaranteed by the Hiphil מַעֲלֶה, as used in Nah. iii. 3. הִתְחַלְלֵי הָרֶכֶב is an imitation of Nah. ii. 5. As auxiliaries, and very braves one too (גִּבּוֹרִים), are mentioned “Cush,” *i.e.* the Ethiopians; “Phut,” the Libyans; and “Ludim,” *i.e.* Hamitic, African Lydians, as in Ezek. xxx. 5. On the double construct in תִּשֵּׂה לְרִגְלֵי רֶכֶשׁ, “holding, bending bows,” cf. Ew. § 280, *c*.—Ver. 10. This formidable army shall perish; for the day of the battle is the day of the Lord of hosts, on which He will take vengeance upon His enemies. Among these enemies are the Egyptians, who have grievously sinned against Israel, the people of the Lord, not merely of late, by making war upon and killing King Josiah, by carrying away Jehoahaz, and making Jehoiakim his vassal, but also from the earliest times. For this, Egypt is now to be brought low. The sword shall devour and be refreshed by drinking the blood of the Egyptians. For the Lord is preparing for a slaying of sacrifices (זִבְחֵי) in the north, at the Euphrates. Isa. xxxiv. 6 forms the basis of these words.—Ver. 11. The blow which shall there come on the Egyptians is one from which they shall never recover, and the wound shall be one not to be healed by any balm. As to the balm of Gilead, see on viii. 22; on רִפְאוֹת and תַּעֲלָה, see xxx. 13. “Virgin daughter of Egypt” is equivalent to virgin-like people of Egypt, *i.e.* not hitherto forced, but now ravished, violated, so that all nations shall hear of the dishonour done them, and their cry shall fill the whole earth, for (as at the conclusion,

the threat is added by way of confirmation) all the heroes of Egypt stumble and fall. נִבּוֹר בְּנִבּוֹר, "hero against hero," i.e. one against another, or over the others, as usually happens in a flight where confusion reigns; cf. Jer. xxvi. 37.

Vers. 13-28. *The second prophecy regarding Egypt, with a message for Israel attached to it*, was uttered after the preceding. This is evident even from the superscription, ver. 13: "The word which Jahveh spake to Jeremiah the prophet of the coming of Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon to smite the land of Egypt." The formula, "The word which," etc., agrees with that in l. 1; and נִבְּרָה, in contrast with הִיא, the word usually met with in headings, perhaps means that this prophecy, like that concerning Babylon, was not uttered in public by Jeremiah, but only written down. לְבִנְיָם is used in reference to the coming of Nebuchadrezzar to smite the land. Graf puts down this heading as an addition, not made till a late edition of the prophecies was brought out, and even then added through a mistake on the part of the compiler. In support of this, he urges that the announcement in vers. 14-26 does not form an independent prophecy, but merely constitutes the second portion of the description given in vers. 3-12 of the defeat of the Egyptians. But the ground assigned for this view, viz. that if this prophecy formed a separate and distinct piece, written at another time, then Jeremiah would have predicted the conquest of the other countries, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, etc., in consequence of the battle of Carchemish; and as regards Egypt, would have contented himself with a triumphal song over its fall—which is in itself unlikely: this argument is utterly null. It has no meaning whatever; for vers. 3-12 contain, not a triumphal song over a defeat that had already taken place, but a prophecy regarding the defeat about to take place. To this the prophet added a second prophecy, in which he once more announces beforehand to Egypt that it shall be conquered. In this way, more is foretold regarding Egypt than the neighbouring countries, because Egypt was of much greater consequence, in relation to the theocracy, than Philistia, Moab, etc. According to the superscription, this second prophecy refers to the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. According to xxxvii. 5, this did not

take place so long as Zedekiah was king; and according to xliii. 8 ff., it was foretold by Jeremiah, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Jews were fleeing to Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah. From this, one might conclude, with Nägelsbach, that the piece now before us is contemporaneous with xliii. 8 ff. But this inference is not a valid one. The threat uttered in xliii. 8 ff. of a conquest to befall Egypt had a special occasion of its own, and we cannot well regard it in any other light than as a repetition of the prophecy now before us, for the Jews; for its contents seem to show that it was composed not long after that in vers. 3-12, or soon after the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish. This address also falls into two strophes, vers. 14-19 and vers. 20-26, while vers. 27, 28 form an additional message for Israel. The line of thought is this: Egypt may arm herself as she chooses, but her power shall fall, and her auxiliaries shall flee (vers. 14-16). Pharaoh's fall is certain; the enemy shall come in force, and turn all Egypt into a desert (vers. 17-19). The destroyer comes from the north, the mercenaries flee, and the enemy hews down countless hosts of men like trees in a forest (vers. 20-23). Egypt will be given into the hand of the people out of the north; for Jahveh will punish gods, princes, and people, and deliver up Egypt to the king of Babylon. But afterwards, Egypt will again be inhabited as it was before (vers. 24-26). On the other hand, Israel need fear nothing, for their God will lead them back out of their captivity (vers. 27, 28).

Ver. 14. "Tell ye it in Egypt, and make it to be heard in Migdol, and make it be heard in Noph and Tahpanhes: say, Stand firm, and prepare thee; for the sword hath devoured around thee. Ver. 15. Why hath thy strong one been swept away? he stood not, for Jahveh pushed him down. Ver. 16. He made many stumble, yea, one fell on another; and they said, Arise, and let us return to our own people, and to the land of our birth, from before the oppressing sword. Ver. 17. They cried there, Pharaoh the king of Egypt is undone; he hath let the appointed time pass. Ver. 18. As I live, saith the King, whose name is Jahveh of hosts, Surely as Tabor among the mountains, and as Carmel by the sea, shall he come. Ver. 19. Prepare thee things for exile, O daughter dwelling in

Egypt: for Noph will become a desolation, and be destroyed by fire, without an inhabitant."

Like the last prophecy, this one also begins with the summons to arms (ver. 14), in order to prepare the way for the description given immediately afterwards of the defeat (ver. 15 ff.). The summons to make the proclamation is addressed to some persons not named, who are to announce through the country, particularly in the frontier towns and in the northern capital of Egypt, that the foe, in his devastating career, has advanced to the borders of the land. This is evident from the clause which states the reason: "The sword hath devoured what lay round thee." Regarding Migdol, *i.e.* *Magdolos*, and Tahpanhes, *i.e.* *Daphne*, the two frontier towns in the north, and Noph, *i.e.* *Memphis*, the northern capital of the kingdom, see on ii. 16 and xlv. 1. הָתֵיב, to take up one's position for the fight; cf. ver. 4. סְבִיבֶיךָ, "thy surroundings," are the frontier countries, but especially those on the north, — Judah, Philistia, Edom, — since the enemy comes from the north. However, we cannot with certainty infer from this, that by that time the kingdom of Judah had already fallen, and Jerusalem been laid waste. Immediately after Necho had been vanquished at the Euphrates, Nebuchadnezzar marched after the fugitive foe, pursuing him as far as the borders of Egypt; hence we read, in 2 Kings xxiv. 7, "The king of Egypt went no more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken all that had belonged to the king of Egypt, from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates." Even at that time, in the fourth and fifth years of Jehoiakim, it could be said, "His sword hath devoured the countries contiguous to Egypt." And Nebuchadnezzar was prevented on that occasion from advancing farther, and penetrating into Egypt itself, only by hearing of his father's death at Babylon, in consequence of which he was compelled to return to Babylon as speedily as possible, for the purpose of assuming the reins of government, and to let his army with the prisoners follow him at their leisure (Berosus in Josephus, *contra Ap.* i. 19). — Ver. 15. The prophet in spirit looks on the power of Egypt as already broken. This is shown by the question of astonishment, מִדֵּי נִסְחָה אֲבִירֶיךָ, which has been variously rendered. אֲבִירִים, "strong ones," is

used in Jer. viii. 16, xlvii. 3, and l. 11, of stallions, but elsewhere as an epithet of bulls, especially the strong bulls of Bashan; see on viii. 16. In the present passage the reference may be to the mighty men of war, who do not maintain their position (Chald. and most of the old interpreters); the verb in the singular forms no sufficient objection to this view, the irregularity being due to the fact that the verb precedes its subject [see Ewald, § 316, *t*; Gesenius, § 147]. It is more difficult to combine with this the singulars of the verbs עָסַר and הִרְפּוּ which follow; these, and especially the suffix in the singular, appear to indicate that אֲבִירִי really refers to a noun in the singular. But the form of this noun seems against such a view; for the words adduced in support of the position that singular nouns sometimes assume plural suffixes, are insufficient for the purpose: thus, תְּהַלְלֶיךָ, Ps. ix. 15, and שִׁנְאֶיךָ, Ezek. xxxv. 11, are plainly nouns in the singular. And in support of the averment that, in pausal forms with Segol, the ך is a mere *mater lectionis*, only בִּפְּךָ, Prov. vi. 1, can be adduced: the other instances brought forward by Hitzig fail to establish his position. For אֲבִירִי, Deut. xxviii. 48, may be plural; בֵּינִי, Gen. xvi. 5, is far from being a case in point, for the preposition often takes plural suffixes; and even in the case of חֲסִידֶיךָ, Ps. xvi. 10, the ך is marked in the *Qeri* as superfluous; most codices, too, rather give the form חֲסִידֶיךָ. But even in the verse now before us, many codices, according to Kennicott and de Rossi, read אֲבִירֶיךָ, so that the word should perhaps be taken as a singular. The singulars, however, which occur in the following clauses do not form conclusive proofs of this, since they may be taken in a distributive sense; and more generally the address often suddenly changes from the plural to the singular. In connection with the possibility of taking אֲבִירִי as a singular, the paraphrase of the LXX. deserves mention and consideration, ὁ μὀσχος ὁ ἑκλεκτός σου, to which a gloss adds ὁ ἄπης. But we cannot agree with Kennicott, J. D. Michaelis, Ewald, Hitzig, Graf, and Nügelbach, in holding this as certainly the correct rendering; nor can we give to אֲבִירִי the sense of "bull," for this meaning is not made out for the singular simply because the plural is used of strong bulls: this holds especially in Jeremiah, who constantly applies the plural

to strong steeds. Still less ground is there for appealing to the fact that Jahveh is repeatedly called אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל or אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Gen. xlix. 24, Isa. i. 24, xlix. 26, etc.; for this epithet of Jahveh (who shows Himself in or towards Israel as the Mighty One) cannot be applied to the helpless images of Apis. In Ps. lxviii. 31, אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל means "strong ones"—bulls as emblems of kings. If the word be used here with such a reference, it may be singular or plural. In the former case it would mean the king; in the latter, the king with his princes and magnates. Against the application of the word to the images of Apis, there is the fact that Apis, a symbol of Osiris, was neither the only nor the chief god of Egypt, but was worshipped nowhere except in Memphis (Herodotus, ii. 153); hence it was not suited to be the representative of the gods or the power of Egypt, as the context of the present passage requires.—Ver. 16. As the mighty one of Egypt does not stand, but is thrust down by God, so Jahveh makes many stumble and fall over one another, so that the strangers return to their own home in order to escape the violence of the sword. The subject of יִשְׂרָאֵל is indefinite; the speakers, however, are not merely the hired soldiers or mercenaries (ver. 11), or the allied nations (Ezek. xxx. 5), but strangers generally, who had been living in Egypt partly for the sake of commerce, partly for other reasons (Hitzig, Graf). As to תָּרַב הַיְּנִיָּה, see on xxv. 38.—In ver. 17, "they cry there" is not to be referred to those who fled to their native land; the subject is undefined, and "there" refers to the place where one falls over the other, viz. Egypt. "There they cry, 'Pharaoh the king of Egypt is שָׁן, desolation, destruction, ruin: ' for this meaning, cf. xxv. 31, Ps. xl. 3; the signification "noise, bustle," is unsuitable here.¹

¹ The word שָׁן has been read by the LXX. and the Vulgate as if it had been שָׁן, *ὄνομα*, *nomen*; accordingly the LXX. render, καλίσσατε τὸ ὄνομα Φαραὼ Νεχὰδ, βασιλῆως Αἰγύπτου, Σαὼν Ἐσβεῖ Ἑμῶν (or Ἐσβεῖ Μωῦν); Vulgate, *vocate nomen Pharaonis regis Aegypti: Tumultum adduxit tempus*. This reading is preferred by J. D. Michaelis, Ewald, Hitzig, and Graf, with this difference, that Hitzig and Graf take only שָׁן as a name. Hence Ewald translates, "They call Pharaoh's name 'Noise-which-a-wink-can-hush.'" This rendering is decidedly false, for שָׁן nowhere has the sense of "wink, nod," not even in Judg. xx. 38, where it means an agreement

The meaning of **הַמַּוֶּעֶר הָעֵבִיר** also is disputed; it is quite inadmissible, however, to join the words with **שָׂאוֹן**, as Ewald does, for the purpose of making out a name. No suitable meaning can be extracted from them. Neither **שָׂאוֹן** nor **הַמַּוֶּעֶר** can be the subject of **הָעֵבִיר**; the translation given by Schnurrer, "devastation that goes beyond all bounds," is still more arbitrary than that of Ewald given in the note. Since the Hiphil **הָעֵבִיר** is never used except with a transitive meaning, the subject can be none else than Pharaoh; and the words **הַמַּוֶּעֶר הָעֵבִיר** must be intended to give the reason for his becoming a desolation: they are thus to be rendered, "he has allowed **הַמַּוֶּעֶר** to pass by," not "the precise place," as Rosenmüller explains it ("he did not stop in his flight at the place where the army could be gathered again, on the return"), but "the precise time." The reference, however, is not to the suitable time for action, for self-defence and for driving off the enemy (Grotius, C. B. Michaelis, Maurer, Umbreit), because the word does not mean suitable, convenient time, but appointed time. As Hitzig rightly perceived, the time meant is that within which the desolation might still be averted, and after which the judgment of God fell on him (Isa. x. 25, xxx. 18),—the time of grace which God had vouchsafed to him, so that Nebuchadnezzar did not at once, after the victory at Carchemish, invade and conquer Egypt. Pharaoh let this time pass by; because, instead of seeing in that defeat a judgment from God, he provoked the anger of Nebuchadnezzar by his repeated attacks on the Chaldean power, and brought on the invasion of Egypt by the king of Babylon (see above, p. 155).

made. For the reading **שָׂם** instead of **שָׂמָּה** there are no sufficient grounds, although such passages as xx. 3 and Isa. xxx. 7 may be adduced in support of the idea obtained by such a change in the word. The translation of the LXX. is merely a reproduction of the Hebrew words by Greek letters, and shows that the translator did not know how to interpret them. The Vulgate rendering, *tumultum adduxit tempus*, is also devoid of meaning. Moreover, these translators have read **קָרָא** as the imperative **קְרָא**; if we reject this reading, as all moderns do, then we may also lay no weight on **שָׂמָּה** instead of **שָׂם**. Besides, the meaning is not materially affected by this reading, for the giving of a name to a person merely expresses what he is or will be.

—In ver. 18 f. there is laid down a more positive foundation for the threat uttered in ver. 17. With an oath, the Lord announces the coming of the destroyer into Egypt. Like Tabor, which overtops all the mountains round about, and like Carmel, which looks out over the sea as if it were a watch-tower, so will he come, viz. he from whom proceeds the devastation of Egypt, the king of Babylon. The power of Nebuchadnezzar, in respect of its overshadowing all other kings, forms the point of comparison. Tabor has the form of a truncated cone. Its height is given at 1805 feet above the level of the sea, or 1350 from the surface of the plain below; it far surpasses in height all the hills in the vicinity, and affords a wide prospect on every side; cf. Robinson's *Phys. Geogr. of Palestine*, p. 26 f. Carmel stretches out in the form of a long ridge more than three miles wide, till it terminates on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, as a bold, lofty promontory, which rises in an imposing manner at least 500 feet above the sea; cf. Robinson, p. 26 f. Then the inhabitants of Egypt will be driven into exile. בְּלִי נוֹלָה, "vessels of wandering;" outfit for an exile, as in Ezek. xii. 3. "Daughter of Egypt" is not a personification of the country, whose inhabitants are the people, but of the population, which is viewed as the daughter of the country; it stands in apposition to יִשְׁכְּבֶתָּה, like בְּתוּלַת בֵּית מִצְרַיִם, ver. 11. For Noph, i.e. Memphis, the capital, is laid waste and burned, so as to lose its inhabitants. With ver. 20 begins the second strophe, in which the fate impending on Egypt is still more plainly predicted.

Ver. 20. "Egypt is a very beautiful young heifer; a gadfly from the north comes—comes. Ver. 21. Her mercenaries, too, in her midst, are like fatted calves; for they also turn their backs, they flee together: they do not stand, for the day of her destruction is come on her, the time of her visitation. Ver. 22. Its sound is like [that of] the serpent [as it] goes; for they go with an army, and come against her with axes, like hewers of trees. Ver. 23. They cut down her forest, saith Jahveh, for it is not to be searched; for they are more numerous than locusts, and they cannot be numbered. Ver. 24. The daughter of Egypt is disgraced; she is given into the hand of the people of the north. Ver. 25. Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, saith, Behold, I will visit Amon of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, her gods, and

her kings; Pharaoh, and all those who trust in him. Ver. 26. And I will give them into the hand of those who seek their life, even into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants; but afterwards it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith Jahveh."

In ver. 20 the address begins afresh, in order to carry out further, under new images, the description of the desolation already threatened. Egypt is a very beautiful *עֵינָהּ*; this feminine is chosen with a regard to "the daughter of Egypt." *יְפֵה־פִּיָּהּ* is an adjective formed from the Peal of *יָפָה*, "very beautiful," not "coquetting" (Hitzig, who follows the *κεκαλλωπισμένη* of the LXX.). A very beautiful heifer is the people when carefully and abundantly fed in their beautiful and fertile land (Hitzig). Upon this heifer there comes from the north *קָרַן*. This *ἀπ. λεγ.* is variously rendered. *קָרַן* means, in the Hebrew, to pinch, nip (Job xxxiii. 6), to compress together, as in winking (Ps. xxxv. 19), to bring the lips closely

together (Prov. xvi. 30), and to nip off; cf. *قَرَصَ* to pinch, nip, cut off. Hence A. Schultens (*Orig. Heb.* ii. 34 sqq.), after Cocceius, and with a reference to Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 147, has rendered *קָרַן* by *morsus vellicans oestri*. Hitzig (with whom Roediger, in his additions to Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, agrees) takes *قارص* *insectum cimici simile* as his warrant for rendering it by *oestrus*, "the gadfly," which gives a more suitable meaning.

Ewald, on the contrary, compares *קָרַן* with *قَرَسَ*, and translates it "whale," a huge sea-monster; but this is quite arbitrary, for *קָרַן* does not correspond to the Arabic *قَرَسَ*, and the whale or shark does not afford any figure that would be suitable for the context: e.g. ver. 21, "her mercenaries also flee," shows that the subject treated of is not the devouring or destruction, but the expulsion of the Egyptians out of their land; this is put as an addition to what is said about exile in ver. 19. Still less suitable is the general rendering *excidium*, destruction (Rabbins, Gesenius, Umbreit); and there is no lexical foundation for the Vulgate translation *stimulator*, nor for "taskmaster," the rendering of J. D. Michaelis and Rosenmüller. The old translators

have only made guesses from the context. The figure of the gadfly corresponds to the bee in the land of Assyria, Isa. vii. 18. The repetition of נָפַד gives emphasis, and points either to the certainty of the coming, or its continuance.—Ver. 21. The mercenaries, also, of the daughter of Egypt, well fed, like fattened calves, betake themselves to flight. שִׁכְרִים are “mercenaries,” as distinguished from the allies mentioned in ver. 9. It was Carians and Ionians through whom Psammetichus attained the supremacy over all Egypt: these had settled down in *στρατόπεδα* of their own, between Bubastis and Pelusium, on both banks of the eastern arm of the Nile (Herodotus, ii. 152, 154), and were very well cared for, since the king relied on them (Herod. ii. 152, 163). Hence the comparison with fattened calves, which, moreover, are co-ordinated with the subject, as is shown by the resumption of the subject in נִם הַפָּה. נִם stands in the middle of the sentence, with an asseverative meaning: “Yea, these also turn their back, they flee together, do not stand; for the day of their destruction is come.” “The day of their destruction” is used as in xviii. 17. On “the time of their visitation” (which stands in apposition to the preceding expression), cf. xi. 23, xxiii. 12: it is not an accusative of time (Graf), for this always expresses the idea of continuance during a space of time. In vers. 22, 23, the annihilation of the power of Egypt is portrayed under another figure. A difficult expression is קוֹלָהּ כְּנִחָשׁ יֵלֵךְ, “her (viz. that of the daughter of Egypt) voice is like (the voice of) the serpent (which) goes.” יֵלֵךְ must be taken as part of a relative sentence, since this verb is nowhere used of a voice or sound; hence it cannot be so joined here. Ewald, following the *συσίζοντος* of the LXX., would read שִׁירָק, “hissing,” instead of יֵלֵךְ, and translates, “it makes a noise like the hissing serpent.” He more fully defines the meaning thus: “Even though Egypt were hidden like a serpent in a thicket, yet it would be heard in its flight, like a nasty serpent hissing fiercely, while it hurries away from the axe of the wood-cutter.” But, apart from the arbitrary change of יֵלֵךְ into שִׁירָק (the former word is used in Gen. iii. 14 of the going, i.e. crawling, of a serpent), Ewald puts into the words an idea altogether foreign to them. The nasty, fierce hissing of the serpent that is forced to flee, is quite unsuitable; for there is no further

mention made of the flight of the Egyptians, but Egypt is hewn down like a forest by woodcutters. Moreover, as Graf has already well remarked, Egypt is not compared to a serpent, but only its voice to the voice or hiss of a serpent. For קול signifies, not merely the voice, but any sound, even the rustling and rattling of leaves (cf. Gen. iii. 8, Lev. xxvi. 36, 2 Sam. v. 24); hence it may denote the noise caused by a serpent crawling on its belly in the thicket. The comparison, as Graf has correctly observed, is like that in Isa. xxix. 4. There it is the daughter of Zion, but here it is the daughter of Egypt that lies on the ground, deeply humbled; weeping softly and moaning, making a sound like that of a serpent in a moss among fallen leaves, fleeing before the woodcutters.¹ Thus she lies on the ground, for the enemy comes in force, with axes like woodcutters, to hew down the forest of men in Egypt. The mention of the axes is occasioned by the comparison of the foe to woodcutters; we are not to think of battle-axes as weapons of the Massagetæ, Scythians, Persians, and other nations (Herodotus, i. 215, iv. 70, vii. 64; Xenophon, *Cyroped.* i. 2, 9). Axes here form the type of murderous weapons generally. On the comparison of a multitude of people to a forest, cf. xxi. 14, Isa. x. 18 f., 33 f. The clause קולו לא יחקר is referred by L. de Dieu, J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, Nägelsbach, etc., to the wood, "for it cannot be explored

¹ The old translators have quite misunderstood these words, and attempted to apply them, each one according to his own fancy, to the enemy. Thus the LXX. translate: $\Phiωνὴ αὐτῶν$ (קולם) $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \theta\phi\epsilon\omega\varsigma \sigma\upsilon\pi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\tau\iota \epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (בְּחֹל for בְּחִיל) $\rho\omicron\pi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ Chald.: *vox collisionis armorum eorum est sicut vox serpentum repentium*; and similarly the Syriac. The Vulgate is: *vox ejus quasi aeris* (נְחֹשֶׁת for נְחָשׁ) *sonabit, quoniam cum exercitu properabunt et cum securibus venient.* The translator of the Vulgate has thus read קולו , and referred the suffix to קָרַן , which he renders *stimulator*. Luther follows the Vulgate: "Sie faren daher, das der Harnisch brasselt, und kommen mit Heeres Kraft." Hitzig also seeks to change the text, after the LXX., turning קולו into קולם , and בְּחִיל into בְּחֹל . But this alteration disturbs the order of the sentence. Not only in vers. 20 and 21, but also in vers. 23, 24, the first clause always treats of Egypt, and what befalls her is only stated in the clauses which follow: so is it in ver. 22. Thus the alteration made affords a very trivial result, viz. that the enemy advancing on Egypt march through the very sandy desert between Gaza and Egypt, and make slow progress, like serpents, because they wade through the sand; so that they make their appearance suddenly and unexpectedly.

or penetrated;” thus a road must be made in order to get through it. However, the question is not about the enemy going or marching through Egypt, but about the destruction of Egypt and her powers. Rosenmüller and Graf, with Raschi, are more correct in referring the clause to the hostile army, “for it cannot be investigated,” *i.e.* it is impossible to learn the number of them. It is no great objection to this interpretation that the verb occurs in the singular: this must be retained as it is, since it is not the individual enemies that cannot be searched out, but it is the number of the whole army that cannot be reckoned. On the employment of *הָקַר* in the Niphal in connection with the impossibility of counting a multitude, cf. 1 Kings vii. 47, and the expression *לֹא הָקַר* in Job v. 9, ix. 10, xxxvi. 36. The clauses which follow, and conclude ver. 23, explain the thought further: “more numerous than grasshoppers,” *i.e.* innumerable.

In ver. 24 f. the result of the overthrow of Egypt, which has hitherto been set forth in figurative language, is stated in words which describe the exact realities: Egypt will be given up to ignominy, delivered into the power of a people from the north, *i.e.* the Chaldeans. The Lord of hosts, the Almighty God of Israel, punishes it for its sins. He visits, *i.e.* punishes, *Amon* of *No*, the chief idol of Egypt; Pharaoh, and the land, with all its gods and its kings, and with Pharaoh, all those who place their trust in his power. Words are accumulated for the purpose of showing that the judgment will be one which shall befall the whole land, together with its gods, its rulers, and its inhabitants. First of all is mentioned *Amon* of *No*, as in Ezek. xxx. 14 f. *אֵן* is an abbreviation of *אֵן אֵן*, *i.e.* dwelling of *Amon*, the sacred name of the royal city in Upper Egypt, famous in antiquity, which the Greeks called *Διὸς πόλις*, or *Θήβη*, or *Θήβαι*, it is supposed, after the vulgar Egyptian name *Tapet* or *Tape* (Throne or Seat); see on Nah. iii. 8. *Amon*—in Greek *Ἀμμών* (Herodotus, ii. 42), *Ἀμὼν* (Plutarch, *de Is.* chap. 9), *Ἀμὼν* (Jamblichus, *de myst.* 5, 8)—was a sun-god (*Amon-Râ*), probably a symbol of the sun as it appears in the spring, in the sign of the Ram; hence he was represented with rams' horns. By the Greeks he was compared to Jupiter, or Zeus, and named *Jupiter Ammon*. The chief seat of his

worship was Thebes, where he had a temple, with a numerous learned priesthood and a famous oracle (cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. 43; Justin. xi. 11), which Cambyzes destroyed (Diodorus Siculus, *Fragm. Lib. x.*). Under the expression "kings of Egypt" we are not to include governors or vassal-kings, but all the kings who ever ruled Egypt; for in the judgment now falling on Egypt, all the kings it ever had, together with all its gods, are punished. In the last part of the verse the name of Pharaoh is once more given, for the purpose of attaching to it the words "and all who trust in him;" these are intended for the Jews who expected help from Egypt. The punishment consists in their being all given into the hand of their enemies, namely (! explic.) into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar and his servants. This defeat, however, is not to be the end of the Egyptian kingdom. The threat of judgment concludes, in ver. 26*b*, with a promise for the future. "Afterwards, it shall be inhabited, as in the days of yore." שָׁקֵט is used in a neuter sense, as in xvii. 6, xxxiii. 16, etc. Since this verb also signifies to settle down, be encamped (Num. xxiv. 2), and to lie quiet, to rest, or keep oneself quiet, inactive (Judg. v. 17; Prov. vii. 11), Hitzig and Graf, with Kimchi, give the explanation: "because the power of Egypt shall be broken, it will keep quiet, and remain at home in its own country, instead of marching forth and fighting other nations, as it has lately begun again to do (ver. 7) after centuries of peace." But although, in support of this view, we are pointed to Ezek. xxix. 13, where the restoration of Egypt is predicted, with the further remark, "it will be an abject kingdom," yet this idea is not contained in the words of our verse. To render שָׁקֵט by "to keep quiet, be inactive," does not suit the words "as in the days of old." In former days, Egypt was neither inactive nor remained at home in peace in its own land. From the remotest antiquity, the Pharaohs made wars, and sought to enlarge their dominions by conquest. Add to this, that we must view the concluding portion of this prophecy in a manner analogous to the closing thought of the prophecies regarding Moab (xlviii. 47), Ammon (xlix. 6), and Elam (xlix. 39), where the turning of the captivity in the last times is given in prospect to these nations, and "afterwards," in xlix. 6, alternates with "in the latter days" found in xlviii. 47

and xlix. 39. From this it follows that, in the verse now before us also, it is not the future in general, but the last time, *i.e.* the Messianic future, that is pointed out; hence יָשׁוּב does not express the peaceful condition of the land, but its being inhabited, in contrast with its depopulation in the immediate future, in consequence of its inhabitants being killed or carried away. On the fulfilment of this threatening, see p. 151 ff.

Vers. 27, 28. *A promise for Israel.*—Ver. 27. "But fear not thou, O my servant Jacob, nor be dismayed: for, behold, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and be at rest and secure, and no one shall make him afraid. Ver. 28. Fear thou not, my servant Jacob, saith Jahveh, for I am with thee; for I will make complete destruction of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but of thee will I not make complete destruction: yet I will correct thee in a proper manner, and I will not leave thee wholly unpunished." These verses certainly form no integral portion of the prophecy, but an epilogue; yet they are closely connected with the preceding, and are occasioned by the declaration in ver. 26, that the Lord, when He visits Pharaoh, shall also visit all those who trust in Him. This word, which is directed to Judah, might be understood to declare that it is Judah chiefly which will share the fate of Egypt. In order to prevent such a misconception, Jeremiah adds a word for Israel, which shows how the true Israel has another destiny to hope for. Their deliverer is Jahveh, their God, who certainly punishes them for their sins, gives them up to the power of the heathen, but will also gather them again after their dispersion, and then grant them uninterrupted prosperity. This promise of salvation at the close of the announcement of judgment on Egypt is similar to the promise of salvation for Israel inserted in the threat of judgment against Babylon, l. 4-7 and 19, 20, li. 5, 6, 10, 35, 36, 45, 46, 50; and this similarity furnishes a proof in behalf of the genuineness of the verse, which is denied by modern critics. For, although what Nägelsbach remarks is quite correct, *viz.* that the fall of the kingdom of Babylon, through its conquest by Cyrus, directly brought about the deliverance of Israel, while the same cannot be said regarding the conquest of Egypt, yet even Egypt had a much greater

importance, in relation to Judah, than the smaller neighbouring nations, against which the oracles in chap. xlvii.-xlix. are directed; hence there is no ground for the inference that, because there is nothing said in these three chapters of such a connection between Egypt and Israel, it did not really exist. But when Nägelsbach further asks, "How does this agree with the fact that Jeremiah, on other occasions, while in Egypt, utters only the strongest threats against the Israelites—chap. xlii.-xliv.?"—there is the ready answer, that the expressions in chap. xlii.-xliv. do not apply to the whole covenant people, but only to the rabble of Judah that was ripe for the sentence of destruction, that had fled to Egypt against the will of God. What Hitzig and Graf have further urged in another place against the genuineness of the verses now before us, is scarcely worth mention. The assertion that the verses do not accord with the time of the foregoing prophecy, and rather presuppose the exile, can have weight only with those who *à priori* deny that the prophet could make any prediction. But if Jeremiah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, distinctly announces not merely the carrying away of Judah to Babylon, but also fixes the duration of the exile at seventy years, then he might well speak at the same time, or later, of the restoration of Israel from their captivity.

But there are two other considerations which support the genuineness of these verses: (1) The fact that Hitzig and Graf are obliged to confess it remains a problem how they came to form a part of the oracle against Egypt. The attempt made by the former writer to solve this problem partly rests on the assumption, already refuted by Graf, that the verses were written by the second Isaiah (on this point, see our remarks at p. 7, note), and partly on a combination of results obtained by criticism, in which even their author has little confidence. But (2) we must also bear in mind the nature of the verses in question. They form a repetition of what we find in xxx. 10, 11, and a repetition, too, quite in the style of Jeremiah, who makes variations in expression. Thus here, in ver. 27, נָאֻם יְהוָה is omitted after יַעֲקֹב, perhaps simply because ver. 26 concludes with נָאֻם יְהוָה; again, in ver. 20, אֶתֶּה אֶל־הַיָּרֵא עֲבָדֵי יַעֲקֹב is repeated with נָאֻם יְהוָה, which is wanting in xxx. 11. On the

other hand, לְהַשִּׁיעַ in xxx. 11a, and אֶל in xxx. 11b, have been dropped; הַפִּצְוֹתֶיךָ שָׁם (xxx. 11) has been exchanged for הַהִתְחַיֵּיךָ שָׁמָּה. Hence Hitzig has taken the text here to be the better and the original one; and on this he founds the supposition that the verses were first placed here in the text, and were only afterwards, and from this passage, inserted in chap. xxx. 10, 11, where, however, they stand in the best connection, and even for that reason could not be a gloss inserted there. Such are some of the contradictions in which critical scepticism involves itself. We have already given an explanation of these verses under chap. xxx.

Chap. xlvii. *Concerning the Philistines.*

Ver. 1. *Title.*—The word of the Lord against the Philistines came to Jeremiah “before Pharaoh smote Gaza.” If we understand this time-definition in such a way that “the prophecy would refer to the conquest of Gaza by Pharaoh,” as Graf thinks, and as Hitzig also is inclined to suppose, then this portion of the title does not accord with the contents of the following prophecy; for, according to ver. 2, the devastator of Philistia approaches from the north, and the desolation comes not merely on Gaza, but on all Philistia, and even Tyre and Sidon (vers. 4, 5). Hence Graf thinks that, if any one is inclined to consider the title as utterly incorrect, only two hypotheses are possible: either the author of the title overlooked the statement in ver. 2, that the hostile army was to come from the north; in which case this conquest might have taken place at any time during the wearisome struggles, fraught with such changes of fortune, between the Chaldeans and the Egyptians for the possession of the border fortresses, during the reign of Jehoiakim (which is Ewald’s opinion): or he may possibly have noticed the statement, but found no difficulty in it; in which case, in spite of all opposing considerations (see M. von Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assy. und Bab.* p. 369), it must be assumed that the conquest was effected by the defeated army as it was returning from the Euphrates, when Necho, on his march home, reduced Gaza (Hitzig), and by taking this fortress from the enemy, barred the way to Egypt. Of these two alternatives, we can accept neither as probable. The neglect, on the part of the author of

the title, to observe the statement that the enemy is to come from the north, would show too great carelessness for us to trust him. But if he did notice the remark, then it merely follows that Pharaoh must have reduced Gaza on his return, after being defeated at Carchemish. Nor is it legitimate to conclude, as Ewald does, from the statement in 2 Kings xxiv. 7 ("The king of Egypt went no more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken all that had belonged to the king of Egypt, from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates"), that the wars between the Chaldeans and the Egyptians for the possession of the border fortresses, such as Gaza, were tedious, and attended with frequent changes of fortune. In the connection in which it stands, this statement merely shows that, after Nebuchadnezzar had made Jehoiakim his vassal, the latter could not receive any help from Egypt in his rebellion, after he had ruled three years, because Pharaoh did not venture to march out of his own territory any more. But it plainly follows from this, that Pharaoh cannot have taken the fortress of Gaza while retreating before Nebuchadnezzar. For, in this case, Nebuchadnezzar would have been obliged to drive him thence before ever he could have reduced King Jehoiakim again to subjection. The assumption is difficult to reconcile with what Berosus says regarding the campaign of Nebuchadnezzar, viz. that he continued in the field till he heard of the death of his father. Add to this, that, as M. von Niebuhr very rightly says, "there is every military probability against it" (*i.e.* against the assumption that Gaza was reduced by Necho on his retreat). "If this fortress had stood out till the battle of Carchemish, then it is inconceivable that a routed eastern army should have taken the city during its retreat, even though there were, on the line of march, the strongest positions on the Orontes, in Lebanon, etc., where it might have taken its stand." Hence Niebuhr thinks it "infinitely more improbable either that Gaza was conquered before the battle of Carchemish, about the same time as Ashdod, and that Jeremiah, in chap. xlvii., predicts the approach of the army which was still engaged in the neighbourhood of Nineveh; or that the capture of the fortress did not take place till later, when Nebuchadnezzar was again engaged in Babylon, and that the prophet announces his return, not his first approach."

Rosenmüller and Nägelsbach have declared in favour of the first of these suppositions. Both of them place the capture of Gaza in the time of Necho's march against the Assyrians under Josiah; Rosenmüller before the battle of Megiddo; Nägelsbach after that engagement, because he assumes, with all modern expositors, that Necho had landed with his army at the Bay of Acre. He endeavours to support this view by the observation that Necho, before marching farther north, sought to keep the way clear for a retreat to Egypt, since he would otherwise have been lost after the battle of Carchemish, if he did not previously reduce Gaza, the key of the high road to Egypt. In this, Nägelsbach rightly assumes that the heading, "before Pharaoh smote Gaza," was not intended to show the fulfilment of the prophecy in the conquest of Gaza by Necho soon afterwards, but merely states that Jeremiah predicts to the Philistines that they will be destroyed by a foe from the north, at a time when conquest by a foe from the north was impending over them. Rightly, too, does Niebuhr remark that, in support of the view that Gaza was taken after the battle at Carchemish, there is nothing more than the announcement of the attack from the north, and the arrangement of the prophecies in Jeremiah, in which that against the Philistines is placed after that about the battle at Carchemish. Hitzig and Graf lay great weight upon this order and arrangement, and thence conclude that all the prophecies against the nations in chap. xli.—xlix., with the exception of that regarding Elam, were uttered in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. There are no sufficient grounds for this conclusion. The agreement between this prophecy now before us and that in chap. xli., as regards particular figures and expressions (Graf), is too insignificant to afford a proof that the two belong to the same time; nor is much to be made out of the point so strongly insisted on by Hitzig, that after the Egyptians, as the chief nation, had been treated of, the author properly brings forward those who, from the situation of their country, must be visited by war immediately before it is sent on the Egyptians. The main foundation for this view is taken from the notice by Herodotus (ii. 159), that Necho, after the battle at *Magdolos*, took the large Syrian city *Kádurtis*. *Magdolos* is here taken as a variation of *Megiddo*, and *Kadytis* of

Gaza. But neither Hitzig nor Stark have proved the identity of Kadytis with Gaza, as we have already remarked on 2 Kings xxiii. 33; so that we cannot safely draw any conclusion, regarding the time when Gaza was taken, from that statement of Herodotus. In consequence of the want of evidence from other sources, the date of this event cannot be more exactly determined.

From the contents of this prophecy and its position among the oracles against the nations, we can draw no more than a very probable inference that it was not published before the fourth year of Jehoiakim, inasmuch as it is evidently but a further amplification of the sentence pronounced in that year against all the nations, and recorded in chap. xxv. Thus all conjectures as to the capture of Gaza by Necho on his march to the Euphrates, before the battle at Carchemish, become very precarious. But the assumption is utterly improbable also, that Necho at a later period, whether in his flight before the Chaldeans, or afterwards, while Nebuchadnezzar was occupied in Babylon, undertook an expedition against Philistia: such a hypothesis is irreconcilable with the statement given in 2 Kings xxiv. 7. There is thus no course left open for us, but to understand, by the Pharaoh of the title here, not Necho, but his successor Hophra: this has been suggested by Raschi, who refers to Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11, and by Perizonius, in his *Orig. Egypt.* p. 459, who founds on the notices of Herodotus (ii. 261) and of Diodorus Siculus, i. 68, regarding the naval battle between Apries on the one hand and the Cyprians and Phœnicians on the other. From these notices, it appears pretty certain that Pharaoh-Hophra sought to avenge the defeat of Necho on the Chaldeans, and to extend the power of Egypt in Asia. Hence it is also very probable that he took Gaza, with the view of getting into his hands this key of the highway to Egypt. This assumption we regard as the most probable, since nothing has been made out against it; there are no sufficient grounds for the opinion that this prophecy belongs to the same time as that in chap. xli.

Contents of the Prophecy.—From the north there pours forth a river, inundating fields and cities, whereupon lamentation begins. Every one flees in haste before the sound of the

hostile army, for the day of desolation is come on all Philistia and Phœnicia (vers. 2-4). The cities of Philistia mourn, for the sword of the Lord is incessantly active among them (vers. 5-7). This brief prophecy thus falls into two strophes: in the first (vers. 2-4), the ruin that is breaking over Philistia is described; in the second (vers. 5-7), its operation on the country and on the people.

Ver. 2. "Thus saith Jahveh: Behold, waters shall rise up out of the north, and shall become an inundating stream, and they shall inundate the land and its fulness, cities and those who dwell in them; and men shall cry, and all the inhabitants of the land shall howl. Ver. 3. Because of the sound of the trampling of the hoofs of his strong horses, because of the din of his chariots, the noise of his wheels, fathers do not look back to their children from weakness of hands; Ver. 4. Because of the day that cometh to destroy all the Philistines, to cut off from Tyre and Zidon every one remaining as a helper; for Jahveh destroyeth the Philistines, the remnant of the coast of Caphtor. Ver. 5. Baldness is come upon Gaza; Ashkelon is destroyed, the rest of their plain. How long wilt thou cut thyself? Ver. 6. O sword of Jahveh, how long wilt thou not rest? Draw thyself back into thy sheath; rest, and be still. Ver. 7. How canst thou be quiet, when Jahveh hath commanded thee? Against Ashkelon and against the sea-coast, there hath He appointed it."

The address opens with a figure. The hostile army that is to devastate Philistia is represented as a stream of water, breaking forth from the north, and swelling to an overflowing winter-torrent, that inundates the country and cities with their inhabitants. The figure is often used: cf. xlv. 7, 8, where the Egyptian host is compared to the waves of the Nile; and Isa. viii. 7, where the Assyrian army is likened to the floods of the Euphrates. The simile is applied here in another way. The figure is taken from a strong spring of water, coming forth in streams out of the ground, in the north, and swelling to an overflowing winter-torrent, that pours out its floods over Philistia, laying it waste. "From the north" is used here as in xlv. 20, and points back to i. 13, 14. "An inundating stream" is here employed as in Isa. xxx. 20; "earth and its fulness, a city and those who dwell in it," as in viii. 16. In

ver. 3 follows the application of the figure. It is a martial host that overflows the land, and with its mighty noise puts the inhabitants in such terror that they think only of a hasty flight; even fathers do not turn back to save their children. שְׁעָמָה,

ἄπ. λεγ., Syriac ܐܬܝܠܚܝܬ, *incedere, gradi*, hence probably the stamping of hoofs. אֲבִירִים, strong horses, as in viii. 16. לִרְכֹּב, instead of the construct state, has perhaps been chosen only for the sake of introducing a variation; cf. Ewald, § 290, *a*. הִפְנָה, to turn the back, as in xli. 5. "Slackness of hands," *i.e.* utter loss of courage through terror; cf. vi. 24 (the form רָפִיחַ only occurs here). In ver. 4 the deeper source of fear is mentioned; "because of the day," *i.e.* because the day has come to destroy all the Philistines, namely, the day of the judgment determined by the Lord; cf. xli. 10. "In order to destroy every remnant helping Tyre and Zidon." שְׂרִיר עֵיִר are the Philistines, who could afford help to the Phœnicians in the struggle against the Chaldean power. This implies that the Phœnicians also shall perish without any one to help them. This indirect mention of the Phœnicians appears striking, but it is to be explained partly on the ground that Jeremiah has uttered special prophecies only against the chief enemies of Judah, and partly also perhaps from the historical relations, *i.e.* from the fact that the Philistines might have afforded help to the Phœnicians in the struggles against the great powers of the world. Hitzig unnecessarily seeks to take לִצֹר וְלִצְרֹן as the object, and to expunge קַל-שְׂרִיר עֵיִר as a gloss. The objections which he raises against the construction are groundless, as is shown by such passages as xli. 7, Isa. xiv. 22, 1 Kings xiv. 10, etc. "The remaining helper" is the expression used, because the other nations that could help the Egyptians, *viz.* the Syrians and Phœnicians, had already succumbed to the Chaldean power. The destruction will be so great as this, because it is Jahveh who destroys the Philistines, the remnant of the coast of Caphtor. According to Amos ix. 7, Deut. ii. 23, the Philistines came from Caphtor; hence שְׂאֲרִית אֵי כַפְתּוֹר can only mean "what still remains of the people of Philistia who come from the coast of Caphtor," like "the remnant of the Philistines" in Amos i. 8. Opinions are divided as to

Caphtor. The prevailing view is that of Lakemacher, that Caphtor is the name of the island of Crete; but for this there are no tenable grounds: see on Zeph. ii. 5; and Delitzsch on Genesis, S. 248, Aufl. 4. Dietrich (in *Merz' Archiv*. i. S. 313 ff.) and Ebers (*Ägypten u. die Bücher Moses*, i. S. 130 ff.) agree in thinking that Caphtor is the shore of the Delta, but they explain the name differently. Dietrich derives it from the Egyptian *Kah-pet-Hôr* (district of Hor), which he takes to be the environs of the city of Buto, and the lake called after it (the modern *Burlos*), not far from the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile; Ebers, following the tablet of Canopus, in which the Egyptian name *Kfa* (*Kaf*) is given as that of Phœnicia, derives the name from *Kaf-t-ur*, i.e. *the great Kefa*, as the ancient seat of the Phœnicians on the shore of the Delta must have been called. But both explanations are still very doubtful, though there is no question about the migration of the Philistines from Egypt into Canaan.—Vers. 5-7. The prophet sees, in the spirit, the threatened desolation as already come upon Philistia, and portrays it in its effects upon the people and the country. "Baldness (a sign of the deepest and most painful sorrow) has come upon Gaza;" cf. Mic. i. 16. נִרְמָה is rendered by the Vulgate *conticuit*. After this Graf and Nägelsbach take the meaning of being "speechless through pain and sorrow;" cf. Lam. ii. 10. Others translate "to be destroyed." Both renderings are lexically permissible, for רָמָה and נִרְמָה have both meanings. In support of the first, the parallelism of the members has been adduced; but this is not decisive, for figurative and literal representations are often interchanged. On the whole, it is impossible to reach any definite conclusion; for both renderings give suitable ideas, and these not fundamentally different in reality the one from the other. שְׂאֵרֵית עֲמָקָם, "the rest of their valley" (the suffix referring to Gaza and Ashkelon), is the low country round about Gaza and Ashkelon, which are specially mentioned from their being the two chief fortresses of Philistia. עֲמָק is suitably applied to the low-lying belt of country, elsewhere called שְׁפֵלָה, "the low country," as distinguished from the hill-country; for עֲמָק does not always denote a deep valley, but is also sometimes used, as in Josh. xvii. 16, etc., of the

plain of Jezreel, and of other plains which are far from being deeply-sunk valleys. Thus there is no valid reason for following the arbitrary translation of the LXX., καὶ τὰ κατάλοιπα Ἐνακείμ, and changing עֲנָקִים into עֲנָקִים, as Hitzig and Graf do; more especially is it utterly improbable that in the Chaldean period Anakim were still to be found in Philistia. The mention of them, moreover, is out of place here; and still less can we follow Graf in his belief that the inhabitants of Gath are the "rest of the Anakim." In the last clause of ver. 5, Philistia is set forth as a woman, who tears her body (with her nails) in despair, makes incisions on her body; cf. xvi. 6, xli. 5. The question, "How long dost thou tear thyself?" forms a transition to the plaintive request, "Gather thyself," i.e. draw thyself back into thy scabbard. But the seer replies, "How can it rest? for Jahveh hath given it a commission against Ashkelon and the Philistine sea-coast." For תִּשְׁקָטָהּ, in ver. 7, we must read the 3d pers. fem. תִּשְׁקָטָהּ, as the following הִלֵּךְ shows. The form probably got into the text from an oversight, through looking at תִּשְׁקָטָהּ in ver. 6. הַיָּם הַזֶּה, "the sea-coast," a designation of Philistia, as in Ezek. xxv. 16.

The prophecy concludes without a glance at the Messianic future. The threatened destruction of the Philistines has actually begun with the conquest of Philistia by Nebuchadnezzar, but has not yet culminated in the extermination of the people. The extermination and complete extirpation are thus not merely repeated by Ezekiel, xxv. 15 ff., but after the exile the threats are once more repeated against the Philistines by Zechariah (ix. 5): they only reached their complete fulfilment when, as Zechariah announces, in the addition made to Isa. xiv. 30 ff., their idolatry also was removed from them, and their incorporation into the Church of God was accomplished through judgment. Cf. the remarks on Zeph. ii. 10.

Chap. xlviii. *Concerning Moab.*

The Moabites had spread themselves on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, where the Emims dwelt in former times (Deut. ii. 10). But previous to the immigration of the Israelites into Canaan, the Amorites, under King Sihon, had already taken forcible possession of the northern portion of this territory as

far as the Arnon (Num. xxi. 13). The Israelites, on their march through the desert, were not to treat the Moabites as enemies, nor touch their territory (Dent. ii. 9; cf. Judg. xi. 15, 18). But when Sihon, king of the Amorites, had been slain by the Israelites, and his kingdom subdued, the Israelites took possession of the territory north of the Arnon, that had formerly belonged to the Moabites, but had been conquered by Sihon: this was given to the tribe of Reuben for an inheritance (Num. xxi. 24 ff.; Deut. ii. 32-36; Josh. xiii. 15 ff.). The Moabites could not get over this loss of the northern half of their country. The victory of the Israelites over the powerful kings of the Amorites, viz. Sihon in Heshbon and Og of Bashan, inspired them with terror for the power of this people; so that their king Balak, while the Israelites were encamped in the steppes of Moab opposite Jericho, fetched Balaam the sorcerer from Mesopotamia, with the design of destroying Israel through the power of his anathema. And when this plan did not succeed, since Balaam was obliged, against his will, to bless Israel instead of cursing them, the Moabites sought to weaken them, and to render them powerless to do any injury, by seducing them to idolatry (cf. Num. xxii.-xxv.). Such malicious conduct was shown repeatedly afterwards. Not long after the death of Joshua, Eglon the king of Moab, aided by the Ammonites and Amalekites, crossed the Jordan and took Jericho, which he made the centre of operations for keeping the Israelites under subjection: these were thus oppressed for eighteen years, until they succeeded in defeating the Moabites and driving them back into their own land, after Ehnd had assassinated King Eglon (Judg. iii. 12 ff.). At a later period, Saul made war on them (1 Sam. xiv. 47); and David completely subdued them, severely chastised them, and made them tributary (2 Sam. viii. 2). But after the death of Ahab, to whom King Mesha had paid a very considerable yearly tribute (2 Kings iii. 4), they revolted from Israel (2 Kings i. 1, iii. 5). In the time of Jehoshaphat, in conjunction with the Ammonites and a portion of the Edomites, they even invaded Judah, with the design of taking Jerusalem; but they ruined themselves through mutual discords, so that Jehoshaphat obtained a glorious victory over them (2 Chron. xx.).

It was possibly also with the view of taking revenge for this exhibition of malicious spirit that the king of Judah afterwards, in conjunction with Joram king of Israel, carried war into their country, and defeated them (2 Kings iii. 6-27). Still later, mention is made of an invasion of Israel by Moabite hosts during the reign of Joash (2 Kings xiii. 20); and in the time of Hezekiah, we find them once more in possession of their ancient territory to the north of the Arnon, at a time when the trans-Jordanic tribes of Israel had been carried away by the Assyrians into exile.

Judging from these aphoristic notices, the Moabites, on the division of the kingdom after Solomon's death, seem to have remained tributary to the kingdom of the ten tribes until the death of Ahab; then they revolted, but soon afterwards were once more reduced to subjection by Joram and Jehoshaphat. Still later, they certainly made several invasions into Israel, but without permanent result; nor was it till the carrying away of the trans-Jordanic tribes by the Assyrians that they succeeded in regaining permanent possession of the depopulated land of Reuben, their former territory. This account, however, has been modified in several important respects by the recent discovery of an inscription on a monument raised by King Mesha after a victory he had gained; this "Moabite stone" was found in the neighbourhood of the ancient Dibon. The deciphering of the long inscription of thirty-four lines on this memorial stone, so far as success has followed the attempts hitherto made, has issued in its giving important disclosures concerning the relation of Moab to Israel.¹ From these we gather that Omri,

¹ On the discovery of this memorial stone, of which Count de Vogüé gave the first account in a paper entitled "*La stèle de Méša: Lettre à Mr. le Comte de Vogüé par Ch. Clermont-Ganneau*," Paris 1870, cf. the detailed notice by Petermann in the *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Gesell.* xxiv. (for 1870), S. 640 ff. The stone was broken to pieces by the Arabs; thus, unfortunately, the whole of the inscription has not been preserved. So much, however, of the fragments has been saved, that from these the contents of the inscription may be substantially obtained with tolerable certainty. The work of deciphering has been undertaken by Konst. Schlottmann (*Ueber die Siegestäule Méša's, Königs der Moabiter*, Hall. Osterprogr. 1870, with these additions: "*Die Inschrift Méša's; Transcription u. Uebersetzung revidirt*," in the *Zeitschr. der Morg. Gesell.* xxiv. S. 253 ff.; "*Addimenta*" in the same periodical, S. 415 ff., 438 ff., 645 ff.; and "*Der Moabiterkönig*

king of Israel, had taken possession of the district of Medeba, and that the Moabites were heavily oppressed by him and his successor for forty years, until King Mesha succeeded, through the help of his god Chemosh, in regaining the territory that had been seized by the Israelites. We may further with certainty conclude, from various statements in this inscription, that the Moabites were by no means exterminated by the Israelites, when they took possession of the country to the north of the Arnon, which had been seized by the Amorites; they continued to live beside and among the Israelites. Moreover, since the tribe of Reuben was chiefly engaged in the rearing of cattle, and thus appropriated the pastoral districts of the country, the Moabites were not utterly, at least not permanently subdued, but rather took every opportunity of weakening the Israelites, in order not merely to reclaim their old possessions, but also to make themselves independent of Israel. This object they seem to have actually attained, even so soon as immediately after the death of Solomon. They continued independent until the powerful Omri restored the supremacy of Israel in the territory of Reuben; and Moab continued subject for forty years, at the end of which King Mesha again succeeded in breaking the yoke of Israel after the death of Ahab. Thenceforward, Israel never again got the upper hand, though Jeroboam II. (as we are entitled to conclude from 2 Kings xiv. 25) may have disputed the supremacy with the Moabites for a time.

Amos (ii. 1-3) and Isaiah (chap. xv. and xvi.) have already, *Mesa nach seiner Inschrift und nach den bibl. Berichten*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1871; S. 587 ff.), also by Theod. Nöldeke ("Die Inschrift des K. Mesa," Kiel 1870), Ferd. Hitzig ("Die Inschrift des Mesha," Heidelb. 1870), Himpel (in the *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.* 1870, H. 4, and in *Merr' Archiv*, ii. S. 96 ff.), Diestel ("Die moabit. Gedenktafel," in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1871 (H. 4), S. 215 ff.), Rabbi Dr. Geiger ("Die Säule des Mesa," in the *Zeitschr. der Morg. Ges.* xxiv. S. 212 ff.), Dr. Ginsburg ("The Moabite Stone," Lond. 1870), Ganneau (in the *Révue archéol.*); by Derenburg and others (in German, English, and French periodicals). [In addition to the work of Dr. Ginsburg, mentioned above, the English reader may consult an able article by Professor Wright in the *North British Review* for October 1870; one by W. H. Ward in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of the same date; and another by Prof. A. B. Davidson in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for January 1871.—Tr.]

before Jeremiah, threatened Moab with destruction, because of the acts of hostility against Israel of which they have been guilty. We have no historical notice concerning the fulfilment of these threatenings. Inasmuch as the power of the Assyrians in Eastern Asia was broken through the defeat of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, the Moabites may possibly have asserted their independence against the Assyrians. Certainly it seems to follow, from the remark in 1 Chron. v. 17 (that the families of Gad were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah), that some of the Israelites on the east of Jordan came for a time under the sway of Judah. But even though this were allowed to hold true of the tribe of Reuben also, such a mastery could not have lasted long, since even towards the end of Jotham's reign, Pekah the king of Israel joined with Hazael king of Syria in war against Judah (2 Kings xv. 37); and during the reign of Ahaz, Rezin invaded Gilead, and penetrating as far as the seaport of Elath, took it from Judah (2 Kings xvi. 6). At all events, up till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the threats of Amos and Isaiah had attained only the feeblest beginnings of fulfilment; and (as is abundantly evident from the prophecy in this chapter) the Moabites were then more powerful than ever they had been before, and in undisturbed possession also of that portion of their ancient territory lying north of the Arnon, which had been taken from them by Sihon the Amorite; and after his defeat, the victorious Israelites had again apportioned it to the tribe of Reuben.

This prophecy of Jeremiah concerning Moab is to be explained on the ground of these historical relations. The day of ruin was to begin with the appearance of the Chaldeans in Palestine; this day had been predicted not merely by Amos and Isaiah, but even by Balaam, on the occasion of the first conflict of the Moabites with Israel. Jeremiah accordingly takes up anew the utterances of the old prophets regarding Moab which had not yet been fulfilled, but were now about to receive their accomplishment: these he reproduces in his own peculiar manner, taking as his foundation the oracular sentences of Isaiah concerning Moab, and combining these by means of the utterances of Amos and Balaam, not only regarding Moab, but also regarding the whole heathen world now ripe

for judgment; and out of all this he frames a comprehensive announcement of the ruin to fall on this people, so haughty, and so filled with hatred against Israel.¹

The contents of this announcement are as follow:—The chief cities of Moab are perished, and with them their fame. Plans are being concocted for their destruction. On all sides there is a crying over the devastation, and wailing, and flight; Chemosh, with his priests and princes, wanders into exile, and country and city are laid waste (vers. 1–8). Let Moab escape with wings, in order to avoid the destruction; for although they have, in all time past, lived securely in their own land, they shall now be driven out of their dwellings, and come to dishonour with their god Chemosh, in spite of the bravery of their heroes (vers. 9–15). The destruction of Moab draws near, their glory perishes, the whole country and all its towns are laid waste, and the power of Moab is broken (vers. 16–25). All this befalls them for their pride and loftiness of spirit; because of this they are punished, with the destruction of their glorious vines and their harvest; and the whole land becomes filled with sorrow and lamentation over the desolation, and the extermination of all those who make offerings to idols (vers. 26–35). Meanwhile the prophet mourns with the hapless people, who are broken like a despised vessel (vers. 36–38). Moab becomes the laughing-stock and the horror of all around: the enemy captures all their fortresses, and none shall escape the ruin (vers. 39–44). Fire goes out from Heshbon and destroys the whole land, and the

¹ This reproduction Gesenius (on *Isaiah*, p. 511) characterizes as “a feeble imitation, by which the text of the older author is made quite diffuse and watery, frequently mixed through in a wonderful manner, made into a kind of patchwork, and enlivened now and again by a stiff turn.” Movers and Hitzig have spoken still more depreciatingly of this chapter, and excised a great number of verses, on the ground of their having been introduced later by way of touching up; in this manner, Hitzig rejects as spurious verses which Movers recognises as exhibiting marks of Jeremiah's peculiar style,—a method of procedure which Graf has already denounced as arbitrary criticism. We hope to show in the commentary the total want of foundation for this pseudo-critical mode of dealing; we only make the further remark here by anticipation, that Kueper (on *Jeremiah*, p. 83 sqq.) has very clearly accounted for and vindicated the conduct of Jeremiah in making use of the expressions of previous prophets, while Movers and Hitzig have paid no regard to this thorough kind of work.

people must go into captivity; but at the end of the days, the Lord will turn the captivity of Moab (vers. 45-47). According to this view of the whole, this prophecy falls into seven strophes of unequal length, of which every one concludes either with **אֲמַר יְהוָה** or **יְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ**. The middle one, which is also the longest (vers. 26-35), forms an apparent exception, inasmuch as **אֲמַר יְהוָה** does not stand at the end, but in the middle of ver. 35; while in the second last strophe (vers. 39-44), the last two verses (43 and 44) end with this formula.

Vers. 1-8. *Calamities to come on Moab.*—Ver. 1. "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel, Woe to Nebo, for it is laid waste! Kiriathaim is come to dishonour, it is taken: the fortress is come to dishonour and broken down. Ver. 2. Moab's glory is no more. In Heshbon they have devised evil against her, [saying], Come, and let us cut her off from [being] a nation: thou also, O Madmen, art brought to silence; the sword shall go after thee. Ver. 3. A sound of crying from Horonaim, desolation and great destruction. Ver. 4. Moab is destroyed; her little ones have caused a cry to be heard. Ver. 5. For they ascend the ascent of Luhith with weeping,—weeping: for on the descent of Horonaim the enemies have heard a cry of destruction. Ver. 6. Flee, save your life! and be like one destitute in the wilderness. Ver. 7. For, because thy trust [was] in thy works, and in thy treasures, thou also shalt be taken; and Chemosh shall go into captivity, his priests and his princes together. Ver. 8. The destroyer shall come to every city, and no city shall escape; and the valley shall perish, and the plain shall be laid waste, as Jahveh hath said."

With the exclamation "Woe!" Jeremiah transports the hearers of the word of God at once into the midst of the catastrophe which is to come on Moab; this is with the view of humbling the pride of this people, and chastening them for their sins. The woe is uttered over Nebo, but holds also of the towns named afterwards. Nebo is not the mountain of that name (Deut. xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 1), but the city, which probably did not lie far from the peak in the mountain-range of Abarim, which bore the same name (Num. xxxii. 3, 38; Isa. xv. 2), although in the *Oncomasticon*, s.v. *Naḅaû*, the situation of the mountain is given as being six Roman miles from Heshbon, towards the

west, and s.v. *Naḥōp*, that of the city, eight Roman miles south from Heshbon, for both accounts point to a situation in the south-west. The name נָבָא is still applied to some ruins; cf.

Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. p. 170. "Kiriathaim is taken." The site of this town, mentioned as early as Gen. xiv. 5, has been fixed, since the time of Burckhardt, as that of a mass of ruins called *et Teim*, about five miles south of Heshbon; but Dietrich, in *Merx' Archiv*. i. S. 337 ff., has shown that this is incorrect. According to Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, Kiriathaim lay ten Roman miles to the west of Medeba: this suits not merely the position of *et Teim*, but also the ruins of *Kereyat* south-west from Medeba, on the ridge of Mount Attarus, a little to the south of M'kaur (*Machaerus*), and of Baara in the *Wady Zerka Maein*, where also is the plain mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5, either in the plain stretching direct east from Kereyat between Wady Zerka Maein and Wady Wal, or south-east in the beautiful plain *el Kura*, described by Burckhardt, p. 371 ff., between the Wal and the Mojeb. Nebo and Kiriathaim lay on the eastern border of the high range of mountains, and seem to be comprehended under הַרְצֵיבֶּת, "the height, the high fortress," in the third clause of ver. 1, as the representatives of the mountain country of Moab. Various expositors, certainly, take the word as a proper name designating an elevated region; Graf and Nägelsbach take it to be a name of Kir-Moab (Kir-heres, Kir-hareseth, vers. 31, 36), the chief fortress in the country, the modern *Kerek* in the southern part of Moab; but no valid proof has been adduced. By "the height" Hitzig understands the highlands, which learn of the fall of these towns in the lowlands, and feel this disgrace that has come on Moab, but have not yet themselves been taken. But this view is untenable, because the towns of Nebo and Kiriathaim are not situated in the level country. Again, since הַרְצֵיבֶּת is common to the two clauses, the distinction between הַרְצֵיבֶּת and הַרְצֵיבֶּת could hardly be pressed so far as to make the latter the opposite of the former, in the sense of being still unconquered. The meaning rather is, that through Nebo's being laid waste, and the capture of Kiriathaim, the fortress on which the Moabites trusted is no more. And to this ver. 3 appropriately adds, "the boasting of Moab

is gone," i.e. Moab has no more ground for boasting. "In Heshbon they (the enemy, or the conquerors) plot evil against Moab." Heshbon was formerly the capital of the Amorite kingdom of Sihon (Num. xxi. 26; Deut. ii. 24, etc.), and was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 17); but because it lay on the boundary of the territory belonging to the tribe, it was given up to the Gadites, and set apart as a Levitical city (Josh. xxi. 37). It lay ten Roman miles east from the Jordan, opposite Jericho, almost intermediate between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and is still pointed out, though in ruins, under the old name *Heshbân* (see on Num. xxxii. 37). At the time of Jeremiah it was taken possession of by the Ammonites (Jer. xlix. 3), consequently it was the frontier town of the Moabite territory at that time; and being such, it is here named as the town where the enemy, coming from the north, deliberate regarding the conquest of Moab—"meditate evil," i.e. decide upon conquest and devastation. The suffix of עֲלֶיהָ refers to Moab as a country, and hence is feminine; cf. ver. 4. "We will destroy it (Moab) מְנוֹי, so that it shall no longer be a nation." Just as in מְנוֹי מְנוֹי there is a play on the words, so is there also in the expression מְנוֹי מְנוֹי which follows. This very circumstance forms an argument for taking Madmen as a proper name, instead of an appellative, as Venema and Hitzig have done, after the example of the LXX.: "Yea, thou shalt be destroyed (and made into) a dunghill." In support of this rendering they point to 2 Kings x. 27, Ezra vi. 11. But the verb מְנוֹי, in its meaning, ill accords with מְנוֹי in the sense of a dung-heap, and in this case there would be no foundation for a play upon the words (Graf). It is no proof of the non-existence of a place called Madmen in Moab, that it is not mentioned elsewhere; Madmena in the tribe of Benjamin (Isa. x. 31), and Madmanna in Judah (Josh. xv. 31), are also mentioned but once. These passages rather show that the name *Madmen* was not uncommon; and it was perhaps with reference to this name that Isaiah (xxv. 10) chose the figure of the dunghill. מְנוֹי, to be silent, means, in the Niphal, to be brought to silence, be exterminated, perish; cf. xlix. 26, xxv. 37, viii. 14, etc. As to the form מְנוֹי instead of מְנוֹי, cf. Ewald, § 140, b; Gesenius, § 67, Rem. 5. The following clause refers to Madmen: "after thee shall the sword

go;" cf. ix. 15.—Ver. 3. A cry is heard from Horonaim against violence and destruction. The words *שִׁיר וְשִׁבְרָה* are to be taken as the cry itself; cf. iv. 20, xx. 8. The city of Horonaim, mentioned both here and in Isa. xv. 5 in connection with Luhith, lay on a slope, it would seem, not far from Luhith. Regarding this latter place we find it remarked in the *Onomasticon*: *est usque hodie vicus inter Areopolim et Zoaram nomine Luitha* (Λουιθά). As to *Ἐρωναίμ*, the *Onomasticon* says no more than πόλις *Μωὰβ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ* (ed. Lars. p. 376). The destruction over which the outcry is made comes on Moab. By "Moab" Graf refuses to understand the country or its inhabitants, but rather the ancient capital of the country, *Ar-Moab* (Num. xxi. 28; Isa. xv. 1), in the valley of the Arnon, which is also simply called *Ar* in Num. xxi. 15, Deut. ii. 9. But, as Dietrich has already shown (S. 329 ff.), the arguments adduced in support of this view are insufficient to prove the point.¹ *שָׁבַר*, to break,—of a nation or a city (xix. 11; Isa. xiv. 25, etc.), as it were, to ruin,—is here used of the country or kingdom. *בְּנֵי מוֹאָב* is for *בְּנֵי מוֹאָב*, as in xiv. 3. The little ones of Moab, that raise a cry, are neither the children (Vulgate, Dahler, Maurer), nor the small towns (Hitzig), nor the people of humble condition, but *cives Moabi ad statum miserum dejecti* (Kueper). The LXX. have rendered *εἰς Ζογόρα* (i.e. *בְּנֵי מוֹאָב*), which reading is preferred by J. D. Michaelis, Ewald, Umbreit, Graf, Nägelsbach, but without sufficient reason; for neither the occurrence of Zoar in combination with Horonaim in ver. 34, nor the parallel passage Isa. xv. 5, will prove the point. Isa. xv. 5 is not a parallel to this verse, but to ver. 34; however, the train of thought is diffe-

¹ The mention of Moab among names of cities in ver. 4, and in connection with Kir-heres in vers. 31 and 36, proves nothing; for in ver. 4 Moab is not named among towns, and the expression in vers. 31 and 36 is analogous to the phrase "Judah and Jerusalem." Nor can any proof be derived from the fact that Rabbath-Moab is merely called "Moab" in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, and *Mâb* in Abulfeda, and Rabbath-Ammon, now merely "Amman;" because this mode of speaking will not admit of being applied for purposes of proof to matters pertaining to Old Testament times, since it originated only in the Christian ages,—at a time, too, when Rabbath had become the capital of the country, and when Rabbath-Moab could easily be shortened by the common people into "Moab." Rabbath (of Moab), however, is not mentioned at all in the Old Testament.

rent from that before us here. Besides, Jeremiah writes the name of the town צִיֹּר (not צִיֹּרֶר), cf. ver. 34, as in Isa. xv. 5, Deut. xxxiv. 3, Gen. xiii. 10 (צִיֹּר occurs only in Gen. xix. 22, 30); hence it is unlikely that צִיֹּר has been written by mistake for צִיֹּרֶר .

In ver. 5 this idea is further elucidated. The inhabitants flee, weeping as they go, towards the south, before the conquering enemy advancing from the north, up the ascent of Luhith, and down the descent of Horonaim. The idea is taken from Isa. xv. 5, but applied by Jeremiah in his own peculiar manner; יַעֲלֶה בּוֹ is changed into יַעֲלֶה בְּבִי , and the notion of weeping is thereby intensified. We take בְּבִי as an adverbial accusative, but in fact it is to be rendered like the preceding בְּבִי ; and יַעֲלֶה stands with an indefinite nominative: "one ascends = they ascend," not "weeping rises over weeping," as Hitzig, Graf, and others take it. For, in the latter case, בְּבִי could not be separated from בְּבִי , nor stand first; cf. the instances adduced by Graf, נָשָׂה בְּשָׂנֶה and עֵץ בְּעֵץ . The form הַלְחֹת for הַלְחִית is either an error of transcription or an optional form, and there is no ground for taking the word as appellative, as Hitzig does, "the ascent of boards, i.e. as boards tower one above another, so does weeping rise,"—an unnatural figure, and one devoid of all taste. The last words of the second member of the verse present some difficulty, chiefly on account of צָרִי , which the LXX. have omitted, and which Ewald and Umbreit set down as spurious, although (as Graf rightly remarks) they do not thereby explain how it came into the text. To suppose, with the Rabbinical writers, that the construct state צָרִי stands for the absolute, is not only inadmissible, as being against the principles of grammar, but also contrary to the whole scope of the passage. The context shows that the clamour cannot proceed from the enemy, but only from the fugitive Moabites. Only two explanations are possible: either צָרִי must be taken in the sense of *angustia*, and in connection with צַעֲקֵת , "straits, distress of crying," a cry of distress, as De Wette does; or, "oppressors of the cry of distress," as Nägelsbach takes it. We prefer the former, in spite of the objection of Graf, that the expression "distress of crying," for "a cry of distress," would be a strange one: for this objection

may be made against his own explanation, that צַר־ means the bursting open of the mouth in making a loud cry; and יַעֲקֹה is a loud outcry for help. — Ver. 6. Only by a precipitate flight into the desert can the Moabites save even their lives. The summons to flee is merely a rhetorical expression for the thought that there is no safety to be had in the country. To יַחַיֶּינָהּ in ver. 6 we must supply נַפְשֹׁת as the subject: "your souls shall be." Ewald would change נַפְשֵׁיכֶם into נַפְשֵׁיכֶם; but this proposal has against it the fact that the plural form נַפְשִׁים is found in but a single case, Ezek. xiii. 20, and נַפְשֹׁת everywhere else: besides, נַפֵּשׁ is often used in the singular of several persons, as in 2 Sam. xix. 6, and may further be easily taken here in a distributive sense; cf. מִלֵּכְךָ אִישׁ נַפְשׁוֹ, li. 6. The assumption of C. B. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Maurer, [and of the translators of our "Authorized" English Version], that יַחַיֶּינָהּ is the second person, and refers to the cities, i.e. their inhabitants, is against the context. עֲרוֹעֵר cannot here be the name of a town, because neither Aroer in the tribe of Reuben, which was situated on the Arnon, nor Aroer of the tribe of Gad, which was before Rabbath-Ammon, lay in the wilderness; the comparison, too, of the fugitives to a city is unsuitable. The clause reminds us of xvii. 6, and עֲרוֹעֵר = the עֲרָר of that passage; the form found here is either an error of transcription caused by thinking of Aroer, or a play upon the name of the city, for the purpose of pointing out the fate impending over it.—Ver. 7. Moab will not be saved from destruction by any trust on their works or on their treasures. The LXX., Vulgate, and Syriac render מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם by fortresses, hence Ewald would read מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם instead; but there is no ground for the change, since the peculiar rendering alluded to has evidently originated from מַעֲשֵׂה having been confounded with מַעֲוֶה. Others, as Dahler, refer the word to idols; but these are always designated as יָד מַעֲשֵׂה. Graf translates "property," and points to 1 Sam. xxv. 2, Ex. xxiii. 16; but this meaning also has really nothing to support it, for מַעֲשֵׂה in these passages denotes only agriculture and its produce, and the combination of the word with אוֹצְרוֹת in this passage does not require such a rendering. We abide by the common meaning of "doings" or "works," not evil deeds specially (Hitzig), but

"all that Moab undertakes." Neither their efforts to maintain and increase their power, nor their wealth, will avail them in any way. They shall be overcome. Moab is addressed as a country or kingdom. לָכֶם, to seize, capture; of a land, to take, conquer. Chemosh, with his priests and princes, shall go into exile. כִּמֹּשׁ is perhaps a mere error of the copyist for כְּמֹשׁ, Chemosh, the chief deity of the Moabites and Ammonites, worshipped as a king and the war-god of his people: see on Num. xxi. 29. As in the last-named passage the Moabites are called the people of Chemosh, so here, not merely the priests, but also the princes of Moab, are called his priests and his princes. The Kethib יְהִי is not to be changed, although Jeremiah elsewhere always uses יִהְיֶה, which is substituted in the Qeri; cf. xlix. 3. In confirmation of this, it is added, in ver. 8, that all the cities of Moab, without exception, shall be laid waste, and the whole country, valley and plain, shall be brought to ruin. הַמִּישֹׁר, "the level," is the table-land stretching from the Arnon to Heshbon, and north-eastwards as far as Rabbath-Ammon, and which originally belonged to the Moabites, hence called "the fields of Moab" in Num. xxi. 40; but it was taken from them by the Amorites, and after the conquest of the latter was taken possession of by the Israelites (Deut. iii. 10, iv. 43; Josh. xiii. 9), but at that time had been taken back once more by the Moabites. הַעֵמֶק is the valley of the Jordan, commonly called הַעֲרֵבָה, as in Josh. xiii. 27 and 19; here it is that portion of the valley towards the west, which bounds the table-land. אֲשֶׁר can only be taken in a causal signification, "because," as in xvi. 13, or in a relative meaning, *quod*, or "as."

Vers. 9-15. *Moab is laid waste, and its inhabitants carried captive.*—Ver. 9. "Give pinions to Moab, for he will flee and get away, and his cities shall become a waste, with no one dwelling in them. Ver. 10. Cursed is he that doeth the work of Jahveh negligently, and cursed is he that restraineth his sword from blood. Ver. 11. Moab hath been at ease from his youth, and lay still upon his lees; he was not poured out from vessel to vessel, neither hath he gone into captivity, therefore his taste hath remained in him, and his smell hath not changed. Ver. 12. Therefore, behold, days come, saith Jahveh, when I will send

to him those who pour out, and they shall pour him out; and they shall empty his vessels, and break their bottles. Ver. 13. And Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh, as the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel their confidence. Ver. 14. How can ye say, We are mighty, and men of valour for the war? Ver. 15. Moab is laid waste, and people ascend into his cities, and the choice of his young men go down to the slaughter, saith the King, whose name is Jahveh of hosts."

The devastation will come so suddenly, that Moab, in order to escape it, uses wings for enabling him to flee from it. The request "give" is not ironical, but a mere rhetorical employment of the idea that wings would be necessary in order to escape. נץ, which elsewhere means a flower, here signifies wings or waving plumes, as in the Targum on Ps. cxxxix. 9, and in the Rabbinical writings. נצץ, written with נ for the sake of obtaining similarity of sound, stands for נצץ = נצץ, to flee.—Ver. 10. The devastation is a work of the Lord, and those who execute it must carry out the divine decree, so that they may not bring the curse upon themselves. The first clause is taken quite generally: the more exact specification of the work of the Lord follows in the second clause; it is the employment of the sword against Moab. "His sword" does not mean Jahveh's, but the sword carried by the devastator. רמיה is used adverbially, but not in the sense of "deceitfully," rather "carelessly, negligently;" cf. בְּרַמְיָה, Prov. x. 4, xii. 24. In ver. 11 follows the reason why the judgment has necessarily come on Moab. Moab is compared to old wine that has lain long on its lees, and thereby preserved its flavour and smell unchanged. The taste and odour of Moab signify his disposition towards other nations, particularly towards Israel, the people of God. Good wine becomes stronger and more juicy by lying pretty long on its lees (see on Isa. xxv. 6); inferior wine, however, becomes thereby more harsh and thick. The figure is used here in the latter sense, after Zeph. i. 12. Moab's disposition towards Israel was harsh and bitter; the people were arrogant and proud (ver. 29 f.; Isa. xvi. 6), and so hostile towards Israel, that they sought every opportunity of injuring them (see above, p. 205 f., and the comments on 2 Sam. viii. 2). From his youth, i.e. from the time when

Moab, after subduing the Emims (Deut. ii. 10), had established himself in his own land, or had become enrolled among the nations of history,—from that time forward had he remained undisturbed in his own land, *i.e.* without being driven out of it, had not gone into captivity (as is shown by the figure of the wine poured from one vessel into another). In this way there is a qualification made of the general statement that he remains at rest on his lees, and undisturbed. For Moab has often carried on wars, and even suffered many defeats, but has never yet been driven from his own land; nor had the temporary dependence on Israel exercised any transforming influence on the ordinary life of the people, for they were simply made tributary. This quiet continuance in the country is to cease. The God of Israel “will send to them cellarmen (Germ. *Schröter*), who shall bring them out of the cellar” (Germ. *ausschroten*), as Luther translates ver. 12. “*Schröter*” are men who bring the wine-casks out of the cellar; for “*schroten*” means to bring out heavy burdens, especially full casks on a strong kind of hand-barrow (Germ. *Hebewerkzeug*), like a ladder in appearance. צָעִים (from צָעָה, to bend, incline) are those who incline a barrel or vessel for the purpose of pouring out its contents. These will not merely empty the vessels, but also break the pitchers; *i.e.* not merely carry away the Moabites, but also break down their political organization, and destroy their social arrangements.

Ver. 13. In this way Moab will come to dishonour through his god Chemosh, *i.e.* experience his powerlessness and nothingness, and perish with him, just as Israel (the ten tribes) came to dishonour through Bethel, *i.e.* through their golden calf at Bethel. As to the form מַכְבִּתָּם, with Segol in the pretone, cf. Ewald, § 70, a; Olshausen, *Gram.* S. 377. Moab will then be no longer able to boast of his valour; this is the meaning of the question in ver. 14: on this term in the address, cf. ii. 23, viii. 8. In ver. 15 it is further stated that the result will show this: “Moab is laid waste.” מְרִיבָהּ עָלֶיהָ is variously interpreted. An explanation which has met with much acceptance, but which nevertheless is really untenable, is founded on Judg. xx. 40 (“The whole city went up towards heaven,” *i.e.* in smoke and fire): “As for his cities, fire or smoke ascends;” but there is no

mention here either of smoke or fire. Kimchi long ago came near the truth when he sought to find the subject שָׂרֵר in שָׂרֵר: "and the devastator comes against his cities." However, the contrast between עָלָה and יָרַד is not fully brought out in this way: it is better to leave the subject indeterminate: "and his cities they climb" (Kueper), or: "they go up to his cities" (Böttcher, *Neue Ehrenlese*, ii. 163). The enemy who mounts the cities is evidently intended. To change שָׂרֵר into שָׂרֵר is both unnecessary and unsuitable; but J. D. Michaelis, Ewald, Dahler, Graf, after making the alteration, translate, "The destroyer of Moab and of his cities draws near." Hitzig justly remarks, in opposition to this conjecture: "There is nothing to justify the mere placing of the subject at the head of the sentence (contrast vers. 8, 18b); besides, one does not see why the cities of Moab are distinguished from Moab itself; and cf. 20b." יָרַד לַמָּוֶת, "to sink down to the slaughter," cf. l. 27; and on this use of יָרַד, Isa. xxxiv. 7. The enemy *ascends* into the cities, the young soldiers of Moab *descend* to the shambles. This threatening is enforced by the addition, "saith the King," etc. Jahveh is called the King, in contrast with the belief of the Moabites, that their god Chemosh was the king of his people (see on ver. 7). The true King of the Moabites also is Jahveh, the God of hosts, i.e. the Ruler of the whole world.

Vers. 16-25. *Moab's glory is departed.*—Ver. 16. "The destruction of Moab is near to come, and his trouble hastens rapidly. Ver. 17. Bewail him, all [ye who are] round about him, and all who know his name! Say, How the rod of strength is broken; the staff of majesty! Ver. 18. Come down from [thy] glory, and sit in the drought, [thou] inhabitant, daughter of Dibon; for the destroyer of Moab hath come up against thee, he hath destroyed thy strongholds. Ver. 19. Stand by the way, and watch, O inhabitant of Aroer! ask him who flees, and her that has escaped; say, What has happened? Ver. 20. Moab is ashamed, for it is broken down: howl and cry out; tell it in Arnon, that Moab is laid waste. Ver. 21. And judgment hath come upon the country of the plain, upon Holon, and upon Jahzah, and upon Mephaath, Ver. 22. And upon Dibon, and upon Nebo, and upon Beth-Diblathaim, Ver. 23. And upon Kirjathaim, and upon Beth-Gamni, and upon Beth-Meon,

Ver. 24. And upon Kerioth, and upon Bozrah, and upon all the cities of the land of Moab, those that are far off and those that are near. Ver. 25. The horn of Moab is cut off, and his arm is broken, saith Jahveh."

The downfall of Moab will soon begin. Ver. 16*a* is an imitation of Deut. xxxii. 35; cf. Isa. xiii. 22, lvi. 1. The fall of the Moabite power and glory will be so terrible, that all the nations, near and distant, will have pity on him. The summons to lament, ver. 17, is not a mockery, but is seriously meant, for the purpose of expressing the idea that the downfall of so mighty and glorious a power will rouse compassion. The environs of Moab are the neighbouring nations, and "those who know his name" are those who live far off, and have only heard about him. The staff, the sceptre, is the emblem of authority; cf. Ezek. xix. 11, 12, 14, and Ps. cx. 2. In vers. 18-25 is further described the downfall of this strong and glorious power. The inhabitants of Dibon are to come down from their glory and sit in misery; those of Aroer are to ask the fugitives what has happened, that they may learn that the whole table-land on to the Arnon has been taken by the enemy; and they are to howl over the calamity. The idea presented in ver. 18*a* is an imitation of that in Isa. xlvii. 1, "Come down, O daughter of Babylon, sit in the dust;" but יְשִׁבִי is intensified by the addition of מִכְבֹּד, and יְשִׁבִי עַל עֶפֶר is changed into יְשִׁבִי בַצָּמָה (the *Kethib* יְשִׁבִי has evidently been written by mistake for יְשִׁבִי, the *Qeri*). צָמָה elsewhere means "thirst;" but "sit down in the thirst" would be too strange an expression; hence צָמָה must here have the meaning of צָמָה, Isa. xlv. 3, "the thirsty arid land:" thus it remains a question whether we should point the word צָמָה, or take צָמָה as another form of צָמָה, as הָלַב is of הָלַב, Ezek. xxiii. 19. There is no sufficient reason why Hitzig and Ewald should give the word a meaning foreign to it, from the Arabic or Syriac. Dibon lay about four miles north from the Arnon, at the foot of a mountain, in a very beautiful plain, where, under the name of *Dibân*, many traces of walls, and a well by the wayside, hewn out of the rock, are still to be found (Seetzen, i. S. 409 f.). Hence it must have been well provided with water, even though we should be obliged to understand by "the water of Dimon" (Dibon), which Isaiah mentions (xv. 9),

the river Arnon, which is about three miles off. The command to "sit down in an arid land" thus forms a suitable figure, representing the humiliation and devastation of Dibon. That the city was fortified, is evident from the mention of the fortifications in the last clause. *יִשְׁבֶּת בָּהּ*, as in xlv. 19. Aroer was situated on the north bank of the Arnon (*Mojeb*), where its ruins still remain, under the old name *Arā'ir* (Burckhardt, p. 372). It was a frontier town, between the kingdom of Sihon (afterwards the territory of the Israelites) and the possession of the Moabites (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, iv. 48; Josh. xii. 2, xiii. 9, 16). But after the Moabites had regained the northern portion of their original territory, it lay in the midst of the land. The fugitives here represented as passing by are endeavouring, by crossing the Arnon, to escape from the enemy advancing from the north, and subduing the country before them. *נָס וְנִמְלָטָה* means fugitives of every kind. The co-ordination of the same word or synonymous terms in the masc. and fem. serves to generalize the idea; see on Isa. iii. 1, and Ewald, § 172, c. In *נִמְלָטָה* the tone is retracted through the influence of the distinctive accent; the form is participial. The question, "What has happened?" is answered in ver. 20. *כִּי חָתָה*, "for (= certainly) it is broken down." The *Kethib* *הָלִילִי חָתָה* must not be changed. Moab is addressed: with *הַיְיָדִי* is introduced the summons, addressed to individuals, to proclaim at the Arnon the calamity that has befallen the country to the north of that river. In vers. 21-24 the general idea of Moab's being laid waste is specialized by the enumeration of a long list of towns on which judgment has come. They are towns of *אֶרֶץ הַפִּישִׁיּוֹר*, the table-land to the north of the Arnon, the names of which nearly all occur in the Pentateuch and Joshua as towns in the tribe of Reuben. But Holon is mentioned only here. According to Eusebius, in the *Onomasticon*, s.v. *Ἰερσά*, Jahzah was situated between *Μηδαβῶν* (*Medeba*) and *Διβῶν* (*Dibon*); according to Jerome, between *Medeba* and *Debus*, or *Deblathai*; but from Num. xxi. 23, we conclude that it lay in an easterly direction, on the border of the desert, near the commencement of the Wady Wale. Mophaath or Mephaath, where, according to the *Onomasticon*, a Roman garrison was placed, on account of the near proximity of the desert, is to be

sought for in the neighbourhood of Jahzah ; see on Josh. xiii. 18. As to Dibon, see on ver. 18 ; for Nebo, see on ver. 1. Beth-Diblathaim is mentioned only in this passage. It is probably identical with Almon-Diblathaim, Num. xxxiii. 46, and to be sought for somewhere north from Dibon. For Kirjathaim see ver. 1. Beth-Gamul is nowhere else mentioned ; its site, too, is unknown. Eli Smith, in Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. App. p. 153, is inclined to recognise it in the ruins of *Um-el-Jemel*, lying on the southern boundary of the Hauran, about twenty miles south-west from Bozrah ; but a consideration of the position shows that they cannot be the same. Beth-Meon, or Baal-Meon (Num. xxxii. 38), or more fully, Beth-Baal-Meon (Josh. xiii. 17), lay about three miles south from Heshbon, where Burckhardt (p. 365) found some ruins called *Mi-ûn*, ميعن (Robinson, iii. App. p. 170, ماعين, *Ma-in*) ; see on Num. xxxii. 38. Kerieth, vers. 24 and 41, and Amos ii. 2, is not to be identified with the ruins called *Kereyath* or *Kûreyiyath*, mentioned by Burckhardt (p. 367) and Seetzen (*Reisen*, ii. 342, iv. 384), as Ritter has assumed ; for this Kereyath is more probably Kirjathaim (see on ver. 1). Rather, as is pretty fully proved by Dietrich (in *Mera' Archiv*. i. 320 ff.), it is a synonym of *Ar*, the old capital of Moab, Num. xxii. 36 ; and the plural form is to be accounted for by supposing that *Ar* was made up of two or several large portions. We find two great arguments supporting this position : (1.) When *Ar*, the capital, occurs among the names of the towns of Moab, as in the list of those in Reuben, Josh. xiii. 16-21, and in the prophecy against Moab in Isaiah, chap. xv. and xvi., where so many Moabitic towns are named, we find no mention of Kerieth ; and on the other hand, where Kerieth is named as an important town in Moab, Amos ii. 2, Jer. xlviii., there is no mention of *Ar*. (2.) Kerieth is mentioned as an important place in the country in Amos ii. 2, where, from the whole arrangement of the prophecy, it can only be the capital of Moab ; in this present chapter also, ver. 24, Kerieth and Bozrah are introduced as two very important towns which maintained the strength of Moab ; and immediately afterwards it is added, "The horn of Moab is cut off," etc. Further, in ver. 41 the capture of Kerieth is put on a level

with the taking of the fortresses; while it is added, that the courage of the mighty men has failed, just as in xlix. 22 the capture of Bozrah is coupled with the loss of courage on the part of Edom's heroes. Bozrah is not to be confounded with Bozrah in Edom (xlix. 13), nor with the later flourishing city of Bostra in Hauran: it is the same with Bezer (בֶּזֶר), which, according to Deut. iv. 43 and Josh. xx. 8, was situated in the Mishor of the tribe of Renben, but has not yet been discovered; see on Deut. iv. 43. For the purpose of completing the enumeration, it is further added, "all the towns of the land of Moab, those which are far off (*i.e.* those which are situated towards the frontier) and those which are near" (*i.e.* the towns of the interior, as Kimchi has already explained). Thereby the horn of Moab is cut off, and his arm broken. Horn and arm are figures of power: the horn an emblem of power that boldly asserts itself, and pushes down all that opposes (cf. Ps. lxxv. 5, 11); the arm being rather an emblem of dominion.

Vers. 26-35. *Moab's haughtiness and deplorable fall.*—Ver. 26. "Make him drunk,—for he hath boasted against Jahveh,—so that Moab shall splash down into his vomit, and himself become a laughing-stock. Ver. 27. Was not Israel a laughing-stock to thee, or was he found among thieves? for whenever thou spakest of him, thou didst shake thine head. Ver. 28. Leave the cities and dwell in the rock, ye inhabitants of Moab; and be ye like a dove [that] builds its nest in the sides of the mouth of a pit. Ver. 29. We have heard the very arrogant pride of Moab, his haughtiness, and his arrogance, and his high-mindedness, and his elation of mind. Ver. 30. I know, saith Jahveh, his wrath, and the untruthfulness of his words; they have done what is untrue. Ver. 31. Therefore will I howl over Moab, and for all Moab will I cry; they mourn for the people of Kir-heres. Ver. 32. I will weep for thee [with more] than the weeping of Jazer, O vine of Sibmah, thou whose tendrils have gone over the sea, have reached even to the sea of Jazer; on thy fruit-harvest and thy vintage a spoiler has fallen. Ver. 33. And joy and gladness are taken from the garden, and from the land of Moab; and I have caused wine to fail from the wine-vats: they shall not tread [with] a shout; the shout shall be no shout. Ver. 34. From the cry of Hesh-

bon as far as Elealeh, as far as Jahaz, they utter their voice; from Zoar as far as Horonaim and the third Eglath; for even the waters of Nimrim shall become desolations. Ver. 35. And I will destroy from Moab, saith Jahveh, him that offers on a high place and burns incense to his gods."

Through his pride, Moab has incurred the sentence of destruction to his power. In arrogance and rage he has exalted himself over Jahveh and His people Israel; therefore must he now be humbled, vers. 26-30. The summons to make Moab drunk is addressed to those whom God has charged with the execution of the sentence; cf. vers. 10 and 21. These are to present to the people of Moab the cup of the divine wrath, and so to intoxicate them, that they shall fall like a drunk man into his vomit, and become a laughing-stock to others (cf. xiii. 13, xxv. 15), because they have boasted against Jahveh by driving the Israelites from their inheritance, and by deriding the people of God; cf. Zeph. ii. 8. כָּפַץ, to strike, frequently of striking the hands together; here it signifies to fall into his vomit, i.e. to tumble into it with a splash. No other explanation of the word can find support from the language used. Cf. Isa. xix. 14 and xxv. 10 f. In the last clause of ver. 26, the emphasis lies on בְּנֵי הָיָא: "he also (Moab, like Israel before) shall become a laughing-stock." This statement is enforced by the question put in ver. 27, "Was not Israel a laughing-stock to thee?" הָיָא—בְּנֵי shows a double question, like הָיָא—בְּנֵי; and בְּנֵי in the first clause may be further strengthened by the interrogative ה before שָׂחָק, as in Gen. xvii. 17. For other forms of the double question, see Ps. xciv. 9, Job xxi. 4, Jer. xxiii. 26. On *Dagesh dirimens* in הָשָׂחָק, cf. Ewald, § 104, b. There is no sufficient reason for questioning the feminine form הָשָׂחָק in the *Qeri*; Israel is personified as a woman, just as Moab in ver. 20, where הָיָא is found. On מִי רָבִיד בִּי, cf. xxxi. 20, where, however, מִי רָבִיד is used in another meaning. הָיָא, to shake oneself, is a stronger expression than הָיָא, to shake the head (xviii. 16), a gesture denoting mockery and rejoicing over another's injury; cf. Ps. lxiv. 9.—Ver. 28. A transition is now made from figurative to literal language, and Moab is summoned to leave the cities and take refuge in inaccessible rocks, because he will not be able to offer resistance to

the enemy; cf. vers. 6 and 9. "Like a dove that builds its nest over deep crevices." The reference is to wild pigeons, which occur in large numbers in Palestine, and make their nests in the clefts of high rocks (Song of Sol. ii. 14) even at the present day, *e.g.* in the wilderness of Engedi; cf. Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. 203. בְּעֵבְרִי פִּי־פֶחֶחַ, *lit.* "on the other side of the mouth of the deep pit," or of the abyss, *i.e.* over the yawning hollows. בְּעֵבְרִי is a poetic form for בְּעֵבֶר, as in Isa. vii. 20. The humiliation of Moab finds its justification in what is brought out in ver. 29 f., his boundless pride and hatred against Israel.—Vers. 29 and 30 only more fully develop the idea contained in Isa. xvi. 6. Those who "heard" are the prophet and the people of God. There is an accumulation of words to describe the pride of Moab. Isaiah's expression also, עֲבָרְתוֹ לֹא־יֵן בְּדָיו, is here expanded into two clauses, and Jahveh is named as the subject. Not only have the people of God perceived the pride of Moab, but God also knows his wrath. בְּדָיו belongs to לֹא־יֵן as a genitive, as in Isaiah לֹא־יֵן means "not right," contrary to actual facts, *i.e.* untrue.¹—Vers. 31-33 are also an imitation of Isa. xvi. 7-10. Ver. 31 is a reproduction of Isa. xvi. 7. In ver. 7, Isaiah sets forth the lamentation of Moab over the devastation of his country and its precious fruits; and not until ver. 9 does the prophet, in deep sympathy, mingle his tears with those of the Moabites. Jeremiah, on the other hand, with his natural softness, at once begins, in the first person, his lament over Moab. עַל־כֵּן, "therefore," is not immediately connected with ver. 29 f., but with the leading idea presented in vers. 26 and 28, that Moab will fall like one intoxicated, and that he must flee out of his cities. If we refer it to ver. 30, there we must attach it to the thought implicitly con-

¹ The Masoretic accentuation, according to which Athnach is placed under בְּדָיו, exhibits another view of the words in the text: this is shown by the Chaldee paraphrase, "their nobles endure not, they have not done what is right." The Masoretes took בְּדָיו in the sense of "staves," and took staves as a symbol of princes, as in Hos. xi. 6. Luther, in his translation, "I know his anger well, that he cannot do so very much, and attempts to do more than he can," follows the Vulgate, *Ego scio jactantiam ejus, et quod non sit juxta eam virtus ejus, nec juxta quod poterat conata sit facere*, which again seems to have followed the LXX. in taking בְּדָיו for בְּדָיו.

tained in the emphatic statement, "I (Jahveh) know his wrath," viz. "and I will punish him for it." The *I* who makes lament is the prophet, as in Isa. xvi. 9 and xv. 5. Schnurrer, Hitzig, and Graf, on the contrary, think that it is an indefinite third person who is introduced as representing the Moabites; but there is no analogous case to support this assumption, since the instances in which third persons are introduced are of a different kind. But when Graf further asserts, against referring the *I* to the prophet, that, according to what precedes, especially what we find in ver. 26 ff., such an outburst of sympathy for Moab would involve a contradiction, he makes out the prophet to be a Jew thirsting for revenge, which he was not. Raschi has already well remarked, on the other hand, under Isa. xv. 5, that "the prophets of Israel differ from heathen prophets like Balaam in this, that they lay to heart the distress which they announce to the nations;" cf. Isa. xxi. 3 f. The prophet weeps for all Moab, because the judgment is coming not merely on the northern portion (vers. 18–25), but on the whole of the country. In ver. 31b, Jeremiah has properly changed לֶאֱכֹל (cakes of dried grapes) into אֶל-אֲנָשִׁי, the people of Kir-heres, because his sympathy was directed, not to dainties, but to the men in Moab; he has also omitted "surely they are smitten," as being too strong for his sympathy. יִהְיֶה, to groan, taken from the cooing of doves, perhaps after Isa. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11. The third person indicates a universal indefinite. Kir-heres, as in Isa. xvi. 11, or Kir-haresheth in Isa. xvi. 7, 2 Kings iii. 25, was the chief stronghold of Moab, probably the same as Kir-Moab, the modern Kerek, as we may certainly infer from a comparison of Isa. xvi. 7 with xv. 1; see on 2 Kings iii. 25, and Dietrich, S. 324.—Ver. 32. מִבְּכִי יַעֲזֵר, "more than the weeping of Jazer," may signify, "More than Jazer weeps do I weep over thee;" or, "More than over Jazer do I weep over thee." However, the former interpretation is the more obvious, and is confirmed by the reading in Isa. xvi. 9. According to the *Onomasticon*, Jazer was fifteen Roman miles north from Heshbon. Seetzen recognises it in the ruins called *es Szir* at the source of the *Nahr Szir*; see on Num. xxi. 32. According to Jerome, on Isa. xvi. 8, Sibmah was only five hundred paces from Heshbon; see on Num. xxxii. 38. Judging from the verse now

before us, and from Isa. *l.c.*, the vines of Sibmah must have been famed for the strength and excellence of their clusters. Even now, that region produces excellent grapes in abundance. From Szalt, which lies only ten miles north from Szir, raisins and grapes are carried to Jerusalem, and these of excellent quality (Seetzen, i. S. 399; Burckhardt, p. 350). In what follows, "his tendrils crossed the sea," etc., the extensive cultivation of the grape is set forth under the figure of a vine whose tendrils stretch out on all sides. "They have crossed over the sea" has reference in Isaiah (xvi. 8) to the Dead Sea (בַּיְתֵּהָם), as in Ps. lxxviii. 23, 2 Chron. xx. 2); not merely, however, in the sense of the shoots reaching close to the Dead Sea, but also over it, for Engedi was famed for its vines (Cant. i. 14). Jeremiah also has reproduced the words taken from Isaiah in this sense. From the following clause, "they reached to the sea of Jazer," it does not follow that he has specified "the sea" by "Jazer." What tells rather the other way is the fact that עָבַר, which means to cross over, cannot possibly be used as equivalent to רָגַעַ, "to reach to." "They crossed over the sea" shows extension towards the west, while "they reached to the sea of Jazer" indicates extension towards the north. This latter statement also is an imitation of what we find in Isa. xvi. 8; and "Jazer" is merely further specified as "the sea of Jazer." In spite of the most diligent inquiries, Seetzen (i. S. 406) could learn nothing from the people of that region regarding an inland lake; but in the beautiful green vale in the vicinity of Szâr (*i.e.* Jazer) there were several ponds, which he supposes may possibly be the *mare Jazer*, since this valley lying among the mountains is somewhat depressed, and in ancient times was probably filled with water. The "sea" (בַּיְתֵּהָם) of Solomon's temple further shows that בַּיְתֵּהָם does not necessarily denote only a large lake, but might also be applied to a large artificial basin of water. So also, at the present day, the artificial water-basins on the streets of Damascus are called *baharat*, "seas;" cf. Wetzstein in Delitzsch on Isa. xvi. 8. This cultivation of the vine is at an end; for the destroyer has fallen upon the fruit-harvest and the vintage. Jeremiah, by "the destroyer has fallen," explains the words of Isaiah (xvi. 9), "shouting has fallen."—In ver. 33, Isa. xvi. 10 is reproduced. "Joy and gladness are taken away from the gardens, and from

the whole land of Moab." מְרִקָּל is not here a proper name, for Mount Carmel does not at all suit the present context; it is an appellative, fruit-land, *i.e.* the fruitful wine-country near Jazer. Jeremiah adds, "and from the land (*i.e.* the whole land) of Moab." The pressing of the grapes comes to an end; there is no wine in the vat; no longer is the wine pressed with "Hedad." הִידָד is an adverbial accusative. This is further specified by the oxymoron: a "*Hedad*, and yet not a *Hedad*." This word generally signifies any loud shout,—not merely the shout of the wine-pressers as they tread the grapes (see on xxv. 30), but also a battle-cry; cf. li. 14. Hence the meaning is, "*Hedad* is heard, but not a merry shout of the wine-pressers."—Ver. 34 is based on Isa. xv. 4–6. "From the cry of Heshbon is heard the echo as far as Elealeh and Jahaz," or "from Heshbon to Elealeh and Jahaz is heard a cry, and from Zoar to Horonaim." Heshbon and Elealeh are only about two miles distant from each other; their ruins are still visible under the names of *Hesbân* (Husban, see on ver. 2) and *El Al* (see on Num. xxxii. 37). They were both built on hills; Elealeh in particular was situated on the summit of a hill whence the whole of the southern Belka may be seen (Burckhardt, p. 365), so that a shout thence emitted could be heard at a great distance, even as far as Jahaz, which is pretty far off to the south-west from Heshbon (see on ver. 21). The words "from Zoar to Horonaim" also depend on "they uttered their voice." Both places lay in the south of the land; see on vers. 3 and 4. The wailing resounds not merely on the north, but also on the south of the Arnon. There is much dispute as to the meaning of עִגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁית, which is here mentioned after Horonaim, but in Isa. xv. 5 in connection with, or after Zoar. To take the expression as an appellative, *juventa tertii anni* (LXX., Vulgate, Targum, Gesenius, etc.), would perhaps be suitable, if it were an apposition to Moab, in which case we might compare with it passages like xlv. 20, l. 11; but this does not accord with its position after Horonaim and Zoar, for we have no analogy for the comparison of cities or fortresses with a *juventa tertii anni*, *h. e.* *indomita jugoque non assueta*; and it cannot even be proved that Zoar and Horonaim were fortresses of Moab. Hence we take עִגְלַת ש' as the proper name of a place, "the third Eglath;" this is the view of Rosenmüller,

Drechsler, and Dietrich (in *Merx' Archiv.* i. S. 342 ff.). The main reason for this view is, that there would be no use for an addition being made, by way of apposition, to a place which is mentioned as the limit of the Moabites' flight, or that reached by their wailing. The parallelism of the clauses argues in favour of its being a proper name; for, on this view of it, three towns are named in both members, the first once, as the starting-point of the cry of wailing, the other two as points up to which it is heard. The preposition עַל, which is omitted, may be supplied from the parallel member, as in Isa. xv. 8. Regarding the position of *Eglath Shelishijah*, it is evident from the context of both passages that we must look for it on the southern frontier of Moab. It is implied in the epithet "the third" that there were three places (villages), not far from one another, all bearing the same name. Dietrich (S. 344 f.) has adduced several analogous cases of towns in the country to the east of the Jordan,—two, and sometimes even three, towns of the same name, which are distinguished from each other by numerals. "The waters of Nimrim also shall become desolations," because the enemy fill up the springs with earth. Nimrim is not the place called נִמְרִים or בֵּית נִמְרִים mentioned in Num. xxxii. 3, 36, Josh. xiii. 27, whose ruins lie on the way from Szalt to Jericho, in the Wady Shaib, on the east side of the Jordan (see on Num. xxxii. 36), for this lies much too far to the north to be the place mentioned here. The context points to a place in the south, in Moab proper, where Burckhardt (p. 355), Seetzen (*Reisen*, ii. S. 354), and de Saulcy (*Voyage*, i. 283, ii. 52) have indicated a stream fed by a spring, called *Moiêt Numère* (i.e. brook Nimrah), in the country at the south end of the Dead Sea, and in that wady a mass of ruins called *Numère* (the *Nimmery* of Seetzen, iii. 18).—Ver. 35 ends the strophe of which it is a part; here the Lord declares that He will make to cease לְמוֹאָב (for, or from Moab, lit. to Moab), every one who offers on a high place and burns incense to his gods. מַעֲלֵה cannot be a substantive, else the parallelism would be destroyed. Nor may we, with Hitzig, render "he who raises a high place," i.e. builds it, for הַמַּעֲלֵה is not used in this sense.

Vers. 36-38. *Further lamentation over the fall of Moab.*—Ver. 36. "Therefore my heart sounds like pipes for Moab, and

my heart sounds like pipes for the men of Kir-heres; therefore the savings which he has made are perished. Ver. 37. For every head is baldness, and every beard is shorn; on all hands there are cuts, and on loins sackcloth. Ver. 38. On all the roofs of Moab, and in its streets, it is all mourning; for I have broken Moab like a vessel, in which there is no pleasure, saith Jahveh."

The prophet once more lifts up his lamentation over Moab (ver. 36 corresponds to ver. 31), and gives reason for it in the picture he draws of the deep affliction of the Moabites. Ver. 36a is an imitation of Isa. xvi. 11; the thought presented in ver. 36b accords with that found in Isa. xv. 7. Isaiah says, "My bowels sound (groan) like the harp," whose strings give a tremulous sound when struck with the plectrum. Instead of this, Jeremiah puts the sounding of pipes, the instruments used in dirges (Matt. ix. 23). Moab and Kir-heres are mentioned together, as in ver. 31. *עליו*, in the second clause, does not stand for *עליו*, "on this account that" (Kimchi, Hitzig, Graf, etc.), but is co-ordinated with the first *עליו*. The idea is not, "Therefore my heart mourns over Moab, because the savings are perished;" but because the sentence of desolation has been passed on the whole of Moab, therefore the heart of the prophet makes lament, and therefore, too, all the property which Moab has acquired is lost. *יתרה*, as a collective noun, is joined with the plural verb *אבדו*. On the construction *יתרה עשה*, cf. Gesenius, § 123, 3, Rem. 1; Ewald, § 332, c. The proof of this is given by the deep sorrow and wailing of the whole Moabite nation, ver. 37 f. On all sides are tokens of the deepest sadness,—heads shorn bald, beards cut off, incisions on the hands, sackcloth round the loins.—Ver. 37 is formed out of pieces taken from Isa. xv. 2, 3. *קָרְחָה* is a substantive, "baldness," i.e. quite bald. *דְּעֻרָתָהּ*, *decurtata*, instead of *דְּרֻתָהּ* (in Isaiah), is weaker, but more suitable for the present connection. *גִּדְרָתָהּ*, i.e. cuts or scratches inflicted on the body, as signs of mourning; cf. xvi. 6, xli. 5. *כָּלָה מְקַפֵּר*, "It is all wailing;" nothing is heard but wailing, for God has broken Moab in pieces like a useless vessel. On the simile employed, cf. xxii. 28.

Vers. 39–44. *No escape from destruction.*—Ver. 39. "How it is broken! they howl. How hath Moab turned the back, for shame! And Moab becomes a laughing-stock and a terror

to all his neighbours. Ver. 40. For thus saith Jahveh: Behold, he shall fly like the eagle, and spread his wings over Moab. Ver. 41. Kerioth is taken, and the strongholds are seized, and the heart of the heroes of Moab on that day become like the heart of a travailing woman. Ver. 42. And Moab is destroyed from being a people, because he hath boasted against Jahveh. Ver. 43. Fear, and a pit, and a snare, are against thee, O inhabitant of Moab, saith Jahveh. Ver. 44. He who flees from the fear shall fall into the pit, and he who goes up out of the pit shall be taken in the snare; for I will bring against it, against Moab, the year of their recompense, saith Jahveh."

The subject of **חַתָּה** in ver. 39 is Moab viewed as a nation. **חַתָּה** might be imperative, but in this case we would be obliged to take **בָּזָז** also as an imperative (as Hitzig and Graf do). It is simpler to take both forms as perfects: "they howl . . . Moab turns the back, is ashamed" (= for shame). On **חַתָּה** **לְשֹׁחֵת**, cf. ver. 26. **מַחֲתָה**, object of terror, as in xvii. 17. "All who are round about him," as in ver. 17. "For (ver. 40) the enemy rushes down upon Moab like an eagle, and seizes Kerioth and all his strongholds." The subject is left unnamed, as in xlv. 18, but it is Nebuchadnezzar. The figure of the eagle, darting down in flight on its prey, is founded on Deut. xxviii. 49 (on **אֶל־עַל** for **עַל**, cf. xlix. 22). Kerioth, the capital, is taken (see on ver. 24); so are the other strongholds or fastnesses of the country. The mere fact that **קְרִיּוֹת** has the article does not justify any one in taking it as an appellative, "the cities;" this appears from a comparison of Amos ii. 2 with this verse. No plural of **קְרִיָּה** occurs anywhere. Then the fear of death falls on the heroes of Moab like a woman in labour. **מִצְרָה**, partic. Hiphil from **צָרַר**, *uterum comprimens*, is found only here and in xlix. 22, where the figure is repeated. Moab is annihilated, so that it is no longer a nation (cf. ver. 2), because it has risen up in pride against the God of Israel; cf. ver. 26. He who flees from one danger falls into the other. The play on the words **פֶּחַי**, fear, horror, **בֶּחַת**, pit, and **בֶּחַ**, spring-trap, as well as the mode in which it is carried out, is taken from Isa. xxiv. 17 f.,—a prophecy of the judgment on the world; see a similar idea presented in Amos v. 19, but somewhat differently expressed. The *Kethib* **הִנִּים**, perfect Hiphil, "he flees," is less suit-

able than the *Qeri* קֵרִי (after Isaiah). The last clause, "for I will bring," etc., is quite in Jeremiah's peculiar style; cf. iv. 23, xxiii. 12. וְיָבִיאוּ belongs to מִן־מוֹאָב: the noun is anticipated by the pronoun, as frequently occurs; cf. ix. 14, xli. 3, xliii. 11.

Vers. 45-47. *Conclusion*.—Ver. 45. "Under the shadow of Heshbon stand fugitives, powerless; for a fire goes out from Heshbon, and a flame from Sihon, and devours the region of Moab, and the crown of the head of the sons of tumult. Ver. 46. Woe unto thee, Moab! the people of Chemosh are perished! for thy sons are taken away into captivity, and thy daughters into captivity. Ver. 47. Yet will I turn the captivity of Moab at the end of the days, saith Jahveh. Thus far is the judgment of Moab."

From Heshbon issued the resolution to annihilate Moab (ver. 2); to Heshbon the prophecy finally returns. "In the shadow of Heshbon stand fugitives, powerless" (בְּצֵלָה, with וְ privative), where, no doubt, they were seeking refuge; cf. Isa. xxx. 2, 3. The fugitives can only be Moabites. Here it is astonishing that they seek refuge in Heshbon, since the enemy comes from the north, and according to ver. 2, it is in Heshbon that the resolution to destroy Moab was formed; and judging from xlix. 3, that city was then in the hands of the Ammonites. Hence Hitzig and Graf miss the connection. Hitzig thinks that the whole clause was inserted by a glosser, who imagined the town belonged to Moab, perhaps allowing himself to be misled in this by Nnm. xxi. 27, "Come to Heshbon." Graf, on the other hand, is of opinion that the fugitives are seeking the protection of the Ammonites in Heshbon, but do not find it: hence he would take the וְ which follows in the adversative sense of "however" or "rather;" but this is against the use of the word, and cannot be allowed. The tenor of the words, "Fugitives stand under the shadow of Heshbon," does not require us to assume that people had fled to Heshbon out of the whole of Moab. Let us rather think of fugitives from the environs of Heshbon, who seek refuge in this fortified town, from the enemy advancing from the north, but who find themselves disappointed in their expectation, because from this city there bursts forth the fire of war which destroys Moab. The thought merely serves the purpose

of attaching to it the utterances which follow regarding Moab; but from vers. 43 and 44 alone, it is evident that escape will be impossible. In proof of this he mentions the flight to Heshbon, that he may have an opportunity of introducing a portion of the old triumphal songs of the Mosaic age, with which he wished to conclude his prophecy, vers. 45^b and 46. The fugitives stand powerless, *i.e.* exhausted and unable to flee any further, while Heshbon affords them no refuge. For there bursts forth from it the fire that is to destroy the whole of Moab. The words from "for a fire," etc., on to the end of ver. 46, are a free imitation of some strophes out of an ancient song, in which poets of the Mosaic period celebrated the victory of Israel over Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had conquered the greater portion of Moab; but with this there is interwoven a passage from the utterances of Balaam the seer, regarding the fall of Moab, found in Num. xxiv. 17, viz. from בְּנֵי שָׂאֵן תֹּאכֵל וְתִשְׁכֵּל. These insertions are made for the purpose of showing that, through this judgment which is now coming upon Moab, not only those ancient sayings, but also the prophecy of Balaam, will find their full accomplishment. Just as in the time of Moses, so now also there again proceeds from Heshbon the fire of war which will consume Moab. The words, "for a fire has gone out from Heshbon," are a verbatim repetition of what we find in Num. xxi. 28, with the single exception that שָׂאֵן is here, as in Ps. civ. 4, construed as masculine, and thus takes יִצְאָה instead of יֵצְאָה; but this change, of course, does not affect the meaning of the words. The next clause runs, in Numbers, *i.e.*, לִהְיוֹת מִקְרִית סִיחֹן, but here מִבֶּן סִיחֹן; this change into מִבֶּן is difficult to account for, so that J. D. Michaelis and Ewald would alter it into מִבֵּית. There is no need for refuting the assumption of Raschi and Nögelsbach, that Sihon stands for the city of Sihon; or the fancy of Morus and Hitzig, that an old glosser imagined Sihon was a town instead of a king. When we consider that the burning of Heshbon by the Israelites, celebrated in that ancient song, was brought on by Sihon the Amorite king, since the Israelites were not to make war on Moab, and only fought against Sihon, who had made Heshbon his residence, there can be no doubt that Jeremiah purposely changed מִקְרִית into מִבֶּן סִיחֹן, in order to show that Sihon was

the originator of the fire which consumed Heshbon. By this latter expression Jeremiah seeks to intimate that, in Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldean army, there will arise against the Moabites another Sihon, from whose legions will burst forth the flame that is to consume Moab. מִבֵּין, "from between," is to be explained on the ground that Sihon is not viewed as a single individual, but as the leader of martial hosts. This fire will "devour the region of Moab, and the crown of the head of the sons of tumult." These words have been taken by Jeremiah from Balaam's utterance regarding Moab, Num. xxiv. 17, and embodied in his address after some transformation. What Balaam announces regarding the ruler (Star and Sceptre) that is to arise out of Israel, viz. "he shall smite the region of Moab, and dash in pieces the sons of tumult," Jeremiah has transferred to the fire; accordingly, he has changed מִמְחֵץ into וַתֹּאכַל, and מִן־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל into וְקִדְּרָה בְּנֵי־שָׂאֵן. Several commentators understand פֶּאֶה as signifying the margin of the beard (Lev. xix. 27, xxi. 5); but the mention of the crown of the head in the parallel member does not require this meaning, for פֶּאֶה does not signify the corner of the beard, except when found in combination with שֵׁשׁ or זָקָן. The singeing of the margin of the beard seems, in connection with the burning of the crown, too paltry and insignificant. As in the fundamental passage פֶּאֶה signify the sides of Moab, so here פֶּאֶה is the side of the body, and קִדְּרָה the head. בְּנֵי־שָׂאֵן, *homines tumultuosi*, are the Moabites with their imperious disposition; cf. ver. 29.—Ver. 46 is again derived from the ancient poem in Num. xxi., but the second half of the verse is altered. The bold figure which represents Chemosh the god of the Moabites as delivering his people up to captivity, is continued in the literal statement of the case; Moab's sons and daughters, i.e. its population, are carried away by the enemy into captivity.—Ver. 47. This infliction of judgment, however, on the Moabites, is not to prove a complete annihilation of them. At the end of the days, i.e. in the Messianic times (see on xxiii. 20), there is in store for them a turn in their fortunes, or a restoration. For שָׁבָה שְׁבוּתָהּ, see on xxix. 14. Cf. the similar promise for Egypt, xli. 26; Ammon and Elam, xlix. 6 and 39. The last clause, "Thus far," etc.,

is an addition made by the editor, when this oracle was received into the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies; cf. li. 64. נבִיָּא מוֹאָב means the prophecy regarding Moab with respect to its contents.

As to the fulfilment of the threatened ruin, Josephus (*Antt.* x. 9. 7) states that Nebuchadnezzar, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, made war on the Moabites and subdued them. This statement is not to be questioned, though the date given should be incorrect. We have no other sources of information regarding this people. After the return of the Israelites from Babylon, the Moabites are no longer mentioned as a people, except in Ezra ix. 1, Neh. xiii. 1, 23, where it is stated that some Israelites had married Moabitish wives; nor is any mention made of this people in the books of the Maccabees, which, however, relate the wars of Judas Maccabeus with the Ammonites and Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3 and 6, cf. iv. 61); neither is there any further notice taken of them in Josephus, who only now and then speaks of Moab, *i.e.* the country and its towns (*Antt.* xiii. 14. 2, 15. 4; *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 3, iv. 8. 2). This name seems to have been merged, after the exile, in that of the Arabians. But the disappearance of the name of this people does not exclude the probability that descendants continued to exist, who, when Christianity spread in the country to the east of the Jordan, were received into the communion of the Christian church.

Chap. xlix. *Concerning Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar and Hazor, Elam.*

Vers. 1-6. CONCERNING THE CHILDREN OF AMMON.—The Ammonites were, not merely as regards descent, but also as to their character and their relation to Israel, the twin-people with the Moabites. From them, too, as well as from the Moabites, Sihon the king of the Ammonites had wrenched a portion of their territory, which the Israelites received for a possession after Sihon had been subdued. This territory they sought every opportunity of retaking from the Israelites, whom they as constantly endeavoured to humiliate when they could. Besides their connection with Eglon the Moabite king (*Judg.* iii. 13), they oppressed Israel during the period of the judges for

eighteen years, not only in Gilead, but also on this side of Jordan, since they fought against Ephraim, Benjamin, and Judah (Judg. x. 7 ff., xi. 12-32). During Samuel's time, their king Nahash besieged Jabesh-Gilead, and demanded the surrender of the city under shameful conditions, in consequence of which they were defeated by Saul (1 Sam. ii.). During the time of David they disgracefully treated his ambassadors, who had come to comfort King Hanun over the death of his father; they then united with the Syrians against Israel, but were defeated by Joab, and, after the taking of their capital, Rabbah, severely chastised (2 Sam. x. 1 to xi. 1, and xii. 26-31). Under the reign of Jehoshaphat, also, in company with the Moabites, they invaded Judah (2 Chron. xx.); and when, later, the Israelites were heavily oppressed by the Syrians under Hazael, the Ammonites practised cruelties on them in Gilead, for which the prophet Amos (i. 13-15) threatens them with devastation of their country and foreign captivity. After the death of Jeroboam II., who had restored the borders of Israel as far as the Dead Sea (2 Kings xiv. 25), the Ammonites must have made fresh attempts to enlarge their territory during the interregnum that had begun in the kingdom of the ten tribes; for it is mentioned in 2 Chron. xxvi. 8 that they brought presents to King Uzziah, *i.e.* paid tribute, and had thus been rendered tributary to him: it is also stated in 2 Chron. xxvii. 5 that his son Jotham marched against them in order to enforce the payment of the tribute. But when, soon afterwards, Tiglath-pileser the Assyrian carried away the tribes of Israel on the east of the Jordan (2 Kings xv. 29; 1 Chron. v. 26), the Ammonites seized possession of the depopulated country of the tribes of Gad and Reuben, while they also seized Heshibon on the border of these two tribal territories. This unjust appropriation of Israelitish territory forms the starting-point of the prophecy now before us.

Ammon has taken possession of the inheritance of Gad, therefore must his cities be destroyed by war, that Israel may again obtain his own property (vers. 1, 2). Ammon will sorrow deeply, for his god will go with his princes into captivity (vers. 2-4). His trust in the wealth of his land will not help him, but his people will be frightened away through terror on every side, yet they will be restored in the future (vers. 5, 6).

Ver. 1. "Concerning the children of Ammon, thus saith Jahveh: Hath Israel no sons, or hath he no heir? Why doth their king inherit Gad, and his people dwell in his cities? Ver. 2. Therefore, behold, days are coming, saith Jahveh, when I will cause to be heard against Rabbah of the children of Ammon a war-cry; and it shall become a heap of ruins, and her daughters shall be burned with fire: and Israel shall heir those who heired him, saith Jahveh. Ver. 3. Howl, O Heshbon! for Ai is laid waste. Cry! ye daughters of Rabbah, gird yourselves with sackcloth; lament, and run up and down among the enclosures: for their king shall go into captivity, his priests and his princes together. Ver. 4. Why dost thou glory in the valleys? Thy valley flows away, O thou rebellious daughter, that trusted in her treasures, [saying], Who shall come to me? Ver. 5. Behold, I will bring a fear upon thee, saith the Lord Jahveh of hosts, from all that is round thee; and ye shall be driven each one before him, and there shall be none to gather together the fugitives. Ver. 6. But afterwards I will turn the captivity of the children of Ammon, saith Jahveh."

The address begins with a question full of reproach: "Has Israel, then, no sons who could take possession of his land as their inheritance, that the king of the Ammonites has taken possession of Gad (*i.e.* of the hereditary portion of the tribe of Gad), and dwells in the cities of Gad?" The question presupposes that the Israelites had been carried away by Tiglath-pileser, but at the same time, also, that the country still belongs to the Gadites, for they certainly have sons who shall again receive the inheritance of their fathers. Since Jeremiah, as is clear from ver. 3, had Amos i. 13-15 in his mind, he evidently uses מֶלֶךְ in a double sense, not merely in ver. 3, but even in ver. 1 also, with a reference to Amos i. 15, meaning the king and god of the Ammonites. As in Amos, Aquila, Symmachus, Jerome, and the Syriac, so in this passage also, the LXX., Vulgate, and Syriac have understood מֶלֶךְ of the god מֵלֶךְ; with them agree Ewald, Hitzig, and Graf. But the reasons alleged for the change of מֶלֶךְ into מֵלֶךְ are quite as insufficient here as in Amos i. 15. Just as, in the last-named passage, מֶלֶךְ first of all refers to the king of the Ammonites, so is it here. It is not the god, but the king, of the Ammonites

that has taken possession of the territory of Gad. It is not till ver. 3 that the reference to the god Milcom plainly comes out. Ver. 2. Therefore shall Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites, hear the cry of war, and be changed into a heap of ruins. רַבָּת עֲמֹן, "The great (city) of the sons of Ammon," is the full name of the Ammonite capital (cf. Deut. iii. 11), which is usually called, briefly, רַבָּה (Amos i. 14; 2 Sam. xi. 1, etc.); it was afterwards called *Philadelphia*, probably after Ptolemy Philadelphus, in Polybius *Παρθαράμυνα*, in Abulfeda *Amân*, which is the name still given to its ruins on the Nahr Ammân, i.e. the Upper Jabbok; see on Deut. iii. 11. "A cry of war," as in iv. 19; cf. Amos i. 14. "A hill of desolation," i.e. a heap of ruins; cf. Josh. viii. 28, Deut. xiii. 17. "Her daughters" are the smaller cities dependent on the capital,—here, all the remaining cities of the Ammonites; cf. Num. xxi. 25, Josh. xv. 45, etc. "Israel shall heir those who heired him," i.e. receive back the property of those who have appropriated his land.—Ver. 3. The cities of the Ammonites, i.e. their inhabitants, shall howl and lament over this calamity. The summons given to Heshbon to howl implies that this city, formerly the residence of Sihon, was then in possession of the Ammonites. There is obscurity in the clause announcing the reason, "for ׀ (LXX. *Tai*) is laid waste:" the word seems to be a proper noun, but there is no city of this name known in the Ammonite country, or the land east of the Jordan; while we must not think of Ai (׀, Josh. vii. 2 f.), which was situated on the west side of the Jordan. Venema and Ewald are inclined to take the word as an appellative, synonymous with רַבָּה, "ruins" (which is the meaning of ׀), and regard it as the subject of Rabbah, the capital, "because it has been laid in ruins." But a comparison of xlvi. 20, iv. 20, Zech. xi. 3, rather favours our taking ׀ as the subject. Graf and others would therefore change ׀ into רַבָּה, as (they say) the capital of the Ammonites was called by the Israelites. But there are no historical traces of this designation of Rabbah. There remains hardly any other course open than to consider ׀ as the name of an important Ammonite city. The mere fact that it is mentioned nowhere else cannot form a strong foundation for the objection against this assumption, for we do not find anywhere a list of the Ammonite cities. The

inhabitants of the other towns are to put on signs of sorrow, and go about mourning "in the enclosures," *i.e.* in the open country, since the cities, being reduced to ashes, no longer afford shelter. Most expositors understand גִּדְרוֹת as meaning sheep-folds (Num. xxxii. 16, 24, 36); but there is no reason for taking this special view of the meaning of the word, according to which גִּדְרוֹת would stand for גִּדְרוֹת צֹאן. גִּדְרָה and גִּדְר also mean the wall of a vineyard, or the hedges of the vineyards, and in Num. xxii. 24 specially the enclosure of the vineyards at the cross-roads in the country east of the Jordan. This is the meaning here. We must not, with Nägelsbach, think of city walls on which one could run up and down, for the purpose of taking measures for defence: the words do not signify the walls of a city. The carrying away into exile of *Malcam* with his priests and princes gives the reason for the sorrow. מֶלֶכָם is here not the earthly king, but the god *Milcom* viewed as the king of the Ammonites, as is clear from the addition בְּהִנֵּי, and from the parallel passage in xlviii. 7. The clause is copied from Amos i. 15, but הָאֵל has been substituted for בְּהִנֵּי, in order that מֶלֶכָם may be understood of *Milcom*, the chief deity (see on 1 Kings xi. 5).—Ver. 4. Thus shall the empty boasting of the Ammonites and their trust in their riches come to nothing. "Why dost thou boast of the valleys?" *i.e.* of the splendid fruitful valleys and plains which, being well watered, produced large crops of corn and wheat.¹ וְיָב עִמָּקָה is viewed by some as an antithesis [to what immediately precedes]: "thy valley flows, *sc.* with the blood of the slain" (Rosenmüller and Gesenius still view it thus); or, "it flows away," *i.e.* thy valley (*viz.* its inhabitants) is scattered, dispersed. But it is quite arbitrary to supply "with blood;" and even the other explanation—which Hitzig justifies on the ground that valley or river-bottom stands for what it contains,

¹ The LXX. have in this passage, as in xlvii. 5, changed עִמָּק for עֵמֶק, and translated *τι ἀγαλλιάσθαι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ἐννασίμῳ*; here it remains doubtful whether they have expressed בְּעִמָּקִים or עִמָּקָה by Ἐννασίμῳ. On the ground of this arbitrary paraphrase, Hitzig would at once change עִמָּקִים into עֵמֶקִים, without considering that the giant races of that region, to which Og the king of Bashan had also belonged (Deut. iii. 11), were not called עִמָּקִים at all, but זַמְזִמִּים by the Ammonites, and אֲמִיִּים by the Moabites (Deut. ii. 10, 20).

i.e. the inhabitants of the valley, and that the population is represented under the figure of a mass of water running, flowing away—is very far-fetched. The words cannot form an antithesis to what precedes (because the description of the confidence shown is still continued, and the antithesis does not follow till ver. 5), but merely a further extension of the preceding clause. We may, then, either translate, “thy valley flows, overflows,” so that the words shall be subordinated to what precedes; or we may take נַחַל, with Ewald and Graf, as a noun, in which case we must repeat the preposition אֶל, “the abundance of thy valley.” The singular, “thy valley,” means, together with the other valleys of the country, perhaps the valley of Rabbah; for Ammân lies in a broad valley along the banks of the Moiet Ammân, which has its source in a pool two hundred paces from the south-west end of the city (Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 355). Regarding the vicinity, Abulfeda writes (*Tabulæ Syr.* ed. Mich. p. 92), *circumjecta regio arva sativa sunt ac terra bona et abundans*. The direct address, “O rebellious daughter,” used of Israel in xxxi. 22, is here transferred to the inhabitants of Rabbah, with reference to the fact that the Ammonites, denying their descent from Lot, behaved like enemies towards Jahveh and His people. In trusting their riches, they are like the Moabites, xlviii. 7. In this confidence they said, “Who will come unto us?” i.e. attack us as enemies. Thereupon the Lord replies, “I will bring on thee fear, terror from all that is round thee,” all the nations that dwell about thee (cf. xlviii. 17, 39), whose distress or overthrow will put thee in terror. אִישׁ לְפָנָיו = אִישׁ נִגְדּוֹ, “every one before him” (cf. Josh. vi. 5, Amos iv. 3), without looking about him, or turning round (cf. xlv. 5), i.e. in the most precipitate flight, with no one to rally the fugitives. לְנִיר is collective.—Ver. 6. Yet afterwards, the fortunes of Ammon also shall be changed, as it was with Moab, xlviii. 47.

Regarding the fulfilment of this prophecy (just as in the case of Moab), we have no further information than that of Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9. 7), that Nebuchadnezzar defeated and subdued the Ammonites in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem. Shortly before, their king Baalis had got Gedaliah the governor put out of the way (Jer. xl. 14). Even

after the exile they kept up their hostile spirit against the Israelites and the Jews, inasmuch as they tried to hinder the building of the city walls at Jerusalem (Neh. iv. 1 ff.), and in the Maccabean age were still making war against the Jews; 1 Macc. v. 6, 30-43. Their name was preserved till the time of Justin Martyr (*Ἀμμανιτῶν ἐστὶ νῦν πολὺ πλῆθος*, *Dial. Tryph.* p. 272). But Origen already comprehends their country under the general name Arabia (*lib. 1 in Jobum*).

Vers. 7-22. CONCERNING EDMOM.—To the Edomites, whom Israel were to leave undisturbed in their possession, since they were a kindred nation (Deut. ii. 4), Balaam announces that "Edom shall become a possession," i.e. shall be taken possession of by the ruler rising out of Israel. We have shown, in the explanation given of Num. xxiv. 18, that up to the time of the exile this utterance had been fulfilled merely by feeble attacks being made, since the Edomites were only temporarily subdued by the Israelites, then soon made themselves independent again, and made war on Israel. On account of their implacable hostility towards the people of God, Ezekiel (xxv. 12 ff.), as well as Jeremiah in this prophecy, announces ruin to them. The contents of the prophecy before us are as follow: The far-famed wisdom of Teman will not preserve Edom from the destruction with which Jahveh will visit it. The judgment of desolation that has been decreed shall inevitably come on it (vers. 7-13). The nations shall wage war against it, and make it small; because of its proud trust in the strength of its dwelling-place, it shall become the laughing-stock of every passer-by (vers. 14-18). As a lion from the reedy places of Jordan suddenly attacks a herd, the Lord will drag the Edomites from their rocky dwelling, so that the earth shall quake with the crash of their fall, and the anguish of death shall seize their heroes (vers. 19-22). In this prophecy Jeremiah has relied much on Obadiah, vers. 1-9, and reproduced much of his expressions regarding the fall of Edom.¹ According to what has been said, his address falls into three strophes. In the first (vers. 7-13), the judgment breaking

¹ The use made of Obadiah by Jeremiah has been so convincingly proved, especially by Caspari in his commentary on Obadiah, that even Ewald and Graf, who place the prophecy of Obadiah in the time of the

over Edom is depicted as one that cannot be averted, and as having been irrevocably decreed by the Lord; in the second (vers. 14-18), it is set forth as to its nature and the occasion of its occurrence; and in the third (vers. 19-22), as to its completion and consequences.

Vers. 7-13. *The judgment as inevitable.*—Ver. 7. "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts: Is there no more wisdom in Teman? has wisdom perished from those of understanding? is their wisdom [all] poured out? Ver. 8. Flee, turn ye! hide yourselves, ye inhabitants of Dedan; for I bring the destruction of Esau upon him, the time [when] I visit him. Ver. 9. If grape-gatherers come to thee, they will not leave gleanings; if thieves by night, they destroy what suffices them. Ver. 10. For I have stripped Esau, I have uncovered his secret places, and he cannot cover himself; his seed is destroyed, and his brethren, and his neighbours, and he is not. Ver. 11. Leave thine orphans, I will keep them alive; and let thy widows trust me. Ver. 12. For thus saith Jahveh: Behold, [they]-whose judgment was not to drink the cup shall certainly drink it: and art thou he [who] shall be quite unpunished? thou shalt not be unpunished, but shalt certainly drink. Ver. 13. For by myself have I sworn, saith Jahveh, that Bozrah shall become a desolation, a reproach, a waste, and a curse; and all its cities shall become everlasting wastes."

In order to frighten Edom out of his carnal security, the prophet begins by depicting the horror of the judgment coming down on this people, before which his wise men shall stand not knowing what to advise, and unable to find out any means for averting the evil. *Teman*, the home of the wise Eliphaz (Job ii. 11), is here, as in Amos i. 12, Obad. ver. 9, the region of that name in Gebalene, the northern district of Idumea; see on Amos i. 12. The question, "Is there no longer wisdom in Teman?" is ironical, and has a negative meaning. The following clauses also are to be taken as questions, not as assent to the question, as Hitzig and Graf infer from the omission of וְאֵלֶּיךָ. וְאֵלֶּיךָ is not the plural of בֶּן, "son," but the participle of בָּא or

exile, acknowledge this use that has been made of it, and therefore hold that the first part of the book of Obadiah is a fragment of an older oracle. This is a hypothesis which we have already shown, in the introduction to Obadiah, to be untenable.

רָץ, and equivalent to נָבִיטִים; cf. Isa. xxix. 14.—Ver. 8. The Dedanites, whose caravans march in peace through Edom (see on xxv. 23), must flee, and hide themselves in deeply concealed hiding-places, in order to escape the evil befalling Edom. The form הִפְּנִי, which only occurs besides in Ezek. ix. 2, in the sense of being “turned, directed,” is here preferred to the Hiphil (cf. ver. 24, xlv. 21, etc.), in order to indicate the constraint under which they must change their route. הִעֲמִיקוּ is also an imperative, in spite of the Segol in the first syllable, which is found there, in some forms, instead of *a*; cf. Ewald, § 226, *a*. הִעֲמִיקוּ לְשִׁבְתָּ, “make deep to stay,” *i.e.* withdraw yourselves into deep or hidden places, where the enemy does not see and discover you. “For the destruction of Esau,” *i.e.* the destruction determined on Esau, or Edom, “I bring on him;” on this matter, cf. xlv. 21.—Ver. 9 is a reproduction of Obad. ver. 5, but in such a way that what Obadiah brings forward as a comparison is directly applied by Jeremiah to the enemy: our prophet represents the enemy as grape-gatherers who leave nothing to glean, and as nocturnal thieves who destroy what is sufficient for them, *i.e.* destroy till they have enough, drag away and destroy as much as they can. The after-clauses, “they will not leave,” etc., “they destroy,” etc., are thus not to be taken as questions. The reference to Obadiah does not entitle us to supply הָלֹא from that passage. The connection here is somewhat different. The following verse is joined by means of וְ, “for;” and the thought, “for I have stripped Esau, I have discovered his secret places,” shows that the enemy is to be understood by the grape-gatherers and nocturnal thieves: he will leave nothing to glean—will plunder all the goods and treasures of Edom, even those that have been hidden. On this subject, cf. Obad. ver. 6. חָשַׁף, “to strip off leaves, make bare” (xiii. 26), has been chosen with a regard to נִחַשְׁשׁוּ in Obadiah. וְנִחַבָּה לֹא יָכֹל, *lit.* “and he hides himself, he will not be able to do it;” *i.e.* Esau (Edom) tries to hide himself; he will not be able to do it—he will not remain concealed from the enemy. There are not sufficient grounds for changing the perf. נִחַבָּה = נִחַבָּא into the inf. abs. נִחַבָּה, as Ewald and Graf do. “His seed is destroyed,” *i.e.* his family, the posterity of Esau, the Edomites.

"his brethren," the descendants of nations related to the family, and of others similar who had intermingled with them, as the Amalekites, Gen. xxxvi. 12, Horites, Gen. xxxvi. 20 ff., Simeonites, 1 Chron. iv. 42, "and his neighbours," the neighbouring tribes, as Dedan, ver. 8, Thema and Buz, xxv. 23. "And he is not" is added to give intensity, as in Isa. xix. 7; cf. Jer. xxxi. 15. The last idea is made more intensive by ver. 11, "Leave your orphans and widows." Edom is addressed, and the imperative expresses what must happen. The men of Edom will be obliged to leave their wives and children, and these will be left behind as widows and orphans, because the men fall in battle. Yet the Lord will care for them, so that they shall not perish. In this comfort there is contained a very bitter truth for the Edomites who hated Jahveh. עֲזָבָה is the imperative (Ewald, § 228, *a*), not infinitive (Hitzig); and הִקְטָחוּ is a rare form of the jussive for הִקְטִיחוּ, as in Ezek. xxxvii. 7; cf. Ewald, § 191, *b*. Reasons are given for these threats in vers. 12 and 13, first in the thought that Edom cannot continue to be the only one unpunished, then in the bringing forward of the solemnly uttered purpose of God. "Those who should not be compelled to drink." Those meant are the Israelites, who, as the people of God, ought to have been free from the penal judgment with which the Lord visits the nations. If, now, these are not left (spared such an infliction), still less can Edom, as a heathen nation, lay claim to exemption. By this Jeremiah does not mean to say that any injustice befalls the Jews if they are obliged to drink the cup of the wrath of God, but merely that their having been chosen to be the people of God does not give them any right to exemption from the judgments of God on the world, *i.e.* if they make themselves like the heathen through their sins and vices. The inf. abs. שָׁתוּ for שָׁתוּהוּ intensifies: "ye shall (must) drink." The idea is founded on that pervading chap. xxv., and there is use made of the words in xxv. 29. The בִּי in ver. 13 is mainly dependent on the clause immediately preceding: "thou shalt certainly drink." On "by myself have I sworn" cf. xxii. 5. In the threat that Edom shall be laid waste there is an accumulation of words corresponding to the excitement of feeling accompanying an utterance under solemn oath. חָרַב

is used instead of the more common *הַרְבֵּה*; cf. xxv. 18, xlv. 22, etc. *הַרְבֵּה עוֹלָם*, as in xxv. 9. Bozrah was at that time the capital of the Edomites (cf. ver. 22); it lay south from the Dead Sea, on the site of the village Buseireh (Little Bozrah), in Jebel, which is still surrounded by a castle and with ruins of considerable extent, and is situated on an eminence; see on Amos i. 12 and Gen. xxxvi. 33. "And all its cities," i.e. the rest of the cities of Idumea; cf. *וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ*, ver. 2.

Vers. 14-18. *The nature and occasion of the judgment decreed.*

—Ver. 14. "I have heard tidings from Jahveh, and a messenger has been sent among the nations: Gather yourselves together, and go against her, and arise to the battle! Ver. 15. For, behold, I have made thee small among the nations, despised among men. Ver. 16. Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, the pride of thy heart, O thou that dwellest in the hiding-places of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill. Though thou makest thy nest high like the eagle, thence will I bring thee down, saith Jahveh. Ver. 17. And Edom shall become an astonishment; every passer-by shall be astonished at her, and shall hiss at all her plagues. Ver. 18. As [it was in] the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, saith Jahveh, no man shall dwell there, nor shall a son of man sojourn there."

This judgment will immediately take place. The nations who are to make Edom small and despised have been already summoned by the Lord to the war. Jeremiah has taken this idea from Obad. vers. 1, 2. The subject in "I have heard" is the prophet, who has heard the information from Jahveh. In Obadiah is found the plural, "we have heard," because the prophet includes himself among the people; this is to show that the news serves as a consolation to Israel, because Edom shall be punished for his crimes committed against Judah. This view was not before the mind of Jeremiah; with him the prevailing representation is, that judgment, from which Edom cannot be excepted, is passed upon all nations. Therefore he has chosen the singular, "I have heard." In the succeeding clause the perf. Pual *שָׁלַח* has been changed into *שָׁלַח*, as the more usual form. The messenger is to be considered as having been sent by the Lord for the purpose of summoning the nations to war, as he actually does in the second hemistich.

The message agrees, in the nature of its contents, with Obad. ver. 1; but Jeremiah has dealt somewhat freely with its form. The statement with regard to the object of the war, ver. 15, agrees pretty exactly with Obad. ver. 2. The account, too, which is given of the cause of the judgment, *i.e.* the guilt of Edom arising from his trusting in the impregnable character of his habitation, is derived from Obad. vers. 3, 4. Jeremiah has intensified the idea by the additional use of תַּפְלִצָּה, but has also made certain limitations of the expression by omitting some clauses found in Obadiah. The word just named is ἀπ. λεγ., and has been variously explained. The verb תַּפַּץ occurs only in Job ix. 6, with the meaning of quaking, trembling; and the noun תַּפְלִצָּה pretty frequently in the sense of fear, shuddering, horror; further, מַפְלָצָה is used in 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chron. xv. 16, of an idol, monster, object of horror. Hence Rabbinical writers have been inclined to understand תַּפְלִצָּה as meaning idolatry; in this they are followed by J. D. Michaelis, Meier, and Nägelsbach. The last-named writer translates, "Thy monster (idol) led thee astray." But even though this meaning were better established from the use of language than it is, yet the mention of idolatry, or even of an idol, is quite unsuitable in this passage. The LXX. render ἡ πᾶνυλα σου, *i.e.* risus or jocus tuus, Chald. תַּפְלִצָּתְךָ, "thy folly,"—evidently a mere guess from the context. The best ascertained translation is, "Thy terror," *i.e.* the terror which thou dost inspire, or the fear of thee, "hath misled thee, the pride of thine heart," so that "the pride," etc., forms an apposition to "thy terror." The combination of the fem. תַּפְלִצָּתְךָ with the verb הִשָּׁה in the masc. is not decisive against this. Following the example of Schleussner (*O arrogantiam tuam*), Hitzig and Graf would take the word as an exclamation, "Terror to thee! horror on thee!" and they point for support to הִפְכָּכֶם, Isa. xxix. 16. But an exclamation is out of place here, and incompatible with the derivation of the following words from Obadiah. Since Jeremiah appropriates from Obadiah the thought, "thy pride hath misled thee," תַּפְלִצָּתְךָ may possibly be meant as a mere intensification of לִבְךָ. The pride of Edom increased because the other nations were afraid to make war on him in his rocky dwelling, so difficult of access. On

שָׁכְנֵי בְּחִנֵּי הַסֵּלַע, see on Obad. ver. 3. The succeeding apposition-clause מְרוֹם שְׁבָתוֹ, found in Obadiah, is modified by Jeremiah into תִּפְשֵׁי מְרוֹם גִּבְעָה, "thou that seizest, or holdest (as in xl. 10), the height of the hill." In the expression תִּפְשֵׁי הַסֵּלַע there is perhaps implied an allusion to the rock-city סֵלַע, or *Petra*, in the Wady Musa (see on 2 Kings xiv. 7), and in מְרוֹם גִּבְעָה another allusion to Bozrah, which lay on a hill; see on ver. 13. On ver. 16, cf. Obad. ver. 4. Jeremiah has omitted the hyperbolic addition, "among the stars." In vers. 17 and 18 the devastation of Edom is further portrayed. On ver. 17a, cf. xxv. 11, 38; with 17b agrees xix. 8, almost word for word. The comparison with Sodom, etc., is a reminiscence from Deut. xxix. 22, and is repeated in the prophecy concerning Babylon, l. 40; cf. Isa. xiii. 19, Amos iv. 11. "Her neighbours" are Admah and Zeboim, Deut. xxix. 22, Hos. xi. 8. The comparison with Sodom is not so to be understood as if it indicated that Edom shall be destroyed in the same manner as Sodom; it is merely stated that the land of Edom shall become a desert waste, like the region of the Dead Sea, uninhabited, and with no human beings in it; cf. ver. 33 and l. 40.

Vers. 19-22. *The execution of the judgment, and fall of Edom.*—Ver. 19. "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the glory of Jordan, to the dwelling of rock: but in a moment will I drive him away from her, and will appoint over her him who is chosen; for who is like me? and who will summon me [before the judge]? and what shepherd shall stand before me? Ver. 20. Therefore hear the counsel of Jahveh which He hath counselled against Edom, and His purposes which He has purposed against the inhabitants of Teman: Surely they shall drag them about, the little ones of the flock; surely he shall lay waste their dwelling over them. Ver. 21. At the noise of their fall the earth trembles; a cry—its noise is heard in the Red Sea. Ver. 22. Behold, he shall come like the eagle and dart after [his prey], and spread his wings over Bozrah; and the heart of the mighty men of Edom in that day shall become like the heart of a woman travailing."

As a lion coming up out of the thicket of reeds at the Jordan (נֶאֱזַן הַיַּרְדֵּן, see on xii. 5) suddenly attacks a flock, so shall he who executes the judgment attack the Edomites in

their strong habitations, and at once put them to flight. The foe or general who executes the judgment is here no further pointed out, as in xlv. 18, xlviii. 20; but he is merely set forth as a lion, and in ver. 22 as an eagle that in its flight darts down on its prey. נִיחָ אֵיתָן, pasture or dwelling of permanence; as אֵיתָן is used in Num. xxiv. 21 of the rocky range of Sinai, so is it used here of the rocky range of Seir (חֲנֹי הַסֵּעִר, ver. 16). The translation "evergreen pasture" (Graf, Nägelsbach) cannot be defended; for neither אֵיתָן, "continual, enduring," nor נִיחָ, "pasture-ground, dwelling," includes the notion of green grass. Quite baseless is the assumption of Hitzig, that the former word means the "shepherd" as remaining with the flock. אֶרְנִיעָה, "I shall wink," stands for the adverb, "immediately, at once." אֶרְנִיעֵנִי מֵעֵלָּה, "I will make him (Edom) run," i.e. drive him, "from it," his habitation (which is construed as fem. *ad sensum*). Jahveh sends the lion; Jahveh is not compared with the lion (Hitzig). In מִי בְּחַיִּיר the former word is not the interrogative pronoun, but the indefinite *quicumque*, as in Ex. xxiv. 14; cf. Ewald, 332, b. And the latter word is not "the valiant shepherd" (Hitzig), but signifies "chosen." אֵלֶּיהָ is used instead of עָלֶיהָ; and פָּקַד עָלָהּ means to "set over" something, as the chief, superior. The idea is, that God will frighten away the Edomites out of their land by a lion, and appoint him as the shepherd whom He chooses for that purpose. None can prevent this, for there is none like Jahveh in strength or power, and none can call Him to account for His doing. יַעֲרִינִי (from יָעַר), in Hiphil, to "summon before the court of justice," i.e. to call on one to make a defence; cf. Job ix. 19. Nor can any shepherd stand before Jahveh, i.e. defend his flock. These words are directed against the rulers of Edom, who foolishly imagined they were secure, and could not be touched in their rock-fortresses. The words, moreover, contain general truths, so that we cannot apply בְּחַיִּיר to historical persons, such as Nebuchadnezzar or Alexander the Great.—Ver. 20. This truth the Edomites are to lay to heart, and to hear, i.e. consider the purpose which the Lord has formed regarding Edom. Teman is not synonymous with Edom, but the inhabitants of Teman are specially named together with Edom in the parallel member, because they

were particularly famous for their wisdom (ver. 7), and in their pride over this wisdom, held the counsels of God in very small esteem. The counsel of God, the thoughts which He has conceived regarding Edom, follow in the clauses which are introduced with solemn assurance. יִסְחָבוּם אֲעִירֵי הָעֵצִים is rendered by the Vulgate, *si non dejecerint eos parvuli gregis*, which Luther follows in his translation, "if the shepherd-boys will not drag them away." And C. B. Michaelis and Hävernicks (on Ezekiel, p. 415) still view the words as meaning that "the least of the flock" will drag away Edom; i.e. the covenant people, weak and miserable though they are, will be victorious over Edom: in support of this rendering they point to Ezek. xxv. 14. But though Ezekiel clearly declares that the Lord will satisfy His revenge on Edom by means of His people Israel, yet it does not follow from this that Ezekiel had this passage of Jeremiah in his mind, and sought so to apply it. In spite of the clearness with which the thought is expressed by Obadiah and Ezekiel, that Edom will at last become the prey of the people of God, we would expect to find it in Jeremiah only as a simple inference from his words; for Jeremiah does not, like Obadiah and Ezekiel, mention the enmity of Edom to Israel as the cause of his guilt, but only the pride of his heart. Against taking "the little ones of the flock" as the subject of the clause, we find these considerations: (1) סָחַב, "to pull, drag away," does not well apply to sheep, but rather points to dogs (xv. 3) or lions, which drag away their prey. (2) The context is far from leading us to understand, by the little ones of the sheep, Israel or the people of God, either here or where the words are repeated, l. 45; while Zech. ii. 7 and xiii. 7 are passages which cannot be held as regulating this verse. In ver. 19 the rulers of Edom are viewed as shepherds: in accordance with this figure, the Edomites are in ver. 20 called sheep, and weak, helpless ones too. The subject of יִסְחָבוּם is indefinite: "the enemy will advance like a lion out of the jungle of the Jordan;" the suffix precedes the noun, as in xlvi. 44, etc. The fate of Edom will be so terrible, that their pasture-ground, their habitation, will be astonished at it. The Hiphil שָׂם is formed, like שָׂם in Num. xxi. 20, from שָׂם; not, however, with the sense of "laying waste," which the construction with עַל of a person

does not suit, but with the meaning of "making astonished," as in Ezek. xxxii. 10, and only here with the directly causative sense of manifesting, showing astonishment or amazement.—Ver. 21. The fall of Edom will be so fearful, that the earth will tremble, and the cry of anguish from the perishing people will be heard on the Red Sea. וַיִּשְׁמַע is the inf. Kal with suffix. The threatening concludes, in ver. 22, with the same thought through which destruction is threatened to the Moabites, xlviii. 40 ff. The comparison of the enemy to an eagle is continued in the expression, "he shall come up;" the coming up, however, does not mean the rising of the eagle into the air, but refers to the enemy: to march as an enemy against Edom.

With reference to the fulfilment of this prophecy, we have already pointed out, on Num. xxiv. 18, and at the close of the exposition in Obadiah, that the threatened devastation of the land of Edom was brought about by the Chaldeans, as is clear from Mal. i. 3; but the annihilation of the people was commenced by the Maccabeans, and completed by the Romans, about the time of the Jewish war.

Vers. 23-27. CONCERNING DAMASCUS.—Aram, on this side of the Euphrates, or Syria, was divided, in the times of Saul and David, into the kingdoms of Damascus, Zobah, and Hamath, of which the second, extending between Damascus and Hamath (see on 2 Sam. viii. 3), or situated north-eastward from Damascus, between the Orontes and the Euphrates, was the most powerful; its kings were defeated by Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 47), and afterwards conquered and made tributary to the kingdom of Israel by David, who did the same to the Syrians of Damascus that had come to the assistance of Hadadezer king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. and x.). After the death of David and during the time of Solomon, a freebooter named Rezon, who had broken away from Hadadezer during the war, established himself in Damascus (see on 1 Kings xi. 23-25), and became the founder of a dynasty which afterwards made vassals of all the smaller kings of Syria, whose number is given 1 Kings xx. 1. This dynasty also, under the powerful rulers Benhadad I. and II. and Hazael, long pressed hard on the kingdom of Israel, and conquered a great part of the Israelite territory (1 Kings xv. 18 ff., xx. 1 ff., xxii. 3 ff.; 2 Kings v. 1 ff.,

vi. 8 ff., viii. 28 f., x. 32 f., xii. 18 ff., xiii. 3 ff.). At last, King Joash, after the death of Hazael, succeeded in retaking the conquered cities from his son, Benhadad III. (2 Kings xiii. 19 ff.); and Jeroboam II. was able to restore the ancient frontiers of Israel as far as Hamath (2 Kings xiv. 25). Some decades later, Rezin king of Damascus, in alliance with Pekah of Israel, undertook a war of conquest against Judah during the time of Ahaz, who therefore called to his aid the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser. This monarch conquered Damascus, and put an end to the Syrian kingdom, by carrying away the people to Kir (2 Kings xv. 37, xvi. 5-9). This kingdom of Syria is called "Damascus" in the prophets, after its capital. We find threats of destruction and ruin pronounced against it even by such early prophets as Amos (i. 3-5), for its cruelty committed against Israel, and Isaiah (xvii. 1 ff.), because of its having combined with Israel to destroy Judah. According to the use of language just referred to, "Damascus," mentioned in the heading of this prophecy, is not the city, but the kingdom of Syria, which has been named after its capital, and to which, besides Damascus, belonged the powerful cities of Hamath and Arpad, which formerly had kings of their own (Isa. xxxvii. 13). Jeremiah does not mention any special offence. In the judgment to come on all nations, Aram-Damascus cannot remain exempt.

Ver. 23. "Hamath is ashamed, and Arpad, for they have heard evil tidings: they despair; there is trouble on the sea; no one can rest. Ver. 24. Damascus has become discouraged, she has turned to flee: terror has seized her; distress and pains have laid hold on her, like a woman in childbirth. Ver. 25. How is the city of praise not left, the city of my delight? Ver. 26. Therefore shall her young men fall in her streets, and all the men of war shall be silent in that day, saith Jahveh of hosts. Ver. 27. And I will kindle a fire in the wall of Damascus, and it shall devour the palaces of Benhadad."

The largest cities of Aram are seized with consternation and discouragement. Damascus would flee, but its men of war fall by the sword of the enemy, and the city is in flames. The description of the terror which overpowers the inhabitants of Aram begins with *Hamath* (*Epiphaneia* of the Greeks, now

called Hamah), which lies north from Hums (Emesa), on the Orontes (el 'Asi); see on Gen. x. 17 and Num. xxxiv. 8. *Arpad* is always mentioned in connection with Hamath (Isa. x. 9, xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 13; 2 Kings xviii. 34 and xix. 13): in the list of Assyrian synonyms published by Oppert and Schrader, it is sounded *Arpadda*; and judging by the name, it still remains in the large village of *Arfâd*, mentioned by *Marasç.*, about fifteen miles north from Haleb (Aleppo); see on 2 Kings xviii. 34. The bad news which Hamath and Arpad have heard is about the approach of a hostile army. "She is ashamed," *i.e.* disappointed in her hope and trust (cf. xvii. 13), with the accessory idea of being confounded. נָמוּךְ, to be fainthearted from fear and anxiety; cf. Josh. ii. 9, 24, Ex. xv. 15, etc. There is a difficulty with the expression יָם הַיָּם, from the mention of the sea. Ewald has therefore invented a new word, יָם, which is stated to signify *mind, heart*; and he translates, "their heart is in trouble." Graf very rightly remarks, against this, that there was no occasion whatever for the employment of a word which occurs nowhere else. The simplest explanation is that of J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and Maurer: "on the sea," *i.e.* onwards to the sea, "anxiety prevails." The objection of Graf, that on this view there is no nominative to יָם, cannot make this explanation doubtful, because the subject (Ger. *man*, Fr. *on*, Eng. *people, they*) is easily obtained from the context. The words יָם לֹא יָשָׁקט form a reminiscence from Isa. lvii. 20, where they are used of the sea when stirred up, to which the wicked are compared. But it does not follow from this that the words are to be understood in this passage also of the sea, and to be translated accordingly: "in the sea there is no rest," *i.e.* the sea itself is in ceaseless motion (Hitzig); or with a change of יָם into יָם, "there is a tumult like the sea, which cannot keep quiet" (Graf). As little warrant is there for concluding, from passages like Jer. xvii. 12 ff., where the surging of the Assyrian power is compared to the roaring of the waves of the sea, that the unrest of the inhabitants of Syria, who are in a state of anxious solicitude, is here compared to the restless surging and roaring of the sea (Umbreit). For such a purpose, דאגה, "concern, solicitude," is much too weak, or rather inappropriate.—Ver. 24. דַּמָּשְׁקִי הָיָה דָּמָשֶׁק, "Damascus has become

slack," i.e. discouraged; she turns to flee, and cannot escape, being seized with trembling and anxiety. הִתְחַיֶּקָה is not the third pers. fem., *prehendit terrorem*, but stands for הִתְחַיֶּקָה, with Mappik omitted, because the tone is retracted in consequence of the Athnach; cf. vi. 24, viii. 21, etc. "Terror has seized Damascus." In the last clause הִתְבַּלִּים is subsumed along with צָרָה; hence the verb is put in the singular.—Ver. 25. The question, "How is not," etc., has been differently explained. Eichhorn, Gesenius, Ewald, and Umbreit take the words according to the German usage, in the sense, "How is the city forsaken?" or laid waste. But this Germanism is foreign to the Hebrew; and it is not obviated by C. B. Michaelis taking "how" in the sense of *quam inopinato et quam horribiliter non deserta est*, so that the words would mean *nullus est modus desertionis aut gradus quem Damascus non sit experta*, because לֹא אֵיךְ does not express the kind and manner, or the degree of an action. In the only other passage where לֹא אֵיךְ occurs (2 Sam. i. 14) the negative has its full meaning. Others (Calvin, Schnurrer, J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Maurer) take עָנָה in the sense of leaving free, untouched: "How has she not been left untouched?" i.e. been spared. But this meaning of the verb is nowhere found. There is no other course left than, with Nägelsbach, to take the verb as referring to the desertion of the city through the flight of the inhabitants, as in iv. 29, etc., and to take the words thus: "How is (i.e. how has it happened that) the famous city (is) not forsaken?" According to this view, it is not the desolation of the city that is bewailed, but the fact that the inhabitants have not saved their lives by flight. The way is prepared for this thought by ver. 24, where it is said that the inhabitants of Damascus wish to flee, but are seized with convulsive terror; in ver. 25 also there is a more specific reason given for it, where it is stated that the youths (the young warriors) and all the men of war shall fall in the streets of the city, and be slain by foes. The suffix in "my delight" refers to the prophet, and expresses his sympathy for the fall of the glorious city (see on xlviii. 31); because not only does its population perish, but the city itself also (ver. 27) is to be burned to ashes.—Ver. 27 has been imitated from Amos i. 4 and ver. 14 conjointly. בְּחֶמֶת, not "on," but "in," i.e. "within the

wall." "The palaces of Benhadad" are the palaces of the Syrian kings generally, because three kings of Damascus bore this name.

The fulfilment of this threat cannot be proved historically, from want of information. Since Pharaoh-Necho had conquered Syria as far as the Euphrates, it is very possible that, after the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish, in the conquest of Syria by Nebuchadnezzar, Damascus was harshly treated. The prophecy is, however, so general in its statement, that we need not confine its fulfilment to the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar.

Vers. 28-33. "CONCERNING KEDAR AND THE KINGDOMS OF HAZOR, which Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon smote." (The *Kethib* כְּנִיזְרָאצֹּר is perhaps merely an error in transcription occasioned by the occurrence of the preceding הָעֵזֶר.) *Kedar*, the Kedarenes, a Bedouin nation descended from Ishmael, dwelling in tents throughout the region between Arabia Petræa and Babylonia (see on Gen. xxv. 13 and Ezek. xxvii. 21), is here, no doubt, a general name for all the nomadic tribes and shepherd nations of Arabia. *Hazor* elsewhere occurs only as the name of various cities in Palestine (Josh. xi. 1, xv. 23, 25, xix. 23; Nah. xi. 33), of which we need not think here, since it is Arabians who are spoken of. No locality or region of this name in Arabia is known. Jeremiah appears to have formed the name for the purpose of designating those Arabians who dwelt in הָעֵזֶר, "courts" or "villages," and who thus differed from the Bedouins proper, or nomads and dwellers in tents; cf. Isa. xlii. 11 with Gen. xxv. 16. The settled Arabians are to this day called *Hadarijeh*, in contrast with *Wabarijeh*, who dwell in tents. "*Hadar*, הָדָר, is the settled dwelling-place, in contrast with *bedû*, the steppe, where the tents are pitched, sometimes here, sometimes there, and only for a time" (Delitzsch on Isa. xlii. 11, vol. ii. p. 182 of Clark's translation). "The kingdoms of *Hazor*" are the regions of the settled tribes, ruled by their own princes or sheiks; cf. xxv. 24.¹ In the prophecy, the general designation, "children of the east," i.e. Orientals,

¹ According to Mrc. v. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Ass. u. Bab.* p. 210, "*Hazor* is the modern Hajar, a region which occupies the whole north-eastern corner of the Nejed, and to which, in the wider sense, Lascha, the region on the

alternates with Kedar: the former is the most common name given to the tribes living to the east of Palestine, in the wilderness: cf. Judg. vi. 3, Job i. 3, Ezek. xxv. 4. Instead of this name, Josephus uses the designation "Arabians" (*Ant.* v. 6. 1); later, "Nabateans" or "Kedarenes" became common. Here also (ver. 32) is used the special designation *קָצַרְתָּ פְּנֵי* [cut (at) the corner (of the hair)], which points to the custom, usual among several of these Bedouin tribes, of cropping the hair of the head and beard; see on ix. 25 and xxv. 23.

Ver. 28b. "Thus saith Jahveh, Arise, go up to Kedar, and destroy the children of the east. Ver. 29. Their tents and their flocks shall they take: their curtains, and all their vessels, and their camels shall they carry away for themselves; and they shall cry over them, Fear is on every side. Ver. 30. Flee! wander far, dwell deep, ye inhabitants of Hazor, saith Jahveh; for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon hath taken counsel against you, and hath devised a plan against them. Ver. 31. Arise! go up against a nation at ease, dwelling carelessly, saith Jahveh; it has no gates nor bars—they dwell alone. Ver. 32. And their camels shall be a prey, and the multitude of their herds a spoil; and I will scatter them to every wind who have cut the corner [of their beards], and from all sides will I bring their destruction, saith Jahveh. Ver. 33. And Hazor shall be an habitation of jackals, a desolation for ever. No man shall dwell there, nor shall a son of man sojourn in it."

This prophecy consists of two brief strophes, which begin with a summons to the army of the enemy to wage war on the Arabians (ver. 28b and ver. 31), and then announce the execution of this order; the arrangement, moreover, is such that there is attached to the first strophe a summons to the Arabians to save themselves by flight (ver. 30), while the other concludes with the threat that their territory shall be destroyed (ver. 33). —Ver. 28. *עָלָה* is used with *אֶל* instead of *עַל*, to signify hostile advance against a nation or city. *שָׁרְדִי* with Qametz-Hatuph (without Metheg) is imperative; cf. Ewald, § 227, i, with 251, c. The verbs *יָקַח* and *יִשָּׂא* in ver. 29 are not jussives

coast, also belongs." But *הָעֵר*, from *הָעַר*, which corresponds to *حصر* or *حاصر*, is fundamentally different from *هاجر* or *هاجر*.

(Ewald, Umbreit, etc.), but imperfects, describing what takes place in consequence of the order given. Tents and flocks of sheep and goats, curtains and vessels, together with camels, form the property and wealth of the nomads. נָשָׂא, to take away, carry off; לָהֶם, *sibi*. They call out over them, as if it were a watch-cry, "Horror around:" on this expression, see vi. 25. This justifies the call addressed to them, "Flee," etc. To נָשָׂא is added נָדָה for the purpose of intensifying, and this again is further strengthened by appending מֵאֵד: "Use every effort to flee." הִנֵּמִי לְשָׁבַת as in ver. 8. A reason is given for the summons, in the statement that Nebuchadnezzar, as the instrument of Jahveh, has formed a plan against them; cf. ver. 20 and xviii. 11. Instead of עֲלֵיהֶם, many mss. and the ancient versions have עֲלֵיכֶם, in conformity with the first member. In all probability, the original reading is "against them," inasmuch as "the discourse, as in other instances, makes a transition, in the last portion, from direct address to a calmer style of speaking" (Ewald).—Ver. 31 does not declare the plan of the king of Babylon; but the words, "Arise, go ye up," etc., are once more the summons of the Lord, as is shown by the expression "saith Jahveh." The enemy is to march against a peaceful nation, dwelling securely, that has neither doors nor bars, *i.e.* does not live in cities surrounded by walls with gates and bars (cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 7, Deut. iii. 5), whose territory, therefore, is easily conquered. They dwell alone, apart from others, without connection and intercourse with other nations, from which they could obtain help and support. שְׁלִי, like נְעִיר, Job xxxvi. 2, Dan. vii. 8, is a Chaldaizing form; elsewhere it is written שְׁלִי, Job xxi. 23, or שְׁלִי, Job xvi. 12. As to living securely, cf. Judg. xviii. 7, Ezek. xxxviii. 11; on living alone, xv. 17. This last is elsewhere said only of Israel, Num. xxiii. 9, Deut. xxxiii. 28. Their possessions will become the spoil of the enemy; God will scatter them to every wind (cf. Ezek. v. 12, xii. 14), and bring destruction on them from every side (on עֲבָרָיו, cf. 1 Kings v. 4).—Ver. 33. The dwelling-places of the settled tribes (Hazor) shall become the habitation of jackals (cf. ix. 10), an uninhabited desolation for ever. Ver. 33b is in part a repetition of ver. 18.

With regard to the fulfilment of this prophecy, it follows

from the latter part of the title that Nebuchadnezzar had smitten the Arabian tribes, *i.e.* defeated them, and subjected them to his sway. But we have no historical information as to the time when this took place. M. von Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assy. u. Bab.* S. 209) and Duncker (*Gesch. d. Alterth.* i. S. 427) suppose that Nebuchadnezzar, after he had returned home to Babylon from Hither Asia, having heard of the death of his father, after his victory at Carchemish, and after he had ascended the throne, "as it seems," first thought of extending his authority over the Arabians on the lower portion of the Euphrates, in North Arabia, and in the Syrian desert. This supposition may possibly be true, but cannot be raised to historic probability; moreover, it is connected, by the above-mentioned historians, with theories regarding the campaigns against Hither Asia which rest upon statements of Josephus that are very uncertain, and some of which can be proved to be incorrect. Such is the statement in *Antt.* x. 6. 1, that Nebuchadnezzar, after his victory at Carchemish, in pursuing the Egyptians to the borders of their country, did not touch Judea. The only notice we have, apart from Scripture, of the conquest of Arabia by Nebuchadnezzar, is that furnished by Josephus (*contra Ap.* i. 19) from Berosus: *κρατῆσαι δὲ φησι τὸν Βαβυλωνίον (i.e. Nebuchadnezzar) Αἰγύπτου, Συρίας, Φοινίκης, Ἀραβίας*. But this notice is stated in such indefinite and general terms, that nothing more specific can be inferred from it regarding the time and circumstances of the conquest of the Arabians.

Vers. 34-39. CONCERNING ELAM.—By the title (on the form of which, cf. xlv. 1, xlvii. 1, and xiv. 1), the utterance regarding Elam is placed "in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah;" hence it was published later than the prophecies in chap. xlviii. and in xlix. 1-33, and not long before the prophecy regarding Babylon in chap. 1. Elam, a Shemitic people in Elymais, the Persian province of Susiana (the modern *Husistân*), which, except in Gen. xiv. 1, only appears in history when it had no longer a Shemitic but an Aryan language (see on Gen. x. 22 and Dan. viii. 2), is mentioned in Isa. xxii. 6 as serving in the Assyrian army, and in Isa. xxi. 6 as being, together with Madai (the Medes), the executors of judgment

against Babylon. That Elam still belonged, in the time of Esarhaddon, to the kingdom of Assyria, follows from Ezra iv. 9, where Elamites are mentioned among the colonists whom this Assyrian king transplanted into the depopulated kingdom of the ten tribes. But whether Elam, after the revolt of Media, also made itself independent of Assyria, or remained subject to this kingdom till it fell, we have no historical data to determine. The same must be said regarding the question whether, after the fall of Nineveh and the destruction of the Assyrian kingdom by the united armies of Nabopolassar from Babylon and Cyaxares from Media, Elam was incorporated with the Median or the Babylonian kingdom; for nothing more specific has been transmitted to us regarding the division of the conquered kingdom among the two victors. Judging from its geographical situation, we must probably come to the conclusion that Elam fell to the lot of the Medes. Seeing that there is an utter want, in other respects, of facts regarding the earlier history of Elam, neither can a historical occasion be made out for this prophecy. The supposition of Ewald, "that the wild and warlike Elamites (Isa. xxii. 6) had shortly before taken part with the Chaldeans as their allies in the deposition of Jehoiachin and the first great exile of the people, and had therein shown themselves particularly cruel," has no support of any kind, either in the contents of the prophecy or in the time when it was composed. The prophecy itself contains not the slightest indication of any hostility on the part of the Elamites towards Judah; nor is anything proved regarding this by the fact that the chastisement is not said to proceed from Nebuchadnezzar, but directly from Jahveh, since, in the oracles concerning Philistia, Edom, and Damascus also, Nebuchadnezzar is not mentioned, but Jahveh is named as the one who destroys these peoples and burns up their cities; cf. xlvii. 4, xlix. 10, 13 ff., 27. Add to this, that the assumption of Elamites being in Nebuchadnezzar's army is devoid of historic probability, since Elam, as has already been stated, hardly belonged to the Chaldean kingdom.¹

¹ No valid reason has been adduced for calling in question the statement in the title regarding the time when this prophecy was composed; yet this has been done by Movers, Hitzig, and Nägelsbach. "That the LXX. have given the heading twice, the first time briefly, and then fully at the end

Ver. 35. "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts: Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief part of their strength. Ver. 36. And I will bring upon Elam four winds from the four ends of the heaven, and I will scatter them towards all these winds; and there shall be no nation where the scattered ones of Elam shall not come. Ver. 37. And I will make Elam terrified before their enemies, and before those who seek their life; and I will bring on them evil, the heat of my wrath, saith Jahveh; and I will send after them the sword, until I consume them. Ver. 38. And I will place my throne in Elam, and will destroy thence king and princes, saith Jahveh. Ver. 39. But it shall be in the end of the days, that I will turn the captivity of Elam, saith Jahveh."

Elam's martial power is to be destroyed, and its population scattered to the four winds among all nations (ver. 25 f.). The Lord will make them terrified before their enemies, and let them be pursued by the sword till they are swept away (ver. 37). In the country itself He will hold a tribunal, and destroy king and priests out of it (ver. 38). In ver. 35, the bow, as the chief weapon of the Elamites (cf. Isa. xxii. 6), is mentioned, by synecdoche, instead of all offensive and defensive weapons, for all the means of resistance and attack employed by this warlike nation. This, indeed, is shown by the apposition, "the first-fruits (*i.e.* the chief part) of their strength" or valour. To break the bow in pieces is thus equivalent to rendering defenceless. The plural suffix in בְּיָרְחָם points to Elam as a nation — the Elamites. Hitzig, Graf, and older expositors make an assumption which is both unnecessary and incapable

of the piece, merely shows that two different readings have *now* been combined in it" (Ewald). And Nägelsbach has yet to bring proof of the assurance given us when he says, "I consider it quite impossible that Jeremiah, in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, should have thought of any other than Nebuchadnezzar as the instrument to be employed in executing judgment, or that he should even have left this matter *in suspenso*." If Jeremiah, as a prophet of the Lord, does not announce, as the word of Jahveh, mere human conjectures regarding the future, but only what the Spirit of the Lord suggested to him, neither could he set forth his own conjectures regarding the question by whom God the Lord was to scatter the Elamites to the four winds, but must leave it *in suspenso*, if the Spirit of the Lord had revealed nothing to him regarding it.

of proof, that **קָצֵת** stands for **גִּבּוֹרִים**, and means "the valiant, brave people of war," as in Isa. xxi. 17 and 1 Sam. ii. 4; but neither in these passages can the alleged meaning be fully made out.—Ver. 36. Through the working of God's power, the Elamites shall be dispersed to all the four winds, *i.e.* to all parts of the earth. This exercise of power is represented under the figure of the four winds. The wind is the most appropriate among all earthly things for symbolizing the Spirit of God, or the energy of the divine operation; cf. Zech. vi. 5, Dan. vii. 2. The *Kethib* **עַלֵּם** in ver. 36 has evidently been written by mistake for **עֵלָם**. The meaning of the figure is this: Elam is to be attacked on all sides by enemies, and be scattered in every direction. This is evident from ver. 37, where the figurative is changed for the literal, and the thought further extended. **הִתְחַתְּתִי**, Hiphil from **חָתַת**, be broken to pieces, in Hiphil to dispirit through fear and terror; cf. i. 17. On the form in the text, which is shortened from **הִתְחַתְּתִי** through the shifting of the tone to the last syllable, cf. Ewald, § 234, *e.* **רָעָה**, "evil, misfortune," is marked by the apposition, "the heat of mine anger," as the emanation of God's judgment of wrath. On 37b, cf. ix. 15. The Lord will sit in judgment on king and princes, and punish them with death. The throne is set for the Judge to sit in judgment; see xliii. 10. Yet (ver. 39), in the Messianic future, blessing shall come on Elam; cf. xlix. 6, xlviii. 7.

If we compare this prophecy with the remaining prophecies of Jeremiah regarding the heathen nations, we shall find that it contains no reference whatever to any execution by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon of the judgment with which the Elamites are threatened; but it announces the fall of Elam and the dispersion of its inhabitants by enemies in a way so general, that, as Hävernicks (on Daniel, p. 549) has remarked, it is an arbitrary addition for any one to make, if he thinks definitely of the Chaldeans [as the enemies of Elam], because, correctly viewed, the contents rather declare against a conquest by Nebuchadnezzar. "Jeremiah," says Hävernicks, "announces the utter extinction of the state as such, a general dispersion and annihilation of the people, a tribunal of punishment which the Lord Himself will hold over them,—features which

are far too strongly marked, and far too grand, to let us think that Elam is merely to be rendered tributary and incorporated into a new state. If we connect with this the deliverance of Elam mentioned at the close of ver. 39, viz. his conversion, then we will not hesitate to take the meaning of the oracle, in a more general way, as referring to the gradual fall of this heathen nation, for which, however, a future deliverance is in store, as is fully shown by the issue." This view is at least much more correct than the current one, still maintained by Ewald, Hitzig, Graf, etc., according to which the prophecy refers to a conquest of Elam by Nebuchadnezzar. M. von Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assy. und Bab.* S. 210) attempts to show its probability from a notice in Strabo (xi. 524), and (on S. 212) from the intimation given in the book of Judith, chap. i., of a war between Nebuchadnezzar and Media, which was successfully concluded in the twelfth year of his reign. But the statement in Strabo, that the Kossaites, a nation of robbers, once sent 13,000 archers to help the Elamites against the Susites and Babylonians, is far too indefinite for us to be able to apply it to a war which Nebuchadnezzar in company with Media carried on against Elam; for the Susites are at least not Medes. And the notice in the book of Judith is self-evidently unhistorical; for it says that Nebuchadnezzar was king of the Assyrians and resided in the great city of Nineveh, and that he defeated Arphaxad the king of Media in the seventeenth year of his reign (Judith i. 1, 13). But Nebuchadnezzar neither resided in Nineveh, which had been destroyed shortly before; nor could he have made war on Arphaxad king of Media in the seventeenth year of his reign, because he had in that year begun to besiege Jerusalem with all his forces. But the additional considerations which Niebuhr brings forward in support of his hypothesis can as little stand the test. Neither Jer. xxv. 25, where the kings of Media and Elam are mentioned among those who are to drink the cup of wrath, nor Ezek. xxxii. 24 f., where Elam and the whole multitude of its people are brought forward as among those who were slain, and who sank into the nether parts of the earth, furnish proofs of the conquest and destruction of Elam by Nebuchadnezzar, or of a war between that king and Media. For the funeral-song in Ezekiel bears a thoroughly ideal

character, and announces the fall of all the heathen powers, without any regard to Nebuchadnezzar. This holds, too, in a sense, of Jer. xxv., where Nebuchadnezzar is certainly mentioned as the ruler into whose power all the nations are to be delivered for the space of seventy years, inasmuch as this announcement also launches out into the idea of a judgment of all nations; so that we are not entitled to assume that all the kingdoms of the earth, to whom the cup of wrath is presented, were to be conquered and brought under subjection by Nebuchadnezzar. Still less reason is there for inferring from Jer. xxvii. 3, that Nebuchadnezzar was involved in a war with Media at a time when, as is there stated, at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Phœnicia sent ambassadors to Jerusalem to recommend a coalition against the power of Babylon. Even if Nebuchadnezzar were then occupied in the eastern portion of his kingdom, yet there is nothing at all to prove that he was involved in war with Media or Elam. History says nothing of a war waged by Nebuchadnezzar on Elam, nor does this prophecy furnish any support for such an assumption. Although it does not set before us a "gradual ruin" of Elam (Hävernicks), but rather a catastrophe brought on by God, yet the description is given in terms so general, that nothing more specific can be inferred from it regarding the time and the circumstances of this catastrophe. In this prophecy, Elam is not considered in its historical relation to the people of Israel, but as the representative of the heathen world lying beyond, which has not hitherto come into any relation towards the people of Israel, but which nevertheless, along with it, falls under the judgment coming on all nations, in order that, through the judgment, it may be led to the knowledge of the true God, and share in His salvation.

Chaps. l. and li.—*Against Babylon.*

The genuineness of this prophecy has been impugned by the newer criticism in different ways; for some quite refuse to allow it as Jeremiah's, while others consider it a mere interpolation.¹ Hitzig (*Exeg. Handb.* 2 Aufl.) considers that this

¹ With regard to the special attacks and their refutation, see details in Keil's *Manual of Introduction to the Old Testament* [translated by Prof.

oracle, with its epilogue, li. 59-64, is not to be wholly rejected as spurious, as has been done by Von Cölln and Gramberg; he is so much the less inclined to reject it, because, although there is many an interpolated piece here and there (?), yet no independent oracle has hitherto been found in Jeremiah that is wholly interpolated. "In fact," he continues, "this oracle shows numerous traces of its genuineness, and reasons for maintaining it. The use of particular words (l. 6, li. 1, 5, 7, 14, 45, 55), and the circle of figures employed (li. 7, 8, 34, 37), as well as the style (l. 2, 3, 7, 8, 10), especially in turns like li. 2; the concluding formula, li. 57; the dialogue introduced without any forewarning, li. 51,—all unmistakeably reveal Jeremiah; and this result is confirmed by chronological data." These chronological data, which Hitzig then extracts from particular verses, we cannot certainly esteem convincing, since they have been obtained through a method of exegesis which denies the spirit and the essential nature of prophecy; but his remarks concerning Jeremiah's use of words and his circle of images are perfectly well-founded, and may be considerably corroborated if the matter were more minutely investigated. Notwithstanding all this, Ewald has again repeated, in the second edition of his work on the Prophets, the assertion first made by Eichhorn, that this prophecy is spurious. He

Douglas, in Clark's F. T. L. vol. i. p. 342 ff.]. To the list there given of the defenders of this prophecy (of whom Kueper, Hävernicks, and Nägelsbach in the monograph entitled *der Prophet Jeremias und Babylon*, 1850, have thoroughly discussed the question), we must add the name of Graf, who, in the remarks prefixed to his commentary on chap. l. f., has thoroughly examined the arguments of his opponents, and reached this result: "The prophecy contains nothing which Jeremiah could not have written in the fourth year of Zedekiah; and the style of writing itself exhibits all the peculiarities which present themselves in his book. This prophecy is therefore as much his work as the prophecies against the other foreign nations." Only the passage li. 15-19, a repetition of x. 12-16, is said to proceed from another hand, because it stands out of all connection with what precedes and what follows it (but see the exposition); while he has so fully vindicated, as genuine portions of the prophecy, other passages which had been assumed as interpolations, even by Nägelsbach in his monograph, that the latter, in treating of Jeremiah in Lange's *Bibelwerk* [see Clark's Translation, p. 419], has renounced his former doubts, and now declares that it is only the passage in li. 15-19 that he cannot regard as original.

does not, indeed, deny that "this long piece against Babylon has many words; turns of expression, and thoughts, nay, even the whole plan, in common with Jeremiah; and since Jeremiah is often accustomed in other places also to repeat himself, this might, at the first look, even create a prepossession favouring the opinion that it was composed by Jeremiah himself. But Jeremiah repeats himself in a more wholesale style, and is not unfaithful to himself in his repetitions: here, however, the Jeremianic element peers through only in single though very numerous passages, and the repeated portions are often completely transformed. What, therefore, appears here as Jeremianic is rather a studied repetition and imitation, which would require here to be all the stronger, when the piece was intended to pass as one of Jeremiah's writings." Ewald goes on to say that Babylon appears already as directly threatened by Cyrus; and the whole view taken of Babylon as a kingdom utterly degenerated, and unable any longer to escape the final destruction,—the prophetic impetuosity shown in rising up against the Chaldean oppression,—the public summons addressed to all the brethren living in Babylon, that they should flee from the city, now irrecoverably lost, and return to the holy land,—the distinct mention of the Medes and other northern nations as the mortal enemies of Babylon, and of the speedy and certain fall of this city;—all this, says Ewald, is foreign to Jeremiah, nay, even conflicting and impossible. For particular proof of this sweeping verdict, Ewald refers to the name שֶׁשֶׁן (li. 41, as in xxv. 26) for Babylon, לֵב כְּמִי for בְּשָׁרִים, li. 1, and similar circumlocutions for Chaldean names, li. 21. He refers also to certain words which are quite new, and peculiar only to Ezekiel and later writers: פָּחַח, כִּנֵּן, li. 23, 25, 27; בְּלִלִים, l. 2; בְּרִים as a designation of false prophets, l. 36; also to הִחַרִּים, to devote with a curse, l. 21, 26, li. 3, which in the rest of Jeremiah occurs only xxv. 9. Further, he refers to the headings found in l. 1 and li. 59, which are quite different from what Jeremiah himself would have written; and lastly, to the intimate connection subsisting between l. 27, li. 40, and Isa. xxxiv. 6 ff., between l. 39 and Isa. xxxiv. 14, and between li. 60 ff. and Jer. xxxiv. 16. But all these considerations are much too weak to prove the spuriousness of the

passage before us. The connection with Isa. xxxiv. quite agrees with Jeremiah's characteristic tendency to lean on older prophecies, and reproduce the thoughts contained in them (we merely recall the case of the prophecy concerning Moab in chap. xlviii., against whose genuineness even Ewald has nothing to say); and it can be brought to tell against the genuineness of this oracle only on the groundless supposition that Isa. xxxiv. originated in exile times. The headings given in l. 1 and li. 59 contain nothing whatever that would be strange in Jeremiah: li. 59 is not a title at all, but the commencement of the account regarding the charge which Jeremiah gave to Seraiah when he was going to Babylon, with reference to his carrying with him the prophecy concerning Babylon; and the heading in l. 1 almost exactly agrees with that in xlv. 13 (see the exposition). Of the alleged later words, בְּבָבְלוֹן and בְּכַלְדָּיִם are derived from the Pentateuch, בְּבָבְלוֹן from Isa. xlv. 25. בְּכַלְדָּיִם and בְּכַלְדָּיִם certainly were not known to the Hebrews till the invasions of Judah by the Assyrians and Chaldeans; but the latter of the two words we find as early as in the address of the Assyrians in Isa. xxxvi. 9, and the former in Isa. xli. 25: thus, not a single one of the words alleged to have been first used by Ezekiel is peculiar to him. Finally, of the circumlocutions used for the names "Babylon" and "Chaldeans," Ewald himself confesses that בְּבָבְלוֹן in xxv. 26 may be Jeremiah's; and he has yet to give proof for the assertion that the names cited are merely circumlocutions in which a play is made on words that did not come into vogue till after Jeremiah's time. And as little has been even attempted in the way of establishing the opinion he has expressed regarding what is Jeremianic in the prophecy,—that it is a studied repetition and imitation,—or the assertion that Babylon is represented as being directly threatened by Cyrus. In the Old Testament Scriptures, Cyrus is represented as the king of Persia, which he was; but this prophecy says nothing of the Persians. Thus, the learned supplementary matter with which Ewald seeks to support his general assertions is by no means fitted to strengthen his position, but rather shows that the proper argument for rejecting this oracle as spurious is not to be found in the nature of this particular prophecy, but in the axiom openly expressed by

Eichhorn, von Cölln, Gramberg, and other followers of the "vulgar rationalism," that Jeremiah could not have announced the destruction of Babylon by the Medes, because at his time the Medes had not yet appeared on the scene of history as a conquering nation; for, according to the principles of rationalism, the prophets could merely prophesy of things which lay within the political horizon. It has not escaped the acute observation of Hitzig, that the genuineness of this prophecy could not be shaken by such general assertions; hence he has adopted Movers' hypothesis of numerous interpolations, in order thereby to account for the use made of portions of Isaiah, which, on dogmatic grounds, are referred to the exile. But for this assumption also there are wanting proofs that can stand the test. Besides the general assertion that Jeremiah could not have repeated earlier pieces word for word, the arguments which Movers and Hitzig bring forward from the context, or from a consideration of the contents, in the case of isolated verses, depend upon false renderings of words, conjectures of a merely subjective character, and misunderstandings of various kinds, which at once fall to the ground when the correct explanation is given.

The germ of this prophecy lies in the word of the Lord, chap. xxv. 12, "When seventy years are completed, I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and make it everlasting desolations;" and its position with regard to the other prophecies of Jeremiah against the nations has already been given in outline in the statement of xxv. 26, "And the king of Sheshach (Babylon) shall drink after them." Just as these utterances (xxv. 12, 26) stand in full accord with the announcement that, in the immediate future, all nations shall be given into the power of the king of Babylon, and serve him seventy years; so, too, the prophecy against Babylon now lying before us not only does not stand in contradiction with the call addressed to Jeremiah, that he should proclaim to his contemporaries the judgment which Babylon is to execute on Judah and all nations, but it rather belongs to the complete solution of the problems connected with this call. The announcement of the fall of Babylon, and the release of Israel from Babylon, form

the subject of the prophecy, which is more than a hundred verses in length. This double subject, the two parts of which are so closely connected, is portrayed in a series of images which, nearly throughout, are arranged pretty loosely together, so that it is impossible to summarize the rich and varied contents of these figures, and to sketch a correct plan of the course of thought and of the divisions of the oracle. Hence, too, the views of expositors with regard to the division of the whole into parts or strophes widely differ;¹ we follow the view of Ewald, that the whole falls into three main parts (l. 2-28, l. 29 on to li. 26, and li. 27-58), every one of which begins with a spirited exhortation to engage in battle. These three main portions again fall into ten periods, of which the first three (l. 2-10, 11-20, and 21-28) form the first main division; the four middle ones form the second main portion (l. 29-40, ver. 41 to li. 4, vers. 5-14, and vers. 15-26); while the following three form the last (vers. 27-37, 38-49, and 50-58). We further agree with what Ewald says regarding the contents of the first two parts in general, viz. that in the first the prevailing view is the necessity for the deliverance of Israel, and that in the second, the antithesis between Babylon on the one hand, and Jahveh together with Israel, His spiritual instrument, on the other, is fully brought out; but we do not agree with his remark concerning the third part, that there the prevailing feature is the detailed description of the condition of Israel at that time, for this does not at all agree with the contents of li. 27-58. Rather, the address rises into a triumphant description of the fall of Babylon, in which the Lord will show Himself as the avenger of His people. On the whole, then, the prophecy is neither wanting in arrangement

¹ Thus, according to Eichhorn, Dahler, and Rosenmüller, the whole consists of several pieces (three or six) which originally belonged to different periods; according to Schmieder, it consists of "seven different poems or songs, all having the same subject, which, however, they set forth from different sides, and under countless images." Nägelshach at first assumed that there were three main divisions, with thirteen subdivisions; afterwards, in Lange's *Bibelwerk* [see Clark's Foreign Theol. Library], he thinks he is able also to distinguish three stages of time, which, however, do not permit of being sharply defined, so that he continues to divide the whole prophecy into nineteen separate views or figures.

nor in that necessary progress in the development of thought which proves unity of conception and execution.

Chap. l. 1. The title, "The word which Jahveh spake concerning Babylon, concerning the land of the Chaldeans, by Jeremiah the prophet," follows xlv. 13 in choosing *אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה* instead of the usual *אֲשֶׁר הָיָה*, and deviates from that passage only in substituting "by the hand of Jeremiah" for "to Jeremiah," as in xxxvii. 2. The preference of the expression "spake by the hand of" for "spake to," is connected with the fact that the following prophecy does not contain a message of the Lord which came to Jeremiah, that he might utter it before the people, but a message which he was to write down and send to Babylon, li. 60 ff. The apposition to "Babylon," viz. "the land of the Chaldeans," serves the purpose of more exactly declaring that "Babylon" is to be understood not merely of the capital, but also of the kingdom; cf. vers. 8, 45, and 51, 54.

Vers. 2-10. *The fall of Babylon, and deliverance of Israel.*—
Ver. 2. "Tell it among the nations, and cause it to be heard, and lift up a standard; cause it to be heard, conceal it not: say, Babylon is taken, Bel is ashamed, Merodach is confounded; her images are ashamed, her idols are confounded. Ver. 3. For there hath come up against her a nation out of the north; it will make her land a desolation, and there shall be not an inhabitant in it: from man to beast, [all] have fled, are gone. Ver. 4. In those days, and at that time, saith Jahveh, the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together; they shall go, weeping as they go, and shall seek Jahveh their God. Ver. 5. They shall ask for Zion, with their faces [turned to] the road hitherwards, [saying], Come, and let us join ourselves to Jahveh by an eternal covenant [which] shall not be forgotten. Ver. 6. My people have been a flock of lost ones; their shepherds have misled them [on] mountains which lead astray: from mountain to hill they went; they forgot their resting-place. Ver. 7. All who found them have devoured them; and their enemies said, We are not guilty, for they have sinned against Jahveh, the dwelling-place of justice, and the hope of their fathers, Jahveh. Ver. 8. Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and from the land of the Chaldeans; let

them go forth, and let them be like he-goats before a flock. Ver. 9. For, behold, I will stir up, and bring up against Babylon, an assembly of great nations out of the land of the north : and they shall array themselves against her ; on that side shall she be taken : his arrows [are] like [those of] a skilful hero [who] does not return empty. Ver. 10. And [the land of the] Chaldeans shall become a spoil ; all those who spoil her shall be satisfied, saith Jahveh."

In the spirit Jeremiah sees the fall of Babylon, together with its idols, as if it had actually taken place, and gives the command to proclaim among the nations this event, which brings deliverance for Israel and Judah. The joy over this is expressed in the accumulation of the words for the summons to tell the nations what has happened. On the expression, cf. iv. 5, 6, xlv. 14. The lifting up of a standard, *i.e.* of a signal-rod, served for the more rapid spreading of news ; cf. iv. 6, vi. 1, Isa. xiii. 2, etc. "Cause it to be heard" is intensified by the addition of "do not conceal it." The thing is to be proclaimed without reserve ; cf. xxxviii. 14. "Babylon is taken," *i.e.* conquered, and her idols have become ashamed, inasmuch as, from their inability to save their city, their powerlessness and nullity have come to light. Bel and Merodach are not different divinities, but merely different names for the chief deity of the Babylonians. Bel = Baal, the Jupiter of the Babylonians, was, as Bel-Merodach, the tutelary god of Babylon. "The whole of the Babylonian dynasty," says Oppert, *Expéd. en Mésopot.* ii. p. 272, "places him [Merodach] at the head of the gods ; and the inscription of Borsippa calls him the king of heaven and earth." עֲצָבִים, "images of idols," and גִּבְלִים, properly "logs," an expression of contempt for idols (see on Lev. xxvi. 30), are synonymous ideas for designating the nature and character of the Babylonian gods.—Ver. 3. Babylon is fallen by a people from the north, that has gone out against her, and makes her land a desolation. This nation is described in ver. 9 as a collection, union of great nations, that are enumerated especially in li. 27, 28. On "it [the nation] shall make her land," etc., cf. ii. 15, xlviii. 9 ; on the expression "from man to beast," cf. xxxiii. 12, ix. 9. נֶרֶד is from נָר, ver. 8 and xlix. 30 = נֶרֶד, from נָר, ix. 9.—Ver. 4 f. Then, when Babylon shall

have fallen, the children of Israel and Judah return out of their captivity, seeking Jahveh their God with tears of repentance, and marching to Zion, for the purpose of joining themselves to Him in an eternal covenant. The fall of Babylon has the deliverance of Israel as its direct result. The prophet views this in such a way, that all the steps in the fulfilment (the return from Babylon, the reunion of the tribes previously separated, their sincere return to the Lord, and the making of a new covenant that shall endure for ever), which will actually follow successively in long periods, are taken together into one view. By the statement made regarding the time, "In those days, and at that time," the fall of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel (which Jeremiah sees in the spirit as already begun) are marked out as belonging to the future. Israel and Judah come together, divided no more; cf. iii. 18. "Going and weeping they go," *i.e.* they always go further on, weeping: cf. xli. 6; 2 Sam. iii. 16; Ewald, § 280, *b*. Cf. also iii. 21, xxxi. 9. Seeking the Lord their God, they ask for Zion, *i.e.* they ask after the way thither; for in Zion Jahveh has His throne. "The way hither" (*i.e.* to Jerusalem) "is their face," *sc.* directed. "Hither" points to the place of the speaker, Jerusalem. **בֹּא וְנִלְוֶה** are imperatives, and words with which those who are returning encourage one another to a close following of the Lord their God. **נִלְוֶה** is imperative for **נִלְוֶה**, like **נִקְבְּצִי** in Isa. xliii. 9, Joel iv. 11; cf. Ewald, § 226, *c*. It cannot be the imperfect, because the third person gives no sense; hence Graf would change the vowels, and read **נִלְוֶה**. But suspicion is raised against this by the very fact that, excepting Eccles. viii. 15, **נִלְוֶה**, in the sense of joining oneself to, depending on, occurs only in the Niphal. **עוֹלָם בְּרִית עִלְמִים** is a modal accusative: "in an eternal covenant [which] shall not be forgotten," *i.e.* which we will not forget, will not break again. In fact, this is the new covenant which the Lord, according to xxxi. 31 ff., will make in time to come with His people. But here this side of the matter is withdrawn from consideration; for the point treated of is merely what Israel, in his repentant frame and returning to God, vows he shall do.

Israel comes to this determination in consequence of the misery into which he has fallen because of his sins, vers. 5-7.

Israel was like a flock of lost sheep which their shepherds had led astray. צֹאן אֲבָדוֹת, a flock of sheep that are going to ruin. The participle in the plural is joined with the collective noun *ad sensum*, to show what is imminent or is beginning to happen. The verb הָיָה points to the subject צֹאן; hence the *Qeri* הָיָה is unnecessary. The plural suffixes of the following clause refer to עַמִּי as a collective. The shepherds led the people of God astray on הָרִים שׁוֹבְבִים (a local accusative; on the *Kethib* שׁוֹבְבִים, cf. xxxi. 32, xlix. 4; it is not to be read שׁוֹבְבִים), mountains that render people faithless. These mountains were so designated because they were the seats of that idolatry which had great power of attraction for a sinful people, so that the seduction or alienation of the people from their God is ascribed to them. שׁוֹבֵב is used in the sense which the verb has in Isa. xlvii. 10. The *Qeri* שׁוֹבְבִים gives the less appropriate idea, "the shepherds made the sheep stray." Hitzig's translation, "they drove them along the mountain," does not suit the verb שׁוֹבֵב. Moreover, the mountains in themselves do not form unsuitable pasture-ground for sheep, and הָרִים does not mean "a bare, desolate mountain-range." The objection to our view of הָרִים שׁוֹבְבִים, that there is no very evident proof that worship on high places is referred to (Graf), is pure fancy, and the reverse only is true. For the words which follow, "they (the sheep) went from mountain to hill, and forgot their resting-place," have no meaning whatever, unless they are understood of the idolatrous dealings of Israel. The resting-place of the sheep (רִקְצִים, the place where the flocks lie down to rest), according to ver. 7, is Jahveh, the hope of their fathers. Their having forgotten this resting-place is the result of their going from mountain to hill: these words undeniably point to the idolatry of the people on every high hill (ii. 20, iii. 2, xvii. 2, etc.).—Ver. 7. The consequence of this going astray on the part of Israel was, that every one who found them devoured them, and while doing so, cherished the thought that they were not incurring guilt, because Israel had been given up to their enemies on account of their apostasy from God; while the fact was, that every offence against Israel, as the holy people of the Lord, brought on guilt; cf. ii. 3. This befell Israel because they have sinned against Jahveh. נִתְּנָה צִדְקָה, "the habitation (or pasture-ground)

of righteousness." So, in xxxi. 23, Zion is called the mountain on which Jahveh sits enthroned in His sanctuary. As in other places Jahveh Himself is called a fortress, Ps. xviii. 3; a sun, shield, Ps. lxxxiv. 12; a shade, Ps. cxxi. 5; so here He is called the One in whom is contained that righteousness which is the source of Israel's salvation. As such, He was the hope of the fathers, the God upon whom the fathers put their trust; cf. xiv. 8, xvii. 13, Ps. xxii. 5 f. The repetition of יְהוָה at the end is intended to give an emphatic conclusion to the sentence.—Vers. 8–10. To escape from this misery, Israel is to flee from Babylon; for the judgment of conquest and plunder by enemies is breaking over Babylon. The summons to flee out of Babylon is a reminiscence of Isa. xlviii. 20. The *Kethib* יִצְאֵי may be vindicated, because the direct address pretty often makes a sudden transition into the language of the third person. They are to depart from the land of the Chaldeans. No more will then be necessary than to change יְהוָה into יָהִי. The simile, "like he-goats before the flock," does not mean that Israel is to press forward that he may save himself before any one else (Graf), but that Israel is to go before all, as an example and leader in the flight (Nägelsbach).—Ver. 9. For the Lord arouses and leads against Babylon a crowd of nations, i.e. an army consisting of a multitude of nations. As מְעַר reminds us of Isa. xiii. 17, so קָהַל גוֹיִם גְּדֹלִים remind us of מְמַלְכוֹת גוֹיִם in Isa. xiii. 4. עָרָה לְ, to make preparations against. מְשֶׁם is not used of time (Rosenmüller, Nägelsbach, etc.), for this application of the word has not been established from the actual occurrence of instances, but it has a local meaning, and refers to the "crowd of nations:" from that place where the nations that come out of the north have assembled before Babylon. In the last clause, the multitude of great nations is taken together, as if they formed one enemy: "his arrows are like [the arrows] of a wisely dealing (i.e. skilful) warrior."¹ The

¹ Instead of מְשֶׁם, J. H. Michaelis, in his *Biblia Halens.*, has accepted the reading מְשַׁבֵּל on the authority of three Erfurt codices and three old editions (a Veneta of 1618; Buxtorf's Rabbinic Bible, printed at Basle, 1620; and the London Polyglott). J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Maurer, and Umbreit have decided for this reading, and point to the rendering of the Vulgate, *interfactoris*, and of the Targum, מְחַבֵּל, *orbans*. On the

words *לֹא יָשׁוּב רִיָּקָם* do not permit of being referred, on the strength of 2 Sam. i. 22, to one particular arrow which does not come back empty; for the verb *יָשׁוּב*, though perhaps suitable enough for the sword, which is drawn back when it has executed the blow, is inappropriate for the arrow, which does not return. The subject to *יָשׁוּב* is *נִבְּוִיר*, the hero, who does not turn or return without having accomplished his object; cf. Isa. lv. 11. In ver. 10, *בְּשָׁדִים* is the name of the country, "Chaldeans;" hence it is construed as a feminine. The plunderers of Chaldea will be able to satisfy themselves with the rich booty of that country.

Vers. 11-20. *The devastation of Babylon and glory of Israel.*

—Ver. 11. "Though ye rejoice, though ye exult, O ye plunderers of mine inheritance, though ye leap proudly like a heifer threshing, and neigh like strong horses, Ver. 12. Your mother will be very much ashamed; she who bare you will blush: behold, the last of the nations [will be] a wilderness, a desert, and a steppe. Ver. 13. Because of the indignation of Jahveh it shall not be inhabited, and it shall become a complete desolation. Every one passing by Babylon will be astonished, and hiss because of all her plagues. Ver. 14. Make preparations against Babylon round about, all ye that bend the bow; shoot at her, do not spare an arrow, for she hath sinned against Jahveh. Ver. 15. Shout against her round about; she hath given herself up: her battlements are fallen, her walls are pulled down; for it is Jahveh's vengeance: revenge yourselves on her; as she hath done, do ye to her. Ver. 16. Cut off the sower from Babylon, and him that handles the sickle in the time of harvest. From before the oppressing sword each one will turn to his own nation, and each one will flee to his own land. Ver. 17. Israel is a scattered sheep [which] lions have driven away: the first [who] devoured him [was] the

other hand, the LXX. and Syriac have read and rendered *מִשְׁבִּיל*; and this reading is not merely presented by *nonnulli libri*, as Maurer states, but by twelve codices of de Rossi, and all the more ancient editions of the Bible, of which de Rossi in his *variae lectiones* mentions forty-one. The critical witnesses are thus overwhelming for *מִשְׁבִּיל*; and against *מִשְׁבִּיל* there lies the further consideration, that *שָׁבַל* has the meaning *orbare*, to render childless, only in the Piel, but in the Hiphil means *abortare*, to cause or have miscarriages, as is shown by *רָחַם מִשְׁבִּיל*, Hos. ix. 14.

king of Babylon ; and this, the last, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, hath broken his bones. Ver. 18. Therefore thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel : Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria. Ver. 19. And I will bring back Israel to his pasture-ground, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and on the mountains of Ephraim his soul shall be satisfied. Ver. 20. In those days, and at that time, saith Jahveh, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, but it shall not be ; and the sins of Judah, but they shall not be found : for I will pardon those whom I will leave remaining."

Ver. 11 does not permit of being so closely connected with what precedes as to separate it from ver. 12 (De Wette, Nägelsbach). Not only is the translation, "for thou didst rejoice," etc., difficult to connect with the imperfects of all the verbs in the verse, but the direct address also does not suit ver. 10, and rather demands connection with ver. 12, where it is continued. וְ, of course, introduces the reason, yet not in such a way that ver. 11 states the cause why Chaldea shall become a spoil, but rather so that vers. 11 and 12 together give the reason for the threatening uttered. The different clauses of ver. 11 are the protases, to which ver. 12 brings the apodosis. "You may go on making merry over the defeat of Israel, but shame will follow for this." The change of the singular forms of the verbs into plurals (*Qeri*) has been caused by the plural וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, but is unnecessary, because Babylon is regarded as a collective, and its people are gathered into the unity of a person ; see on xiii. 20. "Spoilers of mine inheritance," i.e. of the people and land of the Lord ; cf. xii. 7, Isa. xvii. 14. On רָכַץ, to gallop (of a horse, Hab. i. 8), hop, spring (of a calf, Mal. iii. 20), see on Hab. i. 8. רָכַץ is rendered by the LXX. ἐν βοτάνῃ, by the Vulgate *super herbam* ; after these, Ewald also takes the meaning of springing like a calf through the grass, since he explains רָכַץ as exhibiting the correct punctuation, and remarks that רָכַץ, like רָכַץ, can stand with an object directly after it ; see § 282, a. Most modern expositors, on the other hand, take רָכַץ as the fem. participle from רָכַץ, written with ר instead of ה : "like a threshing heifer." On this, A. Schultens, in his *Animadv. philol.*, on this passage, remarks : *Comparatio petita*

est a vitula, quæ in area media inter frumenta, ore ex lege non ligato (Deut. xxv. 10), *præ pabuli abundantia gestit ex exultat*. This explanation also gives a suitable meaning, without compelling us to do violence to the language and to alter the text. As to אֲפִירִים, stallions, strong horses (Luther), see on viii. 16 and xlvii. 3. "Your mother" is the whole body of the people, the nation considered as a unity (cf. Isa. l. 1, Hos. ii. 4, iv. 5), the individual members of which are called her sons; cf. v. 7, etc. In ver. 12b, the disgrace that is to fall on Babylon is more distinctly specified. The thought is gathered up into a sententious saying, in imitation of the sayings of Balaam. "The last of the nations" is the antithesis of "the first of the nations," as Balaam calls Amalek, Num. xxiv. 20, because they were the first heathen nation that began to fight against the people of Israel. In like manner, Jeremiah calls Babylon the last of the heathen nations. As the end of Amalek is ruin (Num. xxiv. 20); so the end of the last heathen nation that comes forward against Israel will be a wilderness, desert, steppe. The predicates (cf. ii. 6) refer to the country and kingdom of Babylon. But if the end of the kingdom is a desert, then the people must have perished. The devastation of Babylon is further portrayed in ver. 13, together with a statement of the cause: "Because of the anger of Jahveh it shall not be inhabited;" cf. Isa. xiii. 20. The words from נִהְיֶה onwards are imitated from xlix. 17 and xix. 8.—Ver. 14. In order to execute this judgment on Babylon, the nations are commanded to conquer and destroy the city. The archers are to place themselves round about Babylon, and shoot at the city unsparingly. עָרָךְ does not mean to prepare oneself, but to prepare מִלְחָמָה, the battle, combat. The archers are mentioned by synecdoche, because the point in question is the siege and bombardment of Babylon; cf. Isa. xiii. 18, where the Medes are mentioned as archers. יָרָה is used only here, in Kal, of the throwing, i.e. the shooting of arrows, instead of יָרָה, which is elsewhere the usual word for this; and, indeed, some codices have the latter word in this passage. "Spare not the arrow," i.e. do not spare an arrow; cf. li. 3. הִרְעָה, to cry aloud; here, to raise a battle-cry; cf. Josh. vi. 16. The effect and result of the cry is, "she hath given her hand," i.e. given herself up. נָתַן usually

signifies the giving of the hand as a pledge of faithfulness (2 Kings x. 15; Ezek. xvii. 18; Ezra x. 19), from which is derived the meaning of giving up, delivering up oneself; cf. 2 Chron. xxx. 8. Cf. Cornelius Nepos, *Hamile.* c. 1, *donec victi manum dedissent*. The אֲשׁוּרִיָּה (the *Kethib* is either to be read אֲשׁוּרִיָּה, as if from a noun אֲשׁוּרִי, or to be viewed as an error in transcription for אֲשׁוּרִיָּה, which is the *Qeri*) signifies

"supports," and comes from אָשָׁא, אָשָׁא, to support, help; then the supports of a building, its foundations; cf. אֲשָׁא, Ezra iv. 12. Here the word signifies the supports of the city, *i.e.* the fortifications of Babylon, ἐπάλξεις, *propugnacula*, *pinnæ*, the battlements of the city wall, not the foundations of the walls, for which נֶפֶל is unsuitable. "It (*sc.* the destruction of Babylon) is the vengeance of Jahveh." "The vengeance of Jahveh" is an expression derived from Num. xxxi. 3. "Avenge yourselves on her," *i.e.* take retribution for what Babylon has done to other nations, especially to the people of God; cf. 28 f. and li. 11. The words, "cut off out of Babylon the sower and the reaper," are not to be restricted to the fields, which, according to the testimonies of Diod. Sic. ii. 7, Pliny xviii. 17, and Curtius v. 1, lay within the wall round Babylon, but "Babylon" is the province together with its capital; and the objection of Nägelsbach, that the prophet, in the whole context, is describing the siege of the city of Babylon, is invalid, because ver. 12b plainly shows that not merely the city, but the province of Babylon, is to become a wilderness, desert, and steppe. The further threat, also, "every one flees to his own people from before the oppressing sword" (cf. xxv. 38, xlv. 16), applies not merely to the strangers residing in Babylon, but generally to those in Babylonia. Hitzig would arbitrarily refer these words merely to the husbandmen and field-workers. The fundamental passage, Isa. xiii. 14, which Jeremiah had before his mind and repeats *verbatim*, tells decidedly against this view; cf. also Jer. li. 9, 44.—Vers. 17–19. This judgment comes on Babylon because of her oppression and scattering of the people of Israel, whom the Lord will now feed in peace again on their native soil. Israel is like אֵשֶׁת פָּדִיחָה, a sheep which, having been scared away out of its stall or fold, is hunted into the wide

world; cf. **פָּזַר בְּנוֹיִם**, Joel iv. 2. Although **פָּזַר**, "to scatter," implies the conception of a flock, yet we cannot take **שָׂה** as a collective (Graf), since it is *nomen unitatis*. The point in the comparison lies on the fact that Israel has been hunted, like a solitary sheep, up and down among the beasts of the earth; and **פָּזַר** is more exactly specified by the following clause, "lions have chased after it." The object of **הִדְרִיתוּ** is easily derived from the context, so that we do not need to follow Hitzig in changing **הִדְרִיתוּ הָרֹאשִׁים** into **הִדְרִיתוּ רֹאשֶׁן**. These kings are, the king of Assyria first, and the king of Babylon last. The former has dispersed the ten tribes among the heathen; the latter, by destroying the kingdom of Judah, and carrying away its inhabitants, has shattered the theocracy. The verbs apply to the figure of the lion, and the suffixes refer to Israel. **אָכַל** is used of the devouring of the flesh; **עָצַם** is a *denominative* from **עָצָם**, and means the same as **נָרַם**, Num. xxiv. 8, to break bones in pieces, not merely gnaw them. So long as the flesh only is eaten, the skeleton of bones remains; if these also be broken, the animal is quite destroyed.—Ver. 18. The Assyrian has already received his punishment for that—the Assyrian kingdom has been destroyed; Babylon will meet with the same punishment, and then (ver. 19) Israel will be led back to his pasture-ground. **בָּזֶה**, pasture-ground, grass-plot, where sheep feed, is the land of Israel. Israel, led back thither, will feed on Carmel and Bashan, the most fertile tracts of the country, and the mountains of Ephraim and Gilead, which also furnish fodder in abundance for sheep. As to Gilead, see Num. xxxii. 1, Mic. vii. 14; and in regard to the mountains of Ephraim, Ex. xxxiv. 13 f., where the feeding on the mountains of Israel and in the valleys is depicted as fat pasture. The mountains of Israel here signify the northern portion of the land generally, including the large and fertile plain of Jezreel, and the different valleys between the several ranges of mountains, which here and there show traces of luxuriant vegetation even yet; cf. Robinson's *Physical Geography*, p. 120. Then also the guilt of the sins of Israel and Judah shall be blotted out, because the Lord grants pardon to the remnant of His people. This promise points to the time of the New Covenant; cf. xxxi. 34 and xxxiii. 8. The deliverance of Israel from Babylon coincides

with the view given of the regeneration of the people by the Messiah, just as we find throughout the second portion of Isaiah. On the construction 'שׁ בְּקֶשׁ אֶת-עֵץ יִשׁ, cf. xxxv. 14, and Gesenius, § 143, 1. On the form הַמִּצְאִיָּה, with ' after the manner of verbs לִי, cf. Ewald, § 198, 6.

Vers. 21-28. The pride and power of Babylon are broken, as a punishment for the sacrilege he committed at the temple of the Lord. Ver. 21. "Against the land,—Double-rebellion,—go up against it, and against the inhabitants of visitation; lay waste and devote to destruction after them, saith Jahveh, and do according to all that I have commanded thee. Ver. 22. A sound of war [is] in the land, and great destruction. Ver. 23. How the hammer of the whole earth is cut and broken! how Babylon has become a desolation among the nations! Ver. 24. I laid snares for thee, yea, and thou hast been taken, O Babylon; but thou didst not know: thou wast found, and also seized, because thou didst strive against Jahveh. Ver. 25. Jahveh hath opened His treasure-house, and brought out the instruments of His wrath; for the Lord, Jahveh of hosts, hath a work in the land of the Chaldeans. Ver. 26. Come against her, [all of you], from the last [to the first]; open her store-houses: cast her up in heaps, like ruins, and devote her to destruction; let there be no remnant left to her. Ver. 27. Destroy all her oxen; let them go down to the slaughter: woe to them! for their day is come, the time of their visitation. Ver. 28. [There is] a sound of those who flee and escape out of the land of Babylon, to declare in Zion the vengeance of Jahveh our God, the vengeance of His temple."

The punishment of Babylon will be fearful, corresponding to its crimes. The crimes of Babylon and its punishment Jeremiah has comprised, in ver. 21, in two names specially formed for the occasion. The enemy to whom God has entrusted the execution of the punishment is to march against the land מִצְרַיִם. This word, which is formed by the prophet in a manner analogous to *Mizraim*, and perhaps also *Aram Naharaim*, means "double rebellion," or "double obstinacy." It comes from the root מָרָה, "to be rebellious" against Jahveh and His commandments, whence also מָרָה, "rebellion;" Num. xvii. 25, Ezek. ii. 5, 7, etc. Other interpretations of the

word are untenable: such is that of Fürst, who follows the Vulgate "*terram dominantium*," and, comparing the Aramaic מְרָא, "Lord," renders it by "dominion" (*Herrschaft*). Utterly indefensible, too, is the translation of Hitzig, "the world of men" (*Menschenwelt*), which he derives from the Sanskrit *martjam*, "world," on the basis of the false assumption that the language of the Chaldeans was Indo-Germanic. The only doubtful points are in what respect Babylon showed double obstinacy, and what Jeremiah had in his mind at the time. The view of Hitzig, Maurer, Graf, etc., is certainly incorrect,—that the prophet was thinking of the double punishment of Israel by the Assyrians and by the Babylonians (vers. 17 and 33); for the name is evidently given to the country which is now about to be punished, and hence to the power of Babylon. Nägelsbach takes a twofold view: (1) he thinks of the defiance shown by Babylon towards both man and God; (2) he thinks of the double obstinacy it exhibited in early times by building the tower, and founding the first worldly kingdom (Gen. x. 8f.), and in later times by its conduct towards the theocracy: and he is inclined rather to the latter than to the former view, because the offences committed by Babylon in early and in later times were, in their points of origin and aim, too much one and the same for any one to be able to represent them as falling under two divisions. This is certainly correct; but against the first view there is also the important consideration that מְרָא is pretty constantly used only of opposition to God and the word of God. If any one, notwithstanding this, is inclined to refer the name also to offences against men, he could yet hardly agree with Nägelsbach in thinking of the insurrections of Babylon against the kings of Assyria, their masters; for these revolts had no meaning in reference to the position of Babylon towards God, but rather showed the haughty spirit in which Babylon trod on all the nations. The opinion of Dahler has most in its favour: "Doubly rebellious, i.e. more rebellious than others, through its idolatry and its pride, which has exalted it against God, vers. 24, 29." Rosenmüller, De Wette, etc., have decided in favour of this view. Although the dual originally expresses the idea of pairing, yet the Hebrew associates with *double*, *twofold*, the

idea of increase, gradation; cf. Isa. xl. 2, lxi. 7. The object is prefixed for the sake of emphasis; and in order to render it still more prominent, it is resumed after the verb in the expression "against it." **בָּקֹר**, an infinitive in form, "to visit with punishment, avenge, punish," is also used as a significant name of Babylon: the land that visits with punishment is to be punished. Many expositors take **הָרִב** as a denominative from **הָרַב**, "sword," in the sense of strangling, murdering; so also in ver. 27. But this assumption is far from correct; nor is there any need for making it, because the meaning of destroying is easily obtained from that of being laid waste, or destroying oneself by transferring the word from things to men. **הַחֲרִים**, "to proscribe, put under the ban," and in effect "to exterminate;" see on xxv. 9. On "after them," cf. xlix. 37, xlviii. 2, 9, 15, etc.—Ver. 22. After the command there immediately follows its execution. A sound of war is heard in the land. The words are given as an exclamation, without a verb. As to **שָׁכַר נָדָל**, which is an expression much used by Jeremiah, see on iv. 6.—Ver. 23. Babylon, "the hammer of the whole earth," *i.e.* with which Jahveh has beaten to pieces the nations and kingdoms of the earth (li. 20), is itself now being beaten to pieces and destroyed. On the subject, cf. Isa. xiv. 5, 6. Babylon will become the astonishment of the nations, li. 41. "How!" is an exclamation of surprise, as in Zeph. ii. 15, — a passage which probably hovered before the mind of the prophet.—Ver. 24. This annihilation will come unexpectedly. As the bird by the snare of the fowler, so shall Babylon be laid hold of by Jahveh, because it has striven against Him. The Lord lays the snare for it, that it may be caught. **יָקֹשׁ**, "to lay snares;" cf. Ps. cxli. 9, where **פָּח** is also found. **וְלֹא יָדַעְתָּ**, "and thou didst not perceive," *i.e.* didst not mark it: this is a paraphrase of the idea "unexpectedly," suddenly; cf. li. 8, Isa. xlvii. 11. This has been literally fulfilled on Babylon. According to Herodotus (i. 191), Cyrus took Babylon by diverting the Euphrates into a trench he had dug. By this stratagem the Persians threw themselves so unexpectedly on the Babylonians (*ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφί παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι*), that when the outmost portions of the city had been already seized, those who lived in the middle had not

observed at all that they were captured (τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκούντας οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας). Similarly, when the city was taken under Darius Hystaspes, they were surprised that Zopyrus traitorously opened the gates to the besiegers (Herodotus, iii. 158). Babylon has contended against Jahveh, because, in its pride, it refused to let the people of God depart; cf. vers. 29 and 33. In ver. 25 the sudden devastation of Babylon is accounted for. Jahveh opens His armoury, and brings out the instruments of His wrath, in order to execute His work on the land of the Chaldeans. **אֹצֵר**, "magazine, treasure-chamber," is here applied to an armoury. The "instruments of His wrath" are, in Isa. xiii. 5, the nations which execute the judgment of God,—here, the instruments of war and weapons with which Jahveh Himself marches into battle against Babylon. On **מְלָאכָה וְנִי**, cf. xlviii. 10. The business which the Lord has there regards the chastisement of Babylon for its insolence. For the transaction of this business He summons His servants, ver. 26 f. **בְּאֹצֵר**, as in xlv. 22, xlix. 9, is substantially the same as **בְּאֵל עֵלְיָה**, xlix. 14, xlviii. 8. **מִקֵּץ**, "from the end," or from the last hitherwards, the same as **מִקֵּץ**, li. 31, i.e. all together on to the last; cf. Gen. xix. 4, xlvii. 2, etc. "Open her (Babylon's) barns" or granaries; "heap it up (viz. what was in the granaries) like heaps" of grain or sheaves, "and devote it to destruction," i.e. consume it with fire, because things on which the curse was imposed must be burnt; cf. Josh. xi. 12 and 13. All the property found in Babylon is to be collected in heaps, and then burnt with the city. The use of the image is occasioned by the granaries. **מִאֲבָקִים** is *ἀπ. λεγ.*, from **אֲבָק**, to give fodder to cattle,—properly a stall for fodder, then a barn, granary. **עֲרֵמָה** is a heap of grain (Cant. vii. 3), sheaves (Ruth iii. 7), also of rubbish (Neh. iii. 34). As ver. 26 declares what is to be done with goods and chattels, so does ver. 27 state what is to be done with the population. The figure employed in ver. 26 is followed by the representation of the people as oxen destined for slaughter; in this Jeremiah had in his mind the prophecy found in Isa. xxxiv., in which the judgment to come on Edom is depicted as a slaughter of lambs, rams, and he-goats: the people of Edom are thus compared to cattle that may be offered in sacrifice. This figure

also forms the basis of the expression יָרֵד לְמַבְחָה in xlvi. 15, where this style of speaking is used with regard to the youths or the young troops; cf. also li. 40. The פְּרִים, accordingly, designate not merely the chief among the people, or the men of rank, but represent the whole human population. In the last clause ("for their day is come," etc.), there is a transition in the discourse from the figure to the real subject itself. The suffix in עֲלֵיהֶם does not refer to the oxen, but to the men over whose murder there is an exclamation of woe. In like manner, "their day" means the day of judgment for men, viz. the time of their visitation with punishment; see on xli. 21. Fugitives and escaped ones will bring to Zion, and proclaim the news of the execution of this fearful judgment, that the Lord has fulfilled the vengeance of His temple, *i.e.* avenged on Babylon the burning of His temple by the Chaldeans. The fugitives and escaped ones are the Israelites, who were summoned to flee from Babylon, ver. 3. On "the vengeance of Jahveh," cf. ver. 15 and li. 11.

Vers. 29–40. The pride of Babylon is humbled through the utter destruction of the people and the land.—Ver. 29. "Summon archers against Jerusalem, all those who bend the bow; encamp against her round about. Let there be no escape for her; recompense to her according to her work; according to that which she hath done, do ye to her: for she hath presumed against Jahveh, against the Holy One of Israel. Ver. 30. Therefore shall her young men fall in her streets, and all her men of war shall fail in that day, saith Jahveh. Ver. 31. Behold, I am against thee, O Pride! saith the Lord, Jahveh of hosts; for thy day hath come, the time [when] I visit thee. Ver. 32. And Pride shall stumble and fall, and he shall have none to lift him up; and I will kindle fire in his cities, and it shall devour all that is round about him. Ver. 33. Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, The children of Israel and the children of Judah are oppressed together, and all who led them captive kept hold of them; they refused to let them go. Ver. 34. Their Redeemer is strong; Jahveh of hosts is His name: He shall surely plead their cause, that He may give rest to the earth, and make the inhabitants of Babylon tremble. Ver. 35. A sword [is] against the Chaldeans, saith Jahveh, and against

the inhabitants of Babylon, and against her princes, and against her wise men. Ver. 36. A sword [is] against the liars, and they shall become fools; a sword [is] against her heroes, and they shall be confounded. Ver. 37. A sword is against his horses, and against his chariots, and against all the auxiliaries which [are] in the midst of her, and they shall become women; a sword is against her treasures, and they shall be plundered. Ver. 38. A drought is against her waters, and they shall become dry; for it is a land of graven images, and they are mad upon idols. Ver. 39. Therefore shall wild beasts dwell [there] with jackals, and ostriches shall dwell in it; and it shall no more be inhabited for ever, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. Ver. 40. As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah and their inhabitants, saith Jahveh, no man shall dwell there, nor shall a son of man sojourn in it."

Further description of the execution of God's wrath. Archers shall come and besiege Babylon round about, so that no one shall escape. The summons, "Call archers hither," is a dramatic turn in the thought that the siege is quickly to ensue. *הַשְׁמִיץ* is used here as in li. 27, to summon, call by making proclamation, as in 1 Kings xv. 22. *רַבִּים* does not signify "many," as the ancient versions give it; this agrees neither with the apposition which follows, "all that bend the bow," nor with ver. 26, where all, to the last, are summoned against Babylon. Raschi, followed by all the moderns, more correctly renders it "archers," and derives it from *רָבָה* = *רָבַב*, Gen. xlix. 23, cf. with xxi. 10, like *רָב*, Job xvi. 13. The apposition, "all those who bend the bow," gives additional force. *הָנָה* with accus. means to besiege; cf. Ps. liii. 6. "Let there be no escape" is equivalent to saying, "that none may escape from Babylon." The *Qeri* *לָהּ* after *הָיָה* is unnecessary, and merely taken from ver. 26. On the expression "render to her," etc., cf. xxv. 14; and on "according to all," etc., cf. ver. 15. "For she hath acted presumptuously against Jahveh," by burning His temple, and keeping His people captive: in this way has Babylon offended "against the Holy One of Israel." This epithet of God is taken from Isaiah, cf. li. 5. This presumption must be punished.—Ver. 30 is a repetition of xlix. 26.—Ver. 31. The Lord will now visit the presumption of Babylon. The day

of punishment has arrived. On "behold, I am against thee," cf. xxi. 13. "O arrogance, pride!" is directly addressed to Babylon: in ver. 32 also there is a like designation of Babylon as the personification of pride. On the words "for thy day is come," cf. ver. 27. "And I will kindle a fire," etc., stands as in xxi. 14, where, however, "in its forest" is found instead of "in his cities." The former, indeed, is the reading rendered by the LXX. in this passage; but they have acted quite arbitrarily in this, since Jeremiah, for the most part, varies individual words when he repeats a thought. "In his cities" does not suit very well, inasmuch as the other cities of the country belonged to Babylon, the *μητρόπολις*, as hers, and in li. 43 they are spoken of as hers; cf. xix. 15, xxxiv. 1, xlix. 13, etc.—Vers. 33–40. Further description of the guilt and punishment of Babylon. The presumptuous pride manifests itself in the fact that Israel and Judah still languish in exile. All those who have been seized and carried away they have kept hold of. שְׁבִייהֶם is used as in Isa. xiv. 2. They refuse to let them go, as Pharaoh once did, Ex. vii. 14, 27, ix. 2; cf. Isa. xiv. 17. Jahveh, the deliverer of Israel, cannot endure this. As the strong One, the God of hosts, He will lead them in the fight; as their advocate, He will obtain their dues for them; cf. xxv. 31, Isa. xlix. 25. Dahler, Ewald, and Umbreit follow the Vulgate and the Chaldee in taking לְמַעַן הִרְגִּיעַ וְנִי as synonymous with הִרְגִּיעַ, in the sense of shaking, rousing, a meaning which רָגַע has in the Kal, but which cannot be made out for the Hiphil. In the Hiphil it means to give rest, to come to rest, Deut. xxviii. 65, Isa. xxxiv. 14, lxi. 4, Jer. xxxi. 2; and in the Niphal, to rest, keep quiet, xlvii. 6. This is the meaning given by the Syriac, Raschi, Kimchi, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, etc., and supported by a comparison with Isa. xiv. 7, 3, 16. Babylon has hitherto kept the earth in unrest and anxiety (Isa. xiv. 16); now it is to get rest (Isa. xiv. 3, 7), and trembling or quaking for fear is to come on Babylon. The two verbs, which have similar sounds, express a contrast. On the form of the infinitive הִרְגִּיעַ, cf. Ewald, § 238, *d*. In order to conduct the case of Israel as against Babylon, the Lord (vers. 35–38) calls for the sword against the Chaldeans, the inhabitants of Babylon, on their princes, wise men, heroes, and the whole army, the

treasures and the waters. There is no verb following **הָרָב**, but only the object with **עַל**, the words being put in the form of an exclamation, on account of the passion pervading them. The sword is to come and show its power on the Chaldeans, *i.e.* the population of the rural districts, on the inhabitants of the capital, and further, on the princes and wise men (magicians). A special class of the last named are the **בְּרִיִּים**, properly "babblers," those who talk at random, here "soothsayers" and lying prophets, the astrologers of Babylon; see Delitzsch on Isa. xlv. 25 [Clark's translation, For. Theol. Lib.]. **וְנִאֲמָר**, "And they shall be as fools;" see on v. 4. Further, on the warriors, the horses, and war-chariots, the main strength of the Asiatic conquerors, cf. xlv. 9, Isa. xliii. 17, Ps. xx. 8. **כָּל־הָעָרֶב**, "all the mixed multitude" in the midst of Babylon: these are here the mercenaries and allies (as to this word, see on xxv. 20). These shall become women, *i.e.* weak and incapable of resistance; see Nah. iii. 13. The last objects of vengeance are the treasures and the waters of Babylon. In ver. 38 the Masoretes have pointed **הָרָב**, because **הָרָב**, "sword," seemed to be inapplicable to the waters. But indeed neither does the sword, in the proper sense of the word, well apply to treasures; it rather stands, by synecdoche, for war. In this improper meaning it might also be used with reference to the waters, in so far as the canals and watercourses, on which the fertility of Babylonia depended, were destroyed by war. Hence many expositors would read **הָרָב** here also, and attribute the employment of this word to the rhetorical power connected with enumeration. Others are of opinion that **הָרָב** may also mean aridity, drought, in Deut. xxviii. 22; but the assumption is erroneous, and cannot be confirmed by that passage. Neither can it be denied, that to confine the reference of the expression "her waters" to the canals and artificial watercourses of Babylonia seems unnatural. All these received their water from the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, the volume of water in which remained uninfluenced by war. We therefore follow Hitzig in holding that **הָרָב** is the correct punctuation; in the transition from **הָרָב** into **הָרָב**, with its similar sound, we neither perceive any injury done to rhetorical force, derived from an enumeration of objects, nor any need for referring the following clause, which

assigns the reason merely to such rhetorical considerations as Graf does. In the drying up of the water there is no allusion to the diversion of the Euphrates, by which Cyrus opened up for himself an entrance into the city (Herodotus, i. 190); the drying up is merely appointed by God, as a consequence of continued drought, for the purpose of destroying the land. Hitzig's opinion neither suits the context, nor can be justified otherwise; he holds that water is the emblem of the sea of nations, the surging multitude of people in the streets of the city, and he refers for proof to li. 36 and Isa. xxi. 1 (!). The clauses in ver. 38b, which assign the reason, refer to the whole threatening, vers. 35-38a. Babylon is to be destroyed, with its inhabitants and all its means of help, because it is a land of idols (cf. li. 52 and Isa. xxi. 9), and its inhabitants suffer themselves to be befooled by false gods. לִּיהְוֹת כְּחֵלֶם means to act or behave like a madman, rave, xxv. 16; here, to let oneself be deprived of reason, not (as Graf thinks) to fall into a sacred frenzy. אִיִּים, terrors, Ps. lxxxviii. 16; here, objects of fear and horror, i.e. idols.—Ver. 39. Therefore shall Babylon become an eternal waste, where none but beasts of the desert find shelter, where no human being dwells. This threat is formed out of reminiscences from Isa. xiii. 20-22 and xxxiv. 14. For יָיִם and אִיִּים, see on Isa. xxxiv. 14; for בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה, see on Isa. xiii. 21. The second half of the verse agrees word for word with Isa. xiii. 20a.—Ver. 40 is a repetition of xlix. 18, and in its first half is founded on Isa. xiii. 19.

Ver. 41-li. 4. *The agents who execute the judgment.*—Ver. 41. "Behold, a people shall come from the north, and a great nation, and many kings shall be raised up from the most distant sides of the earth. Ver. 42. Bow and javelin shall they seize: they are cruel, and will not pity; their voice shall sound like the sea, and they shall ride upon horses, [each one] arrayed like a man for the battle, against thee, O daughter of Babylon. Ver. 43. The king of Babylon hath heard the report concerning them, and his hands have fallen down: distress hath seized him, writhing pain, like [that of] the woman in childbirth. Ver. 44. Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the glory of Jordan to a habitation of rock; but in a moment will I make them run away from her, and will set

over her him who is chosen : for who is like me, and who will appoint me a time [to plead my defence]? and what shepherd [is there] that will stand before me? Ver. 45. Therefore hear ye the counsel of Jahveh which He hath taken against Babylon, and His purposes which He hath purposed against the land of the Chaldeans : Assuredly they shall drag them away, the smallest of the flock ; assuredly [their] habitation shall be astonished at them. Ver. 46. At the cry, ' Babylon is taken,' the earth is shaken, and a cry [for help] is heard among the nations.

Chap. li. ver. 1. " Thus saith Jahveh : Behold, I will stir up against Babylon, and against the inhabitants of [as it were] the heart of mine opponents, the spirit of a destroyer. Ver. 2. And I will send against Babylon strangers, and they shall winnow her, and empty her land, because they are against her round about in a day of evil. Ver. 3. Against [him who] bends let the bender bend his bow, and against [him who] lifts up himself in his coat of mail: and do not spare her young men; devote to destruction all her host, Ver. 4. That slain ones may fall in the land of the Chaldeans, and those that are pierced through in her streets."

The greater portion of this strophe consists of quotations from former utterances. Vers. 41-43 are taken from vi. 22-24, and vers. 44-46 from xlix. 19-21; here they are applied to Babylon. What is said in vi. 22-24 concerning the enemy out of the north who will devastate Judah, is here transferred to the enemy that is to destroy Babylon. For this purpose, after the words "and a great nation," are added "and many kings," in order to set forth the hostile army advancing against Babylon as one composed of many nations; and in consequence of this extension of the subject, the verb *עָרִי* is used in the plural, and *אֶבְרִי הָיָא* is changed into *אֶבְרִי חָפָה*. Moreover, the mention of the "daughter of Babylon" instead of the "daughter of Zion" is attended by a change from the directly communicative form of address in the first person ("We have heard," etc., ver. 43) into the third person ("The king of Babylon hath heard," etc.). In applying the expressions used in xlix. 19-21 regarding the instrument chosen for the destruction of Edom, to the instrument selected against Babylon (vers. 44-46), the names "Babylon" and "the land

of the Chaldeans" are substituted for "Edom" and "the inhabitants of Teman" (xlix. 20); but beyond this, only the last verse is changed, in accordance with the change of circumstances. The thought that, in consequence of the fall of Edom, the earth trembles, and Edom's cry of anguish is heard on the Red Sea, is intensified thus: by the sound or cry, "Babylon is taken," the earth is shaken, and a cry is heard among the nations. The conquest of Babylon, the mistress of the world, puts the whole world in anxiety and fear, while the effects of Edom's fall extend only to the Red Sea. The *Kethib* אררם, ver. 44, seems to come from the verb רָצַץ, in the sense of pushing, so that it is not a mere error in transcription for אררם. Moreover, such changes made on former utterances, when they are repeated and applied to Babylon, show that these verses are not glosses which a reader has written on the margin, and a later copyist inserted into the text, but that Jeremiah himself has applied these earlier words in his address against Babylon. The two passages are not merely quite appropriately arranged beside one another, but even present in their connection a thought which has not hitherto been met with in the address against Babylon, and which does not recur afterwards. The enemy that is to conquer Babylon is certainly pointed out, so early as ver. 9, as an assemblage of great nations out of the north, but not more particularly characterized there; but the nations that are to constitute the hostile army are not further designated till li. 11 and 27 ff. The second quotation, vers. 44-46, adds the new thought that the appearance of this enemy against Babylon is owing to a decree of the Lord, the execution of which no man can prevent, because there is none like Jahveh. The figurative description of the enemy as a lion coming up out of the thicket of reeds at the Jordan, frightening the herd feeding on their pasture-ground, and carrying off the weakly sheep, is appropriate both to Nebuchadnezzar's expedition against Edom, and to the invasion of Babylonia by the Medes and their allies, for the purpose of laying waste the country of the Chaldeans, smiting the inhabitants of Babylon, and conquering it. Even the expression נִיחַ אֵינָהּ permits of being applied to Babylonia, which was protected by its canal system and the strong walls of its capital.

In li. 1-4, the terrible character of the hostile nation is further described. Against Babylon and the inhabitants of Chaldea, God stirs up the "spirit of a destroyer," viz. a savage nation that will massacre the Chaldeans without pity. לֵב קָמִי, lit. "the heart of mine adversaries," is the word בְּשָׂרִים, changed, according to the canon *Atbash* (see on xxv. 26), for the purpose of obtaining the important meaning that Chaldea is the centre of God's enemies. This explanation of the name involves the thought that all enmity against God the Lord culminates in Babylon; on the basis of this representation Babylon is called, Rev. xvii. 5, "the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth." רִיחַ בְּשָׂחִית does not mean *καύσωνα διαφθείροντα* (LXX.), *ventum pestilentem* (Vulgate), "a sharp wind" (Luther), nor, as it is usually translated, "a destroying wind;" for הָעֵר רִיחַ is nowhere used of the rousing of a wind, but everywhere means "to rouse the spirit of any one," to stir him up to an undertaking; cf. Hag. i. 14, 1 Chron. v. 56, 2 Chron. xxi. 16, and xxxvi. 22. Jeremiah also employs it thus in ver. 11, and this meaning is quite suitable here also. בְּשָׂחִית is a substantive, as in iv. 7: "the spirit of a destroyer." The figure of winnowing, which follows in ver. 2, does not by any means necessarily require the meaning "wind," because the figure contained in the word זָרָה was first called forth by the employment of זָרִים, "strangers" = barbarians. The sending of the זָרִים to Babylon has no connection with the figure of the wind, and it even remains a question whether זָרָה really means here to winnow, because the word is often used of the scattering of a nation, without any reference to the figure of winnowing; cf. Lev. xxvi. 33, Ezek. v. 10, xii. 15, etc., also Jer. xlix. 32, 36. However, this thought is suggested by what follows, "they empty her hand," although the clause which assigns the reason, "because they are against her round about" (cf. iv. 17), does not correspond with this figure, but merely declares that the enemies which attack Babylon on every side disperse its inhabitants and empty the land.—Ver. 3. These strangers shall kill, without sparing, every warrior of Babylon, and annihilate its whole military forces. In the first half of the verse the reading is doubtful, since the Masoretes would have the second זָרִי (*Qeri*) expunged, probably because (as Böttcher,

N. Aehrenl. ii. S. 166, supposes) they considered it merely a repetition. The meaning is not thereby changed. According to the *Qeri*, we would require to translate, "against [him who] bends [the bow, may there be, or come], one who bends his bow;" according to the *Kethib*, "against [him who] bends [the bow], may he who bends his bow bend it." As to אֶל-יָרִיבֶיךָ with אֲשֶׁר omitted, cf. 1 Chron. xv. 12, 2 Chron. i. 4, and Ewald, § 333, b. יִהְיֶה בָּם stands in apposition to אֶל-יָרִיבֶיךָ; יִהְיֶה is the Hithpael from עָלָה, and means to raise oneself: it is to be taken as the shortened form of the imperfect passive; cf. Gesenius, § 128, Rem. 2. Certainly, the Hithpael of עָלָה occurs nowhere else, but it is quite appropriate here; so that it is unnecessary, with Hitzig, to adduce, for explanation, the Arabic تَلَعَ, to stretch the head out of anything, or, with Ewald, to derive the form from the Aramaic עָלָה, Arabic غَلَ, to thrust in. Neither is there any foundation for the remark, that the abbreviated form of the imperfect would be admissible only if אֶל were found instead of אֲשֶׁר. Indeed, the Syriac, Targum, and Vulgate have actually read and rendered from אֶל, which several codices also present, "Let him not bend his bow, nor stretch himself in his coat of mail." But by this reading the first half of the verse is put in contradiction to the second; and this contradiction is not removed by the supposition of J. D. Michaelis and Hitzig, who refer these clauses to the Chaldeans, and find the thought expressed in them, that the Chaldeans, through loss of courage, cannot set themselves for defence. For, in that case, we would be obliged, with Hitzig, to explain as spurious the words that follow, "and spare ye not her young men;" but for this there is no valid reason. As to הַחֲרִיבוּ, cf. l. 21, 26. On ver. 4, cf. l. 30 and xlix. 26. The suffix in "her streets" refers to Babylon.

Vers. 5-14. Because of the righteousness of Israel, Babylon is to be irretrievably destroyed. Ver. 5. "For Israel is not forsaken, nor Judah of his God, of Jahveh of hosts; but their land is full of guilt because of the Holy One of Israel. Ver. 6. Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and save ye every one his life: do not perish for her iniquity; because it is a time of vengeance for Jahveh; He renders to her what she has committed. Ver. 7. Babylon [was] a golden cup in the hand

of Jahveh, that intoxicated all the earth. Nations have drunk of her wine, therefore nations are mad. Ver. 8. Babylon has fallen suddenly and been broken: howl over her: take balsam for her pain; perhaps she may be healed. Ver. 9. 'We have tried to heal Babylon, but she is not healed. Leave her, and let us go each one to his own land; for her judgment reaches unto heaven, and is lifted up to the clouds.' Ver. 10. Jahveh hath brought forth our righteousnesses; come, and let us declare in Zion the doing of Jahveh our God. Ver. 11. Sharpen the arrow, fill the shields: Jahveh hath roused the spirit of the kings of Media; for His counsel is against Babylon, to destroy it; because it is the vengeance of Jahveh, the vengeance of His temple. Ver. 12. Against the walls of Babylon raise a standard; strengthen the watch, set watchmen, prepare the ambushes: for Jahveh hath both devised and done what He spake against the inhabitants of Babylon. Ver. 13. O thou that dwellest upon many waters, rich in treasures, thine end hath come, the measure of thy gain. Ver. 14. Jahveh of hosts hath sworn by Himself, 'Surely I have filled thee with men, as [with] the locust; and they shall raise a shout of joy against thee.'

The offence of Babylon against the Holy One of Israel demands its destruction. In ver. 5, two reasons are given for God's determination to destroy Babylon. The Lord is induced to this (1) by His relation to Israel and Judah, whom Babylon will not let go; (2) by the grave offence of Babylon. Israel is אֵלֶּיךָ נָשָׂא, "not widowed," forsaken by his God; i.e., Jahveh, the God of hosts, has not rejected His people for ever, so as not to trouble Himself any more about them; cf. Isa. i. 1, liv. 4 ff. "Their land"—the land of the Chaldeans—"is full of guilt before the Holy One of Israel," partly through their relation to Israel (l. 21), partly through their idolatry (l. 2, 38). בְּ does not mean here "on the side of," but "on account of," because they do not acknowledge Jahveh as the Holy One of Israel.—Ver. 6. In order to escape the punishment that is to fall on the guilt-laden city, the Israelites living in Babylon must flee to save their lives; cf. l. 8, and on the mode of expression, xlvi. 6. "Be not destroyed בְּ עֲוֹנֶיהָ, for her iniquity," (בְּ of price), not "in her guilt" = punishment for sin (Graf), or "through her guilt" (Nägelsbach). Both of these last two

views are against the context; for the idea is, that Israel must flee to save his life, and that he too may not atone for the guilt of Babylon. On the expression, "it is a time of vengeance," etc., cf. l. 15, Isa. xxxiv. 8. זֶמַן מִשְׁפָּל, as in Isa. lix. 18, lxvi. 6. זֶמַן, *prop.* accomplishment, actual proof, is used both of human and divine doing and working, of human misdeeds and divine recompense. הוּא is used emphatically.—Ver. 7 f. Babylon, certainly, in its former power and greatness, was a golden goblet, by means of which Jahveh presented to the nations the wine of His wrath, and intoxicated them; but now it is fallen, and broken without remedy. Isa. xxi. 9 finds an echo in the expression, "Babylon is fallen." The figure of the cup refers us back to xxv. 15 ff., where, however, it is applied in a different way. The cup is said to be of gold, in order to point out the splendour and glory of Nebuchadnezzar's dominion. "In the hand of Jahveh," i.e. used by Him as His instrument for pouring out His wrath to the nations. But Babylon has suddenly fallen and been broken in pieces. At this point Jeremiah drops the figure of the cup, for a golden cup does not break when it falls. The fall is so terrible, that the nations in Babylon are summoned to participate in the lamentation, and to lend their aid in repairing her injuries. But they answer that their attempts to heal her are fruitless. (On וַיִּשָּׁא, cf. xlv. 11 and viii. 22.) The terrible and irreparable character of the fall is thus expressed in a dramatic manner. We must neither think of the allies and mercenaries as those who are addressed (Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig), nor merely the Israelites who had been delivered from Babylon (Umbreit). The latter view is opposed by the words which follow, "Let every one go to his own country;" this points to men out of different lands. And the former assumption is opposed by the consideration that not merely the mercenaries, but also the allies are to be viewed as fallen and ruined together with Babylon, and that Babylon, which had subdued all the nations, has no allies, according to the general way in which the prophet views these things. Those addressed are rather the nations that had been vanquished by Babylon and detained in the city, of which Israel was one. Inasmuch as these were the servants of Babylon, and as such bound to pay her service,

they are to heal Babylon; and because the attempts to heal her prove fruitless, they are to leave the ruined city. They answer this summons by the resolve, "We will go every one to his own land;" cf. l. 8, 16. The motive for this resolution, "for her guilt reaches up to heaven," certainly shows that it is Israelites who are speaking, because it is only they who form their opinions in such a way; but they speak in the name of all the strangers who are in Babylon. מִשְׁפָּט is the matter upon which judgment is passed, i.e. the transgression, the guilt, analogous to מִשְׁפָּט דָּמִים, Ezek. vii. 23, and מִשְׁפָּט מוֹת, Deut. xix. 6, xxi. 22; it does not mean the punishment adjudged, of which we cannot say that it reaches up to heaven. On this expression, cf. Ps. lvii. 11, cviii. 5. Through the fall of Babylon, the Lord has made manifest the righteousness of Israel; the redeemed ones are to proclaim this in Zion. יְדִקוּת does not mean "righteous acts" (Judg. v. 11), but proofs of the righteousness of Israel as opposed to Babylon, which righteousness Babylon, through tyrannical oppression of the people that had been delivered up to it merely for chastisement, has failed to perceive, and which, so long as the Lord did not take His people to Himself again in a visible manner, was hidden from the world; cf. Ps. xxxvii. 6.—Ver. 11. The instruments which the Lord employs in bringing about the fall of Babylon are the kings of the Medes, i.e. the provincial governors, or heads of the separate provinces into which the Medes in ancient times were divided, until, after revolting from the Assyrians in the year 714 B.C., they put themselves under a common head, in order to assert their independence, and chose Dejokes as their monarch. See Spiegel's *Erân* (1863, S. 308 ff.), and Delitzsch on Isa. xiii. 17, who rightly remarks that in Isa. xiii. 17, as well as here, מֶדֶי is a general designation for the Aryan tribes of Iran, taken from the most important and influential nation. In xxi. 2, Isaiah mentions Elam in the first series, along with Media, as a conqueror of Babylon; and the Babylonian kingdom was destroyed by Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian. But the Persians are first named in the Old Testament by Ezekiel and Daniel, while the name "Elam" as a province of the Persian kingdom is gradually lost, from the times of Cyrus onwards, in that of the "Persians." The princes of Media

are to prepare themselves for besieging and conquering Babylon. הָבֵר (from בָּרַר), prop. to polish, cleanse from dirt and rust. The arrows are thereby sharpened; cf. Isa. xlix. 2. מִלְּאֵי הַשָּׁלֵטִים is variously explained. The meaning of "shields" is that best established for שָׁלֵטִים (see on 2 Sam. viii. 7); while the meaning of "armour equipment," which is defended by Thenius, is neither very suitable for 2 Sam. viii. 7 nor for 2 Kings xi. 10 and Cant. iv. 4. There is not the least foundation for the meaning "quiver," which is assumed merely for this passage. מִלְּאֵי הַשָּׁלֵטִים is to be explained in accordance with the analogous expression in 2 Kings ix. 24, מִלְּאֵי יָדוֹ בְּקֶשֶׁת, "he filled his hand with the bow," i.e. seized the bow. "Fill the shields" with your bodies, or with your arms, since we put these among the straps of the shields. Those addressed are the kings of the Medes, whose spirit God has stirred up to make war against Babylon; for it is against her that His mind or plan is directed. As to the expression, "for it is the vengeance of Jahveh," etc., cf. l. 15, 28. The attack is to be directed against the walls of Babylon. נֹסֶה, "standard," is the military sign carried before the army, in order to show them the direction they are to take, and the point of attack. מִשְׁמָר, "watch," is the force besieging the city; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 16. "Make the watch strong," i.e. enclose the city firmly. This is more exactly specified in the following clauses. "Set watches," not as a guard for their own camp (Hitzig), but against the city, in order to maintain a close siege. "Place the ambushes," that they may peep into the city whenever a sally is made by the besieged; cf. Josh. viii. 14 ff., Judg. xx. 33 ff. "For what Jahveh hath determined, He will also perform." כֵּן—כֵּן, "as well as:" He has resolved as well as done, i.e. as He has resolved, He also executes.—Ver. 13. All the supports of the Babylonian power, its strong position on the Euphrates, and its treasures, which furnished the means for erecting strong fortifications, cannot avert the ruin decreed by God. As to the form שְׁכַנְתִּי, see on xxii. 23. It is the city with its inhabitants that is addressed, personified as a virgin or daughter. The many waters on which Babylon dwells are the Euphrates, with the canals, trenches, dykes, and marshes which surrounded Babylon, and afforded her a

strong protection against hostile attacks, but at the same time contributed to increase the wealth of the country and the capital.¹ The great riches, however, by which Babylon became *גְּדֹלָהּ בְּחַיִּים*, "great in treasures," so that Æschylus (*Pers.* 52) calls it *Βαβυλῶν ἡ πολύχρυσος*, were derived from the enormous spoils which Nebuchadnezzar brought to it, partly from Nineveh, partly from Jerusalem, and from the tribute paid by Syria and the wealthy commercial cities of Phœnicia. "Thine end is come;" cf. Gen. vi. 13. *מִלֵּךְ מִלֵּךְ*, "the ell (*i.e.* the measure) of thy gain," *i.e.* the limit put to thine unjust gain. The words are connected with "thine end is come" by zeugma. This explanation is simpler than the interpretation adopted by Venema, Eichhorn, and Maurer, from the Vulgate *pedalis præcisionis tuæ*, viz. "the ell of cutting thee off." Böttcher (*Proben*, S. 289, note *m*) seeks to vindicate the rendering in the following paraphrase: "The ell at which thou shalt be cut off, like something woven or spun, when it has reached the destined number of ells." According to this view, "ell" would stand for the complete number of the ells determined on; but there is no consideration of the question whether *מִלֵּךְ*, "to cut off the thread of life," Isa. xxxviii. 12, can be applied to a city. —Ver. 14. The Lord announces destruction to Babylon with a solemn oath. Many take *אִם כֵּן* in the sense of *אִם כֵּן* in oaths: "truly, certainly." But this use of the expression is neither fully established, nor suitable in this connection. In 2 Sam. xv. 21 (the only passage that can be cited in its behalf), the meaning "only" gives good enough sense. Ewald (§ 356, *b*) wrongly adduces 2 Kings v. 20 in support of the above meaning, and three lines below he attributes the signi-

¹ Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth. i.* S. 846, remarks: "The fertility of the soil of Babylon—the produce of the fields—depended on the inundations of the Euphrates. By means of an extensive system of dykes, canals, and river-walls, Nebuchadnezzar succeeded not only in conducting the water of the Euphrates to every point in the plain of Babylon, but also in averting the formation of marshes and the occurrence of floods (which were not rare), as well as regulating the inundation." The purpose for which these water-works were constructed, was "first of all, irrigation and navigation; but they at the same time afforded strong lines of defence against the foe" (Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assy. u. Bab.* S. 219). See details regarding these magnificent works in Duncker, S. 845 ff.; Niebuhr, S. 218 ff.

fication "although" to the passage now before us. Moreover, the asseveration, "Verily I have filled thee with men as with locusts, and they shall sing the Hedad over thee," can have a suitable meaning only if we take "I have filled thee" prophetically, and understand the filling with men as referring to the enemy, when the city has been reduced (Hitzig). But to fill a city with men hardly means quite the same as to put a host of enemies in it. **כִּי** serves merely to introduce the oath, and **אֲנִי** means "although,"—as, for instance, in Job ix. 15. The meaning is not, "When I filled thee with men, as with locusts, the only result was, that a more abundant wine-pressing could be obtained" (Nägelsbach), for this thought is foreign to the context; the meaning rather is, "Even the countless multitudes of men in Babylon will not avail it" (Ewald), will not keep it from ruin. **הַיָּיִר**, the song sung at the pressing of wine, is, from the nature of the case, the battle-song; see on xxv. 30.

Vers. 15–26. The omnipotence of the Lord and Creator of the whole world will destroy the idols of Babylon, and break the mighty kingdom that rules the world. Ver. 15. "He who made the earth by His strength, establishing the world by His wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by His understanding; Ver. 16. When, thundering, He makes a roaring sound of water in the heavens, He causes clouds to ascend from the end of the earth, makes lightnings for the rain, and brings forth the wind out of His treasures. Ver. 17. Every man without knowledge is brutish; every goldsmith is ashamed because of the image: for his molten work is a lie, and there is no spirit in them. Ver. 18. They are vanity, a work of mockery; in their time of visitation they perish. Ver. 19. The Portion of Jacob is not like these; for He is the framer of all, and of the tribe of his inheritance: Jahveh of hosts is His name. Ver. 20. Thou art a hammer to me, weapons of war; and with thee I will break nations in pieces, and with thee destroy kingdoms. Ver. 21. And with thee I will break in pieces the horse and his rider, and with thee I will break in pieces the chariot and its rider. Ver. 22. And with thee I will break in pieces man and woman, and with thee I will break in pieces old and young, and with thee I will break in pieces young man and maiden. Ver. 23. And with thee I will break in pieces the shepherd and

his flock, and with thee I will break in pieces the husbandman and his yoke [of oxen], and with thee I will break in pieces governors and deputy-governors. Ver. 24. And I will recompense to Babylon, and to all the inhabitants of Chaldea, all their evil which they have done in Zion before your eyes, saith Jahveh. Ver. 25. Behold, I am against thee, O mountain of destruction, saith Jahveh, that destroyed all the earth; and I will stretch out my hand against thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and make thee a burnt mountain, Ver. 26. So that they shall not take from thee a stone for a corner, or a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolations for ever, saith Jahveh."

In order to establish, against all doubt, the fall of Babylon that has been announced under solemn oath, Jeremiah, in vers. 15-19, repeats a passage from the address in x. 12-16, in which he holds up before the people, by way of warning, the almighty power of the living God, and the destruction of the idols at the time of the judgment. In chap. x. he wished, by means of this announcement, to combat the fears of the idolatrous people for the power of the heathen gods; here he seeks by the same means to destroy the confidence of the Chaldeans in their gods, and to state that all idols will be destroyed before the almighty power of the Creator and Ruler of the whole world on the day of judgment, and Israel shall then learn that He who formed the universe will show Himself, by the fall of Babylon, as the Creator of Israel. The whole passage is repeated *verbatim*, on till a change made in ver. 19, where **יִשְׂרָאֵל** is omitted before **שָׁכֶנְךָ נְהַלְתָּ**, and these words are connected with what precedes: "He is the former of all, and of the tribe which belongs to Him as His own property," *i.e.* Israel. This alteration is not to be put to the account of a copyist, who omitted the word "Israel" through an oversight, but is due to Jeremiah: there was no need here, as in chap. x., for bringing into special prominence the relation of Israel to his God.¹ As to the rest, see

¹ In chap. x. 16 the LXX. have taken no account either of **יִשְׂרָאֵל** or **שָׁכֶנְךָ**. Hence Movers, Hitzig, and Ewald infer that these words have found their way into the text as a gloss suggested by Deut. xxxii. 9, and should be deleted. But in this they are wrong. The omission of the two words by the LXX. is a result of the erroneous translation there given of the first clause

the exposition of x. 12-16. In vers. 20-26 the destruction of Babylon and its power is further carried out in two figures. In vers. 20-24 Babylon is compared to a hammer, which God uses for the purpose of beating to pieces nations and kingdoms, with their forces and their inhabitants, but on which He will afterwards requite the evil done to Zion. מַרְבֵּץ is equivalent to מַרְבֵּץ , Prov. xxv. 18, one who breaks in pieces; hence a battle-hammer. Hitzig takes מַרְבֵּץ to be a singular, "formed thus in order to avoid an accumulation of *i* sounds (cf. מַרְבֵּץ with מַרְבֵּץ)." This is possible, but neither necessary nor probable. The plural, "weapons of war," is added, because the battle-hammer is considered as including all weapons of war. By the hammer, Ewald understands "the true Israel;" Hitzig, Cyrus, the destroyer of Babylon; Nägelsbach, an ideal person. These three views are based on the fact that the operation performed by means of the hammer (breaking to pieces) is marked by perfects with a relative ($\text{וְהָיָה$), which is also true of the retribution to be made on Babylon: from this it is inferred that the breaking with the hammer, as well as the retribution, is still future, and that the meaning is, "When I hammer in this way with thee, I will requite Babylon" (Hitzig); while Ewald concludes from nothing but the context that the words refer to Israel. But none of these reasons is decisive, nor any of the three views tenable. The context gives decided support to the opinion that in ver. 20 ff. it is Babylon that is addressed, just as in ver. 13 f. and ver. 25; a further proof is, that as early as chap. i. 23, Babylon is called "the hammer of the whole earth." Only very weighty reasons, then, could induce us to refer the same figure, as used here, to another nation. The word מַרְבֵּץ (i. 23), "hammer, smith's hammer" (Isa. xli. 7), is not essentially different from מַרְבֵּץ , which is used here.

of the verse. This the LXX. have rendered $\text{οὐ τοιαύτη μερίς τῇ Ἰακώβ}$, instead of $\text{οὐ τοιαύτη ἡ μερίς τοῦ Ἰακώβ}$. Having done so, it was impossible for them to continue, $\text{ὅτι ὁ πλάσας τὰ πάντα αὐτός}$, because they could not predicate this of μερίς , which they evidently did not take to mean God. And if they were to connect וְהָיָה with what followed, they were bound to omit the two words, for it would never have done to take together $\text{וְהָיָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל שְׂבַם נִחְלָתוֹ}$. They therefore simply omitted the troublesome words, and went on to translate: $\text{ὅτι ὁ πλάσας τὰ πάντα αὐτός κληρονομία αὐτοῦ}$. Cf. Nägelsbach, *Jeremia u. Babylon*, S. 94.

The figure is quite inapplicable to Israel, because "Israel is certainly to be delivered through the destruction of Babylon, but is not to be himself the instrument of the destruction" (Graf). Finally, the employment of the perfect with ו relative, both in connection with the shattering to pieces which God accomplishes with (by means of) Babylon, and also the retribution He will execute on Babylon, is explained by the fact, that just as, in prophetic vision, what Babylon does to the nations, and what happens to it, was not separated into two acts, distinct from one another, but appeared as one continuous whole, so also the work of Babylon as the instrument of destruction was not yet finished, but had only begun, and still continuing, was partly future, like the retribution which it was to receive for its offence against Zion; just as in ver. 13 Babylon is viewed as then still in the active exercise of its power; and the purpose for which God employs it, as well as the fate that is to befall it, is presented together in something like this manner: "O Babylon, who art my hammer with which I break peoples and kingdoms in pieces, thee will I requite!" There is separate mention made of the instances of breaking, in a long enumeration, which becomes tedious through the constant repetition of the verb—something like the enumeration in chap. l. 35-38, where, however, the constant repetition of הָרַב gives great emphasis to the address. First comes the general designation, nations and kingdoms; then military forces; then (ver. 25) the inhabitants of the kingdoms, arranged, as in Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23, according to sex, age, and class, labouring classes (shepherds, and husbandmen with their cattle); and lastly dignitaries, satraps and lieutenant-governors, $\text{בְּתוֹת וְסִנְיִים}$, as in Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23. פָּחָה probably comes from the Zendic *pavan* (root *pa*), of which a dialectic form is *pagvan*, "upholder of government;" see on Hag. i. 1. סִנְיָן corresponds to the *ζωγάνης* of the Athenians, "lieutenant-governor;" but it is not much that has hitherto been ascertained with regard to this office; see Delitzsch on Isa. xli. 25 [Clark's translation]. On $\text{וּשְׁלֹכְתִי וְנִי}$, cf. ver. 6 and l. 15, 29; "before your eyes," towards the end of this verse, belongs to this verb in the main clause. This retribution is set forth in ver. 25 f. under a new figure. Babylon is called the "mountain of destruction;" this name is imme-

diately explained by the predicate, "that destroys the whole earth," brings destruction on it. The name הַר הַמְּשֻׁחִית is applied in 2 Kings xxiii. 13 to the Mount of Olives, or its southern summit, the so-called *mons offensioris vel scandalis* of ecclesiastical tradition, on which Solomon had erected idolatrous altars for his foreign wives; the name refers to the pernicious influence thereby exercised on the religious life of Israel. In this verse, "destruction" is used in a comprehensive sense of the physical and moral ruin which Babylon brought on the nations. Babylon is a "mountain," as being a powerful kingdom, supereminent above others; whether there is also a reference in the title to its lofty buildings (C. B. Michaelis) seems doubtful. "I will roll thee down from the rocks," *de petris, in quarum fastigiis hucusque eminuisti. Non efferes te amplius super alia regna* (C. B. Mich.). To this Hitzig adds, by way of explanation: "The summit of the mountain is sometimes changed into the very position occupied by the crater." From what follows, "I will make thee a mountain of burning," *i.e.* either a burning, or burnt, burnt-out mountain, modern expositors infer, with J. D. Michaelis, that the prophet has before his mind a volcano in active eruption, "for no other kind of mountains could devastate countries; it is just volcanoes which have been hollowed out by fire that fall in, or, it may be, tumble down into the valley below, scattering their constituent elements here and there; the stones of such mountains, too, are commonly so much broken and burnt, that they are of no use for building" (Hitzig). Of the above remarks this much is correct, that the words, "I will make thee a burning mountain," are founded on the conception of a volcano; any more extended application, however, of the figure to the whole verse is unwarranted. The clause, "I will roll thee down from the rocks," cannot possibly be applied to the action of a volcano in eruption (though Nägelsbach does so apply it), unless we are ready to impute to the prophet a false notion regarding the eruptions of volcanoes. By the eruption, a mountain is not loosened from the rock on which it rests, and hurled down into the valleys round about; it is only the heart of the mountain, or the rocks on which its summit rests, that seem to be vomited out of it. Besides, the notion that there is a representation of

an active volcano in the first clauses of the verse, is disproved by the very fact that the mountain, Babylon, does not bring ruin on the earth, as one that is burning; it is not to become such until after it has been rolled down from the rocks on which it rests. The laying waste of the countries is not ascribed to the fire that issues from the mountain, but the mountain begins to burn only after it has been rolled down from its rocks. Babylon, as a kingdom and city, is called a mountain, because it mightily surpassed and held sway over them; cf. Isa. ii. 14. It brings ruin on the whole earth by subjugation of the nations and devastation of the countries. The mountain rests on rocks, *i.e.* its power has a foundation as firm as a rock, until the Lord rolls it down from its height, and burns the strong mountain, making it like an extinct volcano, the stones of which, having been rendered vitreous by the fire, no longer furnish material that can be employed for the foundation of new buildings. "A corner-stone," etc., is explained by C. B. Michaelis, after the Chaldee, Kimchi, and others, to mean, "no one will appoint a king or a prince any more out of the stock of the Chaldeans." This is against the context, according to which the point treated of is, not the fall of the kingdom in or of Babylon, but the destruction of Babylon as a city and kingdom. Hitzig and Graf, accordingly, take the meaning to be this: Not a stone of the city will be used for a new building,—no one will any more build for himself among their ruins, and out of the material there. The corner-stone and the foundation (it is further asserted) are mentioned by way of example, not because particularly large and good stones are needed for these parts, but because every house begins with them. But though the following clause, "thou shalt be an everlasting desolation," contains this idea, yet this interpretation neither exhausts nor gives a generally correct view of the meaning of the words, "no one will take from thee a corner-stone or a foundation-stone." The burning of the mountain signifies not merely that Babylon was to be burned to ashes, but that her sway over the world was to be quite at an end; this was only to come about when the city was burnt. When no stone of any value for a new building is to be left after this conflagration, this is equivalent to saying that nothing will be left of the empire that has been destroyed,

which would be of any use in the foundation of another state. The last clause also ("for thou shalt be," etc.) refers to more than the destruction of the city of Babylon. This is seen even in the fundamental passage, xxv. 12; where the same threat is uttered against the land of the Chaldeans.

Vers. 27-37. A summons addressed to the nations to fight against Babylon, in order that, by reducing the city, vengeance may be taken for the offence committed against Israel by Babylon. Ver. 27. "Lift up a standard on the earth, sound a trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz against her; appoint troops against her; bring up horses like horrid locusts. Ver. 28. Prepare nations against her, the kings of the Medes and her governors, and all her lieutenant-governors, and all the land of his dominion. Ver. 29. Then the earth quakes and trembles: for the purposes of Jahveh against Babylon are being performed, to make the land of Babylon a desolation, without an inhabitant. Ver. 30. The heroes of Babylon have ceased to fight, they sit in the strongholds: their strength is dried up; they have become women; they have set her habitations on fire; her bars are broken. Ver. 31. One runner runs against another, and one messenger against another, to tell the king of Babylon that his city is wholly taken. Ver. 32. And the crossing-places have been seized, and the marshes have they burned up with fire, and the men of war are confounded. Ver. 33. For thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel: The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor at the time when it is trodden; yet a little, and the time of harvest will come to her. Ver. 34. Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured us, and ground us down; he hath set us down [like] an empty vessel, he hath swallowed us like a dragon, he hath filled his belly with my dainties; he hath thrust me out. Ver. 35. Let the inhabitress of Zion say, 'My wrong and my flesh [be] upon Babylon;' and let Jerusalem say, 'My blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea.' Ver. 36. Therefore thus saith Jahveh: Behold, I will plead thy cause, and execute vengeance for thee; and I will dry up her sea, and make her fountain dry. Ver. 37. And Babylon shall become heaps [of ruins], a dwelling-place

of dragons, an astonishment, and a hissing, without an inhabitant."

The lifting up of the standard (ver. 27) serves as a signal for the nations to assemble for the struggle against Babylon. **בְּאֶרֶץ** does not mean "in the land," but, as the parallel "among the nations" shows, "on the earth." **קִדְּשֵׁהָ**, "consecrate [prepare] against her (Babylon) nations" for the war; cf. vi. 4, xxii. 7. **הַשְׁמִיעֵהָ**, as in i. 29. The kingdoms summoned are: *Ararat*, i.e. the middle (or eastern) province of Armenia, in the plain of Araxes, which Moses of Chorene calls Arairad, Araratia (see on Gen. viii. 4); *Minni*, which, according to the Syriac and Chaldee, is also a name of Armenia, probably its western province (see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, p. 807); and *Ashkenaz*, which the Jews take to be Germany, although only this much is certain, that it is a province in the neighbourhood of Armenia. For *Askén* is an Armenian proper name, and *az* an Armenian termination; cf. Lagarde's *Gesammelte Abhandl.* S. 254, and Delitzsch on Gen. x. 3, 4th ed. **בְּקִרְיָהּ**, "appoint, order against her." **בְּפָסָר** does not mean "captains" or leaders, for this meaning of the foreign word (supposed to be Assyrian) rests on a very uncertain etymology; it means some peculiar kind of troops, but nothing more definite can be affirmed regarding it. This meaning is required by the context both here and in Nah. iii. 17, the only other place where the word occurs: see on that passage. The sing. **פָּסָר** corresponds with the sing. **סוּס**, and is therefore to be taken collectively, "troops and horses." Whether the simile **פָּסָר** **כִּי־יֵלֵךְ** belongs merely to "horses," or to the combination "troops and horses," depends on the meaning attached to the expression. Modern expositors render it "bristly locusts;" and by that they understand, like Credner (*Joel*, S. 298), the young grasshopper after it has laid aside its third skin, when the wings are still enveloped in rough horny sheaths, and stick straight up from the back of the animal. But this explanation rests on an erroneous interpretation of Nah. iii. 17. **פָּסָר** means to shudder, and is used of the shivering or quivering of the body (Ps. cxix. 120), and of the hair (Job iv. 15); and **יֵלֵךְ** does not mean a particular kind of locusts, though Jerome, on Nah. iii. 17, renders it *attelabus* (*parva locusta est inter locustam et bruchum, et modicis pennis*

reptans potius quam volans, semperque subsiliens), but is a poetic epithet of the locust, "the devourer." If any one prefers to view קֶמֶר as referring to the nature of the locusts, he may, with Bochart and Rosenmüller, think of the *locustarum species, quæ habet caput hirsutum*. But the epithet "horrid" is probably intended merely to point out the locusts as a fearful scourge of the country. On this view, the comparison refers to both clauses, and is meant to set forth not merely the enormous multitude of the soldiery, but also the devastation they make of the country. In ver. 28 mention is further made of the kings of the Medes (see on ver. 11), together with their governors and lieutenant-governors (see on ver. 23), and, in order to give prominence to the immense strength of the army, of "all the land of his dominion;" on these expressions, cf. xxxiv. 1 and 1 Kings ix. 19. The suffix refers to the king of Media, as the leader of the whole army; while those in "her governors, and all her lieutenant-governors," refer to the country of Media.—Ver. 29 f. On the advance of this mighty host against Babylon, to execute the judgment determined by the Lord, the earth quakes. The mighty men of Babylon cease to offer resistance, and withdraw dispirited, like women, into inaccessible places, while the enemy sets fire to the houses, breaks the bars, and captures the city. The prophet views all this in spirit as already present, and depicts in lively colours the attack on the city and its capture. Hence the historic tenses, הָרָעַשׁ, הָתַחֵל, הָרָלָה, etc. קָמַר is used of the permanence, i.e. of the realization of the divine counsels, as in xlv. 23 f. On the singular, see Ewald, § 317, a. "To make the land," etc., as in iv. 7, xviii. 16, etc. "They sit (have taken up their position) in the strongholds" (mountain fastnesses), i.e. in inaccessible places; cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 16, 2 Sam. xxiii. 14. הָשְׁתָּה is but to be regarded as a Kal form from הָשַׁת; on its derivation from הָשַׁת, see on Isa. xli. 17. "They have become women;" cf. l. 37. The subject of the verb הָעִיִּיתִי is the enemy, who set fire to the dwellings in Babylon. "Runner runs against runner," i.e. from opposite sides of the city there come messengers, who meet each other running to tell the king in his castle that the city is taken. The king is therefore (as Graf correctly remarks against Hitzig) not to be thought of as living outside of the city, for

"in this case לְקִרְאָתָא would have no meaning," but as living in the royal castle, which was situated in the middle of the city, on the Euphrates. Inasmuch as the city is taken "from the end" (מִקְצֵהָ), i.e. on all sides, the messengers who bring the news to the king's fortress must meet each other.—Ver. 32 permits of being taken as a continuation of the message brought to the king. מִעֲבָרוֹת, "crossing-places," do not here mean "fords" (Judg. iii. 28); for such shallow places, where one could go through the river, are not to be found in the Euphrates at Babylon: they mean bridges and ferries, because, in addition to the stone bridge built by Nebuchadnezzar (Herodotus, i. 186; see Duncker's *Geschichte*, i. S. 859), there must also have been at Babylon, throughout its large extent, other means of crossing, either by bridges of boats or ferries. נִתְפָּשׁוּ, "they have been taken," seized by the enemy; cf. xlviii. 41. אֲנָמִים are ponds and artificial lakes which had been formed for the protection of the city, of the waters of the Euphrates (Herodotus, i. 185; Arrian, vii. 17); these "they have burned with fire." Inasmuch as a burning of ponds is an impossibility, many, with Kimchi, would understand אֲנָמִים of the reeds of the marshes. But the word has no such meaning; moreover, even if it had, the burning of the reeds would have no significance for the taking of the city. Others think of the sluices and the enclosures of the artificial waters, which enclosures were constructed of wood-work; but apart from the basin of water at Sepharvaim, which could be opened by sluices, the enclosure of the ponds with wood-work is a matter of much doubt, and a burning of the wood-work is not a burning of the ponds. The expression, as Calvin long ago remarked, is hyperbolic, and not to be pressed: *Propheta hyperbolice ostendit, siccata fuisse vada Euphratis ac si quis lignum exureret igni supposito; hoc quidem aquis non convenit, sed hyperbolice melius exprimit miraculum*. On the whole, the picture is not to be taken as a description of the historical circumstances connected with the taking of Babylon by Cyrus; neither, therefore, is the burning of the ponds to be referred to the fact that the bed of the Euphrates was made dry through diversion of the stream (Herodotus, i. 191); but we have here a poetic colouring given to the thought that all Babylon's means of offence and defence

will fall into the power of the enemy and be destroyed by them. For (according to the reason assigned in ver. 33 for what has been described) the Almighty God of Israel has decreed the destruction of Babylon. "The daughter of Babylon (*i.e.* not merely the city, but the kingdom of Babylon) is like a threshing-floor at the time when they tread it," *i.e.* stamp on it, make the ground into a threshing-floor by treading it hard.¹ הַרְרִיכָה might be the infinitive (Ewald, § 238, *d*): it is simpler, however, to take it as a perfect, and supply the relative אֲשֶׁר. The meaning is, that Babylon is ripe for judgment. עוֹר כְּעֵט, "yet a little while" (*i.e.* soon), comes the time of harvest, so that the grain will be threshed, *i.e.* the judgment will be executed. The figure reminds us of Isa. xxi. 10, cf. Joel iv. 13, Mic. iv. 15, etc.—Ver. 34 f. This judgment comes on Babylon for its offences against Israel. The king of Babylon has devoured Israel, etc. Those who complain, in ver. 34, are the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, in whose name the prophet enumerates the crimes of Babylon. "Nebuchadnezzar has devoured us," *i.e.* oppressed us. The plural suffixes to the verbs have been needlessly changed in the *Qeri* into singulars, for the simple reason, perhaps, that with מַעֲרִנִי and in ver. 35 the address makes a transition into the singular. הִסֵּם signifies to throw enemies into confusion by causing a panic, for the purpose of destroying them; hence to destroy, see on Deut. ii. 15; here to destroy, crush. "He set us down like an empty vessel" refers to the country and the people; he has swept the country of human beings, and robbed the people of everything. הַיֵּץ, usually a sea-monster, crocodile (Isa. xxvii. 1, li. 9, etc.); here a beast of prey which devours everything. מַעֲרִנִּים, "delights," then "dainty meats," Gen. xlix. 20.² הָרִיחַ, from רָיַח, signifies to wash away, push away (see Delitzsch on Isa. iv. 4); in other

¹ "The threshing-floor is an open spot in the field, carefully levelled and cleared from stones, etc., that the grain may be spread out on it for threshing."—Paulsen, *Ackerbau der Morgenl.* S. 123. "A level spot is selected for the threshing-floors, which are then constructed near each other, of a circular form, perhaps fifty feet in diameter, merely by beating the earth hard."—Robinson's *Pal.* ii. 227.

² The form actually found in the Masoretic text is מַעֲרִנִּי, "from (out of, with) my dainties."—Tr.

places Jeremiah uses הָרָחִיק, viii. 3, xvi. 15, etc. "Let my wrong (*i.e.* the wrong done me) come upon Babylon." This wrong is more fully specified, with reference to the figure of swallowing, by "my flesh and blood;" cf. Mic. iii. 3. The Lord will avenge this wrong, ver. 36, cf. l. 34, li. 6, 11; He will also dry up the sea of Babylon, and make her spring dry up. Many expositors understand these latter words metaphorically, as referring to the sea of nations surging in Babylon (vers. 42, 55), and view the treasures and riches as the fountain from which the sea of nations sprang up (Hitzig); but the context demands a literal interpretation, inasmuch as in ver. 37 the subject treated of is the laying waste of the country. The sea of Babylon is the Euphrates, with its canals, lakes, and marshes, *i.e.* the abundance of water to which Babylonia owed its fertility, and the city its influence as the centre of the then known world. Isaiah (xxi. 1) accordingly calls Babylon, emblematically, the desert of the sea, inasmuch as the region in which Babylon stands is a plain, broken in such a manner by the Euphrates, as well as by marshes and lakes, as that the city, so to speak, swims in the sea (Delitzsch). The source or spring of the sea is the Euphrates, and the drying up of this spring is not to be understood literally of the drying up of the Euphrates, but signifies a drying up of the springs of water that fertilize the country. On the figures employed in ver. 37, cf. ix. 10, xviii. 16, xlix. 33.

Vers. 38-49. The inhabitants of Babylon fall; the city perishes with its idols, to the joy of the whole world.—Ver. 38. "Together they roar like young lions, they growl like the whelps of lionesses. Ver. 39. When they are heated, I will prepare their banquets, and will make them drunk, that they may exult and sleep an eternal sleep, and not awake, saith Jahveh. Ver. 40. I will bring them down like lambs to be slaughtered, like rams with he-goats. Ver. 41. How is Sheshach taken, and the praise of the whole earth seized! How Babylon is become an astonishment among the nations! Ver. 42. The sea has gone up over Babylon: she is covered with the multitude of its waves. Ver. 43. Her cities have become a desolation, a land of drought, and a steppe, a land wherein no man dwells, and through which no son of man passes. Ver. 44. And I will

punish Bel in Babylon, and will bring out of his mouth what he has swallowed, and no longer shall nations go in streams to him: the wall of Babylon also shall fall. Ver. 45. Go ye out from the midst of her, my people! and save ye each one his life from the burning of the wrath of Jahveh. Ver. 46. And lest your heart be weak, and ye be afraid because of the report which is heard in the land, and there comes the [=this] report in the [=this] year, and afterwards in the [=that] year the [=that] report, and violence in the land, ruler against ruler. Ver. 47. Therefore, behold, days are coming when I will punish the graven images of Babylon; and her whole land shall dry up,¹ and all her slain ones shall fall in her midst. Ver. 48. And heaven and earth, and all that is in them, shall sing for joy over Babylon: for the destroyers shall come to her from the north, saith Jahveh. Ver. 49. As Babylon sought that slain ones of Israel should fall, so there fall, in behalf of Babylon, slain ones of the whole earth."

This avenging judgment shall come on the inhabitants of Babylon in the midst of their revelry. Ver. 38. They roar and growl like young lions over their prey; cf. ii. 15, Amos iii. 4. When, in their revelries, they will be heated over their prey, the Lord will prepare for them a banquet by which they shall become intoxicated, so that they sink down, exulting (*i.e.* staggering while they shout), into an eternal sleep of death. חֶמֶד, "their heat," or heating, is the glow felt in gluttony and revelry, cf. Hos. vii. 4 f., not specially the result or effect of a drinking-bout; and the idea is not that, when they become heated through a banquet, then the Lord will prepare another one for them, but merely this, that in the midst of their revelry the Lord will prepare for them the meal they deserve, viz. give them the cup of wrath to drink, so that they may fall down intoxicated into eternal sleep, from which they no more awake. These words are certainly not a special prediction of the fact mentioned by Herodotus (i. 191) and Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 23), that Cyrus took Babylon while the Babylonians were celebrating a feast and holding a banquet; they are merely a figurative dress given to the thought that the inhabitants of Babylon will be surprised by the judgment of death

¹ Rather, "shall be ashamed;" see note at foot of p. 311.—Tr.

in the midst of their riotous enjoyment of the riches and treasures taken as spoil from the nations. In that fact, however, this utterance has received a fulfilment which manifestly confirms the infallibility of the word of God. In ver. 40, what has been said is confirmed by another figure; cf. xlviii. 5 and l. 27. Lambs, rams, goats, are emblems of all the classes of the people of Israel; cf. Isa. xxxiv. 6, Ezek. xxxix. 18.—Ver. 41 ff. The fearful destruction of Babylon will astonish the world.—Ver. 41 is an exclamation of astonishment regarding the conquest of the city which was praised throughout the world. As to תְּהִלָּה, see on ver. 1 and xxv. 26. תְּהִלָּה, "praise," is here used for "a subject of praise and fame;" cf. xlix. 25.—Ver. 42 f. Description of the fall. The sea that has come over Babylon and covered it with its waves, was taken figuratively, even by the Chaldee paraphrasts, and understood as meaning the hostile army that overwhelms the land with its hosts. Only J. D. Michaelis was inclined to take the words in their proper meaning, and understood them as referring to the inundation of Babylon by the Euphrates in August and in winter. But however true it may be, that, in consequence of the destruction or decay of the great river-walls built by Nebuchadnezzar, the Euphrates may inundate the city of Babylon when it swells into a flood, yet the literal acceptance of the words is unwarranted, for the simple reason that they do not speak of any momentary or temporary inundation, and that, because Babylon is to be covered with water, the cities of Babylonia are to become an arid steppe. The sea is therefore the sea of nations, cf. xlv. 7; the description reminds us of the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. On ver. 43, cf. xlviii. 9, xlix. 18, 33 f., l. 12. The suffix in מִן הָעָרִים refers to "her cities;" but the repetition of עָרֵי is not for that reason wrong, as Graf thinks, but is to be explained on the ground that the cities of Babylonia are compared to a barren land; and the idea is properly this: The cities become an arid country of steppes, a land in whose cities nobody can dwell.—Ver. 44. With the conquest of Babylon, Bel, the chief deity of the Babylonians (see on l. 2), is punished; and not only is his prey torn from him, but his fame also, which attracted the nations, is destroyed. Under the prey which Bel has swallowed, and

which is to be torn out of his mouth, we must include not merely the sacred vessels which had been deposited in the temple of Belus (Dan. i. 3), and the voluntary offerings presented him (Hitzig), but all the property which Babylon had taken as spoil from the nations; and the nations themselves, with life and property, Babylon has swallowed (see 34 and l. 17). All this is now to be torn out of his jaws. Bel falls with the fall of Babylon (cf. Isa. xlv. 1), so that nations no longer come in streams to him, to dedicate their goods and treasures to him. The description ends with the sentence, "the wall of Babylon also is fallen," which Hitzig and Graf wrongly suspect, on the ground that it is insipid. Ewald, on the contrary, perceives in the very same expression a brief and emphatic conclusion; because the famous wall of Babylon, strong in every part, was the main defence of this great city of the world. For explaining this sentence, therefore, it is unnecessary to assume that the walls of Babylon seem to have been regarded as sacred to Bel, as Nägelsbach is inclined to infer from the names which are said to be given to these walls in an inscription translated by Oppert.¹—Ver. 45 f. Since Babylon will be punished by the Lord with destruction, the people of God are to flee out of it, and to preserve their lives from the fierce anger of Jahveh, which will discharge itself on Babylon. וְהָיָה אִתָּךְ, as in iv. 8, 26, etc.—Ver. 46. Yet they are not to despair when the catastrophe draws near, and all kinds of rumours of war and oppression are abroad. The repetition of וְהָיָה אִתָּךְ expresses the correlative relation,—this and that report; cf. Ewald, § 360, c. The suffix in אִתָּךְ has a neuter sense; the word means "afterwards" (= אַחֲרַי זֶמֶן, Job xlii. 16). וְהָיָה אִתָּךְ is also to be taken as dependent, grammatically, on וְהָיָה: "and when a deed of violence is committed in the land, one ruler (rises up) against the other." These words

¹ Cf. J. Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopot.* i. p. 227, where, on the strength of an inscription of Assarhaddon, which is read, "*Imgur-Bel is its (Babylon's) chief wall, Ninivitti-Bel its rampart*," the expressions found in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar before the mention of the walls—viz. "*Imgur-Bel*" (may Bel - Dagon protect him) and "*Ninivitti-Bel*" (the abode of Bel)—have been explained by Rawlinson and Oppert as names of the first and second lines of fortification round Babylon.

presuppose not merely a pretty long duration of the war, but also rebellion and revolution, through which Babylon is to go to ruin. In this sense they are employed by Christ for describing the wars and risings that are to precede His advent; Matt. xxiv. 6, Mark xiii. 7, Luke xxi. 9.—Ver. 47. Therefore, viz. because what has been stated above will happen, or because the events mentioned in ver. 46 are harbingers of the judgment on Babylon,—therefore days are coming when God shall execute judgment on the idols of Babylon, and dry up the land¹ (cf. ver. 43), and all her slain ones, i.e. all her inhabitants shall fall down, slain in the midst of her. לָכֵן הֵינָּה יָמִים בָּאִים, “Therefore, behold, days are coming,” is a formula very frequently found in Jeremiah; cf. vii. 32, xvi. 14, xix. 6, xxiii. 7, etc.—Ver. 48. Heaven and earth, with all that is in them (i.e. the whole world, with its animate and inanimate creatures), break out into rejoicing over the fall of Babylon (cf. Isa. xlv. 23), for Babylon has enslaved and laid waste all the world. The second part of ver. 48, “for the destroyers shall come from the north,” is logically connected with ver. 47, to which ver. 48a is to be taken as subordinate, in the sense, “over which heaven and earth rejoice.” On ver. 48b, cf. l. 3, 9, 41. Both parts of ver. 49 are placed in mutual relation by וְגַם—וְגַם. These two particles, thus used, signify “as well as,” “not only . . . but also,” or “as . . . so.” Ewald, Hitzig, and Graf have quite missed the meaning of both clauses, since they take הָאֵלֹהִים יִשְׂרָאֵל as a vocative, and render the whole thus: “Not only must Babylon fall, O ye slain ones of Israel, but slain ones of the whole earth have fallen on the side of Babylon (or through Babylon).” This view of the expression “slain ones of Israel” cannot be established, either from grammatical considerations or from a regard to the meaning of the whole. Not only is there no occasion for a direct address to the slain ones of Israel; but by such a view of the expression, the antithesis indicated by וְגַם—וְגַם, between “the slain ones of Israel” and “the slain ones of the earth,” is thereby destroyed. Viewed grammati-

¹ Keil has here misread the Hebrew text, which runs בְּלִיאָרְצָהּ תִּבְוֶשׂ. The verb does not come from יָבֵשׁ, to become dry, but from בֹּשׁ, to be ashamed; hence the correct rendering is, “all her land shall be ashamed,” not “shall be dried up.”—Tr.

cally, "the slain ones of Israel" can only be the subject dependent on the inf. לִנְפֹל: "the fall of the slain ones of Israel." Kimchi has long ago hit the meaning in the explanation, וְגַם בָּבֶל הָיְתָה סֵבֶת לִנְפֹל, "as Babylon was the cause of the slain ones of Israel falling." Similarly Jerome: *et quomodo fecit Babylon ut caderent occisi ex Israel*. This paraphrase may be vindicated on grammatical grounds, for the inf. constr. with לִ, with or without הֵי, is used to express that on which one is engaged, or what one is on the point of doing; cf. Gesenius, § 132, 3, Rem. 1. In this meaning, לִנְפֹל stands here without הֵי: "as Babylon was concerned in making the slain ones of Israel fall;" or better: "Just as Babylon was intent on the fall of slain ones in Israel, so also there fall because of Babylon (prop. dative, for Babylon) slain ones of all the earth;" because there are to be found, in the capital of the empire, people from all quarters of the world, who are slain when Babylon is conquered. The perf. נִפְּלָה is prophetic, like פָּקְדֵי in ver. 47.

Vers. 50-58. Final summing up of the offence and the punishment of Babylon. Ver. 50. "Ye who have escaped the sword, depart, do not stay! remember Jahveh from afar, and let Jerusalem come into your mind. Ver. 51. We were ashamed, because we heard reproach; shame hath covered our face, for strangers have come into the holy places of the house of Jahveh. Ver. 52. Therefore, behold, days are coming, saith Jahveh, when I will take vengeance on her graven images; and through all her land shall the wounded groan. Ver. 53. Though Babylon ascended to heaven, and fortified the height of her strength, yet from me there shall come destroyers to her, saith Jahveh. Ver. 54. The noise of a cry [comes] from Babylon, and great destruction from the land of the Chaldeans. Ver. 55. For Jahveh lays waste Babylon, and destroys out of her the great noise; and her waves sound like many waters: a noise of their voice is uttered. Ver. 56. For there comes against her, against Babylon, a destroyer, and her heroes are taken; each one of their bows is broken: for Jahveh is a God of retributions, He shall certainly recompense. Ver. 57. And I will make drunk her princes and her wise men, her governors and her lieutenant-governors, and her heroes, so that they shall sleep an eternal sleep, and not awake, saith the King, whose

name is Jahveh of hosts. Ver. 58. Thus saith Jahveh of hosts: The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly destroyed, and her high gates shall be burned with fire, so that nations toil for nothing, and peoples for the fire, and thus are weary."

Once more there is addressed to Israel the call to return immediately; cf. ver. 45 and l. 8. The designation, "those who have escaped from the sword," is occasioned by the mention in ver. 49 of those who are slain: it is not to be explained (with Nägelsbach) from the circumstance that the prophet sees before him the massacre of the Babylonians as something that has already taken place. This view of the matter agrees neither with what precedes nor what follows, where the punishment of Babylon is set forth as yet to come. It is those who have escaped from the sword of Babylon during the exercise of its sway that are meant, not those who remain, spared in the conquest of Babylon. They are to go, not to stand or linger on the road, lest they be overtaken, with others, by the judgment falling upon Babylon; they are also to remember, from afar, Jahveh the faithful covenant God, and Jerusalem, that they may hasten their return. הָלֵכִי is a form of the imperative from הָלַךְ; it occurs only here, and has probably been chosen instead of לָכֵי, because this form, in the actual use of language, had gradually lost its full meaning, and become softened down to a mere interjection, while emphasis is here placed on the *going*. After the call there follows, in ver. 51, the complaint, "We have lived to see the dishonour caused by the desecration of our sanctuary." This complaint does not permit of being taken as an answer or objection on the part of those who are summoned to return, somewhat in this spirit: "What is the good of our remembering Jahveh and Jerusalem? Truly we have thence a remembrance only of the deepest shame and dishonour" (Nägelsbach). Such an objection the prophet certainly would have answered with a reproof for the want or weakness of faith. Ewald accordingly takes ver. 51 as containing "a confession which the exiles make in tears, and filled with shame, regarding the previous state of dishonour in which they themselves, as well as the holy place, have been." On this view, those who are exhorted to return encourage themselves

by this confession and prayer to zeal in returning; and it would be necessary to supply *dicite* before ver. 51, and to take בָּשָׁט as meaning; "We are ashamed because we have heard scoffing, and because enemies have come into the holy places of Jahveh's house." But they might have felt no shame on account of this dishonour that befell them. בָּשָׁט signifies merely to be ashamed in consequence of the frustration of some hope, not the shame of repentance felt on doing wrong. Hence, with Calvin and others, we must take the words of ver. 51 as a scruple which the prophet expresses in the name of the people against the summons to remember Jahveh and Jerusalem, that he may remove the objection. The meaning is thus something like the following: "We may say, indeed, that disgrace has been imposed on us, for we have experienced insult and dishonour; but in return for this, Babylon will now be laid waste and destroyed." The plural הַמִּקְדָּשִׁים denotes the different holy places of the temple, as in Ps. lxxviii. 36. The answer which settles this objection is introduced, ver. 52, by the formula, "Therefore, behold, days are coming," which connects itself with the contents of ver. 51: "Therefore, because we were obliged to listen to scoffing, and barbarians have forced their way into the holy places of the house of our God,—therefore will Jahveh punish Babylon for these crimes." The suffixes in מַסִּילֶיהָ and מַרְצֶהָ refer to Babylon. הָלַל is used in undefined generality, "slain, pierced through."—Ver. 53. Babylon shall by no means escape punishment. Even though it mounted up to heaven (cf. Job xx. 6; there may, at the same time, be an allusion to Isa. xiv. 12, and possibly also to the tower at Babylon), and הִבְצִיר, "cut off (*i.e.* made inaccessible) the height of its strength," *i.e.* the height in which its strength consists, its lofty wall of defence (probably an allusion to the lofty walls of Babylon; see on ver. 58), yet destroyers are to come against it from Jahveh.—Ver. 54. The prophet in the spirit sees these destroyers as already come. A cry of anguish proceeds from Babylon, and great destruction; cf. l. 22, 46, and xlviii. 3. For (ver. 55) Jahveh lays waste Babylon, and destroys out of her קוֹל זָרוֹל, properly "the loud voice," *i.e.* the loud noise and bustle of the city. "Their waves," *i.e.* the surging masses of the conquering army, roar like many or great

waters; cf. Isa. xvii. 12. נָתַן שִׁמְעוֹן קוֹלָם, lit. "there is given" (i.e. there sounds) "the noise of their voice," i.e. of the roaring of their waves. "For there comes on Babylon a destroyer, so that her heroes are made prisoners, and her bows (by synecdoche for weapons) broken in pieces." The Piel הִתְחַתַּה has here an intransitive sense, "to break or shiver into pieces," like פָּתַח, Isa. xlviii. 8, lx. 11. This must take place, for Jahveh is a God of retribution; cf. ver. 24. This retribution He will execute in such a way as to make the princes, wise men, rulers, and heroes of Babylon sink down into an eternal sleep, by presenting to them the cup of wrath. On הִשְׁכַּחְתִּי וְנָשַׁנּוּ וְנָגַזוּ, cf. ver. 39. On the enumeration of the different classes of leaders and supporters of the state, cf. ver. 23 and l. 35; and on the designation of Jahveh as King, xlviii. 15, with the remark there made.—Ver. 58. And not only are the defenders of the city to fall, but the strong ramparts also, the broad walls and the lofty towers, are to be destroyed. The adjective הִרְחִיבָה is joined in the singular with the plural חֻמּוֹת, because the complex notion of the walls of Babylon, denoted by the latter word, is viewed as a unity; cf. Ewald, § 318. עָרַר, in Hith-pael, means "to be made bare," i.e. to be destroyed down to the ground; the inf. abs. Piel is added to intensify the expression. Regarding the height and breadth and the extent of the walls of Babylon, cf. the collection of notices by the old writers in Duncker's *Gesch. des Alt.* i. S. 856 ff. According to Herodotus (i. 178 f.), they were fifty ells ["royal cubits," or nearly 85 feet] thick, and 200 ells [337½ feet] high; Ctesias assigns them a height of 300 feet, Strabo that of 50 ells [cubits, or 75 feet], and a breadth of 32 feet. On this Duncker remarks: "The height and breadth which Herodotus gives to the walls are no doubt exaggerated. Since the wall of Media, the first line of defence for the country, had a height of 100 feet and a breadth of 20 feet, and since Xenophon saw in Nineveh walls 150 feet in height, we shall be able with some degree of certainty to assume, in accordance with the statement of Pliny (vi. 26), that the wall of Babylon must have had a height of 200 feet above the ditch, and a proportionate breadth of from 30 to 40 feet. This breadth would be sufficient to permit of teams of four being driven along the rampart, between the

battlements, as Herodotus and Strabo inform us, without touching, just as the rampart on the walls of Nineveh is said to have afforded room for three chariots.”¹ The gates leading into the city were, according to Herodotus, *l.c.*, provided with beautifully ornamented gateways; the posts, the two leaves of the gates, and the thresholds, were of bronze. The prophecy concludes, ver. 58*b*, with some words from Hab. ii. 13, which are to be verified by the destruction of Babylon, viz. that the nations which have built Babylon, and made it great, have laboured in vain, and only wearied themselves. Habakkuk probably does not give this truth as a quotation from an older prophet, but rather declares it as an ordinance of God, that those who build cities with blood, and strongholds with unrighteousness, make nations toil to supply food for fire. Jeremiah has made use of the passage as a suitable conclusion to his prophecy, but made some unimportant alterations; for he has transposed the words *בְּרִי רִק* and *בְּרִי אֵשׁ*, and changed *יָעֲפּוּ* into *יִיָּעֲפּוּ*, that he may conclude his address with greater emphasis. For, according to the arrangement here, *יִיָּעֲפּוּ* still depends on *יִיָּעֲפּוּ*, and *יִיָּעֲפּוּ* indicates the result of this toil for the enslaved nations,—they only weary themselves thereby. The genuineness of this reading is put beyond a doubt by the repetition of *יִיָּעֲפּוּ* at the close of the epilogue in ver. 64. What Habakkuk said generally of the undertakings

¹ For details as to the number of the walls, and statistics regarding them, see Duncker, S. 858, Anm. 3, who is inclined to understand the notice of Berosus regarding a triple wall as meaning that the walls of the river are counted as the second, and those round the royal fortress as the third line of circumvallation. J. Oppert, *Expéd. en Mésop.* i. p. 220 ff., has given a thorough discussion of this question. By carefully comparing the accounts of the ancient writers regarding the walls of Babylon, and those given in the inscriptions, lately discovered and deciphered, found on the buildings of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, with the vast extent of the long mounds of rubbish on the places where the ruins are met with, he has obtained this result,—that the city was surrounded by a strong double wall with deep ditches, an outer and an inner *enceinte*, and that the outer or large wall enclosed a space of 513 square kilometres, *i.e.* a piece of ground as large as the department of the Seine, fifteen times the extent of the city of Paris in the year 1859, seven times that of the same city in 1860, while the second or inner wall enclosed an area of 290 square kilometres, much larger than the space occupied by London.

of the Chaldeans, Jeremiah applied specially to the fall of the city of Babylon, because it was to exhibit its fulfilment most plainly in that event.

Vers. 59-64. *Epilogue*.—Ver. 59. "The word which Jeremiah the prophet commanded Seraiah the son of Nerijah, the son of Maaseiah, when he went with Zedekiah the king of Judah to Babylon, in the fourth year of his reign. Now Seraiah was 'quartermaster-general'" (Ger. *Reisemarschall*).¹ Seraiah the son of Nerijah was, no doubt, a brother of Baruch the son of Nerijah; cf. xxxii. 12. שֵׁר מְנַחֵם does not mean "a peaceful prince" (Luther), ["a quiet prince," English Version], but "prince of the resting-place" (cf. Num. x. 33), i.e. the king's "quartermaster-general." What Jeremiah commanded Seraiah, or charged him with, does not follow till ver. 61; for the words of ver. 60, "And Jeremiah wrote in a book all the evil that was to come on Babylon, [namely] all these words which are written against Babylon" (in the preceding address, chap. i. and li.), form a parenthetic remark, inserted for the purpose of explaining the charge that follows. This remark is attached to the circumstantial clause at the end of ver. 59, after which "the word which he commanded" is not resumed till ver. 61, with the words, "and Jeremiah spake to Seraiah;" and the charge itself is given in vers. 61b-64: "When thou comest to Babylon, then see to it, and read all these words, and say, O Jahveh, Thou hast spoken against this place, to destroy it, so that there shall be no inhabitant in it, neither man nor beast, but it shall be eternal desolations. And it shall be, when thou hast finished reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the Euphrates (ver. 64), and say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise again, because of the evil that I bring upon her; and they shall be weary."

¹ The Peshito renders שֵׁר מְנַחֵם by "chief of the camp," evidently reading מְנַחֵם. Gesenius, following in this line, thought that Seraiah held an office in the Babylonian army similar to that of quartermaster-general. It is evident, however, that he was rather an officer of the Jewish court in attendance on the king. Maurer, who is followed by Hitzig, and here by Keil, in his rendering "*Reisemarschall*," suggested the idea that he was a functionary who took charge of the royal caravan when on the march, and fixed the halting-place.—Tr.

כְּבָאֵךְ בָּבֶל does not mean, "when thou shalt have got near Babylon, so that thou beholdest the city lying in its full extent before thee" (Hitzig), but, according to the simple tenor of the words, "when thou shalt have come into the city." The former interpretation is based on the erroneous supposition that Seraiah had not been able to read the prophecy in the city, from fear of being called to account for this by the Babylonians. But it is nowhere stated that he was to read it publicly to the Babylonians themselves in an assembly of the people expressly convened for this purpose, but merely that he is to read it, and afterwards throw the book into the Euphrates. The reading was not intended to warn the Babylonians of the destruction threatened them, but was merely to be a proclamation of the word of the Lord against Babylon, on the very spot, for the purpose of connecting with it the symbolic action mentioned in ver. 63 f. וְרָאִיתָ does not belong to כְּבָאֵךְ ("when thou comest to Babylon, and seest"), but introduces the apodosis, "then see to it, and read," *i.e.* keep it in your eye, in your mind, that you read (cf. Gen. xx. 10); not, "seek a good opportunity for reading" (Ewald). At the same time, Seraiah is to cry to God that He has said He will bring this evil on Babylon, *i.e.* as it were to remind God that the words of the prophecy are His own words, which He has to fulfil. On the contents of ver. 62, cf. l. 3, li. 26. After the reading is finished, he is to bind the book to a stone, by means of which to sink it in the Euphrates, uttering the words explanatory of this action, "Thus shall Babylon sink," etc. This was to be done, not for the purpose of destroying the book (which certainly took place, but was not the object for which it was sunk), but in order to symbolize the fulfilment of the prophecy against Babylon. The attachment of the stone was not a precautionary measure to prevent the writing from being picked up somewhere, and thus bringing the writer or the people of the caravan into trouble (Hitzig), but was merely intended to make sure that the book would sink down into the depths of the Euphrates, and render it impossible that it should rise again to the surface, thus indicating by symbol that Babylon would not rise again. The words which Seraiah is to speak on throwing the book into the Euphrates, contain, *in nuce*, the

substance of the prophecy. The prophet makes this still more plain, by concluding the words he is likewise to utter with וַיִּשָּׁן as the last word of the prophecy. Luther has here well rendered וַיִּשָּׁן, "to weary," by "succumb" (*erliegen*). The Babylonians form the subject of וַיִּשָּׁן.¹ The symbolic meaning of this act is clear; and from it, also, the meaning of the whole charge to the prophet is not difficult to perceive. The sending of the prophecy through Seraiah, with the command to read it there, at the same time looking up to God, and then to sink it in the Euphrates, was not intended as a testimony to the inhabitants of Babylon of the certainty of their destruction, but was meant to be a substantial proof for Israel that God the Lord would, without fail, fulfil His word regarding the seventy years' duration of Babylon's supremacy, and the fall of this great kingdom which was to ensue. This testimony received still greater significance from the circumstances under which it was given. The journey of King Zedekiah to Babylon was, at least in regard to its official purpose, an act of homage shown by Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar, as the vassal of the king of Babylon. This fact, which was deeply humiliating for Judah, was made use of by Jeremiah, in the name of the Lord, for the purpose of announcing and transmitting to Babylon, the city that ruled the world, the decree which Jahveh, the God of Israel, as King of heaven and earth, had formed concerning the proud city, and which He would execute in His own time,

¹ Mistaking the meaning of the repetition of the word וַיִּשָּׁן, Movers, Hitzig, and Graf have thereon based various untenable conjectures. Movers infers from the circumstance that the whole epilogue is spurious; Hitzig and Graf conclude from it that the closing words, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah," originally came after ver. 58, and that the epilogue, because it does not at all admit of being separated from the great oracle against Babylon, originally preceded the oracle beginning l. 1, but was afterwards placed at the end; moreover, that the transposer cut off from ver. 58 the concluding remark, "Thus far," etc., and put it at the end of the epilogue (ver. 64), but, at the same time, also transferred וַיִּשָּׁן, in order to show that the words, i.e. the prophecies of Jeremiah, strictly speaking, extend only thus far. This intimation is, indeed, quite superfluous, for it never could occur to the mind of any intelligent reader that the epilogue, vers. 59-64, was an integral portion of the prophecy itself. And there would be no meaning in placing the epilogue before l. 1.

that He might confirm the hope of the godly ones among His people in the deliverance of Israel from Babylon.

The statement, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah," is an addition made by the editor of the prophecies. From these words, it follows that chap. lii. does not belong to these prophecies, but forms a historical appendix to them.

Finally, if any question be asked regarding the fulfilment of the prophecy against Babylon, we must keep in mind these two points: 1. The prophecy, as is shown both by its title and its contents, is not merely directed against the city of Babylon, but also against the land of the Chaldeans. It therefore proclaims generally the devastation and destruction of the Chaldean kingdom, or the fall of the Babylonian empire; and the capture and destruction of Babylon, the capital, receive special prominence only in so far as the world-wide rule of Babylon fell with the capital, and the supremacy of the Chaldeans over the nations came to an end. 2. In addition to this historical side, the prophecy has an ideal background, which certainly is never very prominent, but nevertheless is always more or less to be discovered. Here Babylon, as the then mistress of the world, is the representative of the God-opposing influences on the earth, which always attempt to suppress and destroy the kingdom of God. The fulfilment of the historical side of this prophecy began with the capture of Babylon by the united forces of the Medes and Persians under the leadership of Cyrus, and with the dissolution of the Chaldean empire, brought about through that event. By this means, too, the people of Israel were delivered from the Babylonish captivity, while Cyrus gave them permission to return to their native land and rebuild the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f., Ezra i. 1 ff. But Babylon was not destroyed when thus taken, and according to Herodotus, iii. 159, even the walls of the city remained uninjured, while, according to a notice of Berosus in Josephus, *contra Ap.* i. 19, Cyrus is said to have given orders for the pulling down of the outer wall. Cyrus appointed Babylon, after Susa and Ecbatana, the third city in the kingdom, and the winter residence of the Persian kings (according to Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 6. 22). Darius Hystaspes, who was obliged to take the city a second time, in consequence

of its revolt in the year 518 B.C., was the first who caused the walls to be lowered in height; these were diminished to 50 ells [royal cubits—about 85 feet], and the gates were torn away (Herodotus, iii. 158 f.). Xerxes spoiled the city of the golden image of Belus (Herodot. i. 183), and caused the temple of Belus to be destroyed (Arrian, vii. 17. 2). Alexander the Great had intended not merely to rebuild the sanctuary of Belus, but also to make the city the capital of his empire; but he was prevented by his early death from carrying out this plan. The decay of Babylon properly began when Seleucus Nicator built Seleucia, on the Tigris, only 300 stadia distant. “*Babylon*,” says Pliny, vi. 30, “*ad solitudinem rediit, exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ.*” And Strabo (born 60 B.C.) says that, even in his time, the city was a complete wilderness, to which he applies the utterance of a poet: ἐρημία μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις (xvi. 1. 5). This decay was accelerated under the rule of the Parthians, so that, within a short time, only a small space within the walls was inhabited, while the rest was used as fields (Diodorus Siculus, ii. 9; Curtius, v. 4. 27). According to the statements of Jerome and Theodoret, there were still living at Babylon, centuries afterwards, a pretty considerable number of Jews; but Jerome (*ad Jerem.* 51) was informed by a Persian monk that these ruins stood in the midst of a hunting district of the Persian kings. The notices of later writers, especially of modern travellers, have been collected by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. S. 865 f.; and the latest investigations among the ruins are described in his *Expédition scient. en Mésopotamie*, i. pp. 135-254 (Paris, 1863).¹ John the evangelist has taken the ideal elements of this prophecy into his apocalyptic description of the great city of Babylon (Rev. xvi. ff.), whose fall is not to begin till the kingdom of God is completed in glory through the return of our Lord.

¹ Fresh interest in Babylonian archæology has of late been awakened, especially in this country, by Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum, who has collected and deciphered about eighty fragments of some tablets that had been brought from Assyria, and that give an account of the deluge different in some respects from the Mosaic one. The proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* have also shown much public spirit in sending out, at their own cost, an expedition to Assyria, for further investigation of the ruins there.—TR.

APPENDIX.

CHAP. LII.—HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, THE FATE OF ZEDEKIAH AND THE PEOPLE, AND THE LIBERATION OF JEHOIACHIN FROM IMPRISONMENT.

By the closing formula, li. 64, the contents of chap. lii. are separated from, and marked as an appendix to, the prophecies of Jeremiah; yet nothing is said regarding the author of this chapter. However, if we keep in mind the nature of its contents, then, from the very fact that it gives an account of the liberation of King Jehoiachin from prison, and of his elevation to royal honours, it necessarily follows that it cannot have been composed by Jeremiah, because the prophet can scarcely have lived till this occurred, which was less than 561 B.C. It must further be considered that the contents of this chapter also agree, almost word for word, with 2 Kings xxiv. 18–25, 30; moreover, the introductory notice regarding Zedekiah's ascension of the throne, his age, and the character of his rule, given vers. 1–3, was unnecessary for the object of this appendix. The same holds true of the notice regarding the liberation of Jehoiachin from prison, at the close, vers. 31–34, which does not seem to stand in any close and intimate connection with the history of the destruction of Jerusalem and the fate of Zedekiah, while both of these events are closely connected with the plan and aim of the Books of Kings, and are written quite in their spirit. On these grounds, most expositors, both ancient and modern, assume that this historical appendix to the prophecies of Jeremiah has been derived from the Second Book of Kings. But weighty reasons oppose this assumption. (1.) The very fact that the name of the king of Babylon is throughout written *Nebuchadrezzar* makes it unlikely that the narrative was derived from 2 Kings xxiv. 18 ff., because the name is there constantly written *Nebuchadnezzar*,—a form which also occurs in Jeremiah, though not often (see vol. i. p. 397, note). (2.) This chapter contains notices which are not found in 2 Kings xxiv. and xxv. Thus, it is stated, in ver. 10, that Nebuchadrezzar also caused all the princes of Judah to be executed at

Riblah, and King Zedekiah, who had been carried to Babylon, to be put in prison till his death; in vers. 19-23 we find a whole series of special remarks as to the vessels of the temple and the ornaments of the brazen pillars,—observations which are not met with either in 2 Kings xxv., or in the description of the building of the temple, 1 Kings vii. We further find, in vers. 28-30, a notice regarding three deportations of the people, giving the numbers, not roundly, but precisely, as they are nowhere else given in the historical books of the Old Testament. Were this statement the only additional detail given by this chapter, as compared with 2 Kings xxv., one might perhaps suppose that it was an interpolation from another source, added to the rest of the account that has been derived from 2 Kings xxiv. and xxv.; but this opinion, which even in itself is not very probable, is excluded by the other additions found in ver. 10 and in 19-23. If the author of this chapter had been able to derive, and had actually derived, these additional particulars from a historical source, treating of the later times of the kingdom of Judah, which has not come down to us, and which contained more than our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, he would no doubt have also found there the account of the three deportations, and taken it from that source. We must therefore assume that this chapter, and 2 Kings xxiv. 18 on to xxv. 30, have both a common origin, in which the fall of the kingdom of Judah was more fully described than in the historical books of the canon; in this way, the remarkable coincidence, almost word for word, between the narrative portions which are common to the two extracts, is accounted for quite as easily as the differences that have just been mentioned. From a critical examination of the state of both texts now before us, no certain conclusions can be drawn regarding their mutual relation. The differences of this kind arise partly from errors and omissions by later copyists, partly also from the circumstance that the epitomizers have not throughout kept rigorously to the words of their source. Regarding the author of the original written document, we cannot even make any supposition that could pretend to anything like probability. Baruch, as the editor of the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies, may have made the extract from it which we find in this chapter. We have already,

in substance, given the exposition while treating of 2 Kings xxiv. 18 ff., so that we may here content ourselves with briefly putting together the deviations of this text from the other, and explaining its peculiarities.

Vers. 1-11. Fate of King Zedekiah at the taking of Jerusalem; cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 18, xxv. 7, and Jer. xxxix. 1-7. The statements regarding Zedekiah's ascension and his government, vers. 1-3, agree word for word with 2 Kings xxiv. 18-20, even to the variation הַשְׁלִיכוּ, ver. 3, for הַשְׁלִיכוּ (Kings). The length of the siege of Jerusalem, vers. 4-7a, and the flight, capture, and condemnation of King Zedekiah and the princes of Judah, vers. 7b-11, not only agrees with 2 Kings xxv. 1-7, but also with Jer. xxxix. 1-7, where it is merely the forcible entrance into the city by the Chaldeans that receives special detail; see on xxxix. 3. The variation וַיִּהְיֶה, ver. 4, instead of וַיִּהְיֶה (2 Kings xxv. 1), does not affect the sense. As to the account given of the flight, capture, and condemnation of the king, both chap. xxxix. and 2 Kings xxv. omit the notices given in ver. 10, "and also all the princes of Judah he caused to be slain (*i.e.* executed) at Riblah," and in ver. 11, "and he put him in the prison-house till the day of his death." בֵּית הַפְּקִידוֹת has been rendered *οἰκία μυλῶνος* by the LXX.; on this fact Hitzig bases the opinion that the Hebrew words signify "the house of punishment," or "the house of correction," in which Zedekiah was obliged to turn the mill like other culprits, and as Samson was once obliged to do (Judg. xvi. 21). But this meaning of the words cannot be substantiated. פָּקִיד means "oversight, mustering, or visitation (*Heimsuchung*), or vengeance," *e.g.* Isa. x. 3, but not punishment (*Strafe*), and the plural, "watches" (Ezek. ix. 1) and "custody," Ezek. xlv. 11; hence the expression used here signifies "the house of custody," or "the house of the watches." The translation of the LXX. can decide nothing against this, because their interpretation is based upon traditions which are themselves unfounded. Regarding this, Ewald well remarks (*History of the People of Israel*, iii. p. 748 of 2d ed.): "That Zedekiah must have laboured at the mill, as is mentioned in later chronicles (see Aug. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, t. i. P. 2, p. 6; cf. *Chron. Sam.* chap. xlv.), is probably a mere inference from Lam. v. 13."

Vers. 12-23. The destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, and the carrying away of the people, which are only very summarily stated in chap. xxxix. 8-10, are here related in complete accordance with the account given in 2 Kings xxv. 8-17. The deviations for the most part originated through the freedom exercised by the epitomizer in his work, or only when mistakes were made by later copyists. The text before us has some amplifications (especially the notices regarding the ornaments of the brazen pillars, ver. 23) which are found nowhere else in the Old Testament. The difference in date between ver. 12 ("on the tenth of the month") and the passage in Kings ("on the seventh of the month") has arisen through one number having been mistaken for another in copying; it cannot now be decided which is correct; see on 2 Kings xxv. 18. As to Nebuzaradan, see on xxxix. 13. Instead of עֶמֶד לְפָנַי, is found עֶבֶד in 2 Kings xxv. 8, which certainly is a simpler reading, but one having less appearance of being the original. The only strange point is the want of the relative מֵאֵשֶׁר in plain prose before עֶמֶד, which is probably to be pointed עֶמֶד בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם, instead of יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (Kings), is a pregnant expression for "he came into Jerusalem."—Ver. 14. From the expression אֶת־כָּל־חֻמּוֹת, as given in ver. 14, "all" is omitted in Kings, as being not indispensable for the meaning.—Ver. 15. The first words, "And of the poor of the people," are wanting in Kings, and have been brought here, through an error on the part of the copyist, from the beginning of the next verse; for "the poor of the people" are first treated of in ver. 16, where it is stated that Nebuzaradan left them in the land, while ver. 15 treats of those who were carried away to Babylon. The word הָאָמֶן, instead of הָהָמֶן (Kings), seems to have originated simply through the exchange of מ for ה, and to mean, like the other, the multitude of people. Hitzig and Graf are of opinion that אָמֶן here, as in Prov. viii. 30, means workmaster or artificer, and that הָאָמֶן denotes the same persons (collectively) who are designated הַחֹרֵשׁ הַמְּסִינִי in xxiv. 1, xxix. 2, and 2 Kings xxiv. 14. But this view is opposed by the parallel passage, xxxix. 9, where the whole of this verse occurs, and יְתֵר הָעָם הַנִּשְׁאָרִים stands instead of יְתֵר הָאָמֶן. "The rest of the people of Jerusalem" are divided, by וְאֵת—יָאֵת, into those who went over to the Chaldeans, and the

rest of the people who were taken prisoners by the Chaldeans at the capture of the city. The statement that both of these two classes of the population of Jerusalem were carried away to Babylon is so far limited by the further declaration, in ver. 16, that Nebuzaradan did not carry away every one, without exception, but let a portion of the humbler inhabitants of the country, who had no property, remain in the land, as vine-dressers and husbandmen, that they might till the land. Instead of מְדֻלִּיּוֹת הָאָרֶץ there occurs in Kings מְדֻלִּיּוֹת הָאָרֶץ, and in Jer. xxxix. 10, more distinctly, כִּן הָעָם הַדְּלִיּוֹת, "some of the people, the humbler ones," who had no property of their own. דְּלִיּוֹת, pl. דְּלִיּוֹת, is an abstract noun, "poverty;" the singular is used collectively, hence the plural is here used to supply the deficiency. For יִנְבִּיּוֹת, from יָנַב, to plough, there is found instead, in 2 Kings xxv. 12, *Kethib* נִבְיָה, from נָבַה, with the same meaning.—Vers. 17–23. The carrying away of the vessels of the temple is more fully stated than in 2 Kings xxv. 13–17. The large brazen articles, the two pillars at the porch (cf. 1 Kings vii. 15 ff.), the bases (1 Kings vii. 27 ff.), and the brazen sea (1 Kings vii. 23 ff.), which were too vast in their proportions to be easily carried away to Babylon, were broken to pieces by the Chaldeans, who carried off the brass of which they were made. אֶשֶׁר לְבֵית is more correct than אֶשֶׁר בֵּית (Kings), and "all their brass" is more precise than simply "their brass" (Kings). In the enumeration of the smaller brazen vessels used for the temple service, ver. 18, there is omitted, in 2 Kings, וְאֵת הַמִּזְבֵּּיּוֹת, "and the bowls" (used in sacrifice); this omission is perhaps due merely to an error in transcription. The enumeration of the gold and silver vessels in ver. 19 has been much more abbreviated in 2 Kings xxv. 15, where only "the fire-pans and the bowls" are mentioned, while in the text here, besides these there are named "the basons," then "the pots (Eng. vers. *caldrons*), and the candlesticks, and the pans (Eng. vers. *spoons*), and the cups." For particulars regarding these different vessels, see on 1 Kings vii. 40, 45, 50. In ver. 20, reference is made to the fact that the mass of metal in the vessels that were carried away was without weight. The same is stated in 2 Kings xxv. 16, where, however, there is no mention of the twelve brazen bulls; while in the text of Jeremiah, אֶשֶׁר תַּחַת

אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה וְהַמִּלְנֹחַ is faulty, and we must read instead, אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה וְהַמִּלְנֹחַ. The assertion of Graf, in his commentary on this verse, and of Thenius on 2 Kings xxv. 16,—that the notice regarding the twelve brazen bulls is incorrect, because these were then no longer in Jerusalem (xxvii. 19), but had previously been removed by Ahaz from under the brazen sea for Tiglath-pileser,—we have already, under 2 Kings xvi. 17, shown to be erroneous. The apposition of בְּלִי-הַבָּלִים הָאֵלֶּה to לְנִשְׁחָתָם explains the reference of the suffix. In vers. 21-23, the narrator, in order to call attention to the amount of art exhibited on the vessels destroyed by the Chaldeans, gives a brief description of the brazen pillars with their capitals. This description is much shortened in 2 Kings xxv. 17, and contains notices completing that which is given of these works of art in 1 Kings vii. For details, see the passage referred to.

Vers. 24-27. The account given regarding the arrest of the chief officers of the temple and of the city, and concerning their transportation to Riblah, where Nebuchadnezzar caused them to be executed, agrees with 2 Kings xxv. 18-21, except in some unimportant variations, which, however, do not alter the sense; the explanation has been already given in the commentary on that passage. In 2 Kings xxv., the account of the appointment of Gedaliah as the governor of Judah, together with that of his assassination by Ishmael, which follows the narrative just referred to, is here omitted, because the matter has been already more fully stated in the passage chap. xl. 7 on to xliii. 7, and had no close connection with the object of the present chapter. Instead of this, there follows here, in vers. 28-30 (as a continuation of the remark made, ver. 27, "Thus was Judah carried away captive out of his own land"), a calculation of the number of the Jews taken to Babylon at the three deportations: in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, 3023 Jews; in the eighteenth year, 832 souls from Jerusalem; and in the twenty-third year, 745 souls,—in all, 4600 persons. The correctness of these data is vouched for by the exactness of the separate numbers, and the agreement of the sum with the individual items. In other respects, however, they present various difficulties. There is, first, the chronological discrepancy that the second deportation is here placed in the eighteenth year of

Nebuchadnezzar, in contradiction with ver. 12, according to which, the deportation after the taking of Jerusalem occurred in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; and 832 souls could not well be carried out of Jerusalem during the siege. This difference can be settled only by assuming that this list of deportations was derived from another source than the preceding notice regarding the destruction of Jerusalem, in which the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign were reckoned in some other way than elsewhere in Jeremiah and in the books of Kings, probably from the date of the actual commencement of his reign, which followed a year after he first appeared in Judah, from which his reign is dated elsewhere; see on Dan. i. 1 (p. 59 ff.). According to this mode of computation, the seventh year would correspond to the eighth of the common reckoning, and be the year in which Jehoiachin was carried away to Babylon, together with a large number of the people. But this does not agree with 3023, which is given as the number of those who were carried away; for, at that time, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 16, as many as 10,000 Jews, or, according to another view of these verses, even 18,000, were carried away to Babylon. This difference does not permit of being explained in any way. Ewald (*History of the People of Israel*, iii. p. 738) accordingly assumes that in ver. 28, after שָׁבַע, the word עֶשְׂרִי has been omitted, as in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, where the age of Jehoiachin is given; hence he thinks that, instead of "in the seventh," we must read "in the seventeenth year of Nebuchadnezzar." On such a view, the reference would be to a deportation which took place under Zedekiah, a year before the capture, or during the time of the siege of Jerusalem, and that, too, out of the country districts of Judah in contrast with Jerusalem, ver. 29. This supposition is favoured not merely by the small number of those who are said to have been carried away, but also by the context of the narrative, inasmuch as, in what precedes, it is only the capture of Jerusalem and the deportation of the people in Zedekiah's time that is treated of. Nägelshach has objected to this supposition, that it was not likely the great mass of the people would be carried away during the war, at a time when the approach of the Egyptian army (cf. xxxvii. 5) was an object of

dread. But the objection does not weaken the supposition, since the former rests on two presuppositions that are quite erroneous: viz., first, that the deportation took place before the defeat of the auxiliary army from Egypt, whereas it may have followed that event; and secondly, that the Chaldeans, by keeping the hostile Jews in the country, might have been able to get some assistance against the Egyptian army, whereas, by removing the hostile population of Judah, they would but diminish the number of the enemies with which they had to contend. We therefore regard this conjecture as highly probable, because it is the means of settling all difficulties, and because we can thereby account for the small number of those who were carried away in the deportations during and after the destruction of Jerusalem. Regarding the third deportation, which was effected by Nebuzaradan (ver. 30) in the twenty-third, or, according to another reckoning, in the twenty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, i.e. in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, we have no other information; for the statement of Josephus, *Antt.* x. 9. 7, that Nebuchadnezzar made war upon the Ammonites and Moabites in that year, has not been placed beyond a doubt, and is probably a mere inference from this verse, taken in connection with the prophecies in chap. xlviii. and xlix. Yet there is nothing improbable in the statement, viewed by itself. For it must be borne in mind that, after the appointment of Gedaliah as governor, and the departure of the Chaldean hosts, many Jews, who had fled during the war, returned into the country. Hence, in spite of the fact that, after the murder of Gedaliah, a multitude of Jews, fearing the vengeance of the Chaldeans, fled to Egypt, many may have still remained in the country; and many other fugitives may not have returned till afterwards, and given occasion to the Chaldeans for removing other 745 disturbers of the peace to Babylon, four or five years after Jerusalem had been laid in ashes. This deportation may have taken place on the occasion of the subjugation of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Idumeans, or during the war with the Phœnicians, possibly because they had rendered assistance to these nations against the Chaldeans. These verses thus contain nothing to justify the assumption of M. von Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assy. und Babels*, S. 58, note) and

Nägelsbach, that they are a gloss. The paucity of those who were carried away is not to be attributed to a desire on the part of the writer of this inserted portion to represent the calamity as not so very terrible after all; nor is it due to the substitution of the number of the Levites for that of the entire people,—two wholly arbitrary assumptions: it is completely explained by a consideration of the historical circumstances. The best of the population of Judah had already been carried away, and Zedekiah and his counsellors must have said to themselves, when they rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, that the latter would not spare this time; thus they must have defended themselves to the utmost, as is shown by the very fact that the siege of Jerusalem lasted eighteen months. In this manner, war, pestilence, and famine carried off a great number of the population of Jerusalem; so that, of men who were able-bodied and fit for war, and who could be carried into exile, not more than 4600 fell into the hands of the Chaldeans. During the war, also, many had concealed themselves in inaccessible places, while the lowest of the people were left behind in the country to cultivate the fields. Still more strange might appear the circumstance that the sum-total of those who were carried away to Babylon, viz. 10,000 with Jehoiachin, and 4600 under Zedekiah,—14,600 in all,—is evidently disproportionate to the number of those who returned to Jerusalem and Judah under Zerubbabel, which number is given in Ezra ii. 64 at 42,360, exclusive of men and maid servants. For this reason, Graf is of opinion that still later deportations may have taken place, of which no mention is made anywhere. This assumption, however, has little probability. On the other hand, we must consider these points: (1.) In the accounts given of those who were carried away, only full-grown and independent persons of the male sex are reckoned, while, along with fathers, both their wives and their children went into exile. (2.) Even so early as the first capture of Jerusalem in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, a number of prisoners of war, perhaps not inconsiderable, came to Babylon; these might unite with the thousands of their brethren who were carried thither at a later period. (3.) When the exiles had settled down in Babylon, and there found not only a means of livelihood, but even in

many instances, as is clear from several intimations, attained to opulence as citizens, many, even of those who had been left in the country, may have gone to Babylon, in the hope of finding there greater prosperity than in Judah, now laid waste and depopulated by war. (4.) From the time when the 10,000 were carried away with Jehoiachin, in the year 599 B.C., till the return under Zerubbabel, 536 B.C., 63 years, *i.e.* nearly two generations, had passed, during which the exiles might largely increase in numbers. If we take all these elements into consideration, then, in the simple fact that the number of those who returned amounts to nearly three times the numbers of those given as having been carried away under Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, we cannot find such a difficulty as entitles us to doubt the correctness of the numbers handed down to us.

Vers. 31-34. The closing portion of this chapter, *viz.* the notice regarding the liberation of Jehoiachin from imprisonment, and his elevation to royal honours by Evil-merodach after Nebuchadnezzar's death, substantially agrees with the account given of that event in 2 Kings xxv. 27-30. The difference of date, "on the twenty-fifth of the month" (ver. 31), and "on the twenty-seventh of the month" in 2 Kings, has arisen through the entrance of a clerical error into one text or the other. The few remaining variations of the two texts have no influence on the meaning. As to the fact itself, and its importance for the people languishing in exile, we may refer to the explanation given at 2 Kings xxv. 27 ff.

THE
LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE NAME, CONTENTS, AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE BOOK.

THE NAME.—The five Lamentations composed on the fall of Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah, which have received their position in the canon of the Old Testament among the Hagiographa, have for their heading, in Hebrew mss. and in printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, the word אֵיכָה ("alas! how . . ."), which forms the characteristic initial word of three of these pieces (i. 1, ii. 1, and iv. 1). The Rabbis name the collection קִינּוּת (Lamentations), from the nature of its contents: so in the Talmud (*Tract. Baba Bathra*, f. 14*b*); cf. Jerome in the *Prol. galeat*, and in the prologue to his translation: "*incipiunt Threni, i.e. lamentationes, quæ Cynoth hebraice inscribuntur.*" With this agree the designations Θρήνοι (LXX.), and *Threni* or *Lamentationes*, also *Lamenta* in the Vulgate and among the Latin writers.

CONTENTS.—The ancient custom of composing and singing lamentations over deceased friends (of which we find proof in the elegies of David on Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 17 ff., and on Abner, 2 Sam. iii. 33 ff., and in the notice given in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25) was even in early times extended so as to apply to the general calamities that befell countries and cities; hence the prophets often speak of taking up lamentations over the fall of nations, countries, and cities; cf. Amos v. 1, Jer. vii. 29, ix. 9, 17 f., Ezek. xix. 1, xxvi. 17, xxvii. 2, etc. The five lamentations of the book now before us all refer to the

destruction of Jerusalem and of the kingdom of Judah by the Chaldeans; in them are deplored the unutterable misery that has befallen the covenant people in this catastrophe, and the disgrace which the fallen daughter of Zion has thereby suffered. This subject is treated of in the five poems from different points of view. In the *first*, the lamentation is chiefly made over the carrying away of the people into captivity, the desolation of Zion, the acts of oppression, the plundering and the starvation connected with the taking of Jerusalem, the scoffing and contempt shown by the enemy, and the helpless and comfortless condition of the city, now fallen so low. In the *second*, the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah is set forth as an act of God's wrath against the sins of the people, the impotency of human comfort in the midst of the terrible calamity is shown, and the people are exhorted to seek help from the Lord. In the *third*, the deep spiritual sufferings of God's people in the midst of the general distress form the subject of grievous complaint, out of which the soul endeavours to rise, and to see the compassion of the Lord, and the justice of His dealings on earth generally, as well as in this visitation of judgment; and on this is founded the confident expectation of help. In the *fourth*, the dreadful misery that has befallen Zion's citizens of every class is represented as a punishment for the grievous sins of the people and their leaders. And lastly, in the *fifth*, the Lord is entreated to remove the disgrace from His people and restore them to their former state of grace. According to this view, one may readily perceive in these poems a well-cogitated plan in the treatment of the material common to the whole, and a distinct progress in the execution of this plan. There is no foundation, on the other hand, for the opinion of De Wette, that a gradation may be traced in the description given of the condition of the city; and the attempt of earlier expositors (Horrorer, Pareau, Jahn, etc.) to explain and apply the contents of the different poems to different leading features in the Chaldean catastrophe—such as the siege, the capture, the destruction of the city and the temple—has entirely failed. Ewald, again, assumes that the five poems were composed for a time to be solemnly spent in sorrow and penitence, and that in the five lamentations the prophet-writer presents a kind of

changing act (drama), making five different acts follow each other progressively; and further, that it is only with the changing series of these that the entire great act of real lamentation and divine sorrow concludes. But neither in the design nor in the execution of these poems are any points to be found which form a safe foundation for this assumption. Ewald is so far correct, however, in his general remark, that the prophetic composer sought to present to the community, in their deep sorrow, words which were meant to direct the grieving heart to the only source of true comfort; and that he understood how "to lead the deeply sorrowing ones imperceptibly to a proper knowledge of themselves and of their own great guilt, and thereby, in the first place, to true sorrow and sighing; that he also knew how to resolve the wildest grief at last into true prayer for divine retribution, and to change new strength into rejoicing over the everlasting Messianic hope, and into the most touching request for the divine compassion" (*Die Dichter des Alt. Bundes*, 3 Ausg. i. 2, S. 322).

FORM.—In order to give an air of continuity as well as of exhaustive completeness to the lamentation, which constantly assumes new figures and turns of thought, the poems, with the exception of the last (chap. v.), are alphabetically arranged, and in such a form that the first three consist of long stanzas, each of three lines, which are for the most part further divided about the middle by a cæsura into two portions of unequal length. These poems are so arranged in accordance with the letters of the alphabet, that in the first two, every verse of three lines, and in the third, every line in the verse, begins with the letters of the alphabet in their order. In this last [third] poem, moreover, all the letters of the alphabet occur thrice in succession, for which reason the Masoretes have divided these lines of the verses as if each formed a complete verse. In the fourth poem, the verses, which are also arranged and marked alphabetically, consist only of lines which are likewise divided into two by a cæsura; in the fifth, the alphabetic arrangement of the verses is departed from, and it is only in their number that the verses of the poem are made like the letters of the alphabet. This alphabetic arrangement of the verses is exactly carried out in the four poems, but with the remarkable

difference, that in the first only does the order of the letters entirely agree with the traditional arrangement of the alphabet, while, in the other three, the verse beginning with **ב** stands before that beginning with **י**. This deviation from the rule does not admit of being explained by the assumption that the verses in question were afterwards transposed in consequence of an oversight on the part of the copyist, nor by the supposition that the order of the letters had not yet been absolutely fixed. The former assumption, adopted by Kennicott, Jahn, etc., is shown to be utterly incorrect, by the circumstance that the supposed transmutation cannot be reconciled with the course of thought in the poems; while the latter, which has been maintained by C. B. Michaelis, Ewald, etc., is disproved by the fact that no change has taken place in the order of the letters in the Shemitic alphabets (cf. Sommer, *Bibl. Abhandll.* i. S. 145; Gesenius, § 5, Rem. 2; Ewald, § 12, a); and other alphabetic poems, such as Ps. cxi., cxii., cxix., and Prov. xxxi. 10-31, exactly preserve the common arrangement of the letters. Still less does the irregularity in question permit of being attributed to an oversight on the part of the composer (which is Bertholdt's view), for the irregularity is repeated in three poems. It is rather connected with another circumstance. For we find in other alphabetic poems also, especially the older ones, many deviations from the rule, which undeniably prove that the composers bound themselves rigorously by the order of the alphabet only so long as it fitted in to the course of thought without any artificiality. Thus, for instance, in Ps. cxlv. the *Nun* verse is wanting; in Ps. xxxiv. the *Vav* verse; while, at the close, after **נ**, there follows another verse with **ב**. Just such another closing verse is found in Ps. xxv., in which, besides, the first two verses begin with **א**, while **ב** is wanting; two verses, moreover, begin with **י** instead of **פ** and **י**: in Ps. xxxvii. **י** is replaced by **י**, which is again found after **ב** in its proper order. It is also to be considered that, in many of these poems, the division of the verses into strophes is not continuously and regularly carried out; e.g. in these same Lamentations, i. 7 and ii. 19, verses of four lines occur among those with three. Attempts have, indeed, been made to attribute these irregularities to later revisers, who mistook the arrangement

into strophes; but the arguments adduced will not stand the test; see details in Hävernick's *Einl.* iii. S. 51 ff.

If we gather all these elements together, we shall be obliged to seek for the reason of most, if not all of these deviations from the norm, in the free use made of such forms by the Hebrew poets. Gerlach here objects that, "in view of the loose connection of thought in alphabetic poems generally, and in these Lamentations particularly, and considering the evident dexterity with which the poet elsewhere uses the form, another arrangement of the series would not have caused him any difficulty." We reply that there is no want in these poems of a careful arrangement of thought; but that the skill of the poet, in making use of this arrangement, was not always sufficient to let him put his thoughts, corresponding to things, into the alphabetic form, without using artificial means or forced constructions; and that, in such cases, the form was rather sacrificed to the thought, than rigorously maintained through the adoption of forced and unnatural forms of expression.

Finally, the reason for the absence of the alphabetic arrangement from the fifth poem is simply, that the lamentation there resolves itself into a prayer, in which the careful consideration indispensable for the carrying out of the alphabetic arrangement must give place to the free and natural outcome of the feelings.

§ 2. THE AUTHOR, TIME OF COMPOSITION, AND POSITION IN THE CANON.

AUTHOR.—In the Hebrew text no one is named as the author of the Lamentations; but an old tradition affirms that the prophet Jeremiah composed them. Even so early as in the Alexandrine version, we find prefixed to i. 1, the words, *Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐρημωθῆναι, ἐκάθισεν Ἱερεμίας κλαίων, καὶ ἐθρήνησε τὸν θρήνον τοῦτον ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ εἶπε.* These words are also found in the Vulgate; only, instead of *et dixit*, there is the amplification, *et amaro animo suspirans et ejulans dixit*. The Syriac is without this notice; but the Arabic exactly reproduces the words of the LXX., and the Targum begins with the words, *Dixit Jeremias*

propheta et sacerdos magnus. After this, both in the Talmud (*Baba bathr.* f. 15. 1) and by the Church Fathers (Origen in *Euseb. hist. eccl.* iv. 25, Jerome in *prolog. gal.*, etc.), as well as the later theologians, the Jeremianic authorship was assumed as certain. The learned but eccentric Hermann von der Hardt was the first to call in question the Jeremianic composition of the book, in a "Programm" published in 1712 at Helmstädt; he attributed the five poems to Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, and King Jehoiachin (!). This doubt was resumed at a later period by an unknown writer in the *Tübingen Theol. Quartalschr.* 1819, part i.; it was mentioned by Augusti (*Einkl.*), and further carried out by Conz in *Bengel's Archiv*, iv. p. 161 f. and 422 ff. Kalkar was the next to question the traditional belief, and urged against it the position of the book among the *כְּתוּבִים*, and the difference existing between the Greek translation of the Lamentations and that of the prophecies of Jeremiah; these objections he held to be not inconsiderable, yet not decisive. Then Ewald (*Poet. Bücher des A. B.* i. S. 145, and in the third edition of the same book, i. 2, S. 326; cf. *Bibl. Jahrb.* vii. S. 151 f., and *History of the People of Israel*, iv. p. 22) decidedly refused to ascribe the book to the prophet, and rather attributed it to one of his pupils, Baruch or some other; in this opinion he is followed by Bunsen, as is usual in questions regarding the criticism of the Old Testament. Finally, Nägelsbach (in Lange's series, see Clark's *For. Theol. Lib.*), with the help of the Concordance, has prepared a table of those words and forms of words found in the Lamentations, but not occurring in the prophecies of Jeremiah; by this means he has endeavoured to set forth the difference of language in the two books, which he accepts as a decisive reason for rejecting the Jeremianic authorship of the Lamentations. And Thenius assures us that, "in consequence of pretty long and conscientious examination, he has become convinced" that chap. ii. and iv., judging from their contents and form, undeniably proceeded from Jeremiah; while chap. i. and iii. were composed by one who was left behind in the country, some time after the destruction of Jerusalem, and shortly before the last deportation; but chap. v. is from a man "who was probably wandering about everywhere, as the *leader* of a band of nobles

seeking a safe asylum, but unwilling to attach themselves to the caravan going to Egypt."

Schrader, in his late revision of De Wette's *Introduction*, § 339, has thus condensed the results of these critical investigations: In support of the old tradition, which mentions Jeremiah as the author, "one might appeal to the affinity in contents, spirit, tone, and language (De W.). Nevertheless, this same style of language, and the mode of representation, exhibit, again, so much that is peculiar; the artificiality of form, especially in chap. i., ii., and iv., is so unlike Jeremiah's style; the absence of certain specific Jeremianic peculiarities, and the contradiction between some expressions of the prophet and those of the author of the Lamentations, is again so striking, that one must characterize the authorship of Jeremiah as very improbable, if not quite impossible, especially since the points of likeness to the language used by Jeremiah, on the one hand, are sufficiently accounted for in general by the fact that both works were composed at the same time; and on the other hand, are nullified by other points of likeness to Ezekiel's style, which show that use has already been made of his prophecies." Again: "The hypothesis of Thenius, that the poems are by different authors, is refuted by the similarity in the fundamental character of the poems, and in the character of the language." We may therefore dispense with a special refutation of this hypothesis, especially since it will be shown in the exposition that the points which Thenius has brought forward in support of his view are all founded on a wretchedly prosaic style of interpretation, which fails to recognise the true nature of poetry, and regards mere poetic figures as actual history. Of the considerations, however, which Schrader has adduced against the Jeremianic authorship, the last two that are mentioned would, of course, have decided influence, if there were any real foundation for them, viz. the contradiction between some expressions of Jeremiah and those of the author of the Lamentations. But they have no foundation in fact.

The only instance of a contradiction is said to exist between v. 7 and Jer. xxxi. 29, 30. It is quoted by Schrader, who refers to Nöldeke, *die alttest. Literat.* S. 146. But the expression, "Our fathers have sinned, they are no more, we bear their

iniquities" (v. 7), does not stand in contradiction to what is said in Jer. xxxix. 29 f. against the current proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth have become blunt," viz. that in the future, after the restoration of Israel, "every one shall die for his own iniquity, and the teeth of every one who eats sour grapes shall become blunt." One statement would contradict the other only if the latter meant that those who bear the punishment were guiltless, or thought themselves such. But how far this thought was from the mind of the suppliant in v. 7, is shown by what he says in ver. 16: "Woe unto us, for we have sinned." According to these words, those in ver. 7 can only mean, "We atone not merely for our own sins, but also the sins of our fathers," or, "The sins of our fathers as well as our own are visited on us." This confession accords with Scripture (cf. Ex. xx. 5, Jer. xvi. 11, etc.), and is radically different from the proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes," etc., which was constantly in the mouth of those who considered themselves innocent, and who thereby perverted the great truth, that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children who hate Him, into the false statement, that innocent children must atone for the sins of their fathers. On this, cf. also the exposition of v. 7. But when Schrader, following Nöldeke, further remarks, "that Jeremiah would hardly have said nothing whatever about God's having foretold all this suffering *through him*," there lies at the foundation of this remark the preposterous notion, that Jeremiah ought to have brought himself prominently forward in the Lamentations (supposing him to have written them), as one who ought not to suffer the evil under which the people were groaning. Such gross Pelagianism was foreign to the prophet Jeremiah. No one need speak, therefore, of a contradiction between the Lamentations and the prophecies of Jeremiah.

As little proof is there for the assertion that the author of the Lamentations made use of the prophecies of Ezekiel. Nägelsbach and Schrader, in support of this allegation, have adduced only ii. 14, compared with Ezek. xii. 24, xiii. 5 f.; and ii. 15, compared with Ezek. xxvii. 3, xxviii. 12. Nägelsbach says: "The words, נְבִיאֵי הָאֱלֹהִים שְׂאֵי וְהָפֵל, in ii. 14, are no doubt a quotation from Ezek. xii. 24, xiii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15,

23, xxi. 28, 34, xxii. 28. For it is only in these passages, and nowhere else in the Old Testament, that the expression חַזָּק שְׁמוֹ occurs, and in combination with תָּמִיל. Moreover, בְּלִילִית יָפִי, in ii. 15, is an expression decidedly peculiar to Ezekiel, for it occurs only in Ezek. xxvii. 3 (cf. xxviii. 12), and nowhere else." But the three expressions of these two passages form really too weak a proof that the author of the Lamentations made use of the prophecies of Ezekiel. Of course, as regards the mere form of the words, it is true that the expression בְּלִילִית יָפִי, "she who is perfect in beauty," is found, besides Lam. ii. 15, only in Ezek. xxvii. 3, where the prophet says of Tyre, "Thou sayest, I am perfect in beauty," and in Ezek. xxviii. 12, where it is said of the king of Tyre, "Thou art . . . יָפִי בְּלִילִית;" but the thing occurs also in Ps. l. 2, with the unimportant change in the form of the words מְכַלֵּל יָפִי, "perfection of beauty," where Zion is so designated. Now, if we not merely gather out of the Concordance the expressions of like import, but also keep in view the idea presented in ii. 15, "Is this the city מְשֻׁשׁ לְכָל־הָאָרֶץ?" and at the same time consider that the poet says this of Jerusalem, there cannot be the least doubt that he did not take these epithets, which are applied to Jerusalem, from Ezekiel, who used them to designate Tyre, but that he had Ps. l. 2 in view, just as the other epithet, "a joy of the whole earth," points to Ps. xlviii. 3. Only on the basis of these passages in the Psalms could he employ the expression שִׂיאֵמָר, "which they call." Or are we to believe that the word בְּלִילִית was originally unknown to the author of the Lamentations, and that he first became acquainted with it through Ezekiel? Nor, again, can we say that the words taken by Nägelsbach out of ii. 14 are "undoubtedly a quotation from Ezekiel," because they do not occur in this way in any of the passages cited from Ezekiel. All that we can found on this assertion is, that in the prophecies of Jeremiah neither חַזָּק שְׁמוֹ nor the word-form תָּמִיל occurs; while Ezekiel not only uses חַזָּק שְׁמוֹ, xii. 14, חַזָּק שְׁמוֹ, and מְחַזְּקֵה שְׁמוֹ, as synonymous with חַזָּק שְׁמוֹ, xiii. 6-9, 23, but also says of the false prophets, xiii. 9-11, "They build a wall, and plaster it over with lime" (מְחַזְּקִים אֹתוֹ תָּמִיל, xiii. 10, cf. vers. 14, 15, 18). These same false prophets are also called, in ver. 11, מְחַזְּקֵי תָּמִיל, "those who plaster with lime." But Ezekiel uses the word תָּמִיל only in

the meaning of "lime," while the writer of these Lamentations employs it in the metaphorical sense, "absurdity, nonsense," in the same way as Jeremiah, xxiii. 13, uses תַּפְלָה, "absurdity," of the prophets of Samaria. Now, just as Jeremiah has not taken תַּפְלָה from Ezekiel, where it does not occur at all (but only in Job i. 22, xxiv. 12), so there is as little likelihood in the opinion that the word תַּפֵּל, in Lam. ii. 14, has been derived from Ezekiel, because Job vi. 6 shows that it was far from rarely used by the Hebrews. Nor does the non-occurrence of הָזָה שָׁנָא in Jeremiah afford any tenable ground for the opinion that the expression, as found in Lam. ii. 14, was taken from Ezekiel. The idea contained in הָזָה was not unknown to Jeremiah; for he speaks, xiv. 14, of הָזָה שָׁנָא, and in xxiii. 16 of הָזָה שָׁנָא, referring to the false prophets, whose doings he characterizes as שָׁנָא; cf. vi. 13, viii. 10, xiv. 14, xxiii. 25 f., 32, xxvii. 10, 15, xxviii. 16, xxix. 9, 23, 31. Further, if we consult only the text of the Bible instead of the Concordance, and ponder the connection of thought in the separate passages, we can easily perceive why, instead of שָׁנָא (הָזָה), הָזָה, which is so frequent in Jeremiah, there is found in Lam. ii. 14, הָזָה שָׁנָא and הָזָה מַשְׁאֵל שָׁנָא. In the addresses in which Jeremiah warns the people of the lying conduct of the false prophets, who spoke merely out of their own heart, שָׁנָא was the most suitable expression; in Lam. ii. 14, on the contrary, where complaint is made that the prophecies of their prophets afford no comfort to the people in their present distress, שָׁנָא was certainly the most appropriate word which the composer could select, even without a knowledge of Ezekiel. There can be no question, then, regarding a quotation from that prophet. But even though it were allowed that ii. 14 implied an actual acquaintance with chap. xii. and xiii. of Ezekiel, still, nothing would follow from that against the Jeremianic authorship of the Lamentations. For Jeremiah uttered these prophecies in the sixth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, i.e. in the third year before the last siege, and the fifth before the destruction of Jerusalem; and considering the frequent intercourse carried on between the captives in Babylon and those who still remained in Judah and Jerusalem, in virtue of which the former even sent letters to Jerusalem (cf. Jer. xxix. 25), some of Ezekiel's prophecies might have become known in

the latter city a considerable time before the final catastrophe, and even reached the ears of Jeremiah.

With the demolition of these two arguments, the main strength of our opponents, in the bringing forward of proof, has been broken. Schrader has not adduced a single instance showing "the absence of certain specific Jeremianic peculiarities." For "the comparatively less emphasis given to the sins of the people," which is alleged in Nöldeke's note, cannot be applied in support of that position, even if it were correct, in view of the prominence so frequently assigned to grievous sin, i. 5, 8, 14, 18, 22, ii. 14, iii. 39, 42, iv. 6, 13, v. 7; because the Lamentations were not composed with the design of punishing the people for their sin, but were intended to comfort in their misery, and to raise up again, the people who had been severely chastised for the guilt of their sin, which was greater than the sin of Sodom (iv. 6). Add to this, that Schrader, by using this argument, contradicts himself; for he has shortly before adduced the affinity in contents, spirit, tone, and language as an argument to which one might appeal in support of the Jeremianic authorship, and this affinity he has established by a long series of quotations.¹

Further, the remark that "the artificiality of form, especially in chap. i., ii., and iv., is unlike Jeremiah," is correct only in so far as no alphabetic poems are to be found in the prophetic book of Jeremiah. But are we then to look for poetic compositions in prophetic addresses and historical narratives? The remark now quoted is based on the assertion made by other critics, that the alphabetic arrangement of poetic compositions generally is a mere rhetorical work of art, and the production of a later but degenerate taste (Ed. Reuss and others), or a piece of

¹ The passages are the following: i. 8 f., cf. with Jer. iv. 30, xiii. 21 f., 26; i. 20, iv. 13 ff., with Jer. xiv. 7, 18; ii. 14 with Jer. xiv. 13; i. 16, ii. 11, iii. 48, 49, with Jer. viii. 21 ff., ix. 16 ff., xiii. 17, xiv. 17; iii. 52 with Jer. xv. 26 f.; chap. iii. with Jer. xv. 10 ff., xvii. 5 ff., 14 ff., xx. 7 ff., 14 ff. (De Wette). Further, בְּתוֹלַת בֵּית עַמִּי, i. 15, ii. 13, cf. Jer. xiv. 17, xlv. 11; מִחֲמֹדִים, ii. 22, cf. Jer. iv. 25, x. 3, 10; וּנְלֵל, i. 11, cf. Jer. xv. 19; מִחֲמֹדִים, i. 11; נִדְרָה instead of נִדְרָה, i. 8; לֹא instead of לֹא; שׁוֹמֵמִין, iv. 5; נָחַל, iv. 14; חֲפֵל, ii. 14. Finally, Chaldaizing forms: יִשְׁנָה instead of יִשְׁנָה, iv. 1; מִטְרָה, iii. 12; הָעֵיב, ii. 1; שָׁרָה, i. 14.

trifling unworthy of the prophet. This view has long ago been shown groundless; cf. Hävernicks *Einl.* iii. S. 46 ff. Even Hupfeld, who calls the alphabetical arrangement "artificiality or trifling," considers that it is of a kindred nature with collections of proverbs, and with small poems of a didactic character but deficient in close connection of thought; he thinks, too, that it may be comparatively ancient as a style of composition, and that it was not applied till later to other species of writing (as Lamentations). To this, Ed. Riehm, in the second edition of Hupfeld on the Psalms, i. p. 31, has added a very true remark: "In lyric poetry proper, the employment of this artificial form is naturally and intrinsically justified only when a single fundamental strain, that fills the whole soul of the poet,—deep, strong, and sustained,—seeks to die away in many different forms of chords; hence its employment in the elegy." The application of this artificial form to such a purpose is perfectly justified in these Lamentations; and the attempt to deny that these poems are the work of Jeremiah, on the ground of their artificial construction, would be as great an exhibition of arbitrary conduct, as if any one refused to ascribe the hymn "Befiehl du deine Wege" to Paul Gerhardt, or "Wie schön leucht' uns der Morgenstern" to Philip Nicolai, on the ground of the "artificiality" that manifests itself in the beginning of the verses.

Finally, the language and the mode of representation in these poems certainly exhibit much that is peculiar; and we find in them many words, word-forms, and modes of expression, which do not occur in the prophecies of Jeremiah. But it must also be borne in mind that the Lamentations are not prophetic addresses intended to warn, rebuke, and comfort, but lyric poetry, which has its own proper style of language, and this different from prophetic address. Both the subject-matter and the poetic form of these poems, smooth though this is in general, necessarily resulted in this,—that through the prevalence of peculiar thoughts, modes of representation, and feelings, the language also received an impress, in words and modes of expression, that was peculiar to itself, and different from the prophetic diction of Jeremiah. The mere collection of the words, word-forms, and expressions peculiar to the Lamentations, and not occurring in the prophecies of Jeremiah,

cannot furnish irrefragable proof that the authors of the two writings were different, unless it be shown, at the same time, that the character of the language in both writings is essentially different, and that for the ideas, modes of representation, and thoughts common to both, other words and expressions are used in the Lamentations than those found in the prophecies of Jeremiah. But neither the one nor the other has been made out by Nägelsbach. After giving the long list he has prepared, which occupies five and a half columns, and which gives the words occurring in the different verses of the five chapters, he explains that he does not seek to lay any weight on the *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, probably because Jeremiah also has many such words; but then he raises the question, "How is the fact to be accounted for, that Jeremiah never uses עֲלִיּוֹן or אֲרִיִּי except as divine names, while the latter, nevertheless, occurs fourteen times in the Lamentations; that Jeremiah never uses הַבַּיִת, יְיָ, אֱלֹהִים, זָנַח, נָשָׂא מַנִּים, יָחַל, נְנִינָה, חֲשָׁה, חֹזֶה, עָמַף, עָפָר, לֹא חָמַל, בָּלַע, מִחְמָד, חָסָא, nor נֶשֶׂא מַנִּים, יָחַל, נְנִינָה, חֲשָׁה, חֹזֶה, עָמַף, עָפָר, לֹא חָמַל, בָּלַע, מִחְמָד, חָסָא, the relative שׁ, or בִּקְרֵב without a suffix, while all these expressions occur more or less frequently in the Lamentations? And it has been well remarked that these expressions are not of so specific a kind, that the fact of their not being used in the prophetic book, but employed in the Lamentations, might be explained from the nature of the contents; but they belong, in great measure, to what I may call the house-dress of the author, which he constantly wears,—which he more or less unconsciously and unintentionally uses." We answer that the simile of the house-dress has been most unhappily chosen. Although the style of a writer may possibly be compared to his coat, yet nobody is in the habit of wearing his house-coat always, on Sundays and week-days, in the house and out of it; so, too, no writer is in the habit of using always the same words in prose and poetry. When we investigate the matter itself, we find we must, first of all, deduct fully one-third of the words enumerated, although these have evidently been collected and arranged as the most convincing proof; the words thus rejected are also found in the prophetic book of Jeremiah, though not quite in the same grammatical form, as the note shows.¹ Then

¹ For בִּקְרֵב, without a suffix, iii. 45, exactly corresponds to מִקְרֵב, Jer.

we ask the counter question, whether words which one who composed five poems employs only in one of these pieces, or only once or twice throughout the whole, ought to be reckoned as his house-dress? Of the words adduced, we do not find a single one in all the five poems, but חָשַׁךְ only in iii. 2, נָשָׂא פָּנִים only in iv. 16, נָנִיחָה only in iii. 14 and v. 14, פָּצָה פֶּה only in ii. 16 and iii. 46, עָלִיתָ only in iii. 35 and 38, אָנָה (Niphal) only in chap. i. (four times). Moreover, we ask whether Jeremiah might not also, in lyric poems, use poetic words which could not be employed in homely address? But of the words enumerated, לָמוֹ, עָלִיתָ, and אֱלֹהֵי alone as a name of God, together with נָנִיחָה, belong to the poetic style.¹ They are therefore not found in Jeremiah, simply because his prophetic addresses are neither lyric poems, nor rise to the lyric height of prophetic address. The rest of the words mentioned are also found in the Psalms especially, and in Job, as will be shown in the detailed exposition. And when we go deeper into the matter, we find that, in the Lamentations, there is the same tendency to reproduce the thoughts and language of the Psalms

vi. 1: cf. besides, בָּקָרְבִי, iv. 15, 20, with Jer. xxiii. 9; בָּקָרְבָה, iv. 13, and Jer. vi. 6, xlvi. 21. לֹא חָמַל, ii. 2, 17, 21, iii. 43, is found five times in Jeremiah (xiii. 14, xv. 5, xxi. 7, l. 14, li. 3), not only in the 3d pers. perfect, but also in the imperfect. Of בָּלַע there occurs the Kal, Jer. li. 34, and the noun בָּלַע, li. 44; from חָשַׁךְ, the noun חֹשֶׁךְ certainly is not found, but perhaps the verb is used in the Hiphil, Jer. xiii. 16, as the Kal in Lam. iv. 8, v. 16. With חָמַת, i. 8 and iii. 39, alternates חָסַת, iv. 6, 22, which Jeremiah frequently uses. Of שָׁמַח, the participle שׂוֹמֵחַ certainly is not found in Jeremiah, but the adj. שָׂמֵחַ is found in Jer. xii. 11, as in Lam. v. 8; and the Niphal of the verb in Jer. iv. 9 and xxxiii. 10, as in Lam. iv. 5. Lastly, neither is עָנָה wholly wanting in Jeremiah; for in xxii. 16 we are to read עָנִי, *miser*, although the noun עָנִי and the verb are not met with in his book.

¹ עָלִיתָ as a name of God (iii. 35 and 38), besides Isa. xiv. 14, is found only in poetic pieces, Num. xxvi. 16, Deut. xxxii. 8, and about twenty times in the Psalms; אֱלֹהֵי used by itself, except in direct addresses to God and interviews with Him, occurs in the Psalms about forty times, and also in the addresses of particular prophets, composed in the loftier style, particularly Isaiah and Amos; lastly, נָנִיחָה, in iii. 14, occurs as a reminiscence of Job xxx. 9, and in the Psalms and hymns, Isa. xxxviii. 20, and Hab. iii. 10.

(especially those describing the psalmist's sufferings) and of the book of Job, that characterizes the prophecies of Jeremiah, in the use he makes of Deuteronomy and the writings of earlier prophets. Another peculiarity of Jeremiah's style is seen in the fact that the composer of the Lamentations, like Jeremiah in his addresses, repeats himself much, not merely in his ideas, but also in his words: *e.g.*, *לֹא חָמַל* occurs four times, of which three instances are in chap. ii. (vers. 2, 17, 21) and one in iii. 43; *מַחֲמֹד* (and *מַחֲמֹדִים*) also occurs four times (i. 7, 10, 11, ii. 4), and *נִאֲמָה* as frequently (i. 4, 8, 11, 21); *יָגָה* is found five times (i. 4, 5, 12, iii. 32, 33), but in all the other Old Testament writings only thrice; and Jeremiah also uses *יָגַן* four times, while, of all the other prophets, Isaiah is the only one who employs it, and this he does twice.

These marks may be sufficient of themselves to show unmistakably that the peculiarity of the prophet as an author is also found in the Lamentations, and that nothing can be discovered showing a difference of language in the expression of thoughts common to both writings. But this will be still more evident if we consider, finally, the similarity, both as regards the subjects of thought and the style of expression, exhibited in a considerable number of instances in which certain expressions characteristic of Jeremiah are also found in Lamentations: *e.g.*, the frequent employment of *שָׁבַר בֵּת עַמִּי* and *שָׁבַר*, ii. 11, 13, iii. 47, 48, iv. 10, cf. with Jer. iv. 6, 20, vi. 1, 14, viii. 11, 21, x. 19, xiv. 17, etc.; *מְנוּרֵי מִסְפָּבִים*, ii. 22, with *מְנוּרֵי מִסְפָּבִים*, Jer. vi. 25, xx. 3, 10, xlv. 5, xlix. 29; *עֵץ יִרְדָּה וְרִמְעָה* (מים), or (מים), i. 16, ii. 18, iii. 48, ii. 11, cf. with Jer. viii. 23, ix. 17, xiii. 17, xiv. 17; *הָיִיתִי שָׂחֵק*, iii. 14, with *הָיִיתִי לְשָׂחֵק*, Jer. xx. 7; *בָּחַר בְּפֶחָה*, iii. 47, as in Jer. xlviii. 43. Cf. also the note on p. 345, after the passages quoted by De Wette. Pareau, then, had good reason when, long ago, he pointed out the peculiarities of Jeremiah in the style of the Lamentations; and only a superficial criticism can assert against this, that the existing coincidences find a sufficient explanation in the assumption that, speaking generally, the two books were composed at the same period.¹ We therefore close this investigation, after having

¹ Pareau has discussed this question very well in the *Observatt. general.*, prefixed to his Commentary, § 6-8, and concludes with this result: *Non*

proved that the tradition which ascribes the Lamentations to the prophet Jeremiah as their author is as well-founded as any ancient historical tradition whatever.

TIME OF COMPOSITION.—From the organic connection of the five poems, as shown above, it follows of itself that they cannot have proceeded from different authors, nor originated at different periods, but were composed at brief intervals, one after the other; not long after the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the kingdom of Judah, and in the order in which they have been transmitted to us. What gives special support to this conclusion is the circumstance that, throughout these Lamentations, there is no possibility of mistaking the expression of grief, still fresh in the writer's mind, over the horrors of that fearful catastrophe. The assumption, however, that the prophet, in the picture he draws, had before his eyes the ruins of the city, and the misery of those who had been left behind, cannot be certainly made out from a consideration of the contents of the poems. But there seems to be no doubt that Jeremiah composed them in the interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and his involuntary departure to Egypt. There is no tenable ground for the confident assertion of Ewald, that they were composed in Egypt; for the passages, i. 3, iv. 18 f., v. 5, 9, do not mean that the writer was then living among the fugitives who had fled in such vast multitudes to Egypt, partly before and partly after the destruction of the city.

POSITION OF THE LAMENTATIONS IN THE CANON.—The separation of the Lamentations from the book of the prophecies of Jeremiah, and their reception into the third division of the Old Testament canon (the *Kethubim*),—which Kalkschmidt and Thenius, in complete misunderstanding of the principle on which the tripartition of the canon is founded, would bring to bear as an argument against their having been composed by Jeremiah,—are

tantum regnant in Threnis varii illi characteres, quos stilo Jeremiæ proprios esse vidimus, verum etiam manifesto cernitur in eorum scriptore animus tener, lenis, ad quævis tristitia facile commotus ac dolorem ægre ferens. Quod autem in iis frequentius observetur, quam in sermonibus Jeremiæ propheticis, dictionis sublimitas et brevis majorque imaginum copia et pulchritudo, atque conceptum vis et intentio: illud vix aliter fieri potuisse agnoscemus, si ad argumenti naturam attendamus, quo vehementur affici debuerit Jeremias; etc., p. 40.

fully accounted for by their subjective, lyric contents; in consequence of this they differ essentially from the prophecies, and take their place alongside of the Psalms and other productions of sacred poesy. This position of theirs among the *Kethubim* must be considered (against Bleek) as the original one; their arrangement by the side of the prophetic writings of Jeremiah in the LXX. and Vulgate, which Luther [as well as the translators of the "authorized" English version] has retained, must have originated with the Alexandrine translators, who could not understand the arrangement of the Hebrew canon, and who afterwards, in order to make the number of the books of the Bible the same as that of the letters of the alphabet (twenty-two), counted the Lamentations as forming one book with the prophecies of Jeremiah. That this arrangement and enumeration of the Lamentations, observed by the Hellenists, deviated from the tradition of the Jews of Palestine, may be perceived from the remark of Jerome, in his *Prolog. galeat.*, regarding this mode of reckoning: *quamquam nonnulli Ruth et Cynoth inter hagiographa scriptitent, et hos libros in suo putent numero supputandos*. Their arrangement in the series of the five *Megilloth* (rolls appointed to be read on certain annual feast-days and memorial-days) in our editions of the Hebrew Bible was not fixed till a later period, when, according to the ordinance in the synagogal liturgy, the Lamentations were appointed to be read on the ninth of the month Ab, as the anniversary of the destruction of the temples of Solomon and of Herod. [Cf. Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* xv. 310.]

The importance of the Lamentations, as a part of the canon, does not so much consist in the mere fact that they were composed by Jeremiah, and contain outpourings of sorrow on different occasions over the misery of his people, as rather in their being an evidence of the interest with which Jeremiah, in the discharge of his functions as a prophet, continued to watch over the ruins of Jerusalem. In these Lamentations he seeks not merely to give expression to the sorrow of the people that he may weep with them, but by his outpour of complaint to rouse his fellow-countrymen to an acknowledgment of God's justice in this visitation, to keep them from despair under the burden of unutterable woe, and by teaching them how to give

due submission to the judgment that has befallen them, to lead once more to God those who would not let themselves be brought to Him through his previous testimony regarding that judgment while it was yet impending. The Jewish synagogue has recognised and duly estimated the importance of the Lamentations in these respects, by appointing that the book should be read on the anniversary of the destruction of the temple. A like appreciation has been made by the Christian Church, which, rightly perceiving that the Israelitish community is the subject in these poems, attributed to them a reference to the church militant; and, viewing the judgment on the people of God as a prophecy of the judgment that came on Him who took the sins of the whole world upon Himself, it has received a portion of the Lamentations into the ritual for the Passion Week, and concludes each of these lessons with the words, "*Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum, Deum tuum.*" Cf. *The Passion Week in its Ceremonies and Prayers*, Spires 1856, and the *Officium hebdomadæ sanctæ*, a reprinted extract from Dr. Reischl's *Passionale*, München 1857. The motives for this choice are so far set forth by Allioli (in Neumann, ii. S. 486) in the following terms: "The church wished believers to see, in the great punishments which God had ordained against Jerusalem by the instrumentality of Nebuchadnezzar, the still more severe chastisement that God has brought on Israel after the dreadful murder of the Messias. She seeks to bewail the unhappy condition of the blinded nation, once favoured with the divine revelation. In the fall of Jerusalem, she seeks to deplore the evil that has come on herself from external and internal foes, the persecution of brother by brother, the havoc made by false teachers, the looseness of opinions, the sad advances made by indifference in matters of faith and by the corruption of morals. In the devastation and the penalties inflicted on Jerusalem, she wishes to present for consideration the destruction which comes on every soul that dies the death in sins. In the condition of the ruined city and the homeless nation, she seeks to make men bewail the homeless condition of the whole race, who have fallen into decay and disorder through Adam's sin. And lastly, in the nation visited with punishment, she seeks to set forth Jesus Christ Himself,

in so far as He has become the substitute of all men, and suffered for their sins." This display of all these references is sadly deficient in logical arrangement; but it contains a precious kernel of biblical truth, which the Evangelical Church¹ has endeavoured in many ways to turn to advantage. Regarding the adaptations of the Lamentations made for liturgical use in the Evangelical Church, see particulars in Schöberlein, *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesanges*, ii. S. 444 ff.

As to the commentaries on the Lamentations, see Keil's *Manual of Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 508 [Clark's Foreign Theol. Library]. To the list of works therein given are to be appended, as later productions, Ewald's recent treatment of the book in the third edition of the *Dichter des A. Bundes* (1866), i. 2, where the Lamentations have been inserted among the Psalms, S. 321 ff.; Wilh. Engelhardt, *die Klagel. Jerem. übersetzt*. 1867; Ernst Gerlach, *die Klagel. erkl.* 1868; and Nägelsbach, in Lange's series of commentaries (Clark's English edition), 1868.

¹ i.e. the "United Evangelical Church" of Germany, the National Protestant Church, which was formed by the coalition of the Lutheran and Reformed (or Calvinistic) communions. This union began in Prussia in 1817, and was gradually effected in other German states. But many staunch adherents of the old distinctive (Augsburg and Helvetic) Confessions endured persecution rather than consent to enter the "United" Church. The liturgy was framed under the special direction of the Prussian king in 1821, and after some alterations were made on it, appointed by a royal decree, in 1830, to be used in all the churches.—Tr.

EXPOSITION.

CHAP. I.—SORROW AND WAILING OVER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM AND JUDAH.

- 1 ¹ Alas ! how she sits alone, the city [that was] full of people !
She has become like a widow, [that was] great among the nations ;
The princess among provinces has become a vassal.
- 2 She weeps bitterly through the night, and her tears are upon her cheek ;
She has no comforter out of all her lovers :
All her friends have deceived her ; they have become enemies to her.
- 3 Judah is taken captive out of affliction, and out of much servitude ;
She sitteth among the nations, she hath found no rest ;
All those who pursued her overtook her in the midst of her distresses.
- 4 The ways of Zion mourn, for want of those who went up to the appointed
feast ;
All her gates are waste ; her priests sigh ;
Her virgins are sad, and she herself is in bitterness.
- 5 Her enemies have become supreme ; those who hate her are at ease ;
For Jahveh hath afflicted her because of the multitude of her trans-
gressions :
Her young children have gone into captivity before the oppressor.
- 6 And from the daughter of Zion all her honour has departed ;
Her princes have become like harts [that] have found no pasture,
And have gone without strength before the pursuer.

¹ Keil has attempted, in his German translation of this and the next three chapters, to reproduce something of the alphabetic acrosticism of the original (see above, p. 337) ; but he has frequently been compelled, in consequence, to give something else than a faithful reproduction of the Hebrew. It will be observed that his example has not been followed here ; but his peculiar renderings have generally been given, except where these peculiarities were evidently caused by the self-imposed restraint now mentioned. He himself confesses, in two passages omitted from the present translation (pp. 591 and 600 of the German original), that for the sake of reproducing the alphabeticism, he has been forced to deviate from a strict translation of the ideas presented in the Hebrew.—Tr.

- 7 In the days of her affliction and her persecutions,
Jerusalem remembers all her pleasant things which have been from the
days of old:
When her people fell by the hand of the oppressor, and there was none
to help her,
Her oppressors saw her,—they laughed at her times of rest.
- 8 Jerusalem hath sinned grievously, therefore she hath become an abomi-
nation:
All those who honoured her despise her, because they have seen her
nakedness;
And she herself sighs, and turns backward.
- 9 Her filth is on her flowing skirts; she remembered not her latter end;
And so she sank wonderfully: she has no comforter.
“O Jahveh, behold my misery!” for the enemy hath boasted.
- 10 The oppressor hath spread out his hand upon all her precious things;
For she hath seen [how] the heathen have come into her sanctuary,
[Concerning] whom Thou didst command that they should not enter
into Thy community.
- 11 All her people [have been] sighing, seeking bread;
They have given their precious things for bread, to revive their soul.
See, O Jahveh, and consider that I am become despised.
- 12 [Is it] nothing to you, all ye that pass along the way?
Consider, and see if there be sorrow like my sorrow which is done to me,
Whom Jahveh hath afflicted in the day of the burning of His anger.
- 13 From above He sent fire in my bones, so that it mastered them;
He hath spread a net for my feet, He hath turned me back;
He hath made me desolate and ever languishing.
- 14 The yoke of my transgressions hath been fastened to by His hand;
They have interwoven themselves, they have come up on my neck; it
hath made my strength fail:
The Lord hath put me into the hands of [those against whom] I cannot
rise up.
- 15 The Lord hath removed all my strong ones in my midst;
He hath proclaimed a festival against me, to break my young men in
pieces:
The Lord hath trodden the wine-press for the virgin daughter of Judah.
- 16 Because of these things I weep; my eye, my eye runneth down [with]
water,
Because a comforter is far from me, one to refresh my soul;
My children are destroyed, because the enemy hath prevailed.
- 17 Zion stretcheth forth her hands, [yet] there is none to comfort her;
Jahveh hath commanded concerning Jacob; his oppressors are round
about him:
Jerusalem hath become an abomination among them.
- 18 Jahveh is righteous, for I have rebelled against His mouth.
Hear now, all ye peoples, and behold my sorrow;
My virgins and my young men are gone into captivity.

- 19 I called for my lovers, [but] they have deceived me;
 My priests and my elders expired in the city,
 When they were seeking bread for themselves, that they might revive
 their spirit.
- 20 Behold, O Jahveh, how distressed I am! my bowels are moved;
 My heart is turned within me, for I was very rebellious:
 Without, the sword bereaveth [me]; within, [it is] like death.
- 21 They have heard that I sigh, I have no comforter:
 All mine enemies have heard of my trouble; they are glad because Thou
 hast done it.
 Thou bringest the day [that] Thou hast proclaimed, that they may be
 like me.
- 22 Let all their wickedness come before Thee,
 And do to them as Thou hast done to me because of all my trans-
 gressions;
 For my sighs are many and my heart is faint.

The poem begins with a doleful meditation on the deeply degraded state into which Jerusalem has fallen; and in the first half (vers. 1-11), lament is made over the sad condition of the unhappy city; which, forsaken by all her friends, and persecuted by enemies, has lost all her glory, and, finding no comforter in her misery, pines in want and disesteem. In the second half (vers. 12-22), the city herself is introduced, weeping, and giving expression to her sorrow over the evil determined against her because of her sins. Both portions are closely connected. On the one hand, we find, even in vers. 9 and 11, tones of lamentation, like sighs from the city, coming into the description of her misery, and preparing the way for the introduction of her lamentation in vers. 12-22; on the other hand, her sin is mentioned even so early as in vers. 5 and 8 as the cause of her misfortune, and the transition thus indicated from complaint to the confession of guilt found in the second part. This transition is made in ver. 17 by means of a kind of meditation on the cheerless and helpless condition of the city. The second half of the poem is thereby divided into two equal portions, and in such a manner that, while in the former of these (vers. 12-16) it is complaint that prevails, and the thought of guilt comes forward only in ver. 14, in the latter (vers. 18-22) the confession of God's justice and of sin in the speaker becomes most prominent; and the repeated mention of misery and oppression rises into an entreaty for deliverance from the misery,

and the hope that the Lord will requite all evil on the enemy.

Vers. 1-11. Doleful consideration and description of the dishonour that has befallen Jerusalem. In these verses the prophet, in the name of the godly, pours out his heart before the Lord. The dreadful turn that things have taken is briefly declared in ver. 1 in two clauses, which set forth the fall of Jerusalem from its former glory into the depths of disgrace and misery, in such a way that the verse contains the subject unfolded in the description that follows. We have deviated from the Masoretic pointing, and arranged the verse into three members, as in the succeeding verses, which nearly throughout form tristichs, and have been divided into two halves by means of the Athnach; but we agree with the remark of Gerlach, "that, according to the sense, הִיָּתָה לָמָס and not $\text{הִיָּתָה בְּאַלְמָנָה}$ is the proper antithesis to $\text{רַבְתִּי בְּנוֹיִם}$." אֵיכָה is here, as in ii. 1, iv. 1, 2, an expression of complaint mingled with astonishment; so in Jer. xlviii. 17, Isa. i. 21. "She sits solitary" (cf. Jer. xv. 17) is intensified by "she has become like a widow." Her sitting alone is a token of deep sorrow (cf. Neh. i. 4), and, as applied to a city, is a figure of desolation; cf. Isa. xxvii. 10. Here, however, the former reference is the main one; for Jerusalem is personified as a woman, and, with regard to its numerous population, is viewed as the mother of a great multitude of children. רַבְתִּי is a form of the construct state, lengthened by *Yod compaginis*, found thrice in this verse, and also in Isa. i. 21, elegiac composition; such forms are used, in general, only in poetry that preserves and affects the antique style, and reproduces its peculiar ring.¹ According to the two-fold meaning of רַב (*much* and *great*), רַבְתִּי in the first clause designates the multiplicity, multitude of the population; in the

¹ On the different views regarding the origin and meaning of this *Yod compaginis*, cf. Fr. W. M. Philippi, *Wesen u. Ursprung des Status constr. im Hebr.* S. 96 ff. This writer (S. 152 ff.) takes it to be the remnant of a primitive Semitic noun-inflexion, which has been preserved only in a number of composite proper names of ancient origin [e.g. מִלְכִּי־צֶדֶק , etc.]; in the words אֶב , אֶח , and חֶם , in which it has become fused with the third radical into a long vowel; and elsewhere only between two words standing in the construct relation [see Ges. § 90; Ewald, § 211].

second, the greatness or dignity of the position that Jerusalem assumed among the nations, corresponding to the *שָׂרָתִי בְּמִדְיָנוֹת*, "a princess among the provinces." *מִדְיָנָה*, from *דָּן* (properly, the circuit of judgment or jurisdiction), is the technical expression for the provinces of the empires in Asia (cf. Esth. i. 1, 22, etc.), and hence, after the exile, was used of Judah, Ezra ii. 1, Neh. vii. 6, and in 1 Kings xx. 17 of the districts in the kingdom of Israel. Here, however, *הַמִּדְיָנוֹת* are not the circuits or districts of Judah (Thenius), but the provinces of the heathen nations rendered subject to the kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon (corresponding to *הַנְּזָרִים*), as in Eccles. ii. 8. Jerusalem was formerly a princess among the provinces, during the flourishing period of the Jewish kingdom under David and Solomon. The writer keeps this time before his mind, in order to depict the contrast between the past and present. The city that once ruled over nations and provinces has now become but dependent on others. *סֹכֵךְ* (the derivation of which is disputed) does not mean soccage or tribute, but the one who gives soccage service, a soccager; see on Ex. i. 11 and 1 Kings iv. 6. The words, "The princess has become a soccager," signify nothing more than, "She who once ruled over peoples and countries has now fallen into abject servitude," and are not (with Thenius) to be held as "referring to the fact that the remnant that has been left behind, or those also of the former inhabitants of the city who have returned home, have been set to harder labour by the conquerors." When we find the same writer inferring from this, that these words presuppose a state of matters in which the country round Jerusalem has been for some time previously under the oppression of Chaldean officers, and moreover holding the opinion that the words "how she sits . . ." could only have been written by one who had *for a considerable period* been looking on Jerusalem in its desolate condition, we can only wonder at such an utter want of power to understand poetic language.—Ver. 2. In this sorrow of hers she has not a single comforter, since all her friends from whom she could expect consolation have become faithless to her, and turned enemies. *בָּכָה תִּבְכֶּה*, "weeping she weeps," i.e. she weeps very much, or bitterly, not continually (Meier); the inf. abs. before the verb does not express the continuation, but the intensity of

the action [Gesenius, § 131, 3, *a*; Ewald, § 312]. בַּלַּיְלָה, "in the night," not "on into the night" (Ewald). The weeping by night does not exclude, but includes, weeping by day; cf. ii. 18 f. Night is mentioned as the time when grief and sorrow are wont to give place to sleep. When tears do not cease to flow even during the night, the sorrow must be overwhelming. The following clause, "and her tears are upon her cheek," serves merely to intensify, and must not be placed (with Thenius) in antithesis to what precedes: "while her sorrow shows itself *most violently* during the loneliness of the night, her cheeks are yet always wet with tears (even during the day)." But the greatness of this sorrow of heart is due to the fact that she has no comforter, —a thought which is repeated in vers. 9, 16, 17, and 21. For her friends are faithless, and have become enemies. "Lovers" and "friends" are the nations with which Jerusalem made alliances, especially Egypt (cf. Jer. ii. 36 f.); then the smaller nations round about,—Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Phœnicians, with which Zedekiah had conspired against the king of Babylon, Jer. xxvii. 3. Testimony is given in Ps. cxxxvii. 7 to the hostile dealing on the part of the Edomites against Judah at the destruction of Jerusalem; and Ezekiel (chap. xxv. 3, 6) charges the Ammonites and Tyrians with having shown malicious delight over the fall of Jerusalem; but the hostility of the Moabites is evident from the inimical behaviour of their King Baalis towards Judah, mentioned in Jer. xl. 14.

With ver. 3 begins the specific account of the misery over which Jerusalem sorrows so deeply. Judah has gone into exile, but she does not find any rest there among the nations. "Judah" is the population not merely of Jerusalem, but of the whole kingdom, whose deportation is bewailed by Jerusalem as the mother of the whole country. Although יְהוּדָה designates the people, and not the country, it is construed as a feminine, because the inhabitants are regarded as the daughter of the land; cf. Ewald, § 174, *b* [and Gesenius, § 107, 4, *a*]. יַעֲנֵי נִי has been explained, since J. D. Michaelis, by most modern expositors (Rosenmüller, Maurer, Ewald, Thenius, Nägelsbach), and previously by Calvin, as referring to the cause of the emigration, "from (because of) misery and much servitude;"

and in harmony with this view, **גִּלְתָּה יְהוּדָה** has been understood, not of the deportation of Judah into exile, but of the voluntary emigration of the fugitives who sought to escape from the power of the Chaldeans by fleeing into foreign countries, partly before and partly after the destruction of Jerusalem. But this interpretation neither agrees with the meaning of the words nor the context. Those fugitives cannot be designated "Judah," because, however numerous one may think they were, they formed but a fraction of the inhabitants of Judah: the flower of the nation had been carried off to Babylon into exile, for which the usual word is **גָּלוּהוּ**. The context also requires us to refer the words to involuntary emigration into exile. For, in comparison with this, the emigration of fugitives to different countries was so unimportant a matter that the writer could not possibly have been silent regarding the deportation of the people, and placed this secondary consideration in the foreground as the cause of the sorrow. **מֵעַי** is not to be taken in a causal sense, for **מֵן** simply denotes the coming out of a certain condition, "out of misery," into which Judah had fallen through the occupation of the country, first by Pharaoh-Necho, then by the Chaldeans; and **רַב עֲבָדָה** does not mean "much service," but "much labour." For **עֲבָדָה** does not mean "service" (= **עֲבָדוּת**), but "labour, work, business," e.g. **עֲבָדָה הַמֶּלֶךְ**, "the service of the king," i.e. the service to be rendered to the king in the shape of work (1 Chron. xxvi. 30), and the labour connected with public worship (1 Chron. ix. 13, xxviii. 14, etc.); here, in connection with **עַי**, it means severe labour and toil which the people had to render, partly for the king, that he might get ready the tribute imposed on the country, and partly to defend the country and the capital against those who sought to conquer them. Although Judah had wandered out from a condition of misery and toil into exile, yet even there she found no rest among the nations, just as Moses had already predicted to the faithless nation, Deut. xxviii. 65. All her pursuers find her **בֵּין הַמְצָרִים**, *inter angustias* (Vulgate). This word denotes "straits," narrow places where escape is impossible (Ps. cxvi. 3, cxviii. 5), or circumstances in life from which no escape can be found.—Ver. 4. Zion (i.e. Jerusalem, as the holy city) is laid waste; feasts and rejoicing have disappeared from it.

"The ways of Zion" are neither the streets of Jerusalem (Rosenmüller), which are called *חֲדָרֵי*, nor the highways or main roads leading to Zion from different directions (Thenius, who erroneously assumes that the temple, which was situated on Moriah, together with its fore-courts, could only be reached through Zion), but the roads or highways leading to Jerusalem. These are "mourning," *i.e.*, in plain language, desolate, deserted, because there are no longer any going up to Jerusalem to observe the feasts. For this same reason the gates of Zion (*i.e.* the city gates) are also in ruins, because there is no longer any one going out and in through them, and men no longer assemble there. The reason why the priests and the virgins are here conjoined as representatives of the inhabitants of Jerusalem is, that lamentation is made over the cessation of the religious feasts. The virgins are here considered as those who enlivened the national festivals by playing, singing, and dancing: Jer. xxxi. 13; Ps. lxxviii. 26; Judg. xxi. 19, 21; Ex. xv. 20. *נִינָה* (Niphal of *נָיַה*) is used here, as in Zeph. ii. 13, of sorrow over the cessation of the festivals. Following the arbitrary rendering, *ἀγόμενοι*, of the LXX., Ewald would alter the word in the text into *נִינָהוּ*, "carried captive." But there is no necessity for this: he does not observe that this rendering does not harmonize with the parallelism of the clauses, and that *נָהַי* means to drive away, but not to lead captive.¹ *וְהִיא*, "and she (Zion) herself" is in bitterness (cf. Ruth i. 13, 20), *i.e.* she feels bitter sorrow. In vers. 6, 7, are mentioned the causes of this grief.—Ver. 5. Her adversaries or oppressors, in relation to her, have become the head (and Judah thus the tail), as was threatened, Deut. xxviii. 44; whereas, according to ver. 13 in that same address of Moses, the reverse was intended. Her enemies, knowing that their power is supreme, and that Judah has been completely vanquished, are quite at ease, secure (*שָׁלֵם*, cf. Jer. xii. 1). This unhappy fate Zion has brought on herself through the multitude of her own transgressions. Her children (*עַלְלִים*, children of tender age) are driven away by the enemy like a flock. The comparison to a flock of lambs is indicated by *לְמִי*. But

¹ See, however, 1 Sam. xx. 2, with Keil's own rendering, and Isa. xx. 4, with Delitzsch's translation.—Tr.

Zion has not merely lost what she loves most (the tender children), but all her glory; so that even her princes, enfeebled by hunger, cannot escape the pursuers, who overtake them and make them prisoners. Like deer that find no pasture, they flee exhausted before the pursuer. פְּאַיִלִים has been rendered ὡς κριοί by the LXX., and *ut arietes* by the Vulgate; hence Kalkschmidt, Böttcher (*Aehrenl.* S. 94), and Thenius would read פְּאַיִלִים, against which Rosenmüller has remarked: *perperam, nam hirci non sunt fugacia animalia, sed cervi*. Raschi had already indicated the point of the comparison in the words, *quibus nullæ vires sunt ad effugiendum, fame eorum robore debilitato*. The objections raised against פְּאַיִלִים as the correct reading are founded on the erroneous supposition that the subject treated of is the carrying away of the princes into exile; and that for the princes, in contrast with the young, no more suitable emblem could be chosen than the ram. But הַדָּרִי does not mean "the driver," him who leads or drives the captives into exile, but "the pursuer," who runs after the fugitive and seeks to catch him. The words treat of the capture of the princes: the flight of the king and his princes at the taking of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 3 f.) hovered before the writer's mind. For such a subject, the comparison of the fugitive princes to starved or badly fed rams is inappropriate; but it is suitable enough to compare them with harts which had lost all power to run, because they had been unable to find any pasture, and בְּלֹא-כֹחַ (without strength, *i.e.* in weakness) are pursued and caught.

The loss of all her magnificence (ver. 7) brings to the remembrance of the sorrowing city, in her trouble, the former days of her now departed glory. "Jerusalem" is not the totality of those who are carried away (Thenius), but the city personified as the daughter of Zion (cf. ver. 6). "The days of her affliction," etc., is not the direct object of "remembers," as Pareau and Kalkschmidt assume, with the LXX.; the object is "all her pleasant things." If "the days of her affliction" were also intended to be the object, "all her pleasant things" would be preceded by the copula ו, which Pareau indeed supplies, but arbitrarily. Moreover, the combination of the days of misery with the glory of bygone days is inappropriate,

because Jerusalem feels her present misery directly, and does not need first to call them to remembrance. "The days of her affliction," etc., is the accusative of duration. Living through the times of her adversity, Jerusalem thinks of former happy times, and this remembrance increases her sorrow. **מְרִידִים** occurs only here, in iii. 19 and in Isa. lviii. 7: in meaning it is connected with **רָדַד**, *vagari*, and signifies roaming,—not voluntary, but compulsory,—rejection, persecution; while the adjective **מְרִידִים**, found in Isaiah, is, as regards its form, taken from **מָרַד**, which is cognate with **רָדַד**. **מִתְמַרִּים** or **מִתְמַרִּים** (ver. 11, *Kethub*) is perhaps used in a more general sense than **מִתְמַרִּים**, ii. 4 and i. 11 (*Qeri*), and signifies what is costly, splendid, viz. gracious gifts, both of a temporal and spiritual kind, which Israel formerly possessed, while **מִתְמַרִּים** signifies costly treasures. "The days of old" are the times of Moses and Joshua, of David and Solomon. In the words, "when her people fell," etc., the days of misery are more exactly specified. The suffix in **רָאִיהָ** refers to Jerusalem. **צָרִים** are the foes into whose power Jerusalem fell helplessly, not specially the escorts of those who were carried away (Thenius). They made a mockery of her **מִשְׁבָּתִּים**. This word is *ἀπ. λεγ.* It is not identical in meaning with **שַׁבָּתוֹת**, *sabbata* (Vulgate, Luther, etc.), though connected with it; nor does it signify *deletiones*, destructions (Gesenius), but *cessationes*. This last rendering, however, is not to be taken according to the explanation of Rosenmüller: *quod cessasset omnis ille decor, qui nominatus este ante, principatus et prosper rerum status*; but rather as L. Capellus in his *nott. crit.* expresses it: *quod nunc terra ejus deserta jacet nec colitur et quasi cessat et feriat*, though he does not quite exhaust the meaning. As Gerlach rightly remarks, the expression is "evidently used with reference to the threatenings given in the law, Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, that the land would observe its Sabbaths,—that it will keep them during the whole period of the desolation, when Israel is in the land of his enemies." We must not, however, restrict the reference merely to the uncultivated state of the fields, but extend it so that it shall be applied to cessation from all kinds of employment, even those connected with the worship of God, which were necessary for the hallowing of the Sabbath. The mockery

of enemies does not apply to the Jewish celebration of the Sabbath (to which Grotius refers the words), but to the cessation of the public worship of the Lord, inasmuch as the heathen, by destroying Jerusalem and the temple, fancied they had not only put an end to the worship of the God of the Jews, but also conquered the God of Israel as a helpless national deity, and made a mock of Israel's faith in Jahveh as the only true God.—Ver. 8 f. But Jerusalem has brought this unutterable misery on herself through her grievous sins. **חֲטָאָהּ** is intensified by the noun **חַטָּא**, instead of the inf. abs., as in Jer. xvi. 5. Jerusalem has sinned grievously, and therefore has become an object of aversion. **נִדְּחָהּ** does not mean *ἐκσάλον* (LXX.), or *instabilis* (Vulgate); nor is it, with the Chaldee, Raschi, and most of the ancient expositors, to be derived from **נָדַח**: we must rather, with modern expositors, regard it as a lengthened form of **נָדָהּ**, which indeed is the reading given in twenty codices of Kennicott. Regarding these forms, cf. Ewald, § 84, *a*. **נָדָהּ** (*prop.* what one should flee from) signifies in particular the uncleanness of the menstrual discharge in women, Lev. xii. 2, 5, etc.; then the uncleanness of a woman in this condition, Lev. xv. 19, etc.; here it is transferred to Jerusalem, personified as such an unclean woman, and therefore shunned. **הִקְלָהּ**, the Hiphil of **קָלַל** (as to the form, cf. Ewald, § 114, *c*), occurs only in this passage, and signifies to esteem lightly, the opposite of **כָּבֵד**, to esteem, value highly; hence **וְקָלָהּ**, “despised,” ver. 11, as in Jer. xv. 19. Those who formerly esteemed her—her friends, and those who honoured her, *i.e.* her allies—now despise her, because they have seen her nakedness. The nakedness of Jerusalem means her sins and vices that have now come to the light. She herself also, through the judgment that has befallen her, has come to see the infamy of her deeds, sighs over them, and turns away for shame, *i.e.* withdraws from the people so that they may no longer look on her in her shame. In ver. 9 the figure of uncleanness is further developed. Her uncleanness sticks to the hems or skirts of her garment. **טִמְאָהּ** is the defilement caused by touching a person or thing Levitically unclean, Lev. v. 3, vii. 21; here, therefore, it means defilement by sins and crimes. This has now been revealed by the judgment, because

she did not think of her end. These words point to the warning given in the song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 29: "If they were wise, they would understand this (that apostasy from the Lord brings heavy punishment after it), they would think of their end," i.e. the evil issue of continued resistance to God's commands. But the words are especially a quotation from Isa. xlvii. 7, where they are used of Babylon, that thought she would always remain mistress, and did not think of the end of her pride; therefore on her also came the sentence, "Come down from thy glory, sit in the dust," Isa. xlvii. 1, cf. Jer. xlviii. 18. Jerusalem has now experienced this also; she has come down wonderfully, or fallen from the height of her glory into the depths of misery and disgrace, where she has none to comfort her, and is constrained to sigh, "O Lord, behold my misery!" These words are to be taken as a sigh from the daughter of Zion, deeply humbled through shame and repentance for her sins. This is required by the whole tenor of the words, and confirmed by a comparison with vers. 11 and 20. מַלְאִים is used adverbially; cf. Ewald, § 204, b [Gesenius, § 100, 2, b]. There is no need for supplying anything after הַנִּדָּל, cf. Jer. xlviii. 26, 42, Dan. viii. 4, 8, 11, 25, although לַעֲשׂוֹת originally stood with it, e.g. Joel ii. 20; cf. Ewald, § 122, c [and Gesenius' *Lexicon*, s.v. נָדַל]. The clause בִּי הַנִּדָּל, which assigns the reason, refers not merely to the sighing of Jerusalem, but also to the words, "and she came down wonderfully." The boasting of the enemy shows itself in the regardless, arrogant treatment not merely of the people and their property, but also of their holy things. This is specially mentioned in ver. 10. The enemy has spread out his hand over all her jewels (מִתְמָרְיָהּ, the costly treasures of Jerusalem which were plundered), and even forced into the sanctuary of the Lord to spoil it of its treasures and vessels. C. B. Michaelis, Thenius, Gerlach, Nägelsbach, etc., would restrict the meaning of מִתְמָרְיָהּ to the precious things of the sanctuary; but not only are there no sufficient reasons for this, but the structure of the clauses is against it. Neither does the expression, "all our precious things," in Isa. lxiv. 10, signify merely the articles used in public worship on which the people had placed their desire; nor are "all her pleasant vessels" merely the sacred vessels of

the temple. In the latter passage, the suffix in מִתְּמִיָּהּ refers to Jerusalem; and inasmuch as the burning of all the palaces of the city (אֶרְמֹנֶיהָ) has been mentioned immediately before, we are so much the less at liberty to restrict "all her precious vessels" to the vessels of the temple, and must rather, under that expression, include all the precious vessels of the city, *i.e.* of the palaces and the temple. And Delitzsch has already remarked, on Isa. lxiv. 10, that "under מִתְּמִיָּהּ may be included favourite spots, beautiful buildings, pleasure gardens; and only the parallelism induces us to think especially of articles used in public worship." But when Thenius, in the passage now before us, brings forward the succeeding words, "for she hath seen," as a proof that by "all her pleasant things" we are to understand especially the vessels and utensils of the temple, he shows that he has not duly considered the contents of the clause introduced by כִּי (for). The clause characterizes the enemy's forcing his way into the sanctuary, *i.e.* the temple of Jerusalem, as an unheard of act of sacrilege, because גֵּוִים were not to enter even into the קֹדֶשׁ of Jahveh. The subject treated of is not by any means the robbing of the temple—the plundering of its utensils and vessels. The prohibition against the coming, *i.e.* the receiving of foreigners into the "congregation," is given, Deut. xxiii. 4, with regard to the Ammonites and Moabites: this neither refers to the *jus connubii* (Grotius, Rosenmüller), nor to the civil rights of Jewish citizens (Kalkschmidt), but to reception into religious communion with Israel, the *ecclesia* of the Old Covenant (קִהְלֵ יְהוָה). In Deut. xxiii. 8, the restriction is relaxed in favour of the Edomites and Egyptians, but in Ezek. xlv. 7, 9, in accordance with the *ratio legis*, extended to all uncircumcised sons of strangers. Hence, in the verse now before us, we must not, with Rosenmüller and Thenius, restrict the reference of גֵּוִים to the Ammonites and Moabites as accomplices of the Chaldeans in the capture of Jerusalem and the plundering of the temple (2 Kings xxiv. 2); rather the גֵּוִים are identical with those mentioned in the first member of the verse as צָר, *i.e.* the Chaldeans, so called not "because their army was made up of different nationalities, but because the word contains the notice of their being *heathens*,—profane ones who had forced

into the sanctuary" (Gerlach). But if we look at the structure of the clauses, we find that "for she saw," etc., is parallel to "for the enemy hath boasted" of ver. 9; and the clause, "for she saw nations coming," etc., contains a further evidence of the deep humiliation of Jerusalem; so that we may take כִּי as showing the last step in a climax, since the connection of the thought is this: For the enemy hath boasted, spreading his hand over all her precious things,—he hath even forced his way into the sanctuary of the Lord. If this is mentioned as the greatest disgrace that could befall Jerusalem, then the spreading out of the hands over the precious things of Jerusalem cannot be understood of the plundering of the temple. The construction רָאָתָה גוֹיִם בָּאִי is in sense exactly similar to the Latin *vidit gentes venisse*, cf. Ewald, § 284, b; and on the construction אֵינִי יָדָעָה לֹא יָבֹא, cf. Ewald, § 336, b. אֵלֶּה בְּקִהְלִי לֹא does not stand for אֵלֶּה בְּקִהְלֵךְ (LXX., Pareau, Rosenmüller), for הַקֹּהֶלֶת is not the congregation of Judah, but that of Jahveh; and the meaning is: They shall not come to thee, the people of God, into the congregation of the Lord.—Ver. 11. Besides this disgrace, famine also comes on her. All her people, *i.e.* the whole of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, sigh after bread, and part with their jewels for food, merely to prolong their life. The participles מִבְּקֶשֶׁם, גִּזְאֵהֶם, are not to be translated by preterites; they express a permanent condition of things, and the words are not to be restricted in their reference to the famine during the siege of the city (Jer. xxxvii. 21, xxxviii. 9, lii. 6). Even after it was reduced, the want of provisions may have continued; so that the inhabitants of the city, starved into a surrender, delivered up their most valuable things to those who plundered them, for victuals to be obtained from these enemies. Yet it is not correct to refer the words to the present sad condition of those who were left behind, as distinguished from their condition during the siege and immediately after the taking of the city (Gerlach). This cannot be inferred from the participles. The use of these is fully accounted for by the fact that the writer sets forth, as present, the whole of the misery that came on Jerusalem during the siege, and which did not immediately cease with the capture of the city; he describes it as a state of matters that still continues. As to מִתְמַדְּיָהֶם, see on ver. 7. וְהָיָה נֶפֶשׁ, "to

bring back the soul," the life, *i.e.* by giving food to revive one who is nearly fainting, to keep in his life (= הַשִּׁיב רִחִי); cf. Ruth iv. 15, 1 Sam. xxx. 12, and in a spiritual sense, Ps. xix. 8, xxiii. 3. In the third member of the verse, the sigh which is uttered as a prayer (ver. 9b) is repeated in an intensified form; and the way is thus prepared for the transition to the lamentation and suppliant request of Jerusalem, which forms the second half of the poem.

Vers. 12-16. *The lamentation of the city.*—Ver. 12. The first words, לֹא אֶלֶיכֶם, are difficult to explain. The LXX. have *οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς*; but the reading ought certainly to be *οὐ π. ὑ.* The Vulgate is, *o vos omnes*; the Chaldee, *adjuro vos omnes*. They all seem to have taken לֹא as an exclamation. Hence Le Clerc and others would read אֶלֶיכֶם; but in this case one would require to supply a verb: thus, Le Clerc renders *utinam adspiciatis*, or, "O that my cry might reach you!" But these insertions are very suspicious. The same holds true of the explanation offered by J. D. Michaelis in his edition of Lowth on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. xxii.: *non vobis, transeuntes in via, hæc acclamo* (*viz.* the closing words of ver. 11): this is decidedly opposed by the mere fact that passers-by certainly could not regard a call addressed to Jahveh as applying to them. Without supplying something or other, the words, as they stand, remain incomprehensible. Nägelsbach would connect them with what follows: "[Look] not to yourselves . . . but look and see . . ." But the antithesis, "Look not upon yourselves, but look on me (or on my sorrow)," has no proper meaning. If we compare the kindred thought presented in ver. 18, "Hear, all ye peoples, and behold my sorrow," then לֹא אֶלֶיכֶם seems to express an idea corresponding to שָׁמַע נָא. But we obtain this result only if we take the words as a question, as if לֹא = הֲלֹא, though not in the sense of an asseveration (which would be unsuitable here, for which reason also הֲלֹא is not used); the question is shown to be such merely by the tone, as in Ex. viii. 22, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. Thus, we might render the sense with Gerlach: Does not (my sighing—or, more generally, my misery—come) to you? The Syriac, Lowth, Ewald, Thenius, and Vaihinger have taken the words as a question; Ewald, following Prov. viii. 4, would supply אֶקְרָא. But such an insertion gives a rendering which

is both harsh and unjustifiable, although it lies at the foundation of Luther's "I say unto you." Hence we prefer Gerlach's explanation, and accordingly give the free rendering, "Do ye not observe, *sc.* what has befallen me,—or, my misery?" The words are, in any case, intended to prepare the way for, and thereby render more impressive, the summons addressed to all those passing by to look on and consider her sorrow. עוֹלָל is passive (Poal): "which is done to me." Since הוֹנָה has no object, the second אֲשֶׁר does not permit of being taken as parallel with the first, though the Chaldee, Rosenmüller, Kalkschmidt, and others have so regarded it, and translate: "with which Jahveh hath afflicted me." With Ewald, Thenius, Gerlach, etc., we must refer it to לִי: "me whom Jahveh hath afflicted." The expression, "on the day of the burning of His anger," is pretty often found in Jeremiah; see iv. 8, 26, xxv. 37, etc.—In vers. 13–15, the misfortunes that have befallen Jerusalem are enumerated in a series of images. "Out from the height (*i.e.* down from heaven) hath He sent fire into my bones;" הִירְדָּה is rendered by Luther, "and let it have the mastery" (*Ger. und dasselbige walten lassen*). Thenius explains this as being correct, and accordingly seeks to point the word הִירְדָּה, while Ewald takes רָדָה to be cognate with רָחַח, and translates it "made them red-hot;" and Rosenmüller, following N. G. Schröder, attributes to רָדָה, from the Arabic, the meaning *collisit, percussit lapide*. All these explanations are not only far-fetched and incapable of lexical vindication, but also unnecessary. The change of vowels, so as to make it the Hiphil, is opposed by the fact that רָדָה, in the Hiphil, does not mean to cause to manage, rule, but to tread down, subdue (*Isa. xli. 2*). In Kal, it means to tread, tread down, and rule, as in *Jer. v. 31*, where Gesenius and Dietrich erroneously assume the meaning of "striding, going," and accordingly render this passage, "it stalks through them." The lexically substantiated meaning, "subdue, rule, govern, (or, more generally,) overpower," is quite sufficient for the present passage, since רָדָה is construed not merely with אֲנִי, but also with the accusative: the subject is אֲנִי, which is also construed as a masc. in *Jer. xlviii. 45*; and the suffix הָנָה may either be taken as a neuter, or referred to "my bones," without compelling us to explain it as meaning *unum-*

quodque os (Rosenmüller, etc.). The bones are regarded as bodily organs in which the pain is most felt, and are not to be explained away allegorically to mean *urbes meas munitas* (Chaldee). While fire from above penetrated the bones, God from beneath placed nets for the feet which thus were caught. On this figure, cf. Jer. l. 24, Hos. vii. 12, etc. The consequence of this was that "He turned me back," *ita ut progredi pedemque extricare non possem, sed capta detinerer* (C. B. Michaelis),—not, "he threw me down backwards," *i.e.* made me fall heavily (Thenius). "He hath made me desolate" (שׁוֹמֵמָה),—not *obstupescentem, perturbatam, desperatam* (Rosenmüller); the same word is applied to Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 20, as one whose happiness in life has been destroyed. "The whole day (*i.e.* constantly, uninterruptedly) sick," or ill. The city is regarded as a person whose happiness in life has been destroyed, and whose health has been broken. This miserable condition is represented in ver. 14, under another figure, as a yoke laid by God on the people for their sins. נִשְׁקַר, ἀπ. λεγ., is explained by Kimchi as נִקְשָׁר אוֹ נִתְחַבֵּר, *compactum vel colligatum*, according to which שְׁקָר would be allied to עָקַר. This explanation suits the context; on the other hand, neither the interpretation based on the Talmudic פָּקַר, *punxit, stimulavit*, which is given by Raschi and Aben Ezra, nor the interpretations of the LXX., Syriac, and Vulgate, which are founded on the reading נִשְׁקָר, harmonize with לָלַךְ, which must be retained, as is shown by the words עָלַי עַל-צַדִּיקַי. Ewald supposes that שְׁקָר was the technical expression for the harnessing on of the yoke. "The yoke of my transgressions" (not "of my chastisements," as Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and Ewald think) means the yoke formed of the sins. The notion of punishment is not contained in נִשְׁקָר, but in the imposition of the yoke upon the neck, by which the misdeeds of sinful Jerusalem are laid on her, as a heavy, depressing burden which she must bear. These sins become interwoven or intertwine themselves (יִשְׁתַּרְבֵּן), after the manner of intertwined vine-tendrils (שְׂרִינִים, Gen. xl. 10; cf. remarks on Job xl. 17), as the Chaldee paraphrase well shows; and, through this interweaving, form the yoke that has come on the neck of the sinful city. *Veluti ex contortis funibus aut complicatis lignis jugum quoddam con-struitur, ita h. l. prævaricationis tanquam materia insupportabilis*

jugi considerantur (C. B. Michaelis). עָלָה is used of the imposition of the yoke, as in Num. xix. 2, 1 Sam. vi. 7. The effect of the imposition of this yoke is: "it hath made my strength to stumble (fail)." Pareau, Thenius, Vaihinger, and Nägelsbach assume God as the subject of the verb הִכְשִׁיל; but this neither accords with the current of the description, nor with the emphatic mention of the subject אֲרִנִי in the clause succeeding this. Inasmuch as, in the first member of the verse, God is not the subject, but the address takes a passive turn, it is only the leading word עַל that can be the subject of הִכְשִׁיל: the yoke of sins which, twined together, have come on the neck, has made the strength stumble, i.e. broken it. This effect of the yoke of sins is stated, in the last member, in simple and unfigurative speech: "the Lord hath given me into the hands of those whom I cannot withstand," i.e. before whom I cannot maintain my ground. On the construction בְּיַד לֹא אוּכָל, cf. Ewald, § 333, b; Gesenius, § 116, 3. קִים is here viewed in the sense of standing fast, maintaining ground, as in Ps. xviii. 39; and, construed with the accusative, it signifies, to withstand any one; its meaning is not *surgere*, which Thenius, following the Vulgate, would prefer: the construction here requires the active meaning of the verb.—In ver. 15 this thought is further carried out. סָלָה and סָלָה, "to lift up," is only used in poetry; in Ps. cxix. 118 it takes the Aramaic meaning *vilipendere*, as if in reference to things that can be lifted easily; here it means *tollere*, to lift up, take away (LXX. ἐξῆρε, Vulgate *abstulit*), tear away forcibly, just as both meanings are combined in נָשָׂא: it does not mean to outweigh, or raise with a jerk,—the warriors being regarded as weighty things, that speedily were raised when the Chaldean power was thrown into the scale (Thenius, and Böttcher in his *Aehrenl.* S. 94). This meaning is not confirmed for the Piel by Job xxviii. 16, 19. קָרָא מוֹעֵד does not mean to summon an assembly, i.e. the multitude of foes (Raschi, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Neumann), but to proclaim a festival (cf. ii. 22), because in ver. 4 and ii. 6 (cf. Lev. xxiii. 4) מוֹעֵד denotes the feast-day, and in ver. 21 יוֹם קָרָא means to proclaim a day. עָלַי means "against me;" for those invited to the feast are the nations that God has invited to destroy the youths, i.e. the young troops of Jerusalem. These celebrate a feast like

that of the vintage, at which Jahveh treads the wine-press for the daughter of Judah, because her young men are cut off like clusters of grapes (Jer. vi. 9), and thrown into the wine-press (Joel iv. 13). The last judgment also is set forth under this figure, Isa. lxiii. 2 f.; Rev. xiv. 19 f., xix. 15. לְבַת־יְהוּדָה, "to (for) the virgin of Judah;" her young men are regarded as a mass of grapes, whose life-sap (blood) is trodden out in the wine-press. As to the expression בְּתוּלָה בַּחַיִּים, see on Jer. xiv. 17. "The addition of the word 'virgin' brings out the contrast between this fate, brought on through the enemy, at God's command, and the peculiar privilege of Judah as the people of God, in being free from the attacks of enemies" (Gerlach).

Ver. 16 concludes this series of thoughts, since the address returns to the idea presented in ver. 12, and the unprecedented sorrow (ver. 12) gives vent to itself in tears. "Because of these things" refers to the painful realities mentioned in vers. 13-15, which Jerusalem has experienced. The form בּוֹכִיָּה is like the feminine form בּוֹכֶיָּה in Ps. cxxviii. 3, Isa. xvii. 6; cf. Ges. § 75, Rem. 5. The repetition of "my eye" gives greater emphasis, and is quite in the style of Jeremiah; cf. iv. 19, vi. 14 (viii. 11), xxii. 29, xxiii. 25; the second עֵינִי is not to be expunged (Pareau and Thenius), although it is not found in the LXX., Vulgate, Arabic, and some codices. On יֵרֶדָה מַיִם, cf. Jer. ix. 17, xiii. 17, xiv. 17. In these passages stands רִמְקָה, but here מַיִם, as the stronger expression: the eye flows like water, as if it were running to the ground in water. Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus*, appositely cites the German "sich die Augen aus dem Kopfe weinen" [with which the English corresponds: "to weep one's eyes out of his head"]. Still stronger is the expression in iii. 48. But the sorrow becomes thus grievous, because the weeping one has none to comfort her; friends who could comfort her have faithlessly forsaken her (cf. vers. 2, 9), and her sons are שׁוֹמְמִים, i.e. destroyed, not "astonished" (Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8), but, as in ver. 13, made desolate, i.e. made so unhappy that they cannot bring their mother comfort in her misery. On מַשִּׁיב רָעַשׁ, cf. ver. 11. "Because the enemy hath become strong," i.e. prevailed (נָגַד as in Jer. ix. 2).

Ver. 17. The complaint regarding the want of comforters is corroborated by the writer, who further develops this thought,

and gives some proof of it. By this contemplative digression he breaks in on the lamentation of the city, as if the voice of the weeping one were choked with tears; thus he introduces into the complaint a suitable pause, that both serves to divide the lamentation into two, and also brings a turn in its contents. It is in vain that Zion stretches out her hands (פָּרְשָׁהּ , to make a spreading out with the hands) for comforters and helpers; there is none she can embrace, for Jahveh has given orders against Jacob, [that] those round about him should act as oppressors. כְּבָיִי are the neighbouring nations round about Israel. These are all of hostile disposition, and strive but to increase his misery; cf. ver. 2. Jerusalem has become their abomination (cf. ver. 8), since God, in punishment for sins, has exposed her before the heathen nations (cf. ver. 8). בֵּינֵיהֶם , "between them," the neighbouring nations, who live round about Judah. The thought that Jahveh has decreed the suffering which has come on Jerusalem, is laid to heart by her who makes complaint, so that, in ver. 18, she owns God's justice, and lets herself be roused to ask for pity, vers. 19-22.

Starting with the acknowledgment that Jahveh is righteous, because Jerusalem has opposed His word, the sorrowing one anew (ver. 18, as in ver. 12) calls on the nations to regard her sorrow, which attains its climax when her children, in the bloom of youth, are taken captives by the enemy. But she finds no commiseration among men; for some, her former friends, prove faithless, and her counsellors have perished (ver. 19); therefore she turns to God, making complaint to Him of her great misery (ver. 20), because the rest, her enemies, even rejoice over her misery (ver. 21): she prays that God may punish these. Gerlach has properly remarked, that this conclusion of the chapter shows Jerusalem does not set forth her fate as an example for the warning of the nations, nor desires thereby to obtain commiseration from them in her present state (Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Thenius, Vaihinger); but that the apostrophe addressed to the nations, as well as that to passers-by (ver. 12), is nothing more than a poetic turn, used to express the boundless magnitude of this her sorrow and her suffering. On the confession "Righteous is Jahveh," cf. Jer. xii. 1, Deut. xxxii. 4, 2 Chron. xii. 6, Ps. cxix. 37, etc. "Because I have rebelled

against His mouth" (i.e. His words and commandments), therefore I am suffering what I have merited. On מָרָה פִּירוֹ, cf. Num. xx. 24, 1 Kings xiii. 26. כָּל-עַמִּים (without the article, which the *Qeri* supplies) is a form of expression used in poetry, which often drops the article; moreover, we must here bear in mind, that it is not by any means the idea of the totality of the nations that predominates, but nations are addressed merely in indefinite generality: the expression in the text means nations of all places and countries. In order to indicate the greatness of her grief, the sorrowing one mentions the carrying into captivity of the young men and virgins, who are a mother's joy and hope.—Ver. 19 is not a continuation of the direct address to the nations, to whom she complains of her distress, but merely a complaint to God regarding the sorrow she endures. The perfects קָרָאתִי, רָפוּנִי, are not preterites, and thus are not to be referred to the past, as if complaint were made that, in the time of need, the lovers of Jerusalem forsook her; they rather indicate accomplished facts, whose consequences reach down to the present time. It was not merely in former times, during the siege, that Jerusalem called to her friends for help; but even now she still calls, that she may be comforted by them, yet all in vain. Her friends have deceived her, i.e. shamefully disappointed her expectations. From those who are connected with her, too, she can expect neither comfort nor counsel. The priests and the elders, as the helpers and advisers of the city,—the former as representing the community before God, and being the medium of His grace, the latter as being leaders in civil matters,—pined away (נָתַתְּ, *expirare*; here, to pine away through hunger, and expire). כִּי is a temporal particle: "when they were seeking for bread" to prolong their life (כִּי הִשִּׁיב נ' as in ver. 11). The LXX. have added καὶ οὐχ εὐρον, which Thenius is inclined to regard as a portion of the original text; but it is very evidently a mere conjecture from the context, and becomes superfluous when כִּי is taken as a particle of time.—Ver. 20. Since neither comfort nor advice is to be found with men, Jerusalem makes her complaint of need to God the Lord. "See, Jahveh, that I am distressed. My bowels glow." הִמְרָמְרִי, the passive enhancing form, from הִמַּר, is found, besides, only in ii. 11, where the clause before

us is repeated, and in Job xvi. 16, where it is used of the countenance, and can only mean to be glowing red; it is scarcely legitimate to derive it from חָמַר, *ח*, to be made red, and must rather be referred to *ח*, to ferment, rise into froth; for even in Ps. lv. 9 חָמַר does not mean to be red, but to rise into froth. מַעֲיִם, "bowels," are the nobler portions of the internal organs of the body, the seat of the affections; cf. Delitzsch's *Biblical Psychology* (Clark's translation), p. 314 ff. "My heart has turned within me" is an expression used in Hos. xi. 8 to designate the feeling of compassion; but here it indicates the most severe internal pain, which becomes thus agonizing through the consciousness of its being deserved on account of resistance to God. מָרָה for מָרָה, like בָּכוּ, Jer. xxii. 10, xxx. 19, etc. Both forms occur together in other verbs also; cf. Olshausen, *Gram.* § 245, *h* [Ewald, § 238, *e*; Gesen., § 75, Rem. 2]. But the judgment also is fearful; for "without (מִחוּץ, *foris*, i.e. in the streets and the open country) the sword renders childless," through the slaughter of the troops; "within (בְּבֵית, in the houses) בְּמָוֶת, like death." It is difficult to account for the use of בְּ; for neither the כּ of comparison nor the so-called כּ *veritatis* affords a suitable meaning; and the transposition of the words into *sicut mors intus* (Rosenmüller, after Löwe and Wolfsohn) is an arbitrary change. Death, mentioned in connection with the sword, does not mean death in general, but special forms of death through maladies and plagues, as in Jer. xv. 2, xviii. 21, not merely the fever of hunger, Jer. xiv. 18; on the other hand, cf. Ezek. vii. 15, "the sword without, pestilence and hunger within." But the difficulty connected with בְּמָוֶת is not thereby removed. The verb שָׁבַל belongs to both clauses; but "the sword" cannot also be the subject of the second clause, of which the nominative must be בְּמָוֶת, "all that is like death," i.e. everything besides the sword that kills, all other causes of death,—pestilences, famine, etc. בְּ is used as in בְּמָוֶתָהּ, Dan. x. 18. That this is the meaning is shown by a comparison of the present passage with Deut. xxxii. 25, which must have been before the writer's mind, so that he took the words of the first clause, viz. "without, the sword bereaves," almost as they stood, but changed וּמַחְרִים אֵימָה into בְּבֵית בְּמָוֶת, — thus preferring

"what is like death," instead of "terror," to describe the cause of destruction. Calvin long ago hit the sense in his paraphrase *multæ mortes*, and the accompanying explanation: *utitur nota similitudinis, quasi diceret: nihil domi occurrere nisi mortale* (more correctly *mortiferum*). Much light is thrown on the expression by the parallel adduced by Kalkschmidt from *Æneid*, ii. 368, 369: *crudelis ubique Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago*.

From speaking of friends, a transition is made in ver. 21 to enemies. Regarding the explanation of Rosenmüller, *audiverunt quidem amici mei, a me implorati* ver. 19, *quod gemens ego . . . imo sunt omnes hostes mei*, Thenius observes that it introduces too much. This remark is still more applicable to his own interpretation: "People (certainly) hear how I sigh, (yet) I have no comforter." The antithesis introduced by the insertion of "yet" destroys the simplicity of arrangement among the clauses, although C. B. Michaelis and Gerlach also explain the passage in the same manner. The subject of the words, "they have heard," in the first clause, is not the friends who are said in ver. 19 to have been called upon for help, nor those designated in the second clause of ver. 21 as "all mine enemies," but persons unnamed, who are only characterized in the second clause as enemies, because they rejoice over the calamity which they have heard of as having befallen Jerusalem. The first clause forms the medium of transition from the faithless friends (ver. 19) to the open enemies (ver. 21b); hence the subject is left undefined, so that one may think of friends and enemies. The foes rejoice that God has brought the evil on her. The words *הַבֹּאֵת וְג'*, which follow, cannot also be dependent on *כִּי* ("that Thou hast brought the day which Thou hast announced"), inasmuch as the last clause, "and they shall be like me," does not harmonize with them. Indeed, Nägelsbach and Gerlach, who assume that this is the connection of the clause "Thou hast brought," etc., take *וְיִהְיֶה כִּי* adversatively: "but they shall be like me." If, however, "they shall be," etc., were intended to form an antithesis to "all mine enemies have heard," etc., the former clause would be introduced by *וְיִהְיֶה*. The mere change of tense is insufficient to prove the point. It must further be borne in mind, that in such a case there

would be introduced by the words "and they shall be," etc., a new series of ideas, the second great division of the prayer; but this is opposed by the arrangement of the clauses. The second portion of the prayer cannot be attached to the end of the verse. The new series of thoughts begins rather with "Thou hast brought," which the Syriac has rendered by the imperative, *venire fac*. Similarly Luther translates: "then (therefore) let the day come." C. B. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Pareau, etc., also take the words optatively, referring to the Arabic idiom, according to which a wish is expressed in a vivid manner by the perfect. This optative use of the perfect certainly cannot be shown to exist in the Hebrew; but perhaps it may be employed to mark what is viewed as certain to follow, in which case the Germans use the present. The use of the perfect shows that the occurrence expected is regarded as so certain to happen, that it is represented as if it had already taken place. The perfects in iii. 56-61 are taken in this sense by nearly all expositors. Similarly we take the clause now before us to mean, "Thou bringest on the day which Thou hast proclaimed (announced)," *i.e.* the day of judgment on the nations, Jer. xxv., "so that they become like me," *i.e.* so that the foes who rejoice over my misfortune suffer the same fate as myself. "The day [which] Thou hast proclaimed" has been too specifically rendered in the Vulgate, *adduxisti diem consolationis*, probably with a reference of the proclamation to Isa. xl. 2.—After this expression of certainty regarding the coming of a day of punishment for her enemies, there follows, ver. 22, the request that all the evil they have done to Jerusalem may come before the face of God, in order that He may punish it (cf. Ps. cix. 15 with ver. 14),—do to them as He has done to Jerusalem, because of her transgressions. The clause which assigns the reason ("for many are my sighs," etc.) does not refer to that which immediately precedes; for neither the request that retribution should be taken, nor the confession of guilt ("for all my transgressions"), can be accounted for by pointing to the deep misery of Jerusalem, inasmuch as her sighing and sickness are not brought on her by her enemies, but are the result of the sufferings ordained by God regarding her. The words contain the ground of the request that God

would look on the misery (ver. 20), and show to the wretched one the compassion which men refuse her. לִבִּי רָץ is exactly the same expression as that in Jer. viii. 18; cf. also Isa. i. 5. The reason thus given for making the entreaty forms an abrupt termination, and with these words the sound of lamentation dies away.

CHAP. II.—LAMENTATION OVER THE JUDGMENT OF DESTRUCTION THAT HAS COME ON ZION AND THE DESOLATION OF JUDAH.

- 1 Alas ! how the Lord envelopes the daughter of Zion in His wrath !
He hath cast down the glory of Israel from heaven to earth ;
Nor hath He remembered His footstool in the day of His wrath.
- 2 The Lord hath swallowed up all the habitations of Jacob, He hath not spared :
He hath broken down, in His anger, the strongholds of the daughter of Judah ; He hath smitten [them] down to the earth.
He hath profaned the kingdom and its princes.
- 3 He hath cut off, in the burning of wrath, every horn of Israel ;
He hath drawn back His right hand from before the enemy,
And hath burned among Jacob like a flaming fire, [which] devours round about.
- 4 He hath bent His bow like an enemy, standing [with] His right hand like an adversary,
And He slew all the desires of the eye ;
On the tent of the daughter of Zion hath He poured out His fury like fire.
- 5 The Lord hath become like an enemy ; He hath swallowed up Israel.
He hath swallowed up all her palaces, He hath destroyed his strongholds,
And hath increased on the daughter of Judah groaning and moaning.
- 6 And He hath violently treated His own enclosure, like a garden ; He hath destroyed His own place of meeting :
Jahveh hath caused to be forgotten in Zion the festival and the Sabbath,
And in the fierceness of His wrath He hath rejected king and priest.
- 7 The Lord hath spurned His own altar, He hath abhorred His own sanctuary ;
He hath delivered into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces ;
They have made a noise in the house of Jahveh, as [on] the day of a festival.
- 8 Jahveh hath purposed to destroy the walls of the daughter of Zion :
He hath stretched out a line, He hath not drawn back His hand from demolishing ;
And He hath made the rampart and the [city] wall to mourn ; they sorrow together.

9 Her gates have sunk into the earth ; He hath destroyed and broken her bars :

Her king and her princes are among the nations ; there is no law.

Her prophets also find no vision from Jahveh.

10 The elders of the daughter of Zion sit upon the ground, they are silent ;

They have cast up dust upon their head, they have clothed themselves with sackcloth garments :

The virgins of Jerusalem have brought down their head to the earth.

11 Mine eyes waste away with tears, my bowels glow,

My liver is poured out on the earth, because of the destruction of the daughter of my people ;

Because the young child and the suckling pine away in the streets of the city.

12 They said to their mothers, Where is corn and wine ?

When they were fainting like one wounded in the streets of the city,

When their soul was poured out into the bosom of their mothers.

13 What shall I testify against thee ? what shall I compare to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem ?

What shall I liken to thee, that I may comfort thee, O virgin daughter of Zion ?

For thy destruction is great, like the sea ; who can heal thee ?

14 Thy prophets have seen for thee vanity and absurdity,

And have not revealed thine iniquity, to turn thy captivity ;

But they have seen for thee burdens of vanity, and expulsion.

15 All that pass by the way clap [their] hands against thee ;

They hiss and shake their head against the daughter of Jerusalem, [saying,

“Is] this the city that they call ‘The perfection of beauty, a joy of the whole earth ?’”

16 All thine enemies have opened their mouth against thee :

They hiss and gnash the teeth ; they say, “We have swallowed [her] ;

Assuredly this is the day that we have expected ; we have found [it], we have seen [it].”

17 Jahveh hath done what He hath purposed :

He hath executed His word which He commanded from the days of yore : He hath broken down, and hath not spared :

And He hath made the enemy rejoice over thee ; He hath raised up the horn of thine adversaries.

18 Their heart crieth out unto the Lord.

O wall of the daughter of Zion, let tears run down like a stream by day and by night :

Give thyself no rest ; let not the apple of thine eye cease.

19 Arise, wail in the night ; at the beginning of the watches,

Pour out thy heart like water before the face of the Lord :

Lift up thine hands to Him for the soul of thy young children,

That faint for hunger at the head of every street.

- 20 See, O Jahveh, and consider to whom Thou hast acted thus !
 Shall women eat their [body's] fruit, the children of their care ?
 Or shall priest and prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord ?
- 21 The boy and the old man lie without, on the ground ;
 My virgins and my young men have fallen by the sword :
 Thou hast slain in the day of Thy wrath, Thou hast slaughtered, Thou
 hast not spared.
- 22 Thou summonest, as on a feast-day, my terrors round about ;
 And in the day of the wrath of Jahveh there was no fugitive or survivor
 Whom I would have nursed and brought up ; mine enemy destroyed
 them.

This second poem contains a new and more bitter lamentation regarding the fall of Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah ; and it is distinguished from the first, partly by the bitterness of the complaint, but chiefly by the fact that while, in the first, the oppressed, helpless, and comfortless condition of Jerusalem is the main feature,—here, on the other hand, it is the judgment which the Lord, in His wrath, has decreed against Jerusalem and Judah, that forms the leading thought in the complaint, as is shown by the prominence repeatedly given to the wrath, rage, burning wrath, etc. (ver. 1 ff.). The description of this judgment occupies the first part of the poem (vers. 1-10) ; then follows, in the second part (vers. 11-19), the lamentation over the impotency of human consolation, and over the scoffing of enemies at the misfortunes of Jerusalem (vers. 11-16). It was the Lord who sent this judgment ; and it is He alone who can give comfort and help in this distress. To Him must the daughter of Zion betake herself with her complaint (vers. 17-19) ; and this she actually does in the concluding portion (vers. 20-22).

Vers. 1-10. *Description of the judgment.*—Ver. 1. The lamentation opens with sighs for the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. The first member of the verse contains the general idea that the Lord (יְהוָה, the Lord κατ' ἐξοχήν, very suitably used instead of יהוה) has, in His wrath, enveloped Jerusalem with clouds. This thought is particularized in the two members that follow, and is referred to the overthrow of Jerusalem and the temple. עָנָן, from עָנַן (which is ἀπ. λεγ. as a verb, and is probably a denominative from עָנַן, a cloud), signifies to cover or surround with clouds. עָנָן does not mean

“with His wrath” (Ewald, Thenius), but “in His wrath,” as is shown by vers. 3, 6, 21, 22. “The daughter of Zion” here means the city of Jerusalem, which in the second member is called “the glory (or ornament) of Israel,” by which we are to understand neither *res Judæorum florentissimæ* in general (Rosenmüller), nor the temple in special, as the “splendid house,” Isa. lxiv. 10 (Michaelis, Vaihinger). Jerusalem is called the glory or ornament of Israel, in the same way as Babylon in Isa. lxiv. 10 is called “the glory of the splendour of the Chaldeans” (Thenius, Gerlach). In the figurative expression, “He cast down from heaven to earth,” we are not to think there is any reference to a thunderbolt which knocks down an object, such as a lofty tower that reaches to heaven (Thenius); “from heaven” implies that what is to be thrown down was in heaven, as has been already remarked by Raschi in his explanation, *postquam sustulisset eos (Judæos) usque ad cælum, eosdem dejecit in terram*, where we have merely to substitute “Jerusalem” for *eos*, which is too vague. Gerlach has rightly remarked that the expression “cast down from heaven” is to be accounted for by the fact that, in the first member of the verse, Jerusalem is compared to a star, in the same way as Babylon is expressly called a star in Isa. xiv. 12; nay, what is more, Jerusalem is here compared to a star that has fallen from heaven; the reference to that passage thus becomes unmistakable. Moreover, the casting down from heaven means something more than deprivation of the glory that had come on the city in consequence of God’s dwelling in the midst of it (Gerlach); it signifies, besides, the destruction of the city, viz. that it would be laid in ashes. In all this, the Lord has not been thinking of, i.e. paid any regard to, His footstool, i.e. the ark of the covenant (1 Chron. xxviii. 2; Ps. xcix. 5),—not the temple (Ewald), although we cannot think of the ark without at the same thinking of the temple as the house in which it was kept. The ark, and not the temple, is named, because the temple became a habitation of the Lord, and a place where He revealed Himself, only through the ark of the covenant, with which the Lord had graciously connected His presence among His people. It is further implied, in the fact that God does not think of His footstool, that the ark itself was destroyed

along with the temple and the city.—Ver. 2. The Lord has destroyed not merely Jerusalem, but the whole kingdom. בָּלַע, “to swallow up,” involves the idea of utter annihilation, the fury of destruction, just in the same way as it [viz. the fury] is peculiar to עֲבָרָה, the overflowing of anger. “He hath not spared” forms an adverbial limitation of the previous statement, “unsparingly.” The *Qeri* לֹא, instead of לֹא־, is an unnecessary and unpoetic emendation. כָּל־נְאֻמוֹת, all the pastures of Jacob. According to its etymology, נֵיחָ means a place where shepherds or nomads rest, or stay, or live; here, it is not to be understood specially of the dwellings as contrasted with, or distinguished from the pasture-grounds, but denotes, in contrast with the fortresses (מִבְצָרִים), the open, unfortified places of the country in which men and cattle enjoy food and rest. “The strongholds of the daughter of Judah” are not merely the fortifications of Jerusalem, but the fortresses generally of the country and kingdom of Judah; cf. Jer. v. 17, xxxiv. 7. הִנֵּיעַ לָאָרֶץ, “to cast down to the ground” (used of the pulling down of walls, cf. Isa. xxv. 12), is an epexegetis of הָרַס, as in Ex. xiii. 14, and is not to be joined (in opposition to the accents) with what succeeds, and taken figuratively. For neither does הִנֵּיעַ need any strengthening, nor does הִנֵּיעַ לָאָרֶץ suitably apply to the kingdom and its princes. The desecration of the kingdom consisted in its being dishonoured by the disgraceful conduct of its rulers; cf. Ps. lxxxix. 40.

In vers. 3 and 4, the writer describes the hostile conduct of the Lord towards Israel, by which the kingdom of Judah was destroyed. Thenius utterly mistakes the poetic character of the description given, and evidently finds in it the several events that occurred up to the taking of the city, all mentioned in their natural order; according to this, the perfects would require to be translated as preterites. But this view can be made out only by giving an arbitrary meaning to the several figures used; e.g., it is alleged that “every horn” means the frontier fortresses, that the expression “before the enemy” refers to the time when the latter turned his face against Jerusalem, and so on. The three members of ver. 3 contain a climax: deprivation of the power to resist; the withdrawal of aid; the necessary consequence of which was the burning like a flame of fire. “To

cut down the horn" means to take away offensive and defensive power; see on Jer. xlviii. 25. "Every horn" is not the same as "all horns," but means all that was a horn of Israel (Gerlach). This included not merely the fortresses of Judah, but every means of defence and offence belonging to the kingdom, including men fit for war, who are neither to be excluded nor (with Le Clerc) to be all that is understood by "every horn." In the expression יָמִינוּ . . . הָשִׁיב, the suffix, as in קָשְׁתוֹ ver. 4, refers to Jahveh, because the suffix joined to יָ always points back to the subject of the verb הָשִׁיב; cf. Ps. lxxiv. 11. God drew back His hand before the enemy, *i.e.* He withdrew from the people His assistance in the struggle against the enemy. Such is the meaning given long ago by the Chaldee: *ne auxiliatus est populo suo coram hoste.* יָבֵעַר בְּיַעֲקֹב does not mean "He consumed Jacob;" but He burned (*i.e.* made a conflagration) in Jacob; for, in every passage in which בָּעַר is construed with אֵשׁ, it does not mean to "burn something," but to burn in or among, or to kindle a fire (cf. Job i. 16, where the burning up is only expressed by וַתִּאֲכַלְהֶם, Num. xi. 3, Ps. cvi. 18), or to set something on fire, Isa. xlii. 25. The burning represents devastation; hence the comparison of יָבֵעַר with "like fire of flame (= flaming, brightly blazing fire, cf. Isa. iv. 5, Ps. cv. 32) that devours round about." The subject of יָבֵעַר is Jahveh, not *ira Jovæ* (Rosenmüller), or לְהַבָּה (Neumann), or the enemy (Gerlach). The transition from the perfect with אֵשׁ consec. does not cause any change of the subject; this is shown by vers. 4 and 5, where also the second clause is connected with the first by means of אֵשׁ consec. But the statement of Gerlach—that if Jahveh and not the enemy be the subject, then the consecutive sentence (the burning among Jacob as the result of the withdrawal of Jahveh's hand before the enemy) would be inexplicable—gives no evidence of its truth. The kindling or making of the fire in Jacob is, of course, represented as a result of what is previously stated, yet not as the consequence merely of the withdrawal of his hand, but also of the cutting off of every horn. In both of these ways, God has kindled in Jacob a fire which grows into a destructive conflagration.—In ver. 4 the idea is still further developed: God not merely delivered up His people to the enemy, leaving them defenceless and help-

less, but also came forward Himself to fight against them as an enemy. He bent His bow like a warrior, showing Himself, in reference to His claims, as an adversary or oppressor. The specification "His right hand" is added, not so much for the purpose of defining more exactly the activity of the right hand (using it to shoot the arrows or wield the sword; cf. Deut. xxxii. 41 ff., Ps. vii. 13 f.), as rather with the view of expressing more precisely the hostile attitude of God, since the right hand of God is at other times represented as the instrument of help. The expression "and He slew," which follows, does not require us to think of a sword in the right hand of God, since we can also kill with arrows. God slew as an enemy; He destroyed everything that was precious in men's sight, *i.e.* not merely *omnes homines etate, specie, dignitate conspicuos* (C. B. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Thenius); for, in Ps. lxxviii. 47, הָרַב is also used with reference to the effect of hail on the vine; and the arrows shot from the bow are merely named by synecdoche, and by way of specification, as instruments of war for destruction. Still less can הַמִּזְבֵּיחַ signify *omnia ea templi ornamenta, quibus merito gloriabatur populus* (Kalkschmidt); since it is not till ver. 6 ff. that the temple is spoken of. "The word is to be taken in its widest generality, which is indicated by 'all,' accordingly, it comprehends everything that can be looked upon as dear," including children (cf. Ezek. xxiv. 25) and the sanctuary, though all these do not exhaust the meaning of the word (Gerlach). Upon the tent of the daughter of Zion He poured out His fury in fire. The daughter of Zion means the inhabitants of Jerusalem: her tent is not the temple (Kalkschmidt, Ewald), which is never called the tent of the daughter of Zion, but only that of Jahveh (1 Kings ii. 28, etc.); but her house, *i.e.* the city as a collection of dwellings. The figure of the outpouring of wrath is often used, not only in Jer. vi. 11, x. 25, xlii. 18, etc., but also in Hos. v. 10, Zeph. iii. 8, Ps. lxix. 25, lxxvi. 6, etc.—Ver. 5. The Lord has become like an enemy. הָאֵלֹהִים is not separated from הָיָה by the accents (Pesik and Mahpak before, and Kadma after); so that there appears to be nothing to justify the remark of Gerlach, that, "as if the prophet were hesitating whether he should state explicitly that the Lord had become an enemy, he breaks off the sentence he had begun, 'The Lord hath become

. . . , and continues, 'He hath destroyed like a mighty one.'"
 As to יִשְׂרָאֵל, cf. ver. 2. "Israel" is the name of Judah viewed as the covenant people. The swallowing or destruction of Israel is explained in the clauses which follow as a destruction of the palaces and fortresses. The mention of the palaces points to the destruction of Jerusalem, while the "fortresses" similarly indicate the destruction of the strong cities in the country. The interchange of the suffixes יְיָ- and יְיָ- is accounted for on the ground that, when the writer was thinking of the citadels, the city hovered before his mind; and when he regarded the fortresses, the people of Israel similarly presented themselves. The same interchange is found in Hos. viii. 14; the assumption of a textual error, therefore, together with the conjectures based on that assumption, is shown to be untenable. On the expression, "He hath destroyed his strongholds," cf. Jer. xlvii. 18; on הָאֲנִיָּה וְהָאֲנִיָּה, Isa. xxix. 2: in this latter case, two word-forms derived from the same stem are combined for the sake of emphasis. "Daughter of Judah," as in ver. 2, cf. i. 15.

In vers. 6 and 7, mention is made of the destruction of the temple and the cessation of public worship. "He treated violently (cruelly)," i.e. laid waste, "like a garden, His enclosure." הָשֶׁךְ (from שָׁךְ = שָׁכַךְ, to intertwine, hedge round) signifies a hedge or enclosure. The context unmistakeably shows that by this we are to understand the temple, or the holy place of the temple; hence הָשֶׁךְ is not the hedging, but what is hedged in. But the comparison גֻּן has perplexed expositors, and given occasion for all kinds of artificial and untenable explanations. We must not, of course, seek for the point of the comparison in the ease with which a garden or garden-fence may be destroyed, for this does not accord with the employment of the verb הָסֵךְ; but the garden is viewed as a pleasure-ground, which its owner, if it does not suit its purpose, destroys or gives up again, without much hesitation. The emphasis lies on the suffix in שְׁכֵנִי, "*His own enclosure*," God's enclosure = the sacred enclosure (Gerlach), the sanctuary protected by Himself, protected by laws intended to keep the sanctity of the temple from profanation. The second clause states the same thing, and merely brings into prominence another aspect of the sanctity of the temple by the employment of the word מִזְבֵּחוֹ. This noun, as here used, does

not mean the "time," but the "place of meeting;" this is not, however, the place where the people assemble, but the place of meeting of the Lord with His people, where He shows Himself present, and grants His favour to the congregation appearing before Him. Thus, like *אֵל מוֹעֵד*, the word signifies the place where God reveals His gracious presence to His people; cf. Ex. xxv. 22, and the explanation of *מִוֶּעֶדְתִּי* given in that passage. In the first member of the verse, the temple is viewed as a place sacred to God; in the second, as the place where He specially manifests His gracious presence in Israel. With the destruction of the temple, Jahveh (the covenant God) caused feast and Sabbath, i.e. all public festivals and divine service, to be forgotten. The destruction of the sacred spots set apart for the worship of the Lord was attended with the cessation of the sacred festivals. Thereby it became evident that the Lord, in His fierce anger, had rejected king and priest. The singulars, festival, Sabbath, king, and priest, are used in unrestricted generality. King and priest are regarded as the divinely chosen media of the covenant graces. The abolition of public worship practically involved that of the priesthood, for the service of the priests was connected with the temple. Expositors are much divided in their views regarding the object for which the king is here mentioned in connection with the priest. There is no special need for refuting the opinion of Thenius, that king and priest are named as the two main factors in the worship of God, because the seat of the king was upon Zion as well as that of the priesthood; for the seat of the priests was as little on Mount Zion as the king's palace was on the temple mount. Moreover, the words do not treat of the destruction of the royal palace and the dwellings of the priests, but declare that royalty and the priesthood will be rejected. The mention of the king in connection with the priests implies a close connection also of royalty with the temple. Nägelsbach, accordingly, is of opinion that the kings also belong to the number of those summoned to celebrate the feasts, and were not merely Jehovah's substitutes before the people, but also "representatives of the people before God;" for he adopts the remark of Oehler (in Herzog's *Real Enc.* viii. S. 12), that "the Israelitish kingdom (especially in David and Solomon) bears a certain

sacerdotal character, inasmuch as the king, at the head of the people and in their name, pays homage to God, and brings back again to the people the blessing of God (2 Sam. vi. 17 ff.; 1 Kings iii. 4, viii. 14 ff., 55 ff., 62 ff., ix. 25; 1 Chron. xxix. 10 ff.; 2 Chron. i. 6, compared with Ezek. xlvi. 1 ff.)." This sacerdotal character of royalty, however, was but the outcome of the sacerdotal character of the people of Israel. In view of this, the king, because of his position as the head of the people in civil matters (for he was *præcipuum ecclesiæ membrum*), fully brought out the relation of the people to the Lord, without, however, discharging any peculiarly sacerdotal function. The complaint in the present verse,—that, with the destruction of the temple, and the abolition of the service connected with it, Jahveh had rejected king and priest,—implies that royalty in Israel stood in as intimate connection with the temple as the priesthood did. This connection, however, is not to be sought for so much in the fact that it was the incumbent duty of the theocratic king, in the name and at the head of the people, to pay homage to God, and to see that the public worship of Jahveh was upheld; we must rather seek for it in the intimate relation instituted by God between the maintenance of the Davidic monarchy and the building of the house of God. This connection is exhibited in the promise made by God to David, when the latter had resolved to build a house for the Lord to dwell in: He (Jahveh) shall build a house to him (David), viz. raise up his seed after him, and establish his kingdom for ever; and this seed of David shall build a house to His name (2 Sam. vii. 12 ff.). This promise, in virtue of which Solomon built the temple as a dwelling for the name of Jahveh, connected the building of the temple so closely with the kingdom of David, that this continued existence of the temple might be taken as a pledge of the continuance of David's house; while the destruction of the temple, together with the abolition of the public ministrations, might, on the other hand, serve as a sign of the rejection of the Davidic monarchy. Viewing the matter in this light, Jeremiah laments that, with the destruction of the temple and the abolition of the public festivals, Jahveh has rejected king and priest, i.e. the royal family of David as well as the Levitical priesthood. —In ver. 7, special mention is further made of the rejection of

the altar, and of the sanctuary as the centre of divine worship. The verbs **נָתַן** and **נָאֵר** are used in Ps. lxxxix. 39, 40, in connection with the rejection of the Davidic monarchy. "The sanctuary," mentioned in connection with "the altar," does not mean the temple in general, but its inner sanctuary,—the holy place and the most holy place, as the places of worship corresponding to the altar of the fore-court. The temple-building is designated by "the walls of her palaces." For, that by **אַרְמוֹתֶיהָ** we are to understand, not the palaces of the city of David, the royal palaces, but the towering pile of the temple, is unmistakably evident from the fact that, both before and after, it is the temple that is spoken of,—not its fortifications, the castles specially built for its defence (Thenius); because **אַרְמֹן** does not mean a fortified building, but (as derived from **אַרַם**, to be high) merely a lofty pile. Such were the buildings of the temple in consequence of their lofty situation on Moriah. In the house of Jahveh, the enemy raises a loud cry (**נָתַן קוֹל**, cf. Jer. xxii. 20), as on a feast-day. The cry is therefore not a war-cry (Pareau, Rosenmüller), but one of jubilee and triumph, as if they had come into the temple to a festival: in Ps. lxxiv. 4, the word used is **שָׁאָה**, to roar [as a lion].

The lament over the destruction of the kingdom concludes, in vers. 8, 9, by mentioning that the walls of Jerusalem are destroyed; with this the Chaldeans ended the work of demolition. The expression **יָרַח ה' שֶׁבַע יְהוֹיָכִן** represents this as the execution of a divine decree,—a turn which forms an appropriate introduction to the close of the work of destruction. Raschi makes the following remark concerning this: *a longo inde tempore, in animum induxerat, hanc urbem vastare secundum illud quod Jer. xxxii. 31 dixit*. This intention He has now carried out. The words, "He stretched out the measuring-line," are more exactly determined by what follows, "He withdrew not His hand from destroying;" this shows the extent to which the destruction was carried out. The measuring-line was drawn out for the purpose of determining the situation and direction of buildings (Job xxxviii. 5; Zech. i. 15); but Jahveh applies it also for the purpose of pulling down buildings (2 Kings xxi. 13; Isa. xxxiv. 11; Amos vii. 7), in order to indicate that He carries out the destruction with the same precision as that of

the builder in finishing his work. The rampart and the wall sorrow over this. חָל (from חָלַל) is the rampart, *i.e.* the low wall with the ditch, surrounding the fortress outside the city wall; cf. 2 Sam. xx. 15, Isa. xxvi. 1. The gates of the daughter of Zion (*i.e.* of Jerusalem) are sunk into the earth, *i.e.* have been completely buried under rubbish by the demolition, as if they had sunk into the ground. The subject to אֶבֶר וְשַׁבָּר is Jahveh. The bars of the daughter of Zion are those with which the city gates were closed, for the protection of the inhabitants. With the destruction of Jerusalem the kingdom of God is destroyed. King and princes are among the heathen,—carried away into exile. It must, indeed, be allowed that אֵין תוֹרָה is connected by the accents with what precedes; and Gerlach defends the construction, “they are among the heathen without law,”—not only agreeing with Kalkschmidt in taking אֵין תוֹרָה as a designation of the גוֹיִם as *ethnici*,—*ad gentes, quibus divina nulla erat revelatio*,—but also with Luther, who translates: “her king and her princes are among the heathen, because they cannot administer the law,” or generally, have it not. But, on the other hand, the accents merely indicate the stichometrical arrangement, not the relation of the words according to their sense; and the remark, “that ver. 9*b*c sets forth the fate of the persons who stood to the city in the relation of helpers and counsellors or comforters (her king, her prophets), of whose help (counsel, or comfort) the city was deprived, as well as of the external means of defending her” (first member), proves nothing at all, for the simple reason that the priests also belonged to the number of the helpers, counsellors, and comforters of the city; hence, if this were the meaning, and the two halves of the verse were meant to stand in this relation, then the priests would certainly have been mentioned also. The second half of the verse is not connected with the first in the manner supposed by Gerlach; but, from the whole preceding description of the way in which the divine wrath has been manifested against Jerusalem, it draws this conclusion: “Judah has lost its king and its princes, who have been carried away among the heathen: it has also lost the law and prophecy.” “Law” and “vision” are mentioned as both media of divine revelation. The law is the

summary of the rule of life given by God to His people : this exists no more for Judah, because, with the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, the divinely appointed constitution of Israel was abolished and destroyed. Prophecy was the constant witness to the presence of God among His people ; by this means the Lord sought to conduct Israel to the object of their election and calling, and to fit them for becoming a holy nation and a kingdom of priests. The perf. נִשְׁמַע is not a preterite, but the expression of an accomplished fact. The prophets of the daughter of Zion no longer obtain any vision or revelation from Jahveh : the revelation of God by prophets has ceased for Zion. The words imply that there are still prophets, and merely affirm that they do not receive any revelation from God. This is not opposed to the fact that Jeremiah, some months after the destruction of Jerusalem, again received a revelation ; cf. Jer. xlii. 4 with ver. 7. The meaning of the complaint is simply that Jahveh no longer owns His people, no longer gives them a token of His gracious presence, just as it is said in Ps. lxxiv. 9, "There is no more any prophet." But it is not thereby declared that prophecy has altogether and for ever been silenced, but merely that, when Jerusalem was destroyed, Israel received no prophetic communication,—that God the Lord did not then send them a message to comfort and sustain them. The revelation which Jeremiah (xlii. 7) received regarding the determination of the people who sought to flee to Egypt, has no connection with this at all, for it does not contain a word as to the future destiny of Jerusalem. Hence it cannot be inferred, with Thenius, from the words now before us, that the present poem was composed before that revelation given in Jer. xlii. 7 ff. ; nor yet, with Nägelsbach, that the writer had here before his mind the condition of the great mass of the people who had been carried away into exile. Neither, indeed, were the people in exile without prophetic communications ; for, even so early as six years before the overthrow of Jerusalem, God had raised up to the exiles a prophet in the person of Ezekiel.—Ver. 10. The whole of the people have sunk into deep sorrow over this misfortune. The elders, as the counsellors of the city, sit on the ground in silence, from deep sorrow ; cf. Job ii. 8, 13, and

regarding the tokens of sorrow, Job ii. 12, Jer. iv. 8, vi. 26, etc. The virgins of Jerusalem have renounced their gaiety and bowed their head, sorrowing, to the ground; cf. i. 4.

Vers. 11-16. The impotence of human comfort, and the mockery of enemies. Ver. 11 f. The misery that has befallen the people is so fearful, that sorrow over it wears out one's life. "Mine eyes pine away because of tears," is the complaint of the prophet, not merely for himself personally, but in the name of all the godly ones: "Mine eyes pine" is the expression used in Ps. lxxix. 4. On הִמְרִמְרִי מַעַי, cf. i. 20. The expression, "my liver is poured out on the earth," occurs nowhere else, and is variously explained. That the liver is *fons sanguinis*, and thus the seat of the animal life (Rosenmüller, Thenius), cannot be made out from Prov. vii. 23. This passage rather forms a proof that among the Hebrews, according to a view widely prevalent in ancient times, the liver was considered the seat of sensual desire and lust (cf. Delitzsch's *Bib. Psychology*, Clark's translation, p. 316). But this view is insufficient as an explanation of the passage now before us. Besides, there are no proofs to show that "liver" is used for "heart," or even for "gall," although Job xvi. 13 is unwarrantably adduced in support of this position. A closely related expression, certainly, is found in Job xxx. 16, Ps. xlii. 5, where the soul is said to be poured out; but the liver is different from נֶפֶשׁ, the principle of the corporeal life. If the liver was called כִּבְר because, according to Galen, *de usu partium*, vi. 17 (in Gesen. *Thes.* p. 655), *omnium viscerum et densissimum et gravissimum est*, then it may be regarded, instead of כֶּסֶם, as the chief bodily organ through which not merely lust, but also pain, is felt; and the pouring out of the liver on the earth may thus mean that the inner man is dissolved in pain and sorrow,—perishes, as it were, through pain. For it is evident from the context, and universally admitted, that it is the effect of pain in consuming the bodily organs that is here meant to be expressed. שָׁבַר בֵּת עַמִּי is a genuine Jeremianic expression (cf. Jer. vi. 14, viii. 11, 21, etc.), which again occurs in ver. 13, iii. 47, 48, and iv. 10. In what follows, some harrowing details are given regarding the destruction of the daughter of Zion. בְּרָעָתָהּ for בָּעָתָהּ, while (or because) children and sucklings were pining away on the

streets of the city. This figure of heartrending misery is further carried out in ver. 12, for the purpose of vividly setting forth the terrible distress. Gerlach is wrong in thinking that the writer brings forward such sad scenes as would be likely to present themselves in the period immediately after the destruction of the city. For, the fact that, in ver. 10, the eye of the mourner is directed to the present, is far from being a proof that vers. 11c and 12 also treat of the present; and the imperfect *יאמרו*, ver. 12, is not parallel in time with *ישבו*, ver. 12, but designates the repetition of the action in past time. "The children say to their mothers, Where is corn and wine?" *i.e.* Give us bread and wine, or, Where can we eat and drink? Corn and must (as in Jer. xxxi. 12, etc.) are mentioned as the usual means of nourishment of the Israelites. *דגן*, "corn," is used poetically for bread (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 24),—not pounded or roasted grain, which was used without further preparation (Thenius), and which is called *קל*, Lev. xxiii. 14, 1 Sam. xvii. 17, 2 Sam. xvii. 28. The sucklings poured out their soul, *i.e.* breathed out their life, into the bosom of their mothers, *i.e.* hugging their mothers, although these could not give them nourishment; cf. iv. 4.—Ver. 13. Against such terrible misery, human power can give neither comfort nor help. "What shall I testify to you?" The *Kethib* *אעיד* is a mistake in transcription for *אעידה* (*Qeri*), because *עיד* is not commonly used in the Kal. *העיד*, to bear witness, is mostly construed with *ב*, against or for any one, but also with acc., 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13, *in malam*, and Job xxix. 11, *in bonam partem*. Here it is used in the latter sense: "give testimony to thee" for the purpose of instruction and comfort,—not of a calamity that has happened elsewhere, as Calvin and Thenius explain, though against the construction of the verb with the accus.; still less "to make one swear" (Gesenius, Ewald). That the prophetic witness is meant here in the sense of encouragement by instruction, warning, and comfort, is evident from the mention of the testimony of the false prophets in ver. 14. "What shall I compare to thee?" *i.e.* what kind of misfortune shall I mention as similar to yours? This is required by the principle derived from experience: *solamen miseris socios habuisse malorum*. *ואנכימא*, "that I may comfort thee." The reason

assigned, viz. "for thy destruction is great, like the sea" (*i.e.* immense), follows the answer, understood though not expressed, "I can compare nothing to thee." The answer to the last question, "Who can heal thee?" (רפא with ל) is, "no man;" cf. Jer. xxx. 12 ff. Reasons are assigned for this in vers. 14-16. —Ver. 14. From her prophets, Jerusalem can expect neither comfort nor healing. For they have brought this calamity upon her through their careless and foolish prophesying. Those meant are the false prophets, whose conduct Jeremiah frequently denounced; cf. Jer. ii. 8, v. 12, vi. 13 f., viii. 10, xiv. 14 f., xxiii. 17, 32, xxvii. 10, 15. They prophesied vanity, — peace when there was no peace,—and תפלה, "absurdity," = תפלה, Jer. xxiii. 13. They did not expose the sin and guilt of the people with the view of their amendment and improvement, and thereby removing the misery into which they had fallen by their sin; nor did they endeavour to restore the people to their right relation towards the Lord, upon which their welfare depended, or to avert their being driven into exile. On השכיב שכיבת, cf. Jer. xxxii. 44. The meaning of this expression, as there unfolded, applies also to the passage now before us; and the translation, *captivitatem avertere* (Michaelis, Nägelsbach), or to "ward off thy captivity" (Luther, Thenius), is neither capable of vindication nor required by the context. Instead of healing the injuries of the people by discovering their sins, they have seen (prophesied) for them מַשָּׂאוֹת, "burdens," *i.e.* utterances of threatening import (not *effata*; see on Jer. xxiii. 33), which contained שִׁמּוּת, "emptiness," and מַדְחָיִים, "rejection." The combination of "emptiness" with "burdens" does not prevent the latter word from being applied to threatening oracles; for the threats of the false prophets did not refer to Judah, but were directed against the enemies of Israel. For instance, that they might promise the people speedy deliverance from exile, they placed the downfall of the Chaldean power in immediate prospect; cf. Jer. xxviii. 2-4, 11. מַדְחָיִים is ἄπ. λγ. as a noun, and is also dependent on "burdens" (cf. Ewald, § 289, c): it signifies ejection from the land, not "persecution" (Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, etc.), for Jeremiah uses נִדָּה (in Niph. and Hiph.) always in the sense of rejection, expulsion from the country; and the word has here an unmistakeable

reference to Jer. xxvii. 10, 15: "They prophesy lies to you, that they may eject you from your country."—Ver. 15 f. Strangers and enemies have, for the misfortune of Jerusalem, only expressions of scorn and delight over her loss. "Those who pass by the way" are strangers who travel past Jerusalem. To clap the hands together is not here a gesture betokening anger and disinclination (Num. xxiv. 10), but of delight over the injury of others, as in Job xxvii. 23. שָׁקַק, to hiss, is an expression of scorn; see on Jer. xix. 8. The same is true as regards the shaking of the head; cf. Ps. xxii. 8, cix. 25, etc.: the expression for this, in Jer. xviii. 16, is הִנִּיר בְּרֹאשׁ. The exclamation, "Is this the city which they call 'perfect in beauty'?" is an expression of scornful astonishment. כִּלְיָתָאֵי is substantially the same as מְלֵלָאֵי, Ps. l. 2, where the expression is applied to Zion; in Ezek. xxvii. 3 the same is said of Tyre. That Jeremiah had Ps. l. 2 in his mind is shown by the apposition, "a joy of the whole earth," which is taken from Ps. xlviii. 3.—Ver. 16. The enemy in triumph express their joy over the fall of Jerusalem. The opening of the mouth (as in Ps. xxxv. 21, Job xvi. 10), taken in connection with what follows, is also a gesture peculiar to scornful speech. The gnashing of the teeth (Ps. xxxv. 16, xxxvii. 12; Job xvi. 9) is here an expression of rage that has burst out. The object of "we have swallowed" is to be derived from the context ("against thee"), viz. the city of Jerusalem. "Surely this" is a strong asseveration—"this is the very day." The asyndetic collection of the three verbs accords with the impassioned character of the enemy's speech. "To see" is here equivalent to living to see.

Vers. 17-19. In this calamity, which Jahveh has ordained, it is only He who can bring comfort and help; [and this He will do], if earnest and incessant complaint be made to Him regarding the misery. In order to turn the thoughts of the people in this direction, the prophet lays emphasis on the fact that God has now executed this destruction which He has threatened long before, and has prepared for the triumph of the enemy. "Jahveh hath done what He hath purposed," has now performed the word which He has commanded all along from the days of yore. Zechariah (i. 6) also lays this

truth before the heart of his contemporaries. וַיִּכְרֹם, to cut off, is used metaphorically in the sense of finishing, completing, as in Isa. x. 12, Zech. iv. 9. To fulfil a word that has been ordered, signifies to execute it. וַיִּצְוֶה does not mean to announce, but to command, order; the word has been chosen, not merely with reference to the fact that the threatened rejection of Israel was announced in the law, but also with regard to the circumstance that the threat of punishment for sins is an evidence of the moral government of the world, and the holiness of the Lord and Ruler of the world demands the punishment of every act of rebellion against the government and decrees of God. "The days of old" are the times of Moses; for Jeremiah has before his mind the threatenings of the law, Lev. xxvi. 23 ff., Deut. xxviii. 15 ff. "Without sparing," as Jeremiah (iv. 28) has announced to the people. In the following clause, "He hath made thine enemy rejoice over thee," thoughts are reproduced from Ps. lxxxix. 43. To "exalt the horn" means to grant power and victory; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 1, Ps. lxxv. 5. — Ver. 18. When it is seen that the Lord has appointed the terrible calamity, the people are driven to pray for mercy. Hence ver. 18 follows, yet not at once with the summons to prayer, but with the assertion of the fact that this actually takes place: "their heart cries out unto the Lord;" and it is not till after this that there follows the summons to entreat Him incessantly with tears. The perfect וּמְצָא represents the crying as already begun, and reaching on to the present (cf. Ewald, § 135, b), for which we use the present in German [and in English]. That the suffix in "their heart" does not point to the enemies mentioned at the close of ver. 17, but to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, is indubitably evident from what is substantially stated in the clause, viz. that crying to the Lord merely indicates the crying to God for help in distress. There is no sufficient reason for Ewald's change of וּמְצָא לִבָּם into וּמְצָא לִבָּם, "outcries of thine heart," i.e. let the cry of thine heart sound forth; still less ground is there for the conjecture of Thenius, that לִבָּם should be changed into לִבָּם, because this is opposed to the following summons to implore help: other more unnatural changes in the text it were needless to mention. The following clauses,

"O wall of the daughter of Zion," etc., do not state how her heart has cried and still cries to the Lord, but bid her constantly go on imploring. Several expositors have taken objection to the direct address, "O wall of the daughter of Zion," and have sought to remove the difficulty by making conjectures. Hence, *e.g.*, Thenius still holds that there is good ground for the objection, saying that there is a wide difference between the poetic expression, "the wall mourns" (ver. 8), and the summons, "O wall, let tears run down." This difference cannot be denied, yet such personification is not without analogy. A similar summons is found in Isa. xiv. 31: "Howl, O gate" (*porta*). It is self-evident that it is not the wall simply as such that is considered, but everything besides connected with it, so that the wall is named instead of the city with its inhabitants, just as in Isa. xiv. 31 gate and city are synonymous. Hence, also, all the faculties of those residing within the wall (eyes, heart, hands) may be ascribed to it, inasmuch as the idea of the wall easily and naturally glides over into that of the daughter of Zion. The expression, "Let tears run down like a stream," is a hyperbole used to indicate the exceeding greatness of the grief. "By day and night" is intensified by the clauses which follow: "give not," *i.e.* grant not. פִּינָה לָךְ, "torpidity (stagnation) to thyself." The noun פִּינָה is ἄπ. λεγ., like הפִּינָה, iii. 49; the verb פִּיג, however, occurs in Gen. xxv. 26 and Ps. lxxvii. 3, where it is used of the torpidity of the vital spirits, stagnation of the heart. The expression in the text is a poetic one for פִּינָה: "do not permit thy numbness," *i.e.* let not thy flood of tears dry up; cf. Ewald, § 289, *b*. בֵּית עֵינַי is the eyeball, not the tears (Pareau); cf. Ps. xvii. 8. תִּירָם comes from תָּרַם, to be still, as in Jer. xlvi. 6. On the thought here presented, cf. Jer. xiv. 17.—Ver. 19. רָנָה (prop. to raise a whining cry, but commonly "to shout for joy") here means to weep aloud, lament. לֵילֵאשׁ אֶשְׁמְרוֹת, at the beginning of the night-watches (cf. Judg. vii. 19); not "in the first night-watch" (Kalkschmidt, following Bochart and Nägelsbach), but at the beginning of each night-watch, *i.e.* throughout the night; cf. Ps. lxxiii. 7. "Pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord," *i.e.* utter the sorrow of thine heart in tears to the Lord. The uplifting of the hands is a gesture indicative of

prayer and entreaty (cf. Ps. xxviii. 2, lxiii. 5, etc.), not "of the deepest distress" (Thenius). אלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ does not mean *pro vita parvulorum tuorum*, that God may at least preserve them (Rosenmüller, Gerlach), but "on account of the soul of thy children," which is more distinctly stated, in the following relative sentence, to mean that they have breathed out their soul through hunger. On this matter, cf. ver. 11 and the exposition of that verse. Ewald has placed the last member of the verse within parentheses, as an interpolation, on the ground that a fourth member offends against the law observed in these verses; on the other hand, Thenius is of opinion that the words do not form a member of the verse by themselves, but are a mere prolongation of the third, "because the conclusion of the prophet's address, begun in ver. 19, was certainly intended to be a complete finish." But the deviation from the rule is not thereby accounted for. Inasmuch as the words are essential to the expression of the thought, we must simply acknowledge the irregularity, and not arbitrarily cast suspicion on the genuineness of the words.

Vers. 20–22. In ver. 20 follows the prayer which the city has been commanded to make. The prayer sets before the mind of the Lord the terrible misery under which Jerusalem suffers. The question, "To whom hast Thou acted thus?" does not mean, "What innocent and godly ones are being sacrificed?" (Thenius), but "to what nation?"—not a heathen one, but the people of Thy choice, to whom all Thy blessed promises have been given (Nägelsbach). This is clear from the reasons given in the question, in which the murder of the priests and prophets in the sanctuary of the Lord is brought forward. But first there is mentioned a case of inhuman conduct, prompted by necessity, viz. that women, in the extreme destitution of hunger, have been constrained to eat the fruit of their body, their beloved children. אֲנִי...אֲנִי does not, in this case, introduce a disjunctive question, but merely an indirect question in two parts. In view of such inhuman cruelties and such desecration of His sanctuary, God cannot remain inactive. The meaning of the question is not: *estne hoc unquam fando auditum, quod apud nos factum est*, or, *quod matres fame eo adactæ fuerint, ut suos fœtus comederent* (C. B. Michaelis, Rosenmüller).

For in this case, not the imperfect, but the perfect, would be used. It is merely asked whether something could happen in a certain way, while it is implied that it has actually occurred already. פָּרִים has the masc. instead of the fem. suffix, as pretty frequently happens. The fruit of their bodies is meant, as the LXX. have rightly rendered; but there is no reason for making this the ground of alterations in the text. The expression "their fruit," indefinite in itself, is immediately rendered definite by עֲלֵי כַפָּיִם. The last word is a verbal noun from כָּפָה (ver. 22), which again is a denominative from כָּפָה, and means to bear on the hands, to care for tenderly. Both words occur only in this passage. The Israelites, moreover, had been threatened with this inhuman outrage as the most extreme form of divine chastisement, Lev. xxvi. 26, Deut. xxviii. 56; cf. Jer. xix. 9. While this abomination is opposed to the moral order of the world instituted by God, the other case (the murder of the priests and prophets in the sanctuary) is a violation of the covenant-order which the Lord had given His people. Neither of these arrangements can God consent to abolish. Therein is implicitly contained the request that He would put an end to the misery into which His people have fallen. This request, however, is not expressly stated; there is merely complaint made to God regarding the terrible misery. From the massacre in the temple, the lamentation passes to the bloodshed on the streets of the city, in which neither age nor sex was spared; cf. Jer. vi. 11. הַצֹּדֹת is a local accus., "through the streets," along the streets.—Ver. 22. The imperf. תִּקְרָא has perhaps been chosen merely for the sake of the alphabetic arrangement, because the description is still continued, and the idea of custom (wont) or repetition is not very suitable in the present instance. "Thou summonest, as for a feast-day (viz. for the enemy, cf. i. 15), all my terrors round about." מְנִירִי is to be explained in conformity with the formula מְנִירִי מְנִירִי, so frequent in Jeremiah (vi. 25, xx. 4, 10, etc.): מְנִירִי is therefore to be derived from מְנִיר, but not to be confined in its reference to the enemy (as in the Vulgate, *qui terrent*); it is rather to be understood as applying to all the terrible powers that had come upon Judah,—sword, famine, plagues (cf. i. 20). On the ground that מְנִירִים elsewhere means

wandering, pilgrimage, and that, moreover, the sing. מְנוּר in Ps. lv. 16 signifies a dwelling, Ewald translates the expression in the text, "my hamlets round about," understanding by that the inhabitants of the defenceless country towns and villages, which stand to the capital that gave them its protection in the relation of settlers in its neighbourhood (LXX. παροικοι). According to this view, the verse alludes to an important event which took place in those days of the siege, when all the inhabitants of the country towns fled to the capital, thinking that a great festival was going to be held there, as on former occasions; but this became at last for them the great festival of death, when the city was taken. But the translation of the LXX. is of no authority, since they have given a false rendering of מְנוּר מְסָבִיב also; and the whole explanation is so artificial and unnatural, that it needs no further refutation. Raschi, indeed, had previously explained מְנוּרִים to mean שְׁכֵינִי, *vicinos meos*, but added *improbos, ut sese congregarent adversus me ad perdendum*. Notwithstanding this, מְנוּרִים, "wandering" and "place of sojourn," cannot denote the country towns as distinguished from the capital; nor can the flight of the inhabitants of the low-lying regions into the capital be fitly called a summoning together of them by the Lord. The combination מְנוּרִים וְשָׁרִיר is used as in Jer. xlii. 17, xliv. 14. For מְנוּרִים, see on ver. 20. With the complaint that no one could escape the judgment,—that the enemy dared to murder even the children whom she [Jerusalem] had carefully nourished and brought up,—the poem concludes, like the first, with deep sorrow, regarding which all attempts at comfort are quite unavailing (Gerlach).

CHAP. III.—THE SUFFERING AND THE CONSOLATION OF
THE GOSPEL.

- 1 I [am] the man [that] have seen affliction by the rod of His wrath.
- 2 He hath led, and brought [through] darkness, and not light.
- 3 Only against me He repeatedly turneth His hand all the day.
- 4 He hath wasted away my flesh and my skin; He hath broken my bones.
- 5 He buildeth up round about me poison and toil.
- 6 He maketh me sit down in dark places, like those for ever dead.
- 7 He hath hedged me about, so that I cannot get out; He hath made heavy my chain.

- 8 Moreover, when I cry and shout, He obstructeth my prayer.
 9 He hath walled round my ways with hewn stone, He hath subverted my paths.
 10 He is to me [like] a bear lying in wait, a lion in secret places.
 11 He removeth my ways, and teareth me in pieces; He maketh me desolate.
 12 He bendeth His bow, and setteth me up as the mark for the arrow.
 13 He causeth the sons of His quiver to go into my reins.
 14 I am become a derision to all my people, their [subject of] satire all the day.
 15 He filleth me with bitterness, maketh me drink wormwood.
 16 And He grindeth my teeth on gravel, He covereth me with ashes.
 17 And my soul hath become despised by prosperity; I have forgotten [what] good [is].
 18 And I said, My vital power is gone, and my hope from Jahveh,
 19 Remember my misery and my persecution, wormwood and poison.
 20 My soul remembereth [them] indeed, and sinketh down in me.
 21 This I bring back to my mind, therefore have I hope.
 22 [It is a sign of] the mercies of Jahveh that we are not consumed, for His compassions fail not;
 23 [They are] new every morning: great is Thy faithfulness.
 24 Jahveh [is] my portion, saith my soul; therefore I hope in Him.
 25 Jahveh is good unto those who wait for Him, to a soul [that] seeketh Him.
 26 It is good that [one] should wait, and that in silence, for the salvation of Jahveh.
 27 It is good for man that he should bear a yoke in his youth.
 28 Let him sit solitary and be silent, for [God] hath laid [the burden] on him.
 29 Let him put his mouth in the dust; perhaps there is [still] hope.
 30 Let him give [his] cheek to him that smites him, let him be filled with reproach.
 31 Because the Lord will not cast off for ever:
 32 For, though He causeth grief, He also pities, according to the multitude of His mercies.
 33 For He doth not afflict from His heart, and grieve the children of men.
 34 To the crushing all the prisoners of the earth under one's feet,
 35 To the setting aside of a man's rights before the face of the Most High,
 36 To the overthrowing of a man in his cause:—doth not the Lord look [to such doings as these]?
 37 Who hath spoken, and it was done, [which] the Lord commanded not?
 38 Doth not evil and good come out of the mouth of Jahveh?
 39 Why doth a man complain [because] he liveth? [Let every] man [rather lament] because of his sins.
 40 Let us search and examine our ways, and let us return to Jahveh.
 41 Let us lift up our heart to [our] hands towards God in the heavens.
 42 We have transgressed and rebelled, *Thou* hast not pardoned.

- 43 Thou didst cover [Thyself] with anger, and didst persecute us; Thou hast slain, Thou hast not pitied.¹
- 44 Thou didst cover Thyself with a cloud, so that prayer could not pass through.
- 45 Thou didst make us [like] offscourings and refuse in the midst of the nations.
- 46 All our enemies have opened their mouths against us.
- 47 Terror and a snare are ours, destruction and ruin.
- 48 Mine eye runneth down [with] streams of water, because of the ruin of the daughter of my people.
- 49 Mine eye poureth itself forth, and ceaseth not, so that there are no stoppings,
- 50 Until Jahveh shall look down and behold from heaven.
- 51 Mine eye causeth pain to my soul, because of all the daughters of my city.²
- 52 Mine enemies closely pursued me, like a bird, without cause.
- 53 They were for destroying my life in the pit, and cast a stone on me.
- 54 Waters overflowed over my head; I said, I am cut off.
- 55 I called on Thy name, O Jahveh, out of the lowest dungeon.
- 56 Thou hast heard my voice; hide not Thine ear at my sighing, at my cry.
- 57 Thou art near in the day [when] I call on Thee; Thou sayest, Fear not.
- 58 Thou hast defended, O Lord, my soul; Thou hast redeemed my life.
- 59 Thou hast seen, O Jahveh, mine oppression; judge my cause.
- 60 Thou hast seen all their vengeance, all their projects against me.
- 61 Thou hast heard their reproach, O Jahveh, all their projects against me;
- 62 The lips of those who rise up against me, and their meditation against me all the day.
- 63 Behold their sitting down and their rising up: I am their satire.
- 64 Thou shalt return a recompense to them, O Jahveh, according to the work of their hands.
- 65 Thou shalt give to them blindness of heart,—Thy curse to them.
- 66 Thou shalt pursue [them] in anger, and destroy them from under the heavens of Jahveh.

The two preceding poems ended with sorrowful complaint. This third poem begins with the complaint of a man over

¹ In the latter part of this verse, Keil has written *mitten unter den Völkern*, which is also (correctly) given as the rendering of the second part of ver. 45. This obvious inadvertence has been rectified in the English translation.—Tr.

² Keil has here misread the Hebrew text, and translated "my people" (עַמִּי) instead of "my city" (יְרֵיכָה).—Tr.

grievous personal suffering. Regarding the contents of this poem, and its relation to the two which precede, Ewald makes the following excellent remarks: "In consequence of experiences most peculiarly his own, the individual may indeed at first make complaint, in such a way that, as here, still deeper despair for the third time begins (vers. 1-18); but, by the deepest meditation for himself on the eternal relation of God to men, he may also very readily come to the due acknowledgment of his own sins and the necessity for repentance, and thereby also to believing prayer. Who is this individual that complains, and thinks, and entreats in this fashion, whose *I* passes unobserved, but quite appropriately, into *we*? O man, it is the very image of thyself! Every one must now speak and think as he does. Thus it is just by this address, which commences in the most doleful tones, that sorrow for the first time, and imperceptibly, has passed into true prayer." This remark contains both the deepest truth and the key to the proper understanding of the contents of this poem, and its position in the middle of the Lamentations. Both of these points have been mistaken by expositors, who (*e.g.* C. B. Michaelis, Pareau, Maurer, Kalkschmidt, and Bleek in his *Introduction*) are of opinion that the writer here makes his personal sufferings the subject of complaint. This cannot be made out, either from ver. 14 or from the description given in ver. 53 ff.: the reverse rather is shown by the fact that, in vers. 22 and 40-47, *we* is used instead of *I*; from which it is evident that the prophet, in the remainder of the poem, is not speaking of himself, or bewailing his own personal sufferings. The confession found in ver. 42, "We have transgressed and rebelled, Thou hast not pardoned," etc., necessarily presupposes not only that the dealing of God towards the sinful and apostate nation, as described in ver. 42 ff., stands in the closest connection with the sufferings of which the prophet complains in vers. 1-18, but also that the chastisement, by means of God's wrath, which was experienced by the man who utters his complaint in vers. 1-18, is identical with the anger which, according to ver. 43, discharged itself on the people; hence the suffering of the individual, which is described in vers. 1-18, is to be regarded as the reflex of but a special instance of the suffering endured by the whole community. Perhaps this

was the view of Aben Ezra, when he says that, in this lamentation, it is individual Israelites who speak; and most expositors acknowledge that the prophet pours forth his lamentations and his prayers in the name of the godly.

The poem begins by setting forth the grievous soul-sufferings of the godly in their cheerless and hopeless misery (vers. 1-18); then it ascends, through meditation upon the compassion and almighty providence of God, to hope (vers. 19-39), and thus attains to the recognition of God's justice in sending the punishment, which, however, is so intensified through the malice of enemies, that the Lord cannot pass by the attempt to crush His people (vers. 40-54). This reliance on the justice of God impels to prayer, in which there is manifested confidence that God will send help, and take vengeance on the enemy (vers. 55-66).

Vers. 1-18. Lamentation over grievous sufferings. The author of these sufferings is not, indeed, expressly named in the whole section, but it is unmistakeably signified that God is meant; moreover, at the end of ver. 18 the name יהוה is mentioned. The view thus given of the sufferings shows, not merely that he who utters the complaint perceives in these sufferings a chastisement by God, but also that this chastisement has become for him a soul-struggle, in which he may not take the name of God into his mouth; and only after he has given vent in lamentations to the deep sorrow of his soul, does his spirit get peace to mention the name of the Lord, and make complaint to Him of his need. Nothing certain can be inferred from the lamentations themselves regarding the person who makes complaint. It does not follow from vers. 1-3 that he was burdened with sorrows more than every one else; nor from ver. 14 that he was a personage well known to all the people, so that one could recognise the prophet in him. As little are they sufferings which Jeremiah has endured alone, and for his own sake, but sufferings such as many godly people of his time have undergone and struggled through. Against the Jeremican authorship of the poem, therefore, no argument can be drawn from the fact that the personality of him who utters the complaint is concealed.

Ver. 1 ff. In the complaint, "I am the man that saw (*i.e.* lived to see) misery," the misery is not specified; and we can-

not, with Rosenmüller, refer עָנִי (without the article) to the misery announced by the prophet long before. "The rod of His wrath," as in Prov. xxii. 8, is the rod of God's anger; cf. Job xxi. 9, ix. 34, Isa. x. 5, etc. The suffix in עֲבָרְתוֹ is not to be referred, with Aben Ezra, to the enemy.—Ver. 2. "Me hath He (God) led and brought through darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ, local accus.), and not light," is a combination like that in Job xii. 25 and Amos v. 18. The path of Jeremiah's life certainly lay through darkness, but was not wholly devoid of light, because God had promised him His protection for the discharge of his official functions. The complaint applies to all the godly, to whom, at the fall of Jerusalem, no light appeared to cheer the darkness of life's pathway.—Ver. 3. "Only upon (against) me does He repeatedly turn His hand." יָשִׁיב is subordinated to the idea of הִלָּחֵץ in an adverbial sense; cf. Gesenius, § 142, 3, *b*. "His hand" is the smiting hand of God. הֵא, "only upon me," expresses the feeling which makes him on whom grievous sufferings have fallen to regard himself as one smitten in a special manner by God. "The whole day," *i.e.* continually; cf. i. 13.—From ver. 4 onwards this divine chastisement is more minutely set forth under various figures, and first of all as a wasting away of the vital force. בָּלָה means to wear out by rubbing, cause to fall away, from בָּלָה, to be worn out, which is applied to clothes, and then transferred to bodies, Job xiii. 28, Ps. xlix. 15. "Flesh and skin" are the exterior and soft constituents of the body, while the bones are the firmer parts. Skin, flesh, and bones together, make up the substance of the human body. Prov. v. 11 forms the foundation of the first clause. "He hath broken my bones" is a reminiscence from the lamentation of Hezekiah in Isa. xxxviii. 13; cf. Ps. li. 10, Job xxx. 17. The meaning is thus excellently given by Pareau: *indicantur animi, fortius iræ divinæ malorumque sensu conquisiti, angores*.—The figure in ver. 5, "He builds round about and encircles me," is derived from the enclosing of a city by besieging it. עָלַי is to be repeated after הִתְחַבֵּץ. The besieging forces, which encompass him so that he cannot go out and in, are רָאשׁ וְחִלְצָה. That the former of these two words cannot mean κεφαλὴν μου (LXX.), is abundantly evident. רָאשׁ or רֹשׁ is a plant with a very bitter taste, hence a poisonous plant; see

on Jer. viii. 14. As in that passage מִי ראשׁ, so here the simple ראשׁ is an emblem of bitter suffering. The combination with תִּלְאָה, "toil," is remarkable, as a case in which a figurative is joined with a literal expression; this, however, does not justify the change of תִּלְאָה into לַעֲנָה (Castell, Schleussner, etc.). The combination is to be explained on the ground that ראשׁ had become so common a symbol of bitter suffering, that the figure was quite lost sight of behind the thing signified.—Ver. 6 is a *verbatim* reminiscence from Ps. cxliii. 3c. מַחֵי עוֹלָם is the darkness of the grave and of Sheol; cf. Ps. lxxxviii. 7. מַחֵי עוֹלָם does not mean "the dead of antiquity" (Rosenmüller, Maurer, Ewald, Thenius, etc.), but, as in Ps. cxliii. 3, those eternally dead, who lie in the long night of death, from which there is no return into this life. In opposition to the explanation *dudum mortui*, Gerlach fittingly remarks, that "it makes no difference whether they have been dead long ago or only recently, inasmuch as those dead and buried a short time ago lie in darkness equally with those who have long been dead;" while it avails nothing to point to Ps. lxxxviii. 5-7, as Nügel'sbach does, since the special subject there treated of is not those who have *long* been dead.—Ver. 7. God has hedged him round like a prisoner, cut off all communication from without, so that he cannot escape, and He has loaded him with heavy chains. This figure is based on Job xix. 8 and Hos. ii. 8. גִּדַּר בְּעָרִי, "He hath made an hedge round me," does not suggest prison walls, but merely seclusion within a confined space, where he is deprived of free exit. "I cannot go out," as in Ps. lxxxviii. 9. The seclusion is increased by fetters which are placed on the prisoner. נְחֹשֶׁת, "brass," for fetters, as in German [and English], "irons," for iron chains.—Ver. 8. This distress presses upon him all the more heavily, because, in addition to this, the Lord does not listen to his prayer and cries, but has rather closed His ear; cf. Jer. vii. 16, Ps. xviii. 42, etc. שָׁתָם for שָׁתָם (only written here with ש), to stop the prayer; i.e. not to prevent the prayer from issuing out of the breast, to restrain supplication, but to prevent the prayer from reaching His ear; cf. ver. 44 and Prov. i. 28.

In ver. 9, the idea of prevention from freedom of action is further carried out on a new side. "He hath walled in my paths with hewn stones." אֶבְנֵי נִיזִית = נִיזִית, 1 Kings v. 31, are

hewn stones of considerable size, employed for making a very strong wall. The meaning is: He has raised up insurmountable obstacles in the pathway of my life. "My paths hath He turned," *i.e.* rendered such that I cannot walk in them. עָקַה is to turn, in the sense of destroying, as in Isa. xxiv. 1, not *contortas fecit* (Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Kalkschmidt), nor *per viam tortuosam ire cogor* (Raschi); for the prophet does not mean to say (as Nägelsbach imagines), "that he has been compelled to walk in wrong and tortuous ways," but he means that God has rendered it impossible for him to proceed further in his path; cf. Job xxx. 13. But we are not in this to think of the leveling of a raised road, as Thenius does; for עָקַה does not mean a road formed by the deposition of rubbish, like a mound, but a footpath, formed by constant treading (Gerlach).—Ver. 10. Not merely, however, has God cut off every way of escape for him who here utters the complaint, but He pursues him in every possible way, that He may utterly destroy him. On the figure of a bear lying in wait, cf. Hos. xiii. 8, Amos v. 19. It is more usual to find enemies compared to lions in ambush; cf. Ps. x. 19, xvii. 12. The last-named passage seems to have been present to the writer's mind. The prophets frequently compare enemies to lions, *e.g.* Jer. v. 6, iv. 7, xlix. 19, l. 44.—In ver. 11 the figure of the lion is discontinued; for הָרַבִּי סוּרֵר cannot be said of a beast. The verb here is not to be derived from סָרַר, to be refractory, but is the Piel of סָוַר, to go aside, deviate, make to draw back. To "make ways turn aside" may signify to make a person lose the right road, but not to drag back from the road (Thenius); it rather means to mislead, or even *facere ut deficient viæ*, to take away the road, so that one cannot escape. פָּשַׁח is ἀπ. λεί. in Hebrew; in Aramean it means to cut or tear in pieces: cf. [the Targum on] 1 Sam. xv. 33, "Samuel פָּשַׁח Agag," hewed him in pieces; and on Ps. vii. 3, where the word is used for the Heb. פָּרַק, to tear in pieces (of a lion); here it signifies to tear away (limbs from the body, boughs from trees). This meaning is required by the context; for the following expression, שָׁחַץ שׁוֹמֵם, does not lead us to think of tearing in pieces, lacerating, but *discerpere*, plucking or pulling to pieces. For שׁוֹמֵם, see on i. 13, 16.—Ver. 12. "He hath bent His bow," as in ii. 4. The second member, "He hath made me the mark

for His arrows," is taken almost *verbatim* from Job xvi. 12. The arrows are the ills and sorrows appointed by God; cf. Deut. xxxii. 23, Ps. xxxviii. 3, Job vi. 4.—Ver. 14. "Abused in this way, he is the object of scoffing and mockery" (Gerlach). In the first clause, the complaint of Jeremiah in xx. 7 is reproduced. Rosenmüller, Ewald, and Thenius are inclined to take עֲרֵי as an abbreviated form of the plur. עָרִים, presuming that the subject of the complaint is the people of Israel. But in none of the three passages in which Ewald (*Gram.* § 177, a), following the Masoretes, is ready to recognise such a plural-ending, does there seem any need or real foundation for the assumption. Besides this passage, the others are 2 Sam. xxii. 44 and Ps. cxliv. 2. In these last two cases עֲרֵי gives a suitable enough meaning as a singular (see the expositions of these passages); and in this verse, as Gerlach has already remarked, against Rosenmüller, neither the conjoined לֵל nor the plural suffix of עֲרֵי requires us to take עֲרֵי as a plural, the former objection being removed on a comparison of Gen. xli. 10, and the latter when we consider the possibility of a *constructio ad sensum* in the case of the collective עָרִים. But the assumption that here the people are speaking, or that the poet (prophet) is complaining of the sufferings of the people in their name, is opposed by the fact that הִנֵּנִי stands at the beginning of this lamentation, ver. 1. If, however, the prophet complained in the name of each individual among God's people, he could not set up בְּלִעְרֵי in opposition to them, because by that very expression the scoffing is limited to the great body of the people. The Chaldee, accordingly, is substantially correct in its paraphrase, *omnibus protervis populi mei* (following Dan. xi. 14). But that the mass of the people were not subdued by suffering, and that there was a great number of those who would not recognise the chastening hand of God in the fall of the kingdom, and who scoffed at the warnings of the prophets, is evinced, not merely by the history of the period immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xli. ff.), and by the conduct of Ishmael and his followers (Jer. xli. 2 ff.), and of the insolent men who marched to Egypt in spite of Jeremiah's warning (xliii. 2), but also by the spirit that prevailed among the exiles, and against which Ezekiel had to contend; cf. *e.g.* Ezek. xiii.

22. **בְּיָיָתָם** is a reminiscence from Job xxx. 9; cf. Ps. lxi. 13. —Ver. 15. "He fills me with bitternesses" is a reminiscence from Job ix. 18, only **מַרְרִים** being exchanged for **מְרִירִים**. Of these two forms, the first occurs only in Job, *l.c.*; the latter denotes, in Ex. xii. 8 and Num. ix. 11, "bitter herbs," but here "bitternesses." The reality (*viz.* bitter sorrow) is what Jeremiah threatens the people with in ix. 14, xxiii. 15. The figure employed in ver. 16 is still stronger. "He made my teeth be ground down on gravel." **הָצִץ** means a gravel stone, gravel, Prov. xx. 17. **נָרַס** (which occurs only in Ps. cxix. 20 as well as here, and is allied to **נָרַשׁ**, from which comes **נָרַשׁ**, something crushed, Lev. ii. 14, 16) signifies to be ground down, and in Hiphil to grind down, *not* to cause to grind; hence **הָצִץ** cannot be taken as a second object, "He made my teeth grind gravel" (Ewald); but the words simply mean, "He ground my teeth on the gravel," *i.e.* He made them grind away on the gravel. As regards the application of the words, we cannot follow the older expositors in thinking of bread mixed with stones, but must view the giving of stones for bread as referring to cruel treatment. The LXX. have rendered **הָכֵפְשִׁי** by *ἐψώμισέν με σποδόν*, the Vulgate by *cibavit me cinere*. This translation has not been lexically established, but is a mere conjecture from Ps. cii. 10. The *ἀπ. λεγ.* **פָּשַׁשׁ** is allied with **פָּרַשׁ**, *subigere*, and means in Rabbinic, *deprimere*; cf. Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb. s.v.* Similarly, the Chaldee had previously explained the words to mean *humiliavit* (**פָּנַע**) *me in cinere*; and Raschi, **נִפְּחָה** *inclinavit s. subegit me*. Luther follows these in his rendering, "He rolls me in the ashes," which is a figure signifying the deepest disgrace and humiliation, or a hyperbolical expression for sprinkling with ashes (Ezek. xxvii. 30), as a token of descent into the depths of sorrow.

In vers. 17 and 18 the speaker, in his lamentation, gives expression to that disposition of his heart which has been produced by the misery that has befallen him to so fearful an extent. He has quite given up hopes of attaining safety and prosperity, and his hope in the Lord is gone. In ver. 17 it is a question whether **הָיָה** is second or third pers. of the imperf. Following the LXX., who give the rendering *ἀπόσπαστο ἐξ εἰρήνης ψυχῆν μου*, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, De Wette, and Nägelsbach con-

sider **נָפַשׁ** transitive, as in ii. 7, and take **נַפְשִׁי** as of the second pers.: "Thou didst reject my soul (me) from peace." But to this view of the words there is the decided objection, that neither before nor after is there any direct address to Jahveh, and that the verbs which immediately follow stand in the first person, and succeed the first clause appropriately enough, provided we take **נַפְשִׁי** as the subject to **נָפַשׁ** (third pers.). **נָפַשׁ** has both a transitive and an intransitive meaning in Kal; cf. Hos. viii. 3. (trans.) and viii. 5 (intrans.) Nägelsbach has no ground for casting doubt on the intrans. meaning in Hos. viii. 5. Moreover, the objection that the passage now before us is a quotation from Ps. lxxxviii. 15 (Nägelsbach) does not prove that **נָפַשׁ נַפְשִׁי** is to be taken in the same sense here as in that passage: "O Jahveh, Thou despisest my soul." By adding **נִשְׁלֵחַ**, Jeremiah has made an independent reproduction of that passage in the Psalms, if he had it before his mind. This addition does not permit of our attaching a transitive sense to **נָפַשׁ**, for the verb means to despise, not to reject; hence we cannot render the words, "Thou didst reject my soul from peace." The meaning of the clause is not "my soul loathes prosperity," as it is rendered by Thenius, who further gives the sense as follows: "I had such a thorough disgust for life, that I had no longer the least desire for prosperity." As Gerlach has already remarked, this explanation neither harmonizes with the meaning of **נִשְׁלֵחַ**, nor with the expression of doubt in the following verse, which implies a very lively "sense of the prosperous;" moreover, it has no good lexical basis. The fundamental meaning of **נָפַשׁ** is to stink, be rancid, from which comes the metaphorical one of instilling disgust,—not, feeling disgust (Hos. viii. 5),—and further, that of despising. The meaning "to instil disgust" does not suit this passage, but only that of being despised. "My soul is despised of prosperity," i.e. so that it shares not in prosperity; with this accords the intransitive use of the Hiphil **נָפַשׁ** with **נָפַשׁ**, 2 Chron. xi. 14. The Vulgate, which does not catch the idea of **נָפַשׁ** so exactly, renders the passage by *expulsa est a pace anima mea*. To this there are appropriately joined the words, "I have forgotten good" (good fortune), because I constantly experience nothing but misfortune; and not less appropriate is the expression of doubt, "I say (i.e. I think)

my strength and my hope from Jahveh is gone (vanished)," i.e. my strength is worn out through suffering, and I have nothing more to hope for from Jahveh. Starting from the fundamental idea of stability, permanence, **צִדְקָה**, according to the traditional explanation, means *vigor*, strength; then, by a metaphor, *vis vitalis*, Isa. lxiii. 3, 6,—not trust (Rosenmüller, Thenius, Nägelsbach, etc.), in support of which we are pointed to 1 Sam. xv. 29, but without sufficient reason; see Delitzsch on Isaiah, *l.c.* The complaint here attains its deepest and worst. The complainant in his thoughts has gone far from God, and is on the very verge of despair. But here also begins the turning-point. When for the first time he utters the name of God in the expression "my hope from Jahveh," he shows that Jahveh is to him also still the ground of hope and trust. Hence also he not merely complains, "my strength is gone," etc., but introduces this thought with the words **אָמַרְתִּי**, "I said," *sc.* in my heart, i.e. I thought, "my strength is gone, and my hope from Jahveh lost," i.e. vanished. The mention of the name *Jahveh*, i.e. the Covenant-God, keeps him from sinking into despair, and urges him not to let go his trust on the Lord, so that he can now (in what follows) complain to the Lord of his state of distress, and beseech His help.

Vers. 19-39. Consideration of God's compassion and His omnipotence as displayed at critical junctures in the affairs of men. C. B. Michaelis has correctly perceived, and thus set forth, the transition from the complaint, bordering on despair, to hope, as given in ver. 19: *luctatur hic contra desperationis adfectum, quo tentatus fuerat, ver. 18, mox inde per fidem emer-surus*. In like manner it is said in the *Berleburger Bibel*, "In ver. 19 he struggles with despair, to which he had been tempted, and in the following verse soars up once more into the region of faith." By the resumption of **אֱלֹהֵי** from ver. 1, and of **לִפְנֵי** and **אֵל** from vers. 15 and 5, the contents of the whole preceding lamentation are given in a summary, and by **אֱלֹהֵי** are presented to God in prayer. "Mine affliction" is intensified by the addition of "my persecution" (see on i. 7), and the contents of the lamentation thereby more plainly pointed out. This connection of the verse has been misunderstood in many ways. An old interpretation of the words, still maintained by

Böttcher and Thenius, makes לִרְאֹת an infinitive; according to this view, ver. 19 would require to be conjoined with the preceding, and the inf. without לִ would stand for the ground, *recordando*, "while I think of,"—which is grammatically impossible.¹ The same remark applies to the assumption that לִרְאֹת is an infinitive which is resumed in ver. 20: "it thinks of my misery . . . yes, my soul thinks thereon" (Böttcher, Thenius). Gerlach very properly remarks concerning this view that such a construction is unexampled, and, as regards the change in the form of the infinitive (constr. and abs.), would be unintelligible. The objection of Thenius, however, that the imperative meaning usually attached to לִרְאֹת is against the whole context, and quite inappropriate here, is connected with the erroneous assumption that vers. 19 and 20 form a continuation of what precedes, and that the idea of the speaker's being completely overwhelmed by the thought of all that he had suffered and still suffers, forms the proper conclusion of the first part, after which, from ver. 21 onwards, there follows relief. Gerlach has rightly opposed to these arguments the following considerations: (1) That, after the outburst of despair in ver. 18, "my strength is gone, and my hope from Jahveh," the words "my soul is bowed down in me" form far too feeble a conclusion; (2) That it is undoubtedly more correct to make the relief begin with a prayer breathed out through sighs (ver. 19), than with such a reflection as is expressed in ver. 21 ff. Ewald also is right in taking לִרְאֹת as an imperative, but is mistaken in the notion that the speaker addresses any one who is ready to hear him; this view is shown to be erroneous by the simple fact that, in what precedes and succeeds, the thoughts of the speaker are directed to God only.—Ver. 20. The view taken of this verse will depend on the answer to the question whether הִנֵּנִי is second or third pers. fem. Following

¹ Seb. Münster long since said: *Secundum quosdam est לִרְאֹת infinit., ut sit sensus: periit spes mea, recordante me afflictionis meae.* Calvin also gives the preference to this view, with the remark: *Videtur enim hic propheta exprimere, quomodo fere a spe exciderit, ut nihil reperiret amplius fortitudinis in Deo, quia scilicet oppressus erat malis; in support of which he affirms that it is valde absurdum, eos qui experti sunt aliquando Dei misericordiam, sic omnem spem abjicere, ut non statuant amplius sibi esse refugium ad Deum.*

in the wake of Luther ("Thou wilt assuredly think thereon"), C. B. Michaelis, Pareau, Rosenmüller, and Kalkschmidt take it as second pers.: "Think, yea, think wilt Thou, that my soul is bowed down in me," or "that my soul is at rest within me" (Nägelsbach). But it is impossible to maintain either of these views in the face of the language employed. To take the לְפָנַי before $\text{תִּשְׁכַּח$ in the meaning of *quod* is characterized by Nägelsbach as an arbitrary procedure, unwarranted either by Gen. xxx. 27 or Ezek. xiii. 11; but neither can the meaning of resting, being at ease, which is attributed to שָׁכַח or $\text{שָׁחָה$ by that writer, be established. The verb means to sink down, Prov. ii. 18, and metaphorically, to be bowed down, Ps. xlv. 26. The latter meaning is required in the present passage, from the simple fact that the sentence undeniably refers to Ps. xlii. 6.¹ תִּשְׁכַּח expresses the consequence of זָכַר תִּזְכֹּר , which therefore can only be the third pers., and "my soul" the subject of both clauses; for there is no logical consecution of meaning given by such a rendering as, "If Thou wilt remember, my soul shall be bowed within me." The expression, "If my soul duly meditates thereon (on the deep suffering), it becomes depressed within me," forms the foundation of the request that God would think of his distress, his misery; and ver. 21, "I will lay this to heart," connects itself with the leading thought set forth in ver. 19, the reason for which is given in ver. 20, viz. that my soul is only bowed down within me over the thought of my distress, and must complain of it to God, that He may think of it and alleviate it: This will I lay to heart and set my hope upon. עַל־כֵּן is a strong inferential expression: "therefore," because God alone can help, will I hope. This self-encouragement begins with ver. 22, inasmuch as the prophet strengthens his hope by a consideration of the infinite compassion of the Lord. (It is) חַסְדֵּי יְהוָה , "the mercies of God," i.e. proofs of His mercy (cf. Ps. lxxxix. 2, cvii. 43, Isa. lxiii. 7), "that we are not utterly consumed," as Luther [and similarly our English translators] have excellently rendered תִּמְחָנֵנִי . This form stands for תִּמְחָנֵנִי , as in Jer. xlv. 18, Num. xvii. 28, not for תִּמְחָנֵנִי , third

¹ Luther's translation, "for my soul tells me," is founded on the circumstance that the LXX. have mistaken יָדַע for יָדַע : $\text{καταδολογήσει ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ ψυχή μου}$.

pers., as Pareau, Thenius, Vaihinger, and Ewald, referring to his *Grammar*, § 84, *b*, would take it. The proofs of the grace of God have their foundation in His compassion, from which they flow. In ver. 23 we take "הַיְשִׁים as the subject of הַיְשִׁים; it is the proofs of the grace of God that are new every morning, not "His compassions," although the idea remains the same. לְבָקָרִים, every morning, as in Isa. xxxiii. 2, Ps. lxxiii. 14. *Ubi sol et dies oritur, simul et radii hujus inexhaustæ bonitatis erumpunt* (Tarnovius in Rosenmüller). The consciousness of this constant renewal of the divine favour impels to the prayerful exclamation, "great is Thy faithfulness;" cf. Ps. xxxvi. 6.—Ver. 24. "My portion is Jahveh:" this is a reminiscence from Ps. xvi. 5, lxxiii. 26, cxlii. 6; cf. Ps. cxix. 57, where the expression found here is repeated almost *verbatim*. The expression is based on Num. xviii. 20, where the Lord says to Aaron, "I am thy portion and thine inheritance;" *i.e.* Jahveh will be to the tribe of Levi what the other tribes receive in their territorial possessions in Canaan; Levi shall have his possession and enjoyment in Jahveh. The last clause, "therefore will I hope," etc., is a repetition of what is in ver. 21*b*, as if by way of refrain.

This hope cannot be frustrated, ver. 25. The fundamental idea of the section contained in vers. 25–33 is thus stated by Nägelsbach: "The Lord is well disposed towards the children of men under all circumstances; for even when He smites them, He seeks their highest interest: they ought so to conduct themselves in adversity, that it is possible for Him to carry out His designs." On ver. 25, cf. Ps. xxxiv. 9, lxxxvi. 5; and on the general meaning, also Ps. xxv. 3, lxix. 7. If the Lord is kind to those who hope in Him, then it is good for man to wait patiently for His help in suffering. Such is the mode in which ver. 26 is attached to ver. 25. טוֹב, vers. 26 and 27, followed by *dat.*, means to be good for one, *i.e.* beneficial. Some expositors (Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Nägelsbach) take יָהִי as a noun-form, substantive or adjective; דְּיָהִי is then also taken in the same way, and וְיָהִי as correlative: "it is good both to wait and be silent." But although there are analogous cases to support the view that יָהִי is a noun-form, the constant employment of דְּיָהִי as an adverb quite prevents

us from taking it as an adjective. Moreover, "to be silent for the help of the Lord," would be a strange expression, and we would rather expect "to be silent and wait for;" and finally, waiting and silence are so closely allied, that the disjunctive *et—et* appears remarkable. We prefer, then, with Ewald (*Gram.* § 235, *a*) and others, to take לִּינָה as a verbal form, and that, too, in spite of the *i* in the jussive form of the Hiphil for לִּינָה , from לָחַן , in the meaning of לִּינָה , to wait, tarry. "It is good that he (man) should wait, and in silence too (*i.e.* without complaining), for the help of the Lord." On the thought presented here, cf. Ps. xxxviii. 7 and Isa. xxx. 15. Hence it is also good for man to bear a yoke in youth (ver. 27), that he may exercise himself in calm waiting on the help of the Lord. In the present context the yoke is that of sufferings, and the time of youth is mentioned as the time of freshness and vigour, which render the bearing of burdens more easy. He who has learned in youth to bear sufferings, will not sink into despair should they come on him in old age. Instead of בְּנִעֻרָיו , Theodotion has ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ , which is also the reading of the Aldine edition of the LXX.; and some codices have בְּנִעֻרָיו . But this reading is evidently a correction, prompted by the thought that Jeremiah, who composed the Lamentations in his old age, had much suffering to endure from the time of his call to the prophetic office, in the earlier portion of his old age; nor is it much better than the inference of J. D. Michaelis, that Jeremiah composed this poem when a youth, on the occasion of King Josiah's death.—In vers. 28-30, the effect of experience by suffering is set forth, yet not in such a way that the verses are to be taken as still dependent on בִּי in ver. 27 (Luther, Pareau, De Wette, Maurer, and Thenius): "that he should sit alone and be silent," etc. Such a combination is opposed to the independent character of each separate alphabetic strophe. Rather, the result of early experience in suffering and patience is developed in a cohortative form. The connection of thought is simply as follows: Since it is good for man that he should learn to endure suffering, let him sit still and bear it patiently, when God puts such a burden on him. Let him sit solitary, as becomes those in sorrow (see on i. 1), and be silent, without murmuring (cf. ver. 26), when He lays a

burden on him. There is no object to ^ל expressly mentioned, but it is easily understood from the notion of the verb (if He lays anything on him), or from ^ל in ver. 27 (if He lays a yoke on him). We are forbidden to consider the verbs as indicatives ("he sits alone and is silent;" Gerlach, Nägelsbach) by the apocopated form ^ל in vers. 29, 30, which shows that ^ל and ^ל are also cohortatives.—Ver. 29. "Let him put his mouth in the dust," i.e. humbly bow beneath the mighty hand of God. The expression is derived from the Oriental custom of throwing oneself in the most reverential manner on the ground, and involves the idea of humble silence, because the mouth, placed in the dust, cannot speak. The clause, "perhaps there is hope," indicates the frame of mind to be observed in the submission. While the man is to show such resignation, he is not to give up the hope that God will deliver him from trouble; cf. Job xi. 18, Jer. xxxi. 17.—Ver. 30. Let him also learn patiently to bear abuse and reviling from men. Let him present his cheek to him who smites him, as was done by Job (Job xvi. 10) and the servant of Jahveh (Isa. l. 6); cf. Matt. v. 39. On ver. 30b, cf. Ps. lxxxviii. 4, cxxiii. 3, etc. There is a certain gradation in the three verses that is quite unmistakable. The sitting alone and in silence is comparatively the easiest; it is harder to place the mouth in the dust, and yet cling to hope; it is most difficult of all to give the cheek to the smiter, and to satiate oneself with dishonour (Nägelsbach). In vers. 31–33 follow the grounds of comfort. The first is in ver. 31: the sorrow will come to an end; the Lord does not cast off for ever; cf. Jer. iii. 5, 12. The second is in ver. 32: when He has caused sorrow, He shows pity once more, according to the fulness of His grace. Compassion outweighs sorrow. On this subject, cf. Ps. xxx. 6, Job v. 18, Isa. liv. 8. The third ground of comfort is in ver. 33: God does not send affliction willingly, as if it brought Him joy (cf. Jer. xxxii. 41), but merely because chastisement is necessary to sinful man for the increase of his spiritual prosperity; cf. Acts xiv. 22, 2 Cor. iv. 17. ^ל is for ^ל: cf. Ewald, § 232, f; Gesenius, § 69, 3, Rem. 6.

That he may bring home to the hearts of God's people the exhortation to bear suffering with patience and resignation,

and that he may lead them to see that the weight of sorrow under which they are sighing has been sent from the Lord as a chastisement for their sins, the prophet carries out the thought, in vers. 34-39, that every wrong committed upon earth is under the divine control (vers. 34-36), and generally that nothing happens without God's permission; hence man ought not to mourn over the suffering that befalls him, but rather over his sins (vers. 37-39).—Verses 34-36 form one connected sentence: while the subject and predicate for the three infinitival clauses do not follow till the words **אֲרָאִי לֹא רָאָה**, the infinitives with their objects depend on **רָאָה**. If there were any foundation for the assertion of Böttcher in his *Aehrenlese*, that **רָאָה** never occurs in construction with **ל**, we could take the infinitives with **ל** as the objects of **רָאָה**, in the sense, "As to the crushing of all the prisoners," etc. But the assertion is devoid

of truth, and disproved by 1 Sam. xvi. 7, **הָאָדָם יִרְאָה לְעֵינָיִם וַיְהוּהוּ**. **יִרְאָה לְלִבָּב**. In the three infinitival clauses three modes of unjust dealing are set forth. The treading down to the earth of all prisoners under his (the treader's) feet, refers to cruel treatment of the Jews by the Chaldeans at the taking of Jerusalem and Judah, and generally to deeds of violence perpetrated by victors in war. This explains **כָּל אֲסִירֵי אֶרֶץ**, which Kalkschmidt and Thenius incorrectly render "all captives of the land (country)." Those intended are prisoners generally, who in time of war are trodden down to the earth, *i.e.* cruelly treated. The other two crimes mentioned, vers. 35 and 36, are among the sins of which Judah and Israel have been guilty,—the former being an offence against the proper administration of justice, and the latter falling under the category of unjust practices in the intercourse of ordinary life. "To pervert the right of a man before the face of the Most High" does not mean, in general, *proterve, et sine ullâ numinis inspectantis reverentiâ* (C. B. Michaelis, Rosenmüller); but just as **הַפְסוֹת מִשְׁפָּחָם** is taken from the law (Ex. xxiii. 6; Num. xvi. 19, etc.), so also is **נָגַד פְּנֵי עֲלִיָּה** to be explained in accordance with the directions given in the law (Ex. xxii. 7, 9), that certain causes were to be brought before **הַאֲלֵהִים**, where this word means the judge or judges pronouncing sentence in the name

of God; cf. Ps. lxxxii. 6, where the judges, as God's representatives, are called אֱלֹהִים and בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים. "Before the face of the Most High" thus means, before the tribunal which is held in the name of the Most High. "To turn aside a man in his cause" means to pervert his right in a dispute (cf. Job viii. 3, xxxiv. 12, etc.), which may also be done in contested matters that do not come before the public tribunal. The meaning of the three verses depends on the explanation given of אֲרֵי לֹא רָאָה, which is a disputed point. רָאָה with לֹא, "to look on something," may mean to care for it, be concerned about it, but not to select, choose, or to resolve upon, approve (Michaelis, Ewald, Thenius). Nor can the prophet mean to say, "The Lord does not look upon the treading down of the prisoners, the perversion of justice." If any one be still inclined, with Rosenmüller and others, to view the words as the expression of a fact, then he must consider them as an exception taken by those who murmur against God, but repelled in ver. 37. Moreover, he must, in some such way as the following, show the connection between vers. 33 and 34, by carrying out the idea presented in the exhortation to hope for compassion: "But will any one say that the Lord knows nothing of this—does not trouble Himself about such sufferings?" Whereupon, in ver. 37, the answer follows: "On the contrary, nothing happens without the will of God" (Gerlach). But there is no point of attachment that can possibly be found in the words of the text for showing such a connection; we must therefore reject this view as being artificial, and forced upon the text. The difficulty is solved in a simple manner, by taking the words אֲרֵי לֹא רָאָה as a question, just as has been already done in the Chaldee paraphrase: *fierine potest ut in conspectu Jovæ non reveletur?* The absence of the interrogative particle forms no objection to this, inasmuch as a question is pretty often indicated merely by the tone. Ver. 38 must also be taken interrogatively. Böttcher and Thenius, indeed, think that the perfect רָאָה is incompatible with this; but the objection merely tells against the rendering, "Should not the Lord see it?" (De Wette, Maurer, Kalkschmidt), which of course would require רֵאָה. But the idea rather is, "Hath not the Lord looked upon this?" The various acts of injustice mentioned in the three

verses are not set forth merely as possible events, but as facts that have actually occurred.—Ver. 37 brings the answer to this question in a lively manner, and likewise in an interrogative form: “Who hath spoken, and it came to pass, which the Lord hath not commanded?” The thought here presented reminds us of the word of the Creator in Gen. i. 3 ff. The form of the expression is an imitation of Ps. xxxiii. 9. Rosenmüller gives the incorrect rendering, *Quis est qui dixit: factum est* (i.e. *quis audeat dicere fieri quicquam*); *non præcipiente Deo*; although the similar but more free translation of Luther, “Who dares to say that such a thing happens without the command of the Lord?” gives the sense in a general way. The meaning is as follows: Nothing takes place on the earth which the Lord has not appointed; no man can give and execute a command against the will of God. From this it further follows (ver. 38), that evil and good will proceed from the mouth of the Lord, i.e. be wrought by Him; on this point, cf. Isa. xlv. 7, Amos iii. 6. מִמֶּנִּי וּבִמֶּנִּי gives no adequate meaning unless it be taken interrogatively, and as indicating what is usual—wont to be. And then there is established from this, in ver. 39, the application of the general principle to the particular case in question, viz. the grievous suffering of individuals at the downfall of the kingdom of Judah. “Why does a man sigh as long as he lives? Let every one [sigh] for his sins.” Man is not to sigh over suffering and sorrow, but only over his sin. וְיִסְּחוּ occurs only here and in Num. xi. 1, and signifies to sigh, with the accessory notion of murmuring, complaining. וְיִסְּחוּ appended to כָּל יוֹמָיו is more of a predicate than a simple attributive: man, as long as he lives, i.e. while he is in this life. The verse is viewed in a different light by Pareau, Ewald, Neumann, and Gerlach, who combine both members into one sentence, and render it thus: “Why doth a man complain, so long as he lives,—a man over the punishment of his sins?” [Similar is the rendering of our “Authorized” Version.] Neumann translates: “A man in the face of [Ger. *bei*] his sins.” But this latter rendering is lexically inadmissible, because בְּ in this connection cannot mean “in view of.” The other meaning assigned is improbable, though there is nothing against it, lexically considered. For though חַטָּאת, sin, may also signify the

punishment of sin, the latter meaning does not suit the present context, because in what precedes it is not said that the people suffer for their sins, but merely that their suffering has been appointed by God. If, then, in what follows, there is an exhortation to return to the Lord (ver. 40 f.), and in ver. 42 a confession of sins made; if, moreover, ver. 39 forms the transition from vers. 33-38 to the exhortation that succeeds (ver. 40 ff.); then it is not abstinence from murmuring or sighing over the punishment of sins that forms the true connecting link of the two lines of thought, but merely the refraining from complaint over sufferings, coupled with the exhortation to sigh over their own sins. Tarnov also has viewed the verse in this way, when he deduces from it the advice to every soul labouring under a weight of sorrows: *est igitur optimus ex malis emergendi modus Deum excusare et se ipsum accusare.*

Vers. 40-54. Confession of sins, and complaint against the cruelty of enemies, as well as over the deep misery into which all the people have sunk. Vers. 40-42. The acknowledgment of guilt impels to prayer, to which also there is a summons in vers. 40, 41. The transitional idea is not, "Instead of grumbling in a sinful spirit, let us rather examine our conduct" (Thenius); for the summons to examine one's conduct is thereby placed in contrast with ver. 39, and the thought, "let every one mourn over his own sins," transformed into a prohibition of sinful complaint. The real transition link is given by Rosenmüller: *quum mala nostra a peccatis nostris oriantur, culpas nostras et scrutemur et corrigamus.* The searching of our ways, i.e. of our conduct, if it be entered on in an earnest spirit, must end in a return to the Lord, from whom we have departed. It is self-evident that עַר יְיָ does not stand for אֱלֹהִים, but means as far as (even to) Jahveh, and indicates thorough conversion—no standing half-way. The lifting up of the heart to the hands, also,—not merely of the hands to God,—expresses earnest prayer, that comes from the heart. אֶל־יְיָ, to the hands (that are raised towards heaven). "To God in heaven," where His almighty throne is placed (Ps. ii. 4), that He may look down from thence (ver. 59) and send help. With ver. 42 begins the prayer, as is shown by the direct address to God in the second member. There is no need, however, on

this account, for supplying לִאמֹר before the first member; the command to pray is immediately followed by prayer, beginning with the confession of sins, and the recognition of God's chastisement; cf. Ps. cvi. 6, Dan. ix. 5. נִתְּנָה is contrasted with אָחַד. "Thou hast not pardoned," because Thy justice must inflict punishment.—Vers. 43-45. God has not pardoned, but positively punished, the people for their misdeeds. "Thou hast covered with anger," ver. 43, corresponds to "Thou hast covered with a cloud," ver. 44; hence "Thou hast covered" is plainly used both times in the same meaning, in spite of the fact that אָחַד is wanting in ver. 43. אָכַד means to "cover," here to "make a cover." "Thou didst make a cover with anger," i.e. Thou didst hide Thyself in wrath; there is no necessity for taking אָכַד as in itself reflexive. This mode of viewing it agrees also with what follows. The objection of J. D. Michaelis, *qui se obtegit non persequitur alios, ut statim additur*, which Böttcher and Thenius have repeated, does not hold good in every respect, but chiefly applies to material covering. And the explanation of Thenius, "Thou hast covered us with wrath, and persecuted us," is shown to be wrong by the fact that אָכַד signifies to cover for protection, concealment, etc., but not to cover in the sense of heaping upon, pouring upon (as Luther translates it); nor, again, can the word be taken here in a sense different from that assigned to it in ver. 44. "The covering of wrath, which the Lord draws around Him, conceals under it the lightnings of His wrath, which are spoken of immediately afterwards" (Nägelsbach). The anger vents itself in the persecution of the people, in killing them unsparingly. For, that these two are connected, is shown not merely in ver. 66, but still more plainly by the threatening in Jer. xxix. 18: "I will pursue them with sword, and famine, and pestilence, and give them for maltreatment to all the kingdoms of the earth." On "Thou hast slain, Thou hast not spared," cf. ii. 21. In ver. 44, אָחַד is further appended to אָכַד: "Thou makest a cover with clouds for Thyself," round about Thee, so that no prayer can penetrate to Thee; cf. Ps. lv. 2. These words form the expression of the painful conclusion drawn by God's people from their experience, that God answered no cry for help that came to Him, i.e. granted no help. Israel was

thereby given up, in a defenceless state, to the foe, so that they could treat them like dirt and abuse them. קָהָי (from קָהָה, Ezek. xxvi. 4), found only here as a noun, signifies "sweepings;" and מִאֲדִים is a noun, "disesteem, aversion." The words of ver. 45, indeed, imply the dispersion of Israel among the nations, but are not to be limited to the maltreatment of the Jews in exile; moreover, they rather apply to the conduct of their foes when Judah was conquered and Jerusalem destroyed. Such treatment, especially the rejection, is further depicted in ver. 46. The verse is almost a *verbatim* repetition of ii. 16, and is quite in the style of Jeremiah as regards the reproduction of particular thoughts; while Thenius, from the repetition, is inclined to infer that chaps. ii. and iii. had different authors: cf. Gerlach on the other side. The very next verse might have been sufficient to keep Thenius from such a precipitate conclusion, inasmuch as it contains expressions and figures that are still more clearly peculiar to Jeremiah. On בָּחַר וּפָתַח, cf. Jer. xlviii. 43; הִשָּׁבֵר is also one of the favourite expressions of the prophet. הִשָּׁאֵת is certainly ἀπ. λεγ., but reminds one of בָּנִי שֵׁת, Num. xxiv. 17, for which in Jer. xlviii. 45 there stands בָּנִי שָׂאֵת. It comes from שָׂאָה, to make a noise, roar, fall into ruins with a loud noise, i.e. be laid waste (cf. Isa. vi. 11); and, as Raschi has already observed, it has the same meaning as שָׂאֵה, "devastation," Isa. xxiv. 12. It is incorrect to derive the word from the Hiphil of נָשָׂה (J. D. Michaelis and Ewald), according to which it ought to mean "disappointment," for the ה does not form an essential portion of the word, but is the article, as הַשָּׁבֵר shows. Still more erroneous are the renderings ἐπαροις (LXX., from נָשָׂה) and *vaticinatio* (Jerome, who has confounded הִשָּׁאֵת with הִשָּׁאֵה).

Over this terrible calamity, rivers of tears must be shed, until the Lord looks down from heaven on it, vers. 48-51. The prophet once more utters this complaint in the first person, because he who has risked his life in his endeavour to keep the people in the service of God must feel the deepest sympathy for them in their misfortunes. "Rivers of water" is stronger than "water," i. 16, and "tears like a stream," ii. 18; but the mode of expression is in the main like that in those passages, and used again in Ps. cxix. 136, but in a different connection.

The second member of the verse is the same as in ii. 11. —Ver. 49. נִזְרָה means to be poured out, empty self; cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 14, Mic. i. 4. "And is not silent" = and rests not, *i.e.* incessantly; cf. Jer. xiv. 17. הִפְנוֹת מֵאֵין הִפְנוֹת does not mean, *eo quod non sint intermissiones miseriarum vel fletus* (C. B. Michaelis and Rosenmüller, following the Chaldee), but, "so that there is no intermission or drying up." As to הִפְנוֹת, which means the same as בִּפְנֵי, see on ii. 18. "Until the Lord look down from heaven and examine," in order to put an end to the distress, or to take compassion on His people. On עָקִי, cf. Ps. xiv. 2, cii. 20.—Ver. 51, taken literally, runs thus: "Mine eye does evil to my soul" (עָלָה with לִי signifies to inflict an injury on one, cause suffering, as in i. 2, 22, ii. 20), *i.e.* it causes pain to the soul, as the Chaldee has already paraphrased it. The expression does not merely signify "causes me grief" (Thenius, Gerlach); but the eye, weakened through incessant weeping, causes pain to the soul, inasmuch as the pain in the eye increases the pain in the soul, *i.e.* heightens the pain of the soul through the superaddition of physical pain (Nägelsbach). Ewald has quite missed the meaning of the verse in his translation, "Tears assail my soul," and in his explanatory remark that עָלָה is used in a bad sense, like the Latin *afficit*; for, if עָלָה had this meaning, עֵינִי could not stand for tears, because it is not the tears, but only the eyes weakened by weeping, that affect the soul with pain. Ewald is also wrong in seeking, with Grotius, to understand "the daughters of my city" as signifying the country towns, and to explain the phrase by referring to ii. 22. For, apart from the consideration that the appeal to ii. 22 rests on a false conception of that passage, the meaning attributed to the present verse is shown to be untenable by the very fact that the expression "daughters of my city" is never used for the daughter-towns of Jerusalem; and such a designation, however possible it might be in itself, would yet be quite incomprehensible in this present connection, where there is no other subject of lamentation, either before or after, than Jerusalem in its ruined condition, and the remnant of its inhabitants (Gerlach). "The daughters of my city" are the daughters of Jerusalem, the female portion of the inhabitants of the city before and after its destruction. Nor will what is

added, "because of the daughters of my city," seem strange, if we consider that, even in i. 4, 18 and ii. 20, 21, the fate and the wretched condition of the virgins of the city are mentioned as peculiarly deplorable, and that, in fact, the defenceless virgins were most to be pitied when the city fell; cf. v. 11. But the objection of Böttcher and Thenius, that מְבֵל בְּנוֹת עִירֵי forms a harsh construction, whether we view it grammatically or in the light of the circumstances, inasmuch as מֵ, after "mine eye pains me," is unsuitable, whether taken in a causal or a comparative meaning:—this objection, certainly, has some truth in its favour, and tells against any attempt to take the words as indicating a comparison. But there is nothing against the causal meaning, if "mine eye causes pain to my soul" merely signifies "my eye pains me," because the pain of the eye is the result of the profuse weeping. If those words, however, possess the meaning we have given above (the pain in the eyes increases the smart in the soul), then there is nothing strange at all in the thought, "The evil condition of the daughters of my city is so deplorable, that mine eyes fail through weeping, and the sorrow of my soul is thereby intensified." Gerlach has already refuted, though more fully than was necessary, the conjecture of Böttcher, that בְּנוֹת should be changed into בְּבוֹת (from all the weeping of my city).—Vers. 52–54. His pain and sorrow over the sad condition of the people recall to his memory the persecutions and sufferings which the godly have endured. The figure, "They who without cause are mine enemies have hunted me like a bird," is an imitation of Ps. xi. 1. שָׁנְאִי הָנֵם reminds one of שָׁנְאִי הָנֵם, Ps. xxxv. 19 and lxix. 5. But the prophet prefers אֹיְבֵי to שָׁנְאִי, lest any one should restrict the words to persecutions which arose out of personal hatred.—Ver. 53. צָמְתִּי is here used transitively in Kal, as the Piel is elsewhere, Ps. cxix. 139, and the Pilpel, Ps. lxxxviii. 17. צָמְתִּי בַּבּוֹר, "they were destroying (cutting off) my life down into the pit," is a pregnant construction, and must be understood *de conatu*: "they sought to destroy my life when they hurled me down into the pit, and cast stones on me," i.e. not "they covered the pit with a stone" (Pareau, De Wette, Neumann). The verb יָדָה construed with אֶ does not take this meaning, for יָדָה merely signifies to cast,

e.g. lots (Josh. iv. 3, etc.), arrows (Jer. l. 14), or to throw down = destroy, annihilate, Zech. ii. 4; and בְּ does not mean "in the pit in which I was," but "upon (or against) me." The sing. אֶבֶן is to be understood in accordance with the expression אֶבְנֵי הַיָּם , to cast stones = stone (1 Kings xii. 18; Lev. xx. 2, 27). As to וַיִּדְוֶה for וַיִּדְוֶה , see on וַיִּדְוֶה in ver. 33. "Waters flowed over my head" is a figurative expression, denoting such misery and distress as endanger life; cf. Ps. lxix. 2, 3, 15 f., cxxiv. 4 f., xlii. 8. "I said (thought), I am cut off (from God's eyes or hand)," Ps. xxxi. 23, lxxxviii. 6, is a reminiscence from these Psalms, and does not essentially differ from "cut off out of the land of the living," Isa. liii. 8. For, that we must thereby think of death, or sinking down into Sheol, is shown by $\text{קְבוּרַת הַחַיִּים}$, ver. 55. The complaint in these verses (52-54) is regarded by some expositors as a description of the personal sufferings of Jeremiah; and the casting into the pit is referred to the incident mentioned in Jer. xxxviii. 6 ff. Such is the view, for instance, taken by Vaihinger and Nägelsbach, who point for proof to these considerations especially: (1) That the Chaldeans certainly could not, without good cause (ver. 53), be understood as the "enemies;" (2) that Jeremiah could not represent the people, speaking as if they were righteous and innocent; and (3) that the writer already speaks of his deliverance from their power, and contents himself with merely calling down on them the vengeance of God (vers. 55-66). But not one of these reasons is decisive. For, in the first place, the contents of ver. 52 do not harmonize with the known hostility which Jeremiah had to endure from his personal enemies. That is to say, there is nothing mentioned or known of his enemies having stoned him, or having covered him over with a stone, after they had cast him into the miry pit (Jer. xxxviii. 6 ff.). The figurative character of the whole account thus shows itself in the very fact that the separate portions of it are taken from reminiscences of passages in the Psalms, whose figurative character is universally acknowledged. Moreover, in the expression אֶבְנֵי הַיָּם , even when we understand thereby the Chaldeans, it is not at all implied that he who complains of these enemies considers himself righteous and innocent, but simply that he has not given them any good

ground for their hostile conduct towards him. And the assertion, that the writer is already speaking of his deliverance from their power, rests on the erroneous notion that, in vers. 55-66, he is treating of past events; whereas, the interchange of the perfects with imperatives of itself shows that the deliverance of which he there speaks is not an accomplished or bygone fact, but rather the object of that assured faith which contemplates the non-existent as existent. Lastly, the contrast between personal suffering and the suffering of the people, on which the whole reasoning rests, is quite beside the mark. Moreover, if we take the lamentations to be merely symbolical, then the sufferings and persecutions of which the prophet here complains are not those of the people generally, but of the godly Israelites, on whom they were inflicted when the kingdom was destroyed, not merely by the Chaldeans, but also by their godless fellow-countrymen. Hence we cannot, of course, say that Jeremiah here speaks from personal experience; however, he complains not merely of the persecutions that befell him personally, but also of the sufferings that had come on him and all godly ones. The same remark applies to the conclusion of this lamentation,—the prayer, vers. 55-66, in which he entreats the Lord for deliverance, and in the spirit of faith views this deliverance as already accomplished.

Vers. 55-66. Prayer for deliverance, and confident trust in its realization. Ver. 55. "Out of the lowest pit I call, O Lord, on Thy name;" cf. Ps. lxxxviii. 7, 14, cxxx. 1. The perfect קָרָאתִי is not a preterite,¹ but expresses what has already happened, and still happens. This is evident from the fact that the corresponding perfect, שָׁמַעַתָּה, ver. 56, is continued by the optative אֶל־תִּשְׁמָעֵנִי. בּוֹר תַּחְתִּימוֹת is taken from Ps. lxxxviii. 7: "pit of the lower regions of the earth,"—the תַּחְתִּימוֹת אֶרֶץ, Ps. lxiii.

¹ The perfects are so viewed by Nägelsbach, who also thinks that the speaker, in vers. 55-58, thanks the Lord for deliverance from the pit, and in ver. 55 reminds the Lord of the prayer he has addressed to Him out of the pit. But could he possibly think that the Lord had forgotten this? What, we should like to know, would be the use of this reminder, even if 'אֶל־תִּשְׁמָעֵנִי, ver. 56, could be taken as the words of address to the Lord? For we can discover no thanksgiving in vers. 55-58. This whole mode of viewing the passage breaks down before ver. 59: "Thou hast seen mine oppression; judge me!" For, if the perfects in vers. 55-58 are preterites,

10, Ezek. xxxii. 18, 24, *i.e.* Sheol, essentially the same with מְהַשְׁכִּים, ver. 6, which is thereby connected with Ps. lxxxviii. 7, —the dark regions of the depth, whose open mouth is the grave for every one (see Delitzsch on Psalms, *l.c.*), hence the symbol of mortal danger.—Ver. 56. “Thou hast heard my voice” expresses the full assurance of faith from which the request comes: “Cover not Thine ear from my sighing.” רָחֵם, “breathing out again;” in Ezek. viii. 11, mitigation of oppression, yet not here *respiratio, relaxatio* (C. B. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, etc.),—since the asyndetic שִׁחִי does not accord with such an interpretation,—but a relieving of oneself by means of deeply-drawn sighs, as in Job xxxii. 20; hence “sighing,” as Luther has already rendered it, following the Vulgate: *ne avertas aurem tuam a singultu meo* (Thenius, Gerlach, etc.).—In vers. 57 and 58, the writer still more fully expresses his confidence that the Lord will accept him. “Thou art near on the day when I call on Thee” is a sentence found in Ps. cxlv. 18, and uttered as the experience of all believers. “Thou sayest, Fear not,” *i.e.* Thou assurest me of Thine assistance; cf. Jer. i. 8, 17, etc. “Thou dost conduct the causes (Ger. *Streitsachen*) of my soul” (רִבִּי נַפְשִׁי), *i.e.* not merely “my lawsuits,” but *causas quæ vitam et salutem meam concernunt* (C. B. Michaelis). This is shown by the parallel member, “Thou redeemest my life,” *sc.* from the destruction which threatens it; cf. 53 f., Ps. ciii. 4. With this is connected the request in ver. 59, “Thou dost certainly see my oppression” (עָנִיתָ מִן עֲוֹנִי, from עָוִיתָ, to bend, oppress), the oppression which I suffer; “judge my cause,” *i.e.* help me in my cause, cf. Jer. vi. 28. The suppliant bases this request, vers. 60-62, on the recollection that God, as the Omniscient One, knows the plans and intentions of his opponents. “Thou seest all their plans for revenge.” נִקְמָה is not here the outcome of revenge,

then also רָחֵם, ver. 59, can only be a preterite; and the prophet can only be speaking of injustice that has been done him previously: hence he cannot add thereto the request, “Judge me,” inasmuch as the Lord (according to Nägelsbach) has already judged him by delivering him from the pit. Moreover, it is quite arbitrary to understand the perfects in vers. 59 and 62 as referring to what has been done and *is still being done* to the speaker by his enemies, if it be agreed that the perfects in vers. 55-58 refer only to past events.

but the thought of revenge cherished in the heart; it does not, however, mean desire of revenge, or revengeful disposition, but simply the thinking and meditating on revenge, which certainly has the spirit of revenge for its basis, but is not identical with this. Their thoughts are the plans of vengeance. ל', *dat. incomm.*, "to my hurt;" the reading ל' of some codices is simply a correction after ver. 61. This revenge they express in reproaches and invectives. שִׁפְתַּי, "lips," for utterances of the lips; and קָמַי as in Ps. xviii. 40, 49 = קָמַי עָלַי, Ps. iii. 2, etc. קָמַי שִׁפְתַּי corresponds to תִּרְפָּתָם, and תִּנְיֹזָם to מַחֲשַׁבְתָּם, ver. 61; and the whole of ver. 62 still depends on "Thou hearest," without any need for supplying הִי, as Rosenmüller does. Thenius and Nügelbach would combine ver. 62 with 63, and make the former dependent on הִימָיָה; but this is unsuitable, nor do they consider that utterances or words are not seen (הִבִּיט), but heard (שָׁמַע). With this proposed combination there falls to the ground the further remark of Thenius, that "by lips, devising, sitting, rising up, are meant the conversation and consultation of the enemies one with another." Sitting and rising up have nothing in common with speaking about any subject, but merely form a circumlocution for action generally: cf. Ps. cxxxix. 2; Deut. vi. 7, xi. 19; Isa. xxxvii. 28. The form מְנִינָה for נִינָה occurs nowhere else: Ewald considers it a form that has been lengthened for the purpose of designating a mocking song—"Sing-song." This supposition has at least more to recommend it than the ingenious but worthless idea of Böttcher, that מְנִינָה is contracted from מַה-נִּינָה, "what a stringed instrument am I to them;" but it also is improbable. מְנִינָה is the subject of the נִינָה, as words formed with מ often express merely the subject of the idea contained in a noun or verb; cf. Ewald, § 160, b, 3. After this statement of the hostile treatment which the speaker has to suffer, there follows the renewed and further extended request that God may reward the foes according to their deeds. הָשִׁיב, "Thou shalt return," is a confident expression of the request that God would do this; hence the optative הִימָיָה follows in ver. 65. In ver. 64 is condensed the substance of what is contained in Ps. xxviii. 4. מְנִינָה לֵב, covering (veil) of the heart, — an expression analogous to the κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, 2 Cor. iii. 15,—is not obduration, or hardening, but blinding of

the heart, which casts into destruction; but it can scarcely signify "madness" (Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psychology*, Clark's translation), since the Arabic *مجنون*, *insania*, *furor*, has probably received this meaning from *جن*, *genius*, *dæmon*; cf. Gesenius, *Thes. s.v.*, and Rosenmüller, *ad h. l.* "Thy curse to them!" is not to be viewed as dependent on "give," but to be explained in accordance with Ps. iii. 9, "Thy blessing [be] upon Thy people!"—thus, "May Thy curse be their portion!" The curse of God is followed by destruction. "Destroy them from under Jahveh's heaven!" *i.e.* not merely *ut non sint amplius sub cælis* (C. B. Michaelis), because *יהוה* is not considered in this latter rendering. The heaven of Jahveh is the whole world, over which Jahveh's authority extends; the meaning therefore is, "Exterminate them wholly from the sphere of Thy dominion in the world," or, Thy kingdom.

CHAP. IV.—SUBMISSION UNDER THE JUDGMENT OF GOD,
AND HOPE.

- 1 How the gold becomes dim,—the fine gold changeth,—
Sacred stones are scattered about at the top of every street!
- 2 The dear sons of Zion, who are precious as fine gold,—
How they are esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of a potter's hands!
- 3 Even the she-wolves reach the breast, they suckle their young ones;
[But] the daughter of my people [hath become] cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness.
- 4 The tongue of the suckling cleaveth to his palate for thirst;
Young children ask for bread, [but] there is none breaking [it] for them.
- 5 Those who ate dainties [before] are desolate in the streets;
Those who were carried on scarlet embrace dunghills.
- 6 The iniquity of the daughter of my people became greater than the sin of Sodom,
Which was overthrown as in a moment, though no hands were laid on her.
- 7 Her princes were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk,
They were redder in body than corals, their form was [that of] a sapphire.
- 8 Their form is darker than blackness,—they are not recognised in the streets;
Their skin adhereth closely to their bones,—it hath become dry, like wood.

- 9 Better are those slain with the sword than those slain with hunger ;
For these pine away, pierced through from [want of] the fruits of the field.
- 10 The hands of women [who were once] tender-hearted, have boiled their own children ;
They became food to them in the destruction of the daughter of my people.
- 11 Jahveh accomplished His wrath : He poured out the burning of His anger ;
And kindled a fire in Zion, and it devoured her foundations.
- 12 Would the kings of the earth, all the inhabitants of the world, not believe
That an adversary and an enemy would enter in at the gates of Jerusalem ?
- 13 Because of the sins of her prophets, the iniquities of her priests,
Who shed blood of righteous ones in her midst,
- 14 They wander [like] blind men in the streets ; they are defiled with blood,
So that [people] could not touch their clothes.
- 15 "Keep off ! it is unclean !" they cried to them, "keep off ! keep off !
touch not !"
When they fled, they also wandered ;
[People] say among the nations, "They must no longer sojourn [here]."
- 16 The face of Jahveh hath scattered them ; no longer doth He look on them :
They regard not the priests, they respect not old men.
- 17 Still do our eyes pine away, [looking] for our help, [which is] vanity :
In our watching, we watched for a nation [that] will not help.
- 18 They hunt our steps, so that we cannot go in our streets ;
Our end is near, our days are full,—yea, our end is come.
- 19 Our persecutors were swifter than the eagles of heaven ;
They pursued us on the mountains, in the wilderness they laid wait for us.
- 20 The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of Jahveh, was caught in their pits,
[Of] whom we thought, "In His shadow we shall live among the nations."
- 21 Be glad and rejoice, O daughter of Edom, dwelling in the land of Uz :
To thee also shall the cup pass ; thou shalt be drunk, and make thyself naked.
- 22 Thy guilt is at an end, O daughter of Zion ; He will no more carry thee captive :
He visiteth thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom ; He discovereth thy sins.

The lamentation over the terrible calamity that has befallen Jerusalem is distinguished in this poem from the lamentations in chap. i. and ii., not merely by the fact that in it the fate

of the several classes of the population is contemplated, but chiefly by the circumstance that the calamity is set forth as a well-merited punishment by God for the grievous sins of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This consideration forms the chief feature in the whole poem, from the beginning to the end of which there predominates the hope that Zion will not perish, but that the appointed punishment will terminate, and then fall on their now triumphant enemies. In this fundamental idea of the poem, compared with the first two, there is plainly an advance towards the due recognition of the suffering as a punishment; from this point it is possible to advance, not merely to the hope regarding the future, with which the poem concludes, but also the prayer for deliverance in chap. v. The contents of the poem are the following: The princes and inhabitants of Zion are sunk into a terrible state of misery, because their guilt was greater than the sin of Sodom (vers. 1-11). Jerusalem has been delivered into the hands of her enemies on account of her prophets and priests, who have shed the blood of righteous ones (vers. 12-16), and because the people have placed their trust on the vain help of man (vers. 17-20). For this they must atone; for the present, however, the enemy may triumph; the guilt of the daughter of Zion will come to an end, and then the judgment will befall her enemies (vers. 21, 22).

Vers. 1-11. The misery that has come on the inhabitants of Jerusalem is a punishment for their deep guilt. The description given of this misery is divided into two strophes: for, first (vers. 1-6), the sad lot of the several classes of the population is set forth; then (vers. 7-11) a conclusion is drawn therefrom regarding the greatness of their sin.—Vers. 1-6. The first strophe. Ver. 1. The lamentation begins with a figurative account of the destruction of all that is precious and glorious in Israel: this is next established by the bringing forth of instances.—Vers. 1, 2 contain, not a complaint regarding the desolation of the sanctuary and of Zion, as Maurer, Kalkschmidt, and Thenius, with the LXX., assume, but, as is unmistakeably declared in ver. 2, a lamentation over the fearful change that has taken place in the fate of the citizens of Zion. What is stated in ver. 1 regarding the gold and the precious

stones must be understood figuratively; and in the case of the "gold that has become dim," we can as little think of the blackening of the gilding in the temple fabric when it was burnt, as think of bricks (Thenius) when "the holy stones" are spoken of. The בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן (inhabitants of Zion), ver. 2, are likened to gold and sacred stones; here Thenius would arbitrarily change בְּנֵי into בָּתֵּי (houses, palaces). This change not merely has no critical support, but is objectionable on the simple ground that there is not a single word to be found elsewhere, through all the chapter, concerning the destruction of the temple and the palaces; it is merely the fate of the men, not of the buildings, that is bewailed. "How is gold bedimmed!" יָצַם is the Hophal of עָצַם , to be dark, Ezek. xxviii. 3, and to darken, Ezek. xxxi. 8. The second clause, "how is fine gold changed!" expresses the same thing. $\text{שָׁנָה} = \text{שִׁנָּה}$, according to the Chaldaizing usage, means to change (oneself), Mal. iii. 6. The growing dim and the changing refer to the colour, the loss of brilliancy; for gold does not alter in substance. C. B. Michaelis and Rosenmüller are too specific when they explain that the gold represents *populus Judaicus* (or the *potior populi Hebræi pars*), *qui (quæ) quondam auri instar in sanctuario Dei fulgebat*, and when they see in $\text{אֲבֵנֵי לִישָׁתִּי}$ an allusion to the stones in the breastplate of the high priest. Gold is generally an emblem of very worthy persons, and "holy stones" are precious stones, intended for a sacred purpose. Both expressions collectively form a figurative description of the people of Israel, as called to be a holy nation and a kingdom of priests. Analogous is the designation of the children of Israel as נָזִיר , Zech. ix. 16 (Gerlach). הִשְׁתַּפֵּךְ , to be poured out (at all the corners of the streets), is a figurative expression, signifying disgraceful treatment, as in ii. 11. In ver. 2 follows the application of the figure to the sons (*i.e.* the citizens) of Zion, not merely the chief nobles of Judah (Ewald), or the princes, nor children in the narrowest sense of the word (Gerlach); for in what follows mention is made not only of children (vers. 3, 4), but also of those who are grown up (ver. 5), and princes are not mentioned till ver. 7. As being members of the chosen people, all the inhabitants of Jerusalem have been held "dear," and "weighed out with gold," *i.e.* esteemed as of equal value with gold (cf. Job xxviii. 16, 19);

but now, when Jerusalem is destroyed, they have become regarded as earthenware pots, *i.e.* treated as if they were utterly worthless, as "a work of the hands of the potter," whereas Israel was a work of the hands of God, Isa. lxiv. 7. סָלָה = סָלָה, cf. Job xxviii. 16, 19 [to weigh; Pual, be weighed out, as an equivalent]. This disregard or rejection of the citizens of Zion is evidenced in ver. 3 and onwards by many examples, beginning with children, ascending to adults (3-5), and ending with princes. The starvation to death of the children (vers. 3, 4) is mentioned first; and the frightful misery that has befallen Jerusalem is vividly set forth, by a comparison of the way in which wild animals act towards their young with the behaviour of the mothers of Jerusalem towards their children. Even jackals (יָנִי for יָנִי, see on Jer. ix. 10) give their breasts to their young ones to suck. חָלְצוּ שָׁר, *extrahunt mammam* = they present their breast. As Junius has remarked, the expression is taken *a mulieribus lactantibus, quæ laxata veste mammam lactanti præbent*; hence also we are not, for the sake of this expression, to understand יָנִי as meaning *cetus* (Bochart and Nägelsbach), regarding which animal Bochart remarks (*Hieroz.* iii. p. 777, ed. Rosenmüller), *ceti papillas non esse ἐπιφaveis, quippe in mammis receptæ tanquam in vaginis conduntur*. Rosenmüller has already rejected this meaning as *minus apta* for the present passage. From the combination of jackals and ostriches as inhabiting desert places (Isa. xiii. 21 f.; Job xxx. 29), we have no hesitation in fixing on "jackals" as the meaning here. "The daughter of my people" (cf. ii. 11) here means the inhabitants of Zion or Jerusalem. לֹא חָנָן, "has become cruel." The *Kethib* כִּי עֵינִים instead of פִּי עֵינִים (*Qeri*) may possibly have arisen from a purely accidental separation of the letters of the word in a MS., a reading which was afterwards painfully retained by the scribes. But in many codices noted by Kennicott and De Rossi, as well as in several old editions, the word is found correctly joined, without any marginal note. עֵינִים means ostriches, usually בַּת עֵינָה ("daughter of crying," or according to Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus*, and Ewald, following the Syriac, "the daughter of gluttony"), the female ostrich. The comparison with these animals is to be understood in accordance with Job xxxix. 16: "she (the female ostrich) treats her young ones

harshly, as if they were not her own." This popular belief is founded on the fact that the animal lays her eggs in the ground,—after having done no more than slightly scratching up the soil,—and partly also, when the nest is full, on the surface of the ground; she then leaves them to be hatched, in course of time, by the heat of the sun: the eggs may thus be easily broken, see on Job xxxix. 14–16.—Ver. 4. Smacking infants and little children perish from thirst and hunger; cf. ii. 11, 12. פָּרַשׁ = פָּרַס, as in Mic. iii. 3, to break down into pieces, break bread = divide, Isa. lviii. 7, Jer. xvi. 7. In ver. 5 it is not children, but adults, that are spoken of. לְמַעַרְוִים is variously rendered, since אָכַל occurs nowhere else in construction with לְ. Against the assumption that לְ is the Aramaic sign of the object, there stands the fact that אָכַל is not found thus construed with לְ, either in the Lamentations or elsewhere, though in Jer. xl. 2 לְ is so used. Gerlach, accordingly, would take לְמַעַרְוִים adverbially, as meaning "after their heart's desire," prop. for pleasures (as to this meaning, cf. Prov. xxix. 17, 1 Sam. xv. 32), in contrast with אָכַל לְשָׂבַע, to eat for satisfaction, Ex. xvi. 3, Lev. xxv. 19, etc. But "for pleasure" is not an appropriate antithesis to satisfaction. Hence we prefer, with Thenius, to take לְ אָכַל in the sense of nibbling round something, in which there is contained the notion of selection in the eating; we also take מַעַרְוִים, as in Gen. xlix. 20, to mean dainties. לְשָׂמִי, to be made desolate, as in i. 13, of the destruction of happiness in life; with בְּחַרְוָה, to sit in a troubled or gloomy state of mind on the streets. הַמְּאֻמִּים, those who (as children) were carried on purple (הוֹלֵעַת שָׁנִי for הוֹלֵעַת, cochineal, crimson), embrace (*i.e.* cling to) dung-heaps, seek them as places of rest.—Ver. 6. The greatness of their guilt is seen in this misery. The ו consecutive joined with יָגֵל here marks the result, so far as this manifests itself: "thus the offence (guilt) of the daughter of my people has become greater than the sin of Sodom." Most expositors take עָוֹן and חַטָּאת here in the sense of punishment; but this meaning has not been established. The words simply mean "offence" and "sin," sometimes including their consequences, but nowhere do they mean unceremonious castigation. But when Thenius is of opinion that the context demands the meaning "punishment" (not "sin"), he has inconsiderately

omitted the , *consec.*, and taken a wrong view of the context. **הָרַס** is the usual word employed in connection with the destruction of Sodom; cf. Gen. xix. 21, 25, Deut. xxix. 22, etc. **וְלֹא הָלַךְ וְנָא** is translated by Thenius, *et non torquebatur in ea manus*, i.e. without any one wringing his hands. However, **הָלַךְ** (to go in a circle) means to writhe with pain, but does not agree with **וְנָא**, to wring the hands. In Hos. xi. 6 **הָלַךְ** is used of the sword, which "circles" in the cities, i.e. cuts and kills all round in them. In like manner it is here used of the hands that went round in Sodom for the purpose of overthrowing (destroying) the city. Nägelsbach wrongly derives **הָלַךְ** from **הָלַךְ**, to become slack, powerless. The words, "no hands went round (were at work) in her," serve to explain the meaning of **כְּמוֹ רֵנֶה**, "as in a moment," without any need for the hands of men being engaged in it. By this additional remark, not merely is greater prominence given to the sudden destruction of Sodom by the hand of God; but it is also pointed out how far Jerusalem, in comparison with that judgment of God, suffers a greater punishment for her greater sins: for her destruction by the hand of man brings her more enduring torments. "Sodom's suffering at death was brief; for there were no children dying of hunger, no mothers who boiled their children" (Nägelsbach). Sodom was spared this heartrending misery, inasmuch as it was destroyed by the hand of God in an instant.

Vers. 7-11. The second strophe.—Vers. 7, 8. The picture of the misery that has befallen the princes. **נָזִירִים**, princes, prop. *separati*, here *non voto* (Nazirites) *sed dignitate*, as Nolde appropriately remarks; see on Gen. xlix. 26. **זָהָב** is used, Job xv. 15, xxv. 5, of the brightness of the heaven and the stars; here it is used of female beauty. Thenius would refer "pure (or bright) as snow and milk" to the white clothing, "because the Orientals have not milk-white faces." But the second member irrefragably shows that the reference is to bodily form; and for the very reason adduced by Thenius, a comparatively whiter skin than is commonly met with is esteemed more beautiful. So also does Cant. v. 10, "My friend is white and red," show the high esteem in which beauty was held (Gerlach). **אָדָם**, to be reddish. **עֲצָם**, "bone," for the body (*pars pro toto*). **פְּנִינִים**, not (white) pearls, but (red) corals. "The white and

the red are to be understood as mixed, and shading into one another, as our popular poetry speaks of cheeks which 'like milk and purple shine' (Delitzsch on Job xxviii. 18, Clark's translation). "Sapphire their form" (סַפִּירָה, prop. cut, *taille*, of the shape of the body). The point of the comparison is not the colour, but the luminosity, of this precious stone. Once on a time the princes glittered so; but (ver. 8) now their form is dark as blackness, i.e. every trace of beauty and splendour has vanished. Through hunger and want their appearance is so disfigured, that they are no longer recognised in the streets (חֲרוֹצוֹת, in contrast with "at home," in their own neighbourhood). "The skin sticks to the bones," so emaciated are they; cf. Ps. cii. 4, Job xix. 20. צָפִיר, ἀπ. λεγ., to adhere firmly. The skin has become dry (יָבֵשׁ) like wood.—Ver. 9. This pining away with hunger is much more horrible than a speedy death by the sword. שָׁהִם, "for they" = *qui ipsi*; יֹוֹבֵי, prop. flow away, i.e. pine away as those pierced through (מְדַקְרִים, cf. Jer. xxxvii. 10, li. 4). מִתְּגִיבֹת שׁ does not mean "of the fruits," but מִן is a brief expression for "because there are no fruits," i.e. from want of the produce of the field; cf. בָּשָׂרִי כְהֵשׁ מִשֶּׁמֶן, "my flesh wastes away from oil," i.e. because there is a want of oil, Ps. cix. 24. There was thus no need for the conjecture מִתְּלַאבֹת, "from burning glow," from drought, which has been proposed by Ewald in order to obtain the following sense, after supplying תָּ: "as if melting away through the drought of the field, emaciated by the glowing heat of the sun." The free rendering of the Vulgate, *consumpti a sterilitate terræ*, gives no support to the conjecture.—Ver. 10. Still more horrible was the misery of the women. In order to keep themselves from dying of hunger, mothers boiled their children for food to themselves; cf. ii. 20. By the predicate "compassionate," applied to hands, the contrast between this conduct and the nature, or the innate love, of mothers to their children, is made particularly prominent. בְּרוֹחַ is a noun = בָּרוּחַ, Ps. lxxix. 22. On "the destruction of the daughter of my people," cf. ii. 11.—Ver. 11. This fearful state of matters shows that the Lord has fully poured out His wrath upon Jerusalem and His people. בָּלֵה, to complete, bring to an end. The kindling of the fire in Zion, which consumed the foundations, is not to be limited to

the burning of Jerusalem, but is a symbol of the complete destruction of Zion by the wrath of God; cf. Deut. xxxii. 32.

Vers. 12-20. This judgment of wrath is a consequence of the sins of the prophets and priests (vers. 12-16), as well as of their vain trust on the help of man (vers. 17-20). Ver. 12 f. The capture of Jerusalem by enemies (an event which none in all the world thought possible) has been brought on through the sins of the prophets and priests. The words, "the kings of the earth . . . did not believe that an enemy would come in at the gates of Jerusalem," are well explained by C. B. Michaelis, thus: *reputando fortitudinem urbis, quæ munitissima erat, tum defensores ejus Jehovam, qui ab hostibus, ad internecionem cæsis, urbem aliquoties, mirifice liberaverat, e.g.* 2 Reg. xix. 34. The words certainly form a somewhat overdrawn expression of deep subjective conviction; but they cannot properly be called a hyperbole, because the remark of Nägelsbach, that Jerusalem had been taken more than once before Nebuchadnezzar (1 Kings xiv. 26; 2 Kings xiv. 13 f.; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; 2 Kings xxiii. 33 ff.), seems incorrect. For the occasions upon which Jerusalem was taken by Shishak and by Joash king of Israel (1 Kings xiv. and 2 Kings xiv.) belong to those earlier times when Jerusalem was far from being so strongly fortified as it afterwards became, in the times of Uzziah, Jotham, and Manasseh (2 Chron. xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 14). In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, on the other hand, there is nothing said of Jerusalem being taken; and the capture by Pharaoh-Necho does not call for consideration, in so far as it forms the beginning of the catastrophe, whose commencement was thought impossible. Ewald wrongly connects ver. 13 with ver. 12 into one sentence, thus: "that an enemy would enter the gates of Jerusalem because of the sins of her prophets," etc. The meaning of these verses is thereby not merely weakened, but also misrepresented; and there is ascribed to the kings and inhabitants of the world an opinion regarding the internal evils of Jerusalem, which they neither pronounced nor could have pronounced.—Ver. 12 contains an exclamation over the incredible event that has happened, and ver. 13 assigns the cause of it: the mediating and combining thought, "this incredible thing has happened," suggests itself. It has taken place on account of the sins of

her prophets and priests, who have shed the blood of righteous men in Jerusalem. A historic proof of this is furnished in Jer. xxvi. 7 ff., where priests and prophets indicted Jeremiah on a capital charge, because he had announced that Jerusalem and the temple would suffer the fate of Shiloh; from this, Nägelsbach rightly concludes that, in any case, the burden of the guilt of the martyr-blood that was shed falls on the priests and prophets. Besides this, cf. the denunciations of the conduct of the priests and prophets in Jer. vi. 13-15, xxiii. 11, xxvii. 10, Ezek. xxii. 25 f.—In vers. 14, 15, there is described the fate of these priests and prophets, but in such a way that Jeremiah has, throughout, mainly the priests before his mind. We may then, without further hesitation, think of the priests as the subject of וְהַכֹּהֲנִים , inasmuch as they are mentioned last. Kalkschmidt wrongly combines vers. 13 and 14, thus: "because of the sins of the prophets . . . they wander about," etc.; in this way, the Israelites would be the subject to וְהַכֹּהֲנִים , and in ver. 14 the *calamitas ex sacerdotum prophetarumque sceleribus profecta* would be described. This, however, is contradicted, not merely by the undeniable retrospection of the expression, "they have polluted themselves with blood" (ver. 14), to the shedding of blood mentioned in ver. 13, but also by the whole contents of ver. 14, especially the impossibility of touching their clothes, which does not well apply to the people of Israel (Judah), but only to the priests defiled with blood. Utterly erroneous is the opinion of Pareau, Ewald, and Thenius, that in vers. 14-16 there is "presented a fragment from the history of the last siege of Jerusalem,"—a rupture among the besieged, headed by the most eminent of the priests and prophets, who, filled with frenzy and passion against their fellow-citizens, because they would not believe in the speedy return of the exiles, became furious, and caused their opponents to be murdered. Regarding this, there is neither anything historical known, nor is there any trace of it to be discovered in these verses. The words, "prophets and priests hesitated (or wavered) like blind men on the streets, soiled with blood, so that none could touch their clothes," merely state that these men, smitten of God in consequence of their blood-guiltiness, wandered up and down in the streets of the city, going about like blind men. This description has been imitated from such

passages as Deut. xxviii. 28 f., Jer. xxiii. 12, Isa. xxix. 9, where the people, and especially their leaders, are threatened, as a punishment, with blind and helpless staggering; but it is not to be referred to the time of the last siege of Jerusalem. עֲרִירִים does not mean *cædium perpetrandarum insatiabili cupiditate occæcati* (Rosenmüller), nor "as if intoxicated with blood that has been shed" (Nägelsbach), but as if struck with blindness by God, so that they could no longer walk with firm and steady step. "They are defiled with blood" is a reminiscence from Isa. lix. 3. As to the form נִצָּל, compounded of the Niphal and Pual, cf. Ewald, § 132, b, and Delitzsch on Isaiah, l.c. נִצָּל יִהְיֶה, without one being able, i.e. so that one could not. As to the construction of נִצָּל with a finite verb following, instead of the infinitive with ל, cf. Ewald, § 285, c, c, and Gesenius, § 142, 3, b.—Ver. 15. "Yea, they (people) address to them the warning cry with which, according to Lev. xiii. 45, lepers were obliged to warn those whom they met not to come near." Such is the language in which Gerlach has rightly stated the connection between ver. 14 and ver. 15a. קָרְאוּ לָמֹ is rendered by many, "people shouted out regarding them," *de iis*, because, according to Lev. xiii. 45, it was the lepers who were to shout "Unclean!" to those they met; the cry therefore was not addressed to the unclean, but to those who, being clean, were not to defile themselves by touching lepers. But though this meaning may be taken from the language used (cf. Gen. xx. 13, Ps. iii. 3), yet here, where the call is addressed to persons, it is neither probable nor necessary. For it does not follow from the allusion to the well-known direction given to lepers, that this prescription is transferred *verbatim* to the present case. The call is here addressed to the priests, who are staggering towards them with blood-stained garments. These must get out of the way, and not touch those they meet. The sing. מִצֵּי is accounted for by the allusion to Lev. xiii. 45, and means, "Out of the way! there comes one who is unclean." The second half of the verse is variously viewed. נִצָּי, as Milra, comes from נִצָּה, which in Niphal means to wrangle, in Hiphil to stir up strife. The Vulgate, accordingly, translates *jurgati quippe sunt*, and Ewald still renders, "yet they quarrelled, yet they staggered." But this view is opposed by these considerations: (1.) קִי . . . נִצָּי can

neither introduce an antithesis, nor mean "yet . . . yet."
 (2.) In view of the shedding of blood, wrangling is a matter of too little importance to deserve mention. Luther's rendering, "because they feared and fled from them," is a mere conjecture, and finds no support whatever from the words employed. Hence Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus*, has rightly explained נָצַו, after נָצַח, Jer. xlviii. 9, "to fly, flee, or take to flight." Following him, the moderns translate: "because they had fled, they also staggered about." It is better to render נָצַח by *quum*, "when they fled," *sc.* to other nations, not specially to the Chaldeans. נָצַח is selected with reference to what precedes, but in the general meaning of roaming restlessly about. The idea is as follows: Not merely were they shunned at home, like lepers, by their fellow-countrymen, but also, when they wished to find a place of refuge beyond their native land, they were compelled to wander about without finding rest; for they said among the nations, "They shall no longer sojourn among us." Thus the curse came on them, Deut. xxviii. 65 f.—Ver. 16. This was the judgment of God. His face (*i.e.* in this connection, His angry look; cf. Lev. xvii. 10, Ps. xxi. 10) has scattered them (פָּתַח as in Gen. xlix. 7). No longer does He (Jahveh) look on them, *sc.* graciously. The face of the priests is not regarded. נִשְׁאַף פָּנִים, *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν*, to regard the person of any one, *i.e.* to have respect to his position, dignity, and age: the expression is here synonymous with הִנָּח, to show favour. The subject is indefinite, but the enemy is meant. Thus the threatening in Deut. xxviii. 50 is fulfilled on them. זָקֵנִים does not mean "elders," but "old men," for the words can be referred only to the priests and prophets formerly spoken of.

Vers. 17-20. In spite of these facts, which show that God has poured out His fury on us, and that our prophets and priests have been smitten by God for their sins, we still wait, vainly relying on the help of man. In this way, ver. 17 is attached to what precedes,—not merely to ver. 16, but also the series of thoughts developed in vers. 12-16, viz. that in the capture of Jerusalem (which nobody thought possible) there is plainly made known the judgment of God upon the sins of His people and their leaders. It is with special emphasis that עוֹרֵינוּ stands at the beginning of the verse: "still do our eyes continue to

waste away." The form עורִינָה (*Kethib*), in place of which the *Qeri* substitutes עורִינִי, is abnormal, since עור does not take plural forms of the suffix in any other instance, and יִנִּי does not occur elsewhere as a noun-suffix. The form is evidently copied from תִּכְלִינָה, and must be third fem. pl., as distinguished from the singular-suffix עורִינָה, 1 Kings i. 22. The *Qeri* עורִינִי, which is preferred by Michaelis, Pareau, Rosenmüller, and Thenius, has for its basis the idea "we still were;" this is shown by the translation *ἐτι ὄντων ἡμῶν* of the LXX., and *cum adhuc subsisteremus* of Jerome. But this view of the word, like most of the *Qeris*, is a useless attempt at explanation; for עורִינִי alone cannot have the meaning attributed to it, and the supplements proposed, *in statu priori*, or "in the city," are but arbitrary insertions into the text. The combination עורִינִי תִּכְלִינָה, which is a rare one, evidently means, "our eyes are still pining (consuming) away," so that the imperfect is used with the meaning of the participle; cf. Ewald, § 306, c, Rem. 2. The combination of נִקְלָה with אֶל is pregnant: "they consume away (while looking out) for our help;" cf. Deut. xxviii. 28, Ps. lxi. 4. הִבֵּל is not an exclamation, "in vain!" (Thenius), but stands in apposition to "our help;" thus, "for our help, a help of vanity," i.e. for a vain help; cf. Ewald, § 287, c. The vain help is more distinctly specified in the second member of the verse, as a looking out for a nation that will not help. צִפְיָה does not mean "the watch-tower" (Chald., Syr., etc.),—because "on the watch-tower" would require to be expressed by עַל; cf. Isa. xxi. 8, 2 Chron. xx. 24,—but "watching." By the "nation that does not help," expositors, following Jer. xxxvii. 7, think that Egypt is intended. But the words must by no means be referred to the event there described, inasmuch as we should then be obliged to take the verbs as preterites,—a course which would not accord with the interchange of the imperfect (תִּכְלִינָה) with the perfect (צִפְיָה). A strange confusion would also arise, such as is made out by Vaihinger: for we would find the prophet placing his readers, in ver. 14, in the time of the siege of Jerusalem; then, in ver. 15, into the conquered city; and in vers. 17 and 18, back once more into the beleaguered city, which we again, in ver. 19, see conquered (Gerlach). According to vers. 18-20, Judah is completely in the power of the Chaldeans; hence the

subject treated of in ver. 17 is the looking out for the assistance of some nation, after the enemy had already taken Jerusalem and laid it in ashes. What the prophet denounces, then, is that help is still looked for from a nation which nevertheless will not help. In this, perhaps, he may have had Egypt before his mind; for, that the Jews, even after the destruction of Jerusalem, still looked for deliverance or help from Egypt, may be inferred partly from the fact that those who were left in the country fled thither for refuge, and partly from Ezek. xxix. 16. Only, the words are not to be restricted merely to this. In order to show convincingly how vain it is to expect help from man, Jeremiah, in vers. 18–20, reminds his readers of the events immediately preceding the capture of the city, which have proved that nobody—not even the king himself—could avoid falling into the hands of the Chaldeans. Gerlach has correctly given the sense of these verses thus: “They still cling to their hopes, and are nevertheless completely in the power of the enemy, from whom they cannot escape. All their movements are closely watched; it is impossible for any one to deceive himself any longer: it is all over with the nation, now that all attempts at flight have failed (ver. 19), and that the king, ‘the life’s-breath’ of the nation, has fallen into the hands of the enemy.” Gerlach and Nägelsbach have already very properly set aside the strange and fanciful idea of Ewald, that in ver. 18 it is still Egypt that is regarded, and that the subject treated of is,—how Egypt, merely through fear of the Chaldeans, had at that time publicly forbidden the fugitives to go to Palestine for purposes of trade and traffic. These same writers have also refuted the arbitrary interpretation put upon צָדוּ צִעְרֵינוּ וְנִי by Thenius and Vaihinger, who imagine there is a reference to towers used in a siege, from which the besiegers could not merely perceive all that was going on within the city, but also shoot at persons who showed themselves in exposed places. In reply to this, Nägelsbach appropriately remarks that we must not judge of the siege-material of the ancients by the range of cannon. Moreover, צָדוּ does not mean to spy out, but to search out, pursue; and the figure is taken from the chase. The idea is simply this: The enemy (the Chaldeans) watch us in our every step, so that we can no longer move freely about. Our

end is near, yea, it is already come; cf. Ezek. vii. 2-6. A proof of this is given in the capture of King Zedekiah, after he had fled in the night, ver. 19 f. For an elucidation of the matters contained in these verses, cf. Jer. xxxix. 4 f., lii. 7 f. The comparison of the enemy to eagles is taken from Deut. xxviii. 49, whence Jeremiah has already derived chap. iv. 13 and xlviii. 40. לִקְחָם, *prop.* to burn, *metaph.* to pursue hotly, is here (poet.) construed with acc., but elsewhere with אֲחֵרֵי; cf. Gen. xxxi. 36, 1 Sam. xvii. 53. "On the hills and in the wilderness," *i.e.* on every side, even in inaccessible places. "In the wilderness" alludes to the capture of Zedekiah; cf. Jer. xxxix. 5. "The breath of our nostrils" is an expression founded on Gen. ii. 7, and signifying "our life's breath." Such is the designation given to the king,—not Zedekiah in special, whose capture is here spoken of, because he *ex initio magnam de se spem concitaverat, fore ut post tristia Jojakimi et Jechoniæ fata pacatior res publica esset* (Aben Ezra, Michaelis, Vaihinger), but the theocratic king, as the anointed of the Lord, and as the one who was the bearer of God's promise, 2 Sam. vii. In elucidation of the figurative expression, Pareau has appropriately reminded us of Seneca's words (*Clement. i. 4*): *ille (princeps) est spiritus vitalis, quem hæc tot millia (civium) trahunt*. "What the breath is, in relation to the life and stability of the body, such is the king in relation to the life and stability of the nation" (Gerlach). "Of whom we said (thought), Under his shadow (*i.e.* protection and covering) we shall live among the nations." It is not implied in these words, as Nägelsbach thinks, that "they hoped to fall in with a friendly heathen nation, and there, clustering around their king, as their protector and the pledge of a better future, spend their days in freedom, if no more," but merely that, under the protection of their king, they hoped to live even among the heathen, *i.e.* to be able to continue their existence, and to prosper as a nation. For, so long as there remained to them the king whom God had given, together with the promises attached to the kingdom, they might cherish the hope that the Lord would still fulfil to them these promises also. But this hope seemed to be destroyed when the king was taken prisoner, deprived of sight, and carried away to Babylon into captivity. The words "taken in their pits" are figurative, and derived

from the capture of wild animals. שְׁחִית as in Ps. cvii. 20. On the figure of the shadow, cf. Judg. ix. 15, Ezek. xxxi. 17.

Vers. 21, 22. However, it is not yet all over with Israel. Let the enemy triumph; the guilt of the daughter of Zion will come to an end, and then the guilt of the daughter of Edom will be punished. With this "Messianic hope," as Ewald rightly characterizes the contents of these verses, the lamentation resolves itself into joyous faith and hope regarding the future of Israel. There is no external sign to mark the transition from the depths of lamentation over the hopeless condition of Judah, to new and hopeful confidence, just as in the Psalms there is frequently a sudden change from the deepest lamentation to joyful confidence of final victory. But these transitions have their origin in the firm conviction that Israel has most assuredly been chosen as the nation with whom the Lord has made His covenant, which He cannot break. This truth has already been clearly and distinctly expressed in the threatenings and promises of the law, Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii., and is reiterated by all the prophets. The Lord will assuredly visit His ever-rebellious people with the heaviest punishments, until they come to acknowledge their sin and repent of their apostasy; but He will afterwards again take pity on the penitent remnant, gather them from among the heathen, and fulfil all His promises to them. The words "exult and rejoice" are ironical, and signify: "Rejoice as much as you please; you will not, for all that, escape the punishment for your sins." "The daughter of Edom," i.e. the people of Edom, is named as the representative of the enemies of God's people, on account of their implacable hatred against Israel; see on Jer. xlix. 7. From the designation, "dwelling in the land of Uz," it does not follow that the Edomites had at that time spread themselves widely over their original territory; for the land of Uz, according to Jer. xxv. 20, lay on the confines of Idumea. As to the form יִשְׁכְּחֶיךָ, see on Jer. x. 17. בָּם עָלֶיךָ, "towards thee also (sc. as now to Judah) shall the cup pass." On this figure, cf. Jer. xxv. 15. הִתְעַרְרָה, to make oneself naked, or to become naked in consequence of drunkenness (Gen. ix. 22), is a figurative expression indicative of the disgrace that will befall Edom; cf. i. 8, Nah. iii. 5. הִם עֲוֹנֶךָ, "Thy guilt is ended." The

perfect is prophetic. The guilt is ended when it is atoned for; the punishment for it has reached its end, or grace begins. That this will take place in the Messianic times (as was pointed out long ago in the Chaldee paraphrase, *et liberaberis per manum Messiae*), is not indeed implied in the word מָלַךְ, but it is a necessary product of the Messianic hope of Israel; cf. for instance, Jer. l. 20. To this it cannot be objected (with Gerlach), that it is inadmissible to transfer into the Messianic time also the punishment of Edom threatened in the second member: for, according to the prophetic mode of viewing things, the judgment on the heathen world falls, as a matter of course, in the Messianic age; and to refer the words to the chastisement of the Edomites by Nebuchadnezzar is against the context of both verses. "To reveal (discover) sins" means to punish them; for God uncovers the sins in order to punish them, *quemadmodum Deus peccata tegere dicitur, cum eorum poenam remittit* (Rosenmüller); cf. Ps. xxxii. 1, 5, lxxxv. 3, etc.

CHAP. V.—A PRAYER TO THE LORD BY THE CHURCH, LANGUISHING IN MISERY, FOR THE RESTORATION OF HER FORMER STATE OF GRACE.

- 1 Remember, O Jahveh, what hath happened to us; consider, and behold our reproach.
- 2 Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to foreigners.
- 3 We are orphans, without a father; our mothers are as widows.
- 4 Our own water we drink for money, our own wood cometh to us in return for payment.
- 5 On our necks are we persecuted; we are jaded,—there is no rest for us.
- 6 [Towards] Egypt we reach our hand,—[towards] Assyria, to satisfy ourselves [with] bread.
- 7 Our fathers sinned, they are not; we bear their iniquities.
- 8 Servants rule us; there is none to deliver us out of their hand.
- 9 At the risk of our life we bring in our bread, because of the sword of the wilderness.
- 10 Our skin gloweth with heat like a furnace, because of the fever-heat of hunger.
- 11 They have forced women in Zion, virgins in the cities of Judah.
- 12 Princes are hung up by their hand; the face of the elders is not honoured.
- 13 Young men carry millstones, and lads stagger under [loads of] wood.
- 14 Elders cease from the gate, young men from their instrumental music.

- 15 The joy of our heart hath ceased, our dancing is turned into mourning.
 16 The crown of our head is fallen ; woe unto us, that we have sinned !
 17 Because of this our heart became sick ; because of these [things] our eyes became dark.
 18 Upon Mount Zion, which is laid waste, jackals roam through it.
 19 Thou, O Jahveh, dost sit [enthroned] for ever ; Thy throne is for generation and generation.
 20 Why dost thou forget us for ever,—forsake us for a length of days ?
 21 Lead us back, O Jahveh, to Thyself, that we may return ; renew our days, as of old.
 22 Or, hast Thou indeed utterly rejected us ? art Thou very wroth against us ?

This poem begins (ver. 1) with the request addressed to the Lord, that He would be pleased to think of the disgrace that has befallen Judah, and concludes (vers. 19–22) with the request that the Lord may not forsake His people for ever, but once more receive them into favour. The main portion of this petition is formed by the description of the disgrace and misery under which the suppliants groan, together with the acknowledgment (vers. 7 and 16) that they are compelled to bear the sins of their fathers and their own sins. By this confession, the description given of their misery is divided into two strophes (vers. 2–7 and 8–16), which are followed by the request for deliverance (vers. 19–22), introduced by vers. 17 and 18. The author of this prayer speaks throughout in the name of the people, or, to speak more correctly, in the name of the congregation, laying their distress and their supplication before the Lord. The view of Thenius,—that this poem originated among a small company of Jews who had been dispersed, and who, in the midst of constant persecution, sought a place of refuge from the oppression of the Chaldeans,—has been forced upon the text through the arbitrary interpretation of detached figurative expressions.

Vers. 1–7. Supplication and statement regarding the distress. The request made in ver. 1 refers to the oppression depicted in what follows. The words, “Remember, O Lord, what hath happened (*i.e.* befallen) us,” are more fully explained in the second member, “Look, and behold our disgrace.” It is quite arbitrary in Thenius to refer the first member to the past, the second to the present, described in what follows, vers. 12–16.

The *Qeri* הַבִּיטָה is an unnecessary alteration, after i. 11, iii. 63. —With ver. 2 begins the description of the disgrace that has befallen them. This consists, first of all, in the fact that their inheritance has become the possession of strangers. Rosenmüller rightly explains נַחֲלָה to mean, *terra quæ tuo nobis dono quondam est concessa*. נִחְפָּז is used of the transference of the property to others, as in Isa. lx. 5. Many expositors would refer בְּתֵינֵינוּ to the houses in Jerusalem which the Chaldeans had not destroyed, on the ground that it is stated, in 2 Kings xxv. 9 and Jer. lii. 13, that the Chaldeans destroyed none but large houses. There is no foundation, however, for this restriction; moreover, it is opposed by the parallel נַחֲלֵנוּ. Just as by נַחֲלָה we are to understand, not merely the possession of Jerusalem, but of the whole country, so also בְּתֵינֵינוּ are the dwelling-houses of the country in towns and villages; in this case, the question whether any houses still remained standing in Jerusalem does not demand consideration at all. Nägelsbach is wrong in his remark that נַחֲלָה and בְּתֵינֵינוּ respectively mean immovable and portable property, for houses are certainly not moveable property.—Ver. 3 is very variously interpreted by modern expositors. Ewald and Vaihinger understand “father” as meaning the king, while Thenius refers it specially to Zedekiah; the “mothers,” according to Ewald and Vaihinger, are the cities of Judah, while Thenius thinks they are the women of Zedekiah’s harem. But to call the women of the royal harem “mothers” of the nation, would be as unexampled as the attribution of the title to the cities of Judah. The second clause, “our mothers are like widows,” contains a simile: they are not really widows, but like widows, because they have lost the protection which the mother of a family has in her husband. In like manner, the first clause also is to be understood as a comparison. “We are fatherless orphans,” *i.e.* we are like such, as the Chaldee has paraphrased it. Accordingly, C. B. Michaelis, Pareau, Rosenmüller, Kalkschmidt, and Gerlach have rightly explained the words as referring to the custom of the Hebrews: *homines omni modo derelictos omnibusque præsidii destitutos, pupillos et viduas dicere*; cf. Ps. xciv. 6, Isa. i. 17, Jas. i. 27.—Ver. 4. And not merely are the inhabitants of Judah without land and property, and deprived of all pro-

tection, like orphans and widows; they are also living in penury and want, and (ver. 5) under severe oppression and persecution. Water and wood are mentioned in ver. 4 as the greatest necessities of life, without which it is impossible to exist. Both of these they must buy for themselves, because the country, with its waters and forests, is in the possession of the enemy. The emphasis lies on "*our water . . . our wood.*" What they formerly had, as their own property, for nothing, they must now purchase. We must reject the historical interpretations of the words, and their application to the distress of the besieged (Michaelis); or to the exiles who complained of the dearness of water and wood in Egypt (Ewald); or to those who fled before the Chaldeans, and lived in waste places (Thenius); or to the multitudes of those taken prisoner after the capture of Jerusalem, who were so closely watched that they could not go where they liked to get water and wood, but were obliged to go to their keepers for permission, and pay dearly for their services (Nägelsbach). The purchase of water and wood can scarcely be taken literally, but must be understood as signifying that the people had to pay heavy duties for the use of the water and the wood which the country afforded. —Ver. 5. "On our necks we are persecuted," i.e. our persecutors are at our necks,—are always close behind us, to drive or hunt us on. It is inadmissible to supply any specific mention of the yoke (*imposito collo gravi servitutis jugo*, Raschi, Rosenmüller, Vaihinger, etc.); and we must utterly reject the proposal to connect "our neck" with ver. 4b (LXX., Syriac, J. D. Michaelis), inasmuch as the symmetry of the verses is thereby destroyed, nor is any snitable meaning obtained. "We are jaded: no rest is granted us." הִנֵּנִי is Hophal of הִנִּיחַ, to give rest to. The *Qeri* לֹא instead of לָא is quite as unnecessary as in the case of אֵין, ver. 3, and אֵינִם and אֲנַחֲנִי in ver. 7. The meaning of the verse is not, "we are driven over neck and head," according to which the subject treated of would be the merciless treatment of the prisoners, through their being driven on (Nägelsbach); still less is it meant to be stated that the company to which the writer of the poem belonged was always tracked out, and hunted about in the waste places where they wished to hide themselves (Thenius). Neither

of these interpretations suits the preceding and succeeding context. Nor does the mention of being "persecuted on the neck" necessarily involve a pursuit of fugitives: it merely indicates incessant oppression on the side of the enemy, partly through continually being goaded on to hard labour, partly through annoyances of different kinds, by which the victors made their supremacy and their pride felt by the vanquished nation. In נָרַף there is contained neither the notion of tracking fugitives nor that of driving on prisoners.—Ver. 6. The meaning of נָתַן יָד is more exactly defined by the superadded לְשֹׁבַע לַחֵם, which belongs to both members of the verse. "In order to satisfy ourselves with bread (so as to prolong our lives), we give the hand to Egypt, to Assyria." מִצְרַיִם and אַשּׁוּר are local accusatives. To give the hand is a sign of submission or subjection; see on Jer. l. 15. Pareau has correctly given the meaning thus: *si victum nobis comparare velimus, vel Judæa nobis relinquenda est atque Egyptii sunt agnoscendi domini, vel si hic manemus, Chaldæis victoribus nos subjiciamus necesse est; quocunque nos vertamus, nihil superest nisi tristissima servitus.* This complaint shows, moreover, that it is those in Judea who are speaking. נָתַן, "we give the hand," shows that the assumption of Thenius,—that the writer here brings to remembrance the fate of two *other* companies of his fellow-countrymen who were not carried away into exile,—is an arbitrary insertion. *Asshur*, as the name of the great Asiatic empire, stands for Babylon, as in Ezra vi. 22, cf. Jer. ii. 18.—Ver. 7. "We suffer more than we are guilty of; we are compelled to bear the iniquities of our fathers," *i.e.* to atone for their guilt. There is a great truth contained in the words, "Our fathers have sinned; they are no more; we bear their iniquities (or guilt)." For the fall of the kingdom had not been brought about by the guilt of that generation merely, and of none before; it was due also to the sins of their fathers before them, in previous generations. The same truth is likewise expressed in Jer. xvi. 11, xxxii. 18; and in 2 Kings xxiii. 26 it is stated that God did not cease from His great wrath because of the sins of Manasseh. But this truth would be perverted into error, if we were to understand the words as intimating that the speakers had considered themselves inno-

cent. This false view, however, they themselves opposed with the confession in ver. 16, "for we have sinned;" thereby they point out their own sins as the cause of their misfortune. If we compare this confession with the verse now before us, this can only mean the following: "The misfortune we suffer has not been incurred by ourselves alone, but we are compelled to atone for the sins of our fathers also." In the same way, too, Jeremiah (chap. xvi. 11) threatens the infliction of a penal judgment, not merely "because your fathers have forsaken me (the Lord)," but he also adds, "and ye do still worse than your fathers." God does not punish the sins of the fathers in innocent children, but in children who continue the sins of the fathers; cf. Isa. lxxv. 7, and the explanation given of Jer. xxxi. 29 and Ezek. xviii. 2 ff. The design with which the suffering for the sins of the fathers is brought forward so prominently, and with such feeling, is merely to excite the divine compassion for those who are thus chastised.

Vers. 8-16. Further description of the miserable condition under which the congregation languishes. Ver. 8. "Servants rule over us," etc. עֲבָדִים are not the Chaldean soldiers, who are in 2 Kings xxiv. 10 designated the servants of Nebuchadnezzar (Pareau, Rosenmüller, Maurer); still less the Chaldeans, in so far as they, till shortly before, had been the subjects of the Assyrians (Kalkschmidt); nor the Chaldean satraps, as servants of the king of Babylon (Thenius, Ewald); nor even "slaves who had been employed as overseers and taskmasters of the captives while on the march" (Nägelsbach); but the Chaldeans. These are called servants, partly because of the despotic rule under which they were placed, partly in the sense already indicated by C. B. Michaelis, as being those *qui nobis potius, si pii fuissimus, servire debuissent*, in accordance with the analogous designation of Jerusalem as a princess among the countries of the world, i. 1.—Ver. 9. And in addition to this humiliation under dishonourable servitude, we can get our daily bread only at the risk of our life. Thus there is fulfilled to them the threatening in Dent. xxviii. 28, "Ye shall be servants among your enemies, in hunger and thirst, in nakedness and want of everything." בָּנֵי שָׁוִי, "for the price of our soul," i.e. with our life at stake, we bring in our bread. The danger is more exactly described by

what is added: "before the sword of the wilderness." By this expression are meant the predatory Bedouins of the desert, who, falling upon those that were bringing in the bread, plundered, and probably even killed them. The bringing of the bread is not, however, to be referred (with Rosenmüller, Maurer, and Kalkschmidt) to the attempts made to procure bread from the neighbouring countries; still less is it to be referred (with Thenius, Ewald, and Nägelsbach) to the need for "wringing the bread from the desert and its plunderers;" but it refers to the ingathering of the scanty harvest in the country devastated by war and by the visitations of predatory Bedouins: **לֶחֶם** is the word constantly employed in this connection; cf. 2 Sam. ix. 10, Hag. i. 6.—Ver. 10. The bread which we are thus obliged to struggle for, at the risk of our life, is not even sufficient to allay hunger, which consumes our bodies. **לֶחֶם** does not mean to be blackened (Chaldee, Kimchi, C. B. Michaelis, Maurer), but in Gen. xliii. 30, 1 Kings iii. 26, and Hos. xi. 8, to be stirred up (of the bowels, compassion), hence to kindle, glow. This last meaning is required by the comparison with **תֹּנִי**, oven, furnace. This comparison does not mean *cutis nostra tanquam fornace adusta est* (Gesenius in *Thes.*, Kalkschmidt), still less "black as an oven" (Dietrich in *Ges. Lex.*), because **תֹּנִי** does not mean the oven viewed in respect of its blackness, but (from **נִיר**) in respect of the fire burning in it. The meaning is, "our skin glows like a baker's oven" (Vaihinger, Thenius, Nägelsbach, Gerlach),—a strong expression for the fever-heat produced by hunger. As to **לֶחֶם**, glowing heat, see on Ps. xi. 6.—Ver. 11 ff. With this must further be considered the maltreatment which persons of every station, sex, and age have to endure. Ver. 11. Women and virgins are dishonoured in Jerusalem, and in the other cities of the land. Ver. 12. Princes are suspended by the hand of the enemy (Ewald, contrary to the use of language, renders "along with" them). To hang those who had been put to death was something superadded to the simple punishment by death (Deut. xxi. 22 f.), and so far was a shameful kind of execution. "The old men are not honoured," *i.e.* dishonoured; cf. iv. 16, Lev. xix. 32. The words are not to be restricted to the events mentioned in Jer. xxxix. 6, but also apply to the present con-

dition of those who are complaining.—Ver. 13. Youths and boys are forced to engage in heavy servile work. מִחֹן נִשְׂאֵי does not mean “they take them for the mill,” *ad molendum sumpserunt* (Ewald, Rosenmüller). Apart from the consideration that there is no ground for it in the language employed, such a view of the words does not accord with the parallelism. נִשְׂאֵי, construed with a simple infinitive or accusative (without לְ), does not mean “to take for something.” מִחֹן is a substantive, “the mill.” “To bear (carry) the mill” signifies to work at and with the mill. We must think of the hand-mill, which was found in every household, and which could thus be carried from one place to another. Grinding was the work of slaves; see on Judg. xvi. 21. The carrying of the mill (not merely of the upper millstone) is mentioned as the heaviest portion of the work in grinding. “Boys stagger (fall down) on the wood laid on them to be carried,” i.e. under the burden of it. קָשָׁל with אֵי means to stumble on something; here אֵי denotes the cause of the stumbling; cf. Jer. vi. 21, Lev. xxvi. 37 f. It is arbitrary to understand מִחֹן as meaning the wooden handle of the mill (Aben Ezra, and Bochart in *Hieroz.* i. 157, ed. Rosenmüller); the same must also be said regarding the opinion of Thenius and Nägelsbach, who refer the words to the dragging of the hand-mills, and of the wood necessary for baking bread for the comfort of the soldiers, on the march of the captives to Babylon.—Ver. 15 f. Under the pressure of such circumstances, all public meetings and amusements have ceased. “The elders cease from the gate.” The gate was the place of assembly for the people, not merely for deliberating upon public affairs (Ruth iv. 15; Josh. xx. 4), but also “for social entertainment (since there were no refreshment-rooms, coffeehouses, and public baths, such as are now to be found in the East), or even for quiet enjoyment in looking at the motley multitude of passers-by; Gen. xix. 1, 1 Sam. iv. 18, ix. 18, Job xxix. 7” (Winer’s *Bibl. R.W.B. s.v. Thor*). That the gate is here to be regarded as a place of entertainment and amusement, is shown by the parallel member, “young men cease from their instrumental music;” cf. i. 4. On ver. 15, cf. Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9, and xxxi. 13; Ps. xxx. 12. Lastly, in ver. 16, the writer sums up the whole of the misery in the

complaint, "The crown of our head is fallen! woe unto us, for we have sinned," *i.e.* we suffer the punishment for our sins. "The *fallen crown* can only be a figurative expression for the honourable position of the people in its entirety, but which is now lost." Such is the view which Ewald rightly takes; on the other hand, the interpretation of Thenius, that "the 'crown of our head' is nothing else than Zion, together with its palaces, placed on Jerusalem, as it were on the head [of the country], and adorning it," deserves mention simply as a curious specimen of exegetical fancy. Nägelsbach has gone too far in restricting the figurative expression to the crown of Jerusalem, which consisted in her being mistress among the nations, a princess among the regions of the earth (i. 1), the perfection of beauty, and the joy of the whole earth (ii. 15); for "our crown" is not equivalent to Jerusalem, or a crown on the head of Jerusalem.

Vers. 17-22. The request that the judgment of wrath may be averted, and that the former gracious condition may be restored. Vers. 17 and 18 form the transition to the request in vers. 19-22. "Because of this" and "because of these [things]" refer mainly to what precedes, yet not in such a way as that the former must be referred to the fact that sin has been committed, and the latter to the suffering. The two halves of the verse are unmistakeably parallel; the sickening of the heart is essentially similar to the dimness coming on the eyes, the former indicating the sorrow of the soul, while the latter is the expression of this sorrow in tears. "Because of this (*viz.* because of the misery hitherto complained of) the heart has become sick," and the grief of the heart finds vent in tears, in consequence of which the eyes have become dim; cf. ii. 11. But this sorrow culminates in the view taken of the desolation of Mount Zion, which receives consideration, not because of its splendid palaces (Thenius), but as the holy mountain on which the house of God stood, for "Zion" comprehended Moriah; see on Ps. ii. 6, ix. 12, lxxvi. 3. The glory formerly attaching to Mount Zion (Ps. xlviii. 3, l. 2) is departed; the mountain has been so much laid waste, that jackals roam on it. שְׁוֹאִלִים are not properly foxes, but jackals (as in Ps. lxxiii. 11), which lodge among the ruins. הִלָּךְ is an intensive form, meaning to rove or roam about.—Ver. 19 ff. The glory of Zion, the earthly

habitation of the Lord, is at an end, but the throne of the Lord endures eternally. Through this thought, the lamentation rises to the prayer that the Lord may not forsake His people for ever, but re-establish His kingdom on the earth. "Thou, O Jahveh, art enthroned eternally." This thought is expressed as the ground of hope, in nearly the same words as are found in Ps. cii. 13. Jahveh is the God of salvation. Since His throne endures eternally in heaven, He cannot let His kingdom perish on the earth. On this is founded the request, "Why wilt Thou forget us for ever, forsake us for a length of days (*i.e.* through life, always, Ps. xxiii. 6)?" This the Lord cannot do, because of His grace. From this is developed the further request (ver. 21), "Lead us back to Thyself, that we may return." We must not restrict יָשׁוּב and שׁוּב to conversion to the Lord (Kalkschmidt, Ewald, Vaihinger, Gerlach); they signify the re-establishment of the gracious relation, which is, of course, impossible without repentance and conversion on the part of Israel. It is wrong to refer the words to the restoration of the people to their native land, or to the re-establishment of the theocracy (Dathe, Thenius), because it is not the exiles who address this petition to the Lord. The mode in which we are to understand the "bringing back to Jahveh" is shown in the second hemistich, "renew our days, as they were in former times," *i.e.* vouchsafe to us again the life (or state of grace) which we enjoyed in former times. In ver. 22 this request is based on an argument introduced in a negative form. כִּי אֵין, after a negative clause, signifies *nisi*, but (Ger. *sondern*). This meaning developed into that of a strong limitation (cf. Ewald, § 356), unless = provided that. Thus literally here: "unless Thou hast utterly rejected us,—art very wroth against us." This case, however, is merely stated as a possibility, the actual occurrence of which is out of the question. The idea is the same as that expressed by Jeremiah (chap. xiv. 19) in the form of a question, in order to give greater emphasis to his intercession for his nation. The Lord cannot have utterly rejected His people Israel, because He would thereby make His name to be despised in the eyes of the nations (Jer. xiv. 21). Thus terminates this lamentation, with a request for whose fulfilment faith can hope with confidence.

In many Hebrew MSS. ver. 21 is found repeated after ver. 22, to make the whole more suitable for public reading in the synagogue, that the poem may not end with the mention of the wrath of God, as is the case also at the close of Isaiah, Malachi, and Ecclesiastes: the intention is, to conclude with words of comfort. But ver. 22, rightly understood, did not require this repetition: for, as Rhabanas has already remarked in *Ghisleri commentar.* on ver. 22: *non hæc quasi desperando de salute populi sui locutus est, sed ut dolorem suum nimium de contritione et objectione diutina gentis suæ manifestaret.* This conclusion entirely agrees with the character of the Lamentations, in which complaint and supplication should continue to the end,—not, however, without an element of hope, although the latter may not rise to the heights of joyful victory, but, as Gerlach expresses himself, “merely glimmers from afar, like the morning star through the clouds, which does not indeed itself dispel the shadows of the night, though it announces that the rising of the sun is near, and that it shall obtain the victory.”

THE END.

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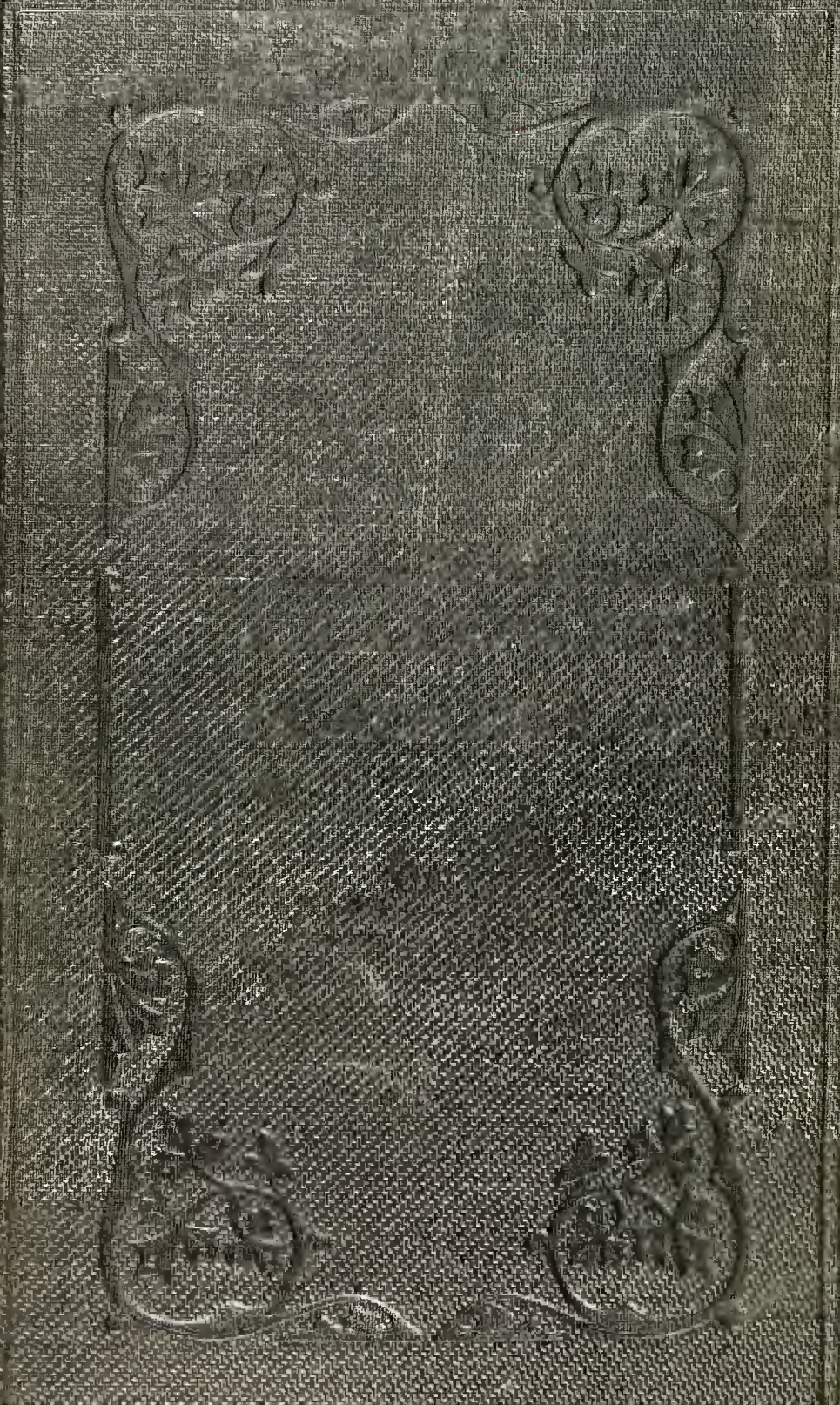
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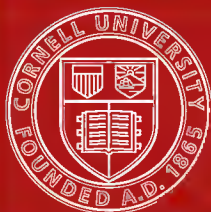
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THE PROPHECIES OF EZEKIEL.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE PERSON OF THE PROPHET.



EZEKIEL, יְחֶזְקֵאל (i. 3, xxiv. 24), *i.e.* אֱלֹהֵינוּ, *God strengthens*, Ἰεζεκιήλ (LXX. and Book of Sirach, ch. xlix. 8), in the Vulgate *Ezechiel*, while Luther, after the example of the LXX., writes the name *Hesekiel*, was the son of Busi, of priestly descent, and was carried away captive into exile to Babylon in the year 599 B.C.,—*i.e.* in the eleventh year before the destruction of Jerusalem,—along with King Jehoiachin, the nobles of the kingdom, many priests, and the better class of the population of Jerusalem and of Judah (i. 2, xl. 1; cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 14 ff.; Jer. xxix. 1). He lived there in the northern part of Mesopotamia, on the banks of the Chaboras, married, and in his own house, amidst a colony of banished Jews, in a place called Tel-Abib (i. 1, iii. 15, 24, viii. 1, xxiv. 18). In the fifth year of his banishment, *i.e.* 595 B.C., he was called to be a prophet of the Lord, and laboured in this official position, as may be shown, twenty-two years; for the latest of his prophecies is dated in the twenty-seventh year of his exile, *i.e.* 572 B.C. (xxix. 17). Regarding the other circumstances and events of his life, as also of his death, nothing is known. The apocryphal legends found in the Fathers and in the Rabbinical writings, to the effect that he was put to death by a prince of his own nation for rebuking his idolatry, and was buried in the tomb of Shem and Arphaxad, etc. (cf. Carpzov, *Introductio* ii. p. 203 ff.), are without any historical value. So much

alone is certain, that he ended his life among the exiles, where God had assigned him his sphere of labour, and did not, like his contemporary Daniel (comp. Dan. i. 21, x. 1), outlive the termination of the Captivity and the commencement of the redemption of Israel from Babylon, as his prophecies do not contain the slightest allusion to that effect.

II. THE TIMES OF THE PROPHET.

Ezekiel, like Daniel, is a prophet of the exile, but in a different fashion from the latter, who had been already carried away prisoner before him to Babylon on the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the reign of Jehoiakim, and who lived there upwards of seventy years at the Babylonian and Medo-Persian court, and who held from time to time very important offices of State. Daniel was placed by God in this high position, which afforded him a view of the formation and evolution of the world-kingdom, in order that from this standpoint he might be enabled to see the development of the world-kingsdoms in the struggle against the kingdom of God, and to predict the indestructible power and glory of the latter kingdom, which overcomes all the powers of the world. Ezekiel, on the other hand, was appointed a watcher over the exiled nation of Israel, and was in this capacity to *continue* the work of the earlier prophets, especially that of Jeremiah, with whom he in several ways associates himself in his prophecies; to preach to his contemporaries the judgment and salvation of God, in order to convert them to the Lord their God.—Rightly to understand his work as a prophet, the ripe fruit of which lies before us in his prophetic writings, we must not only keep in view the importance of the exile for the development of the kingdom of God, but also form a clear conception of the relations amidst which Ezekiel carried on his labours.

What the Lord had caused to be announced by Moses to the tribes of Israel while they were yet standing on the borders of

the Promised Land, and preparing to take possession of it, viz. that if they should persistently transgress His commands, He would not only chastise them with heavy punishments, but would finally drive them out of the land which they were about to occupy, and disperse them among all nations (Lev. xxvi. 14-45; Deut. xxviii. 15-68),—this threatening, repeated by all the prophets after Moses, had been already executed by the Assyrians upon the ten tribes, who had revolted from the house of David, and was now in process of fulfilment by the Chaldeans upon the kingdom of Judah also. In the reign of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, for the first time invaded Judah, captured Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim tributary, and carried away to Babylon a number of Israelitish youths of noble birth and of the blood-royal, amongst whom was Daniel, along with a portion of the vessels of the temple, in order that these youths might be trained up for the service of his court (Dan. i. 1-7). With this invasion of the Chaldeans begin the seventy years of Chaldean servitude and exile in Babylon, predicted by Jeremiah. As Jehoiakim, so early as three years afterwards, revolted against Nebuchadnezzar, the latter, after a lengthened siege, took Jerusalem a second time, in the third month of the reign of Jehoiachin, and carried away into captivity to Babylon, along with the captive monarch and the members of his court, the nobles of Judah and Jerusalem, a great number of priests, warriors, carpenters, and smiths, leaving behind in the land only the meaner portion of the people, over whom he appointed as his vassal King Mattaniah, the uncle of the banished monarch, whose name he changed to Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiv. 10-17; Jer. xxix. 2). By this removal of the heart and strength of the nation the power of the kingdom of Judah was broken; and although Nebuchadnezzar did not at that time *destroy* it, but still allowed it to remain as a subject kingdom under his sway, yet its existence could not be of any long duration. Judah had fallen too deeply to recognise in the calamities which she had suffered the

chastening hand of her God, and to bow herself repentantly under His mighty arm. Instead of listening to the voice of the prophet Jeremiah, and bearing the Chaldean yoke in patience (2 Chron. xxxvi. 12), both monarch and people placed their trust in the assistance of Egypt, and Zedekiah broke the oath of fealty which he had sworn to the king of Babylon. To punish this perfidy, Nebuchadnezzar again marched against Jerusalem, and by the capture and burning of the city and temple in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign put an end to the kingdom of Judah. Zedekiah, who had fled from the beleaguered city, was taken by the Chaldeans, and brought with his sons to Riblah into the presence of King Nebuchadnezzar, who first caused the sons of Zedekiah to be put to death before the eyes of their father; next, Zedekiah himself to be deprived of sight, and then commanded the blind monarch to be conducted in chains to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 1-21; Jer. lii. 1-30). Many military officers and priests of rank were also put to death at Riblah; while those who had been taken prisoners at Jerusalem, along with the deserters and a great portion of the rest of the people, were led away into exile to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 1-21; Jer. lii. 1-30). By this catastrophe the Old Testament theocracy lost its political existence; the covenant people were now driven out of their own land amongst the heathen, to bear the punishment of their obstinate apostasy from the Lord their God. Nevertheless this dispersion among the heathen was no entire rejection of Israel; it was merely a *suspension*, and not an *annihilation*, of the covenant of grace. Man's unfaithfulness cannot destroy the faithfulness of God. "In spite of this terrible judgment, brought down upon them by the heaviest transgressions, Israel was, and remained,"—as Auberlen (*The Prophet Daniel*, p. 27, 2d ed.) well remarks,— "the chosen people, through whom God was still to carry out His intentions towards humanity. His gifts and calling may not be repented of" (Rom. xi. 29). Even *after* the Babylonian exile the theocracy was not again restored; the covenant people

did not after their return again recover their independence, but remained, with the exception of the short period when under the Maccabees they won for themselves their freedom, in constant dependence upon the heathen world-rulers, until, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, they were completely dispersed among all the nations of the earth. The kingdom of God, however, was not *really* to perish along with the external theocracy; it was only to pass into a new phase of development, which was intended to be the medium of transition towards its renewal and perfection in that kingdom of God which was to be founded by Christ. To pave the way to this end, and at the same time to serve as a witness to the exiles, that Israel, notwithstanding its dispersion among the heathen, still remained God's people, the Lord raised up in Ezekiel, the son of a priest, a prophet of uncommon power and energy in the midst of the captives, "one who raised his voice aloud, like a trumpet, and showed to Israel its misdeeds,—whose whole manifestation furnished the most powerful testimony that the Lord was still amongst His people; who was himself a temple of the Lord, before whom the visible temple, which yet remained standing for a short time at Jerusalem, sank back into its nothingness; a spiritual Samson, who seized with mighty arm the pillars of the idol temple, and dashed it to the ground; a powerful, gigantic nature, which was fitted by that very qualification to effectually subdue the Babylonian spirit of the time, which delighted in powerful, gigantic, and grotesque forms; standing alone, but equal to a hundred of the sons of the prophets" (Hengstenberg's *Christol.* II. p. 531).

The call of Ezekiel to the prophetic office took place in the fifth year of the reign of Zedekiah, in the fourth month of the year (i. 1, 2), at a point of time when, amongst those who had remained behind in the land, as well as amongst those who had been carried to Babylon, the hope of the speedy downfall of the Babylonian monarchy, and of the return of the exiles to their native country, which was then to follow, was very strong,

and was powerfully encouraged by the lying statements of false prophets; cf. Jer. xxix. In the same year and month prophesied Hananiah, a prophet from Gibeon, in the temple at Jerusalem, before the eyes of the priests and the whole people, saying that Jehovah would break the yoke of the king of Babylon, and within two years bring back to Jerusalem all the temple-vessels carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, as well as King Jechoniah and all the captives who had been brought to Babylon, Jer. xxviii. 1-4. And the prophet Jeremiah, who with the word of the Lord rebuked and opposed those lying predictions and empty hopes, and foretold that the Babylonian servitude would be of long duration, was violently assailed and persecuted by the lying prophets, even by those of them who were to be found in Babylon; cf. Jer. xxviii. 5-17, xxix. 21-32. This delusion regarding the political condition of affairs, this spirit of resistance to the decree of the Lord, had seized not only upon the people, but also upon the nobles and the king, so that they formed and eagerly carried on conspiracies against the king of Babylon. The meeting of the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon, with Zedekiah in Jerusalem, had no other object than this (Jer. xxvii. 3). The embassy, moreover, sent by Zedekiah to Babylon (Jer. xxiv. 3), as well as his own journey thither in the fourth year of his reign (Jer. li. 59), were intended merely to deceive the king of Babylon, by assurances of devotion and fidelity, in order that the intended revolt might be carried out. But this baseless hope of a speedy liberation from the Babylonian yoke was ignominiously disappointed: in consequence of the treacherous rebellion of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, after a blockade and siege of a year and a half, captured Jerusalem, burnt the city and temple to the ground, and destroyed the kingdom of Judah. By this blow all the supports upon which the God-alienated nation had vainly relied were broken. The delusive statements of the false prophets had proved to be lies; the predictions of the Lord's prophets, on the contrary, had been strikingly

justified as divine truth. The destruction of Jerusalem, the burning of the temple, and the downfall of the kingdom, form accordingly a turning-point for the prophetic labours of Ezekiel. Hitherto, prior to the calamity, he had to announce to the people (animated with the hope of speedy liberation from exile) the judgment of the downfall of Jerusalem and Judah, although such preaching found little acceptance. The time, however, had now arrived when, in order to preserve from despair the nation languishing in exile, and given over to the scorn, contempt, and tyranny of the heathen, he was able to open up the sources of comfort by announcing that the Lord, in requital of the ignominy heaped upon His people, would overwhelm all the heathen nations with destruction, but that, if His people whom they had oppressed would repent and return to Him, He would again gather them out of their dispersion; would make of them a holy nation, walking in His commands and yielding Him a willing service; would conduct them back to their own land; would give them His servant David for a prince, and once more gloriously establish His kingdom.

III. THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL.

The collection of the prophecies placed together in this book, as forming a complete unity, falls into two main divisions:— I. Announcements of judgment upon Israel and the heathen nations, ch. i.—xxxii.; II. Announcements of salvation for Israel, ch. xxxiii.—xlvi. Each of these main divisions is subdivided into two sections. The first, namely, contains the prophecies of judgment (*a*) upon Jerusalem and Israel, ch. iii. 22—xxiv.; (*b*) upon the heathen nations, ch. xxv.—xxxii. The second main division contains (*c*) the predictions of the redemption and restoration of Israel, and the downfall of the heathen world-power, ch. xxxiii.—xxxix.; (*d*) the prophetic picture of the re-formation and exaltation of the kingdom of God, ch. xl.—xlviii.; and the entire collection opens

with the solemn dedication of Ezekiel to the prophetic office, ch. i. 1—iii. 21. The prophecies of the first, third, and fourth parts are throughout arranged in chronological order; those of the second part—the threatenings predicted against the heathen nations—are disposed according to their actual subject-matter. This is attested by the chronological data in the superscriptions, and confirmed by the contents of the whole of the groups of prophecies in the first three parts. The first part contains the following chronological notices: the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin (i. 2) as the time of Ezekiel's call to the office of prophet, and of the first predictions regarding Jerusalem and Israel; then the sixth (viii. 1), seventh (xx. 1), and ninth years of the captivity of that monarch (xxiv. 1). The second part contains the predictions against seven foreign nations, of which those against Tyre fall in the eleventh (xxvi. 1), those against Egypt in the tenth (xxix. 1), twenty-seventh (xxix. 17), eleventh (xxx. 20 and xxxi. 1), and twelfth years of the exile. Of the two last parts, each contains only one chronological notice, namely, ch. xxxiii. 21, the twelfth year of the captivity, *i.e.* one year after the destruction of Jerusalem; and ch. xl. 1, the twenty-fifth year of the captivity, or the fourteenth after the destruction of Jerusalem. The remaining prophecies, which bear at their head no note of time, connect themselves closely as to their contents with those which are furnished with chronological data, so that they belong to the same period with those. From this it appears that the prophecies of the first part wholly, those of the second part to a great extent, date before the destruction of Jerusalem; those of the third and fourth parts proceed from the time after this catastrophe. This chronological relationship is in favour of the view that the prophecies against foreign nations, ch. xxv.—xxxii., are not—as the majority of expositors suppose—to be assigned to the second, but rather to the first half of the book. This view is confirmed, on the one hand, by the contents of the prophecies,

inasmuch as these, without an exception, announce only the downfall of the heathen nations and kingdoms, making no reference to the future forgiveness and conversion of the residue of these nations, and through this very peculiarity connect themselves closely with the prophecies of threatening against Israel in the first part; on the other hand, by the resemblance which exists between ch. xxx. 1-20 and ch. iii. 16-21, compared with ch. xviii. 19-32, and which leaves no doubt upon the point that ch. xxxiii. 1-20 marks out to the prophet the task which was to occupy his attention after the destruction of Jerusalem, and consequently forms the introduction to the second half of his prophecies.—For further remarks upon the contents and subdivisions of the book, see the expositions in the introductory observations to the individual sections and chapters.

Ezekiel's *style of prophetic representation* has many peculiarities. In the first place, the clothing of symbol and allegory prevails in him to a greater degree than in all the other prophets; and his symbolism and allegory are not confined to general outlines and pictures, but elaborated in the minutest details, so as to present figures of a boldness surpassing reality, and ideal representations, which produce an impression of imposing grandeur and exuberant fulness. Even the simplest prophetic discourse is rich in imagery, and in bold, partly even strange, comparisons, and branches out into a copiousness which strives to exhaust the subject on all sides, in consequence of which many peculiar expressions and forms are repeated, rendering his language diffuse, and occasionally even clumsy. These peculiarities of his style of representation it has been attempted, on the one hand, to explain by the influence of the Babylonian spirit and taste upon the form of his prophecy; while others, again, would regard them as the result of a literary art, striving to supply the defect of prophetic spirit, and the failing power of the living word, by the aid of learning and an elaborate imitation of actual life. The supposed Baby-

lonian spirit, however, in the forms of our prophet's symbolism, has no existence. The assertion of Hävernicks, that "the whole of these symbols has a colossal character, which points in many ways to those powerful impressions experienced by the prophet in a foreign land,—Chaldea,—and which here are grasped and given out again with a mighty and independent spirit," remains yet to be proved. For the observation that these symbols, in reference to form and contents, resemble in many respects the symbols of his contemporary Daniel, is not sufficient for the purpose, and cannot in itself be accepted as the truth, by reference to the picture of the eagle, and the comparison of rich men to trees, cedars, in ch. xvii., because these pictures already occur in the older prophets, and lions as well as cedars are native in Palestine. Just as little are Babylonian impressions to be recognised in the visions of the field with the dead men's bones, ch. xxxvii., and of the new temple, ch. xl., so that there only remains the representation of the cherubim with four faces, in ch. i. and x., which is peculiar to Ezekiel, as presumptive evidence of Chaldean influence. But if we leave out of account that the throne, upon which the Lord appears in human form, indisputably forms the central point of this vision, and this central point has no specific Babylonian impress, then the representation of the cherubim with faces of men, lions, oxen, and eagles, cannot be derived from the contemplation of the Assyrian or Chaldean sculptures of human figures with eagle heads and wings, or winged oxen with human heads, or sphinxes with bodies of animals and female heads, such as are found in the ruins of ancient Nineveh, inasmuch as the cherubim of Ezekiel were not pictures of oxen with lions' manes, eagles' wings, and human countenances furnished with horns,—as W. Neumann has still portrayed them in his treatise upon the tabernacle,—but had, according to Ezekiel, ch. i. 5, the *human* form. There are indeed also found, among the Assyrian sculptures, winged human figures; but these Ezekiel had no reason to

copy, because the cherubic images in human form, belonging to Solomon's temple, lay much nearer to his hand. The whole of Ezekiel's symbolism is derived from the Israelitish sanctuary, and is an outcome of Old Testament ideas and views. As the picture of the ideal temple in ch. xl. ff. is sketched according to the relations of Solomon's temple, which was burnt by the Chaldeans, so the elements for the description of the majestic theophany, in ch. i. and x., are contained in the throne of Jehovah, which was above the cherubim, who were over the covering of the ark of the covenant; and in the phenomena amid which was manifested the revelation of the divine glory at the establishment of the covenant on Sinai. On the basis of these facts, Isaiah had already represented to himself the appearance of the Lord, as a vision, in which he beholds Jehovah in the temple, sitting on a high and lofty throne, and, standing around the throne, seraphim with six wings, who began to sing, "Holy, holy" (Isa. vi.). This symbolism we find modified in Ezekiel, so as to correspond with the aim of his vocation, and elaborated to a greater extent. The manner in which he works out this vision and other symbols certainly gives evidence of his capacity to describe, distinctly and attractively in words, what he had beheld in spirit; although the symbolism itself is, just as little as the vision, a mere product of poetic art, or the subjective framework of a lively fancy, without any real objective foundation; for it rests, in harmony with its contents and form, upon views which are *spiritually* real, *i.e.* produced by the Spirit of God in the soul of the prophet, in which the art of the author is reduced to a faithful and distinct reproduction of what had been seen in the spirit.—It is only the abundance of pictures and metaphors, which is in this respect *characteristic* of Ezekiel, and which betrays a lively imagination, and the many-sidedness of his knowledge. These qualities appear not merely in the sketch of the new temple (ch. xl. ff.), but also in the description of the widespread commerce of Tyre (ch. xxvii.), and of the relations of

Egypt (ch. xxix. and xxxi.), as well as in the endeavours manifest in *all* his representations,—not merely in the symbolical descriptions and allegorical portraits (ch. xvi. and xxiii.), but also in the simple discourses, in the rebukes of the current vices and sins, and in the threatenings of punishment and judgment,—to follow out the subject treated of into the most special details, to throw light upon it from all sides, to penetrate through it, and not to rest until he has exhausted it, and that without any effort, in so doing, to avoid repetitions. This style of representation, however, has its foundation not merely in the individuality of our prophet, but still more in the relations of his time, and in his attitude towards that generation to whom he had to announce the counsel and will of the Lord. As symbolism and the employment of parables, pictures, and proverbs is, in general, only a means for the purpose of presenting in an attractive light the truths to be delivered, and to strengthen by this attractiveness the impression made by speech and discourse, so also the copiousness and circumstantiality of the picture, and even the repetition of thoughts and expressions under new points of view, serve the same end. The people to whom Ezekiel was now to preach repentance, by announcing the divine judgment and salvation, was “a rebellious race, impudent and hard-hearted” (ch. iii. 7-9, 26, xii. 2, etc.). If he was faithfully and conscientiously to discharge the office, laid upon him by the Lord, of a watcher over the house of Israel, he must not only punish with stern words, and in drastic fashion, the sins of the people, and distinctly paint before their eyes the horrors of the judgment, but he must also set forth, in a style palpable to the senses, that salvation which was to bloom forth for the repentant nation when the judgment was fulfilled.

Closely connected with this is the other peculiarity of Ezekiel's style of prophecy, namely, the marked prominence assigned to the divine origin and contents of his announcements, which distinctly appears in the standing form of address

—"Son of man"—with which God summons the prophet to speech and action; in the continual use of אֲדָמָי יְהוָה; in the formulae 'נָאֵם or 'בֶּה אָמַר; in the introduction to almost every discourse of God's requirement to him to prophesy or to do this and that; and in the formula which recurs frequently in all the discourses,—“Ye shall know that I am Jehovah.” The standing address, “Son of man,” and the frequent call to speech and action, are likewise regarded by modern critics as a token of the failure of the prophetic spirit-power. Both phrases, however, could only be held to convey so much, if—in conformity with the view of Ewald, who, agreeably to the *naturalistic* representation of prophecy, assumes it to be a result of high poetic inspiration—they had been selected by Ezekiel of his own free choice, and employed with the intention of expressing the feeling of his own profound distance from God, and of imparting to himself courage to prophesy. If, on the contrary, according to the *Scriptural* conception of prophecy, God the Lord addressed Ezekiel as “son of man,” and called him, moreover, on each occasion to utter predictions, then the use of the God-given name, as well as the mention of the summons, as proceeding from God only, furnishes an evidence that Ezekiel does not, like the false prophets, utter the thoughts and inspirations of his own heart, but, in all that he says and does, acts under a *divine* commission and under *divine* inspiration, and serves to impress the rebellious nation more and more with the conviction that a prophet of the Lord is in their midst (ii. 5, xxxiii. 33), and that God had not departed with His Spirit from Israel, notwithstanding their banishment among the heathen. In favour of the correctness of this view of the expressions and phrases in question, there speak decisively the manner and fashion in which Ezekiel was called and consecrated to the prophetic office; not only the instruction which God communicates to him for the performance of his calling (ii. 1-3, 21),—and which, immediately upon the first act of his prophetic activity, He supplements to the effect

of enjoining upon him dumbness or entire silence, only then permitting him to open his mouth to speak when He wishes to inspire him with a word to be addressed to the rebellious people (iii. 26, 27; cf. xxiv. 27 and xxxiii. 22),—but also the theophany which inaugurated his call to the prophetic office (ch. i.), which, as will appear to us in the course of the exposition, has unmistakeably the significance of an explanation of a reality, which will not be dissolved and annihilated with the dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, and the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the temple of that covenant of grace which Jehovah had concluded with Israel.

It is usual, moreover, to quote, as a peculiarity of Ezekiel's prophecies, the prominence given to his priestly descent and disposition, especially in the visions, ch. i., cf. ch. x., ch. viii.–xi. and xl.–xlviii., and in individual traits, as iv. 13 ff., xx. 12 ff., xxii. 8, xxvi. 24, 16 ff., etc., etc., which Ewald explains as “a result of the one-sided literary conception of antiquity according to mere books and traditions, as well as of the extreme prostration of spirit intensified by the long duration of the exile and bondage of the people;” while de Wette, Gesenius, and others would see in it an intellectual narrowness on the part of the prophet. The one view is as groundless and perverse as the other, because resting upon the superficial opinion that the copious descriptions of the sacred articles in the temple were sketched by Ezekiel only for the purpose of preserving for the future the elevating recollection of the better times of the past (Ewald). When we recognise, on the contrary, the symbolical character of these descriptions, we may always say that for the portrayal of the conception of the theophany in ch. i. and x., and of the picture of the temple in ch. xl., no individual was so well fitted as a priest, familiar with the institutions of worship. In this symbolism, however, we may not venture to seek for the products of intellectual narrowness, or of sacerdotal ideas, but must rise to the conviction that God the Lord selected a priest, and no other, to

be His prophet, and permitted him to behold the future of His kingdom on earth in the significant forms of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, because this form was the symbolical covering which presented the closest correspondence to the same.—Still less do the passages iv. 13 ff., xx. 12 ff., and others, in which stress is laid upon the ceremonial commands of the law, and where their violation is mentioned as a cause of the judgment that was breaking over Israel, furnish evidence of priestly one-sidedness or narrowness of spirit. Ezekiel takes up towards the Mosaic Law no other position than that which is taken by the older prophets. He finds impressed on the precepts, not only of the Moral, but also of the Ceremonial Law, divine thoughts, essential elements of the divine holiness, attesting itself in and to Israel; and penetrated by a sense of the everlasting importance of the whole law, he urges obedience to its commands. Even the close adherence to the Pentateuch is not at all peculiar to him, but is common to all the prophets, inasmuch as all, without exception, criticize and judge the life of the nation by the standard of the prescriptions in the Mosaic Law. Ezekiel, with his nearest predecessor Jeremiah, is in this respect only distinguished from the earlier prophets, that the verbal references to the Pentateuch in both occur with greater frequency, and receive a greater emphasis. But this has its ground not so much in the descent of both from a priestly family, as rather in the relations of their time, especially in the circumstance that the falling away of the nation from the law had become so great, in consequence of which the penal judgments already threatened in the Pentateuch upon transgressors had fallen upon them, so that the prophets of the Lord were obliged, with all their energy, to hold up before the rebellious race not merely the commandments, but also the threatenings of the law, if they were faithfully to discharge the office to which they had been called.

The *language* of Ezekiel is distinguished by a great number of words and forms, which do not occur elsewhere, and which, probably, were for the greater part coined by himself (see an

enumeration of these in the *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction*, § 77, Rem. 6), and shows a strong leaning towards the diction of the Pentateuch. It has, however, been unable to resist the influences of the inaccurate popular dialect, and of the Aramaic idiom, so that it betrays, in its many anomalies and corruptions, the decline and commencement of the dying out of the Hebrew tongue (cf. § 17 of the *Historico-Critical Manual*), and reminds us that the prophet's residence was in a foreign country.

The *genuineness* of Ezekiel's prophecies is, at the present day, unanimously recognised by all critics. There is, moreover, no longer any doubt that the writing down and redaction of them in the volume which has been transmitted to us were the work of the prophet himself. Only Ewald and Hitzig, for the purpose of setting aside the predictions which so much offend them, have proposed very artificial hypotheses regarding the manner and way in which the book originated; but it appears unnecessary to enter into a closer examination of these, as their probability and trustworthiness depend only upon the dogmatic views of their authors.

For the exegetical literature, see the *Historico-Critical Manual*, vol. i. p. 353 (new ed. p. 254), where is also to be added, as of very recent date, *Das Buch Ezechiels*. Uebersetzt und erklärt von Dr. Th. Kliefoth. Zwei Abtheilungen. Rostock, 1864 and 1865.

EXPOSITION.

FIRST HALF.—THE PROPHECIES OF JUDGMENT.

CHAP. I.-XXXII.

CHAP. I.-III. 21.—THE CONSECRATION AND CALLING OF EZEKIEL TO THE OFFICE OF PROPHET.



IN a vision of God, Ezekiel beholds in a great cloud, through which shone the splendour of fire, and which a tempestuous wind drives from the north, the glory of the Lord above the cherubim upon a majestic throne in human form (ch. i.), and hears a voice, which sends him as a prophet to Israel, and inspires him with the subject-matter of his announcements (ii. 1-iii. 3). He is thereafter transported in spirit to Tel-abib on the Chebar, into the midst of the exiles, and the duties and responsibilities of his calling laid before him (iii. 4-21). By this divine appearance and the commission therewith connected is he consecrated, called, and ordained to the prophetic office. The whole occurrences in the vision are subdivided into the copious description of the theophany, ch. i., by which he is consecrated for his calling; and into the revelation of the word, ch. ii. 1-3, 21, which prepares him for the discharge of the same. From these contents it clearly appears that these chapters do not constitute the *first section* of the book, but the *introduction* to the whole, to which the circumstantial notices

of the time and place of this revelation of God at the commencement, i. 1-3, also point.

Chap. i. THE APPEARANCE OF THE GLORY OF THE LORD.
—Vers. 1-3. Time and place of the same.—Ver. 1. *Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth (month), on the fifth (day) of the month, as I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, that the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God.* Ver. 2. *On the fifth day of the month, it was the fifth year of King Jehoiachin's captivity,* Ver. 3. *The word of the Lord came to Ezekiel the priest, the son of Busi, in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar; and the hand of the Lord was there upon him.*

Regarding *וַיֵּרָא* at the beginning of a book, as *e.g.* in Jonah i. 1, cf. the note on Josh. i. 1. The two notices of the year in vers. 1 and 2 are closely connected with the twofold introduction of the theophany. This is described in verse first, according to its form or phenomenal nature, and then in verses second and third, according to its intended purpose, and its effect upon the prophet. The phenomenon consisted in this, that the heavens were opened, and Ezekiel saw visions of God. The heaven opens not merely when to our eye a glimpse is disclosed of the heavenly glory of God (Calvin), but also when God manifests His glory in a manner perceptible to human sight. The latter was the case here. *מִרְאוֹת אֱלֹהִים*, “visions of God,” are not “*visiones præstantissimæ*,” but visions which have divine or heavenly things for their object; cf. Isa. vi. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 19; 2 Kings vi. 17. Here it is the manifestation of Jehovah's glory described in the following verses. This was beheld by Ezekiel in the thirtieth year, which, according to verse second, was in the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. The real identity of these two dates is placed beyond doubt by the mention of the same day of the month, “on the fifth day of the month” (ver. 2 compared with ver. 1). The fifth year from the commencement of Jehoia-

chin's captivity is the year 595 B.C.; the thirtieth year, consequently, is the year 625 B.C. But the era, in accordance with which this date is reckoned, is matter of dispute, and can no longer be ascertained with certainty. To suppose, with Hengstenberg, that the reference is to the year of the prophet's own life, is forbidden by the addition "in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month," which points to an era generally recognised. In the year 625 B.C., Nabopolassar became king of Babylon, and therefore many of the older expositors have supposed that Ezekiel means the thirtieth year of the era of Nabopolassar. Nothing, however, is known of any such era. Others, as the Chaldee paraphrast and Jerome, and in modern times also Ideler, are of opinion that the thirtieth year is reckoned from the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, because in that year the book of the law was discovered, and the regeneration of public worship completed by a solemn celebration of the Passover. No trace, however, can elsewhere be pointed out of the existence of a chronology dating from these events. The Rabbins in *Seder Olam* assume a chronology according to the periods of the years of jubilee, and so also Hitzig; but for this supposition too all reliable proofs are wanting. At the time mentioned, Ezekiel found himself בְּתוֹךְ הַגּוֹלָה, "in the midst of the exiles," i.e. *within the circuit of their settlements, not, in their society*; for it is evident from ch. iii. 15 that he was alone when the theophany was imparted to him, and did not repair till afterwards to the residences of the settlers. Ver. 3. By the river *Chebar*, in the land of the Chaldees, i.e. in Babylon or Mesopotamia. The river כְּבַר, to be distinguished from הַבּוֹר, the river of Gosan, which flows into the Tigris, see on 2 Kings xvii. 6, is the Mesopotamian *Chaboras*, Ἀβόρρας (Strabo, xvi. 748), or Χαβώρας (Ptolem. v. 18, 3), خابور (Edrisi Clim. iv. p. 6, ii. p. 150, ed. Jaubert and Abulf. Mesopot. in the *N. Repertor.* III. p. xxiv.), which according to Edrisi takes its rise from "nearly three hundred

springs," near the city *Ras-el-'Ain*, at the foot of the mountain range of Masius, flows through Upper Mesopotamia in a direction parallel with its two principal streams, and then, turning westward, discharges itself into the Euphrates near Kirkesion. There the hand of Jehovah came upon Ezekiel. The expression *יְהוָה עָלַי* (אֶל) always signifies a miraculous working of the power or omnipotence of God upon a man,—the hand being the organ of power in action,—by which he is placed in a condition to exert superhuman power, 1 Kings xviii. 46, and is the regular expression for the supernatural transportation into the state of ecstasy for the purpose of beholding and announcing (cf. 2 Kings iii. 15), or undertaking, heavenly things; and so throughout Ezekiel, cf. iii. 22, viii. 1, xxxiii. 22, xxxvii. 1, xl. 1.

Vers. 4–28. Description of the theophany seen by the spirit of the prophet.—Ver. 4. *And I saw, and, lo, a tempestuous wind came from the north, a great cloud, and a fire rolled together like a ball, and the brightness of light round about it, and out of its midst, as the appearance of glowing metal from the midst of the fire.*—The description begins with a general outline of the phenomenon, as the same presented itself to the spiritual eye of the prophet on its approach from the north. A tempestuous wind brings hither from the north a great cloud, the centre of which appears as a lump of fire, which throws around the cloud the brightness of light, and presents in its midst the appearance of glowing metal. The coming of the phenomenon from the north is, as a matter of course, not connected with the Babylonian representation of the mountain of the gods situated in the extreme north, Isa. xiv. 13. According to the invariable usage of speech followed by the prophets, especially by Jeremiah (cf. *e.g.* i. 14, iv. 6, vi. 1, etc.), the north is the quarter from which the enemies who were to execute judgment upon Jerusalem and Judah break in. According to this usage, the coming of this divine appearance from the north signifies that

it is from the north that God will bring to pass the judgment upon Judah. אֵשׁ מְתִלְקַחֶת, "fire rolled together like a ball," is an expression borrowed from Ex. ix. 10. לוֹ refers to עָנָן, and מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ, as we see from the words in apposition, מִתּוֹךְ הָעָנָן. The fire, which formed the centre of the cloud, had the appearance of הַשֶּׁמֶל. The meaning of this word, which occurs again in ver. 27 and ch. viii. ver. 2, is disputed. The Septuagint and Vulgate translate it by ἤλεκτρον, *electrum*, i.e. a metal having a bright lustre, and consisting of a mixture of gold and silver. Cf. Strabo, III. 146; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 4. To the explanation of Bochart, that it is a compound of נְחֹשֶׁת, "brass," and the Talmudic word מֶלֶל or מֵלֵל, "*aurum rude*," and signifies "rough gold ore," is opposed the fact that the reading מֵלֵל in the Talmud is not certain, but purports to be מֵמֵל (cf. Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 535, and Buxtorf, *Lexic. Talmud.* p. 1214), as well as the circumstance that raw gold ore has not a lustre which could shine forth out of the fire. Still less probability has the supposition that it is a compound of הֶשֶׁל, in Syriac "*conflavit, fabricavit*," and חֶשֶׂם, "*fricuit*," on which Hävernicks and Maurer base the meaning of "a piece of metal wrought in the fire." The word appears simply to be formed from חֶשֶׂם, probably "to glow," with ל appended, as פֶּרֶטֶל from בָּרַם, and to denote "glowing ore." This meaning is appropriate both in ver. 27, where עֵין הַשֶּׁמֶל is explained by מִרְאֵה־אֵשׁ, as well as in ch. viii. 2, where זֹהָר, "brilliancy," stands as parallel to it. הַשֶּׁמֶל, however, is different from נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל in ver. 7 and in Dan. x. 6, for הַשֶּׁמֶל refers in all the three places to the person of Him who is enthroned above the cherubim; while נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל in ver. 7 is spoken of the feet of the cherubim, and in Dan. x. 6 of the arms and feet of the personage who there manifests Himself. In verse fifth the appearance is described more minutely. There first present themselves to the eye of the seer four beings, whom he describes according to their figure and style.

Vers. 5-14. The four cherubim.—Ver. 5. *And out of its midst*

there prominently appeared a figure, consisting of four creatures, and this was their appearance: they had the figure of a man. Ver. 6. And each had four faces, and each of them had four wings. Ver. 7. And their feet were upright-standing feet; and the soles of their feet like the soles of a calf, and sparkling like the appearance of shining brass. Ver. 8. And the hands of a man were under their wings on their four sides; and all four had faces and wings. Ver. 9. Their wings were joined one to another; they turned not as they went; they went each one in the direction of his face. Ver. 10. And the form of their faces was that of a man; and on the right all four had a lion's face; and on the left all four had the face of an ox; and all four had an eagle's face. Ver. 11. And their faces and their wings were divided above, two of each uniting with one another, and two covering their bodies. Ver. 12. And they went each in the direction of his face; whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went; they turned not as they went. Ver. 13. And the likeness of the creatures resembled burning coals of fire, like the appearance of torches: it (the fire) went hither and thither amongst the beings; and the fire was brilliant, and from the fire came forth lightning. Ver. 14. And the beings ran hither and thither in a zig-zag manner.

From out of the fiery centre of the cloud there shows itself the form (דְּמוּתָהּ, properly "resemblance," "picture") of four חַיִּים, *animantia*, "living creatures;" ζῶα, Apoc. iv. 6; not *θηρία*, "wild beasts," as Luther has incorrectly rendered it, after the *animalia* of the Vulgate. These four creatures had דְּמוּת אָדָם, "the figure of a man." Agreeably to this notice, placed at the head of the description, these creatures are to be conceived as presenting the appearance of a human body in all points not otherwise specified in the following narrative. Each of them had four faces and four wings (אַרְבַּע without the article stands as a distributive, and כְּנָפַיִם are "pinions," as in Isa. vi. 2, not "pairs of wings"). Their feet were רַגְלֵי יֶשֶׁרָה, "a straight foot;" the singular stands generically, stating only the nature of the feet, without reference to their number. We

have accordingly to assume in each of the four creatures two legs, as in a man. יָשָׁר, "straight," i.e. standing upright, not bent, as when sitting or kneeling. רֶגֶל is the whole leg, including the knee and thigh, and כַּף רֶגֶל, "sole of the foot," or the under part of the leg, with which we tread on the ground. This part, not the whole leg, resembled the calf's foot, which is firmly planted on the ground. The legs sparkled like the appearance of נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל. The subject of נִצָּנִים is not "the כְּרוּבִים, which are understood to be intended under the חַיִּים in verse fifth" (Hitzig), for this subject is too far distant, but רֶגְלֵיהֶם, which is here construed as masculine, as in Jer. xiii. 16. In this sense are these words apprehended in the Apocalypse, i. 15, and נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל there translated by χαλκολίβανος. On this word see Hengstenberg and Düsterdieck on the Apoc. i. 15. לָל קָלָל probably signifies "light," i.e. "bright, shining brass," as the old translators have rendered it. The Septuagint has ἐξαστράπτων; the Vulgate, *aes candens*; and the Chaldee paraphrast, *aes flammans*. The signification "smoothed, polished brass" (Bochart), rests upon uncertain combinations; cf. Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1217, and is appropriate neither here nor in Dan. x. 6, where these words precede, "His face had the appearance of lightning, and his eyes were as a flame of fire." Under the four wings were four hands on the four sides of each cherub, formed like the hands of a man. The wings accordingly rested upon the shoulders, from which the hands came forth. The *Chetib* יָדוֹ may certainly be defended if with Kimchi and others we punctuate יָדָיו, and take the suffix distributively and אֶרְבָּעַם elliptically, "his (i.e. each of the four creatures) hands were (the hands of) a man;" cf. for such an ellipsis as this, passages like that in Ps. xviii. 34, רֶגְלֵי כַּאֲזֵילוֹת, "my feet as the (feet) of hinds;" Job xxxv. 2, כִּנְאֹל, "before the righteousness of God." It is extremely probable, however, that י is only the error of an old copyist for י, and that the *Keri* יָדָיו is the correct reading, as the taking of אֶרְבָּעַם elliptically is not in keeping with the broad style of Ezekiel, which in its verbosity verges on

tautology. The second half of ver. 8 is neither, with Hävernicks, to be referred to the following ninth verse, where the faces are no more spoken of, nor, with Hitzig, to be arbitrarily mutilated; but is to be taken as it stands, comprising all that has hitherto been said regarding the faces and wings, in order to append thereto in ver. 9 sqq. the description of the use and nature of these members. The definite statement, that "the wings were joined one to another," is in ver. 11 limited to the two upper wings, according to which we have so to conceive the matter, that the top or the upper right wing of each cherub came in contact with the top of the left wing of the neighbouring cherub. This junction presented to the eye of the seer the unity and coherence of all the four creatures as a complete whole—a הִיָּהּ, and implied, as a consequence, the harmonious action in common of the four creatures. They did not turn as they went along, but proceeded each in the direction of his face. אֶל-עֵבֶר פָּנָיו, "over against his face." The meaning is thus rightly given by Kliefoth: "As they had four faces, they needed not to turn as they went, but went on as (*i.e.* in the direction in which) they were going, always after the face." In the closer description of the faces in ver. 10, the face of the man is first mentioned as that which was turned towards the seer, that of the lion to the right side, the ox to the left, and that of the eagle (behind). In naming these three, it is remarked that all the four creatures had these faces: in naming the man's face, this remark is omitted, because the word פָּנֵיהֶם (referring to all the four) immediately precedes. In ver. 11, it is next remarked of the faces and wings, that they were divided above (מִלְּמַעְלָה, "from above," "upward"); then the direction of the wings is more precisely stated. The word וּפָנֵיהֶם is neither to be referred to the preceding, "and it was their faces," nor, with Hitzig, to be expunged as a gloss; but is quite in order as a statement that not only the wings but also the faces were divided above, consequently were not like *Janus'* faces upon one head, but the four faces were planted upon four heads and necks. In the

description that follows, חֹבְרוֹת אֵשׁ is not quite distinct, and אֵשׁ is manifestly to be taken as an abbreviation of אֵשׁה אֶל-אֲחוֹתָהּ in ver. 9: on each were two wings joining one another, *i.e.* touching with their tops the tips of the wings of the cherub beside them, in accordance with which we have to conceive the wings as expanded. Two were covering their bodies, *i.e.* each cherub covered his body with the pair of wings that folded downwards; not, as Kliefoth supposes, that the lower wings of the one cherub covered the body of the other cherub beside him, which also is not the meaning in ver. 23; see note on that verse. In ver. 12, what is to be said about their movements is brought to a conclusion, while both statements are repeated in ver. 9b, and completed by the addition of the *principium movens*. In whatever direction the רִיחַ "was to go, in that direction they went;" *i.e.* not according to the action of their own will, but wherever the רִיחַ impelled them. רִיחַ, however, signifies not "impulse," nor, in this place, even "the wind," as the vehicle of the power of the spiritual life palpable to the senses, which produced and guided their movements, (Kliefoth), but spirit. For, according to ver. 20, the movement of the wheels, which was in harmony with the movements of the cherubim, was not caused by the wind, but proceeded from the רִיחַ הַחַיָּה, *i.e.* from the spirit dwelling in the creature. On the contrary, there is not in the whole description, with the exception of the general statement that a tempestuous wind drove from the north the great cloud in which the theophany was enwrapped, any allusion to a means of motion palpable to the senses. In the 13th and 14th verses is described the entire impression produced by the movement of the whole appearance. יָרָמוֹת הַחַיִּיִּת precedes, and is taken absolutely "as regards the form of the creatures," and corresponds to the יָרָמוֹת אֲרָבַע חַיִּיִּת in ver. 5, with which the description of the individual figures which appeared in the brightness of the fire was introduced. Their appearance was like burning coals of fire, like the appearance of torches. הָיָא refers to אֵשׁ as the principal

conception. Fire, like the fire of burning coals and torches, went, moved hither and thither amongst the four creatures. This fire presented a bright appearance, and out of it came forth lightnings. The creatures, moreover, were in constant motion. רָצוּ, from רָצָה, an Aramaising form for the Hebrew רוּץ, to run. The *infin. absol.* stands instead of the *finite verb*. The conjecture of רָצוּ, after Gen. viii. 7 (Hitzig), is inappropriate, because here we have not to think of “coming out,” and no reason exists for the striking out of the words, as Hitzig proposes. The continued motion of the creatures is not in contradiction with their perpetually moving on straight before them. “They went hither and thither, and yet always in the direction of their countenances; because they had a countenance looking in the direction of every side” (Kliefoth). פָּצָה signifies not “lightning” (=פָּצָה), but comes from פָּצָה; in Syriac, “to be split,” and denotes “the splitting,” i.e. the zigzag course of the lightning (Kliefoth).

Vers. 15–21. The four wheels beside the cherubim.—
 Ver. 15. *And I saw the creatures, and, lo, there was a wheel upon the earth beside the creatures, towards their four fronts.* Ver. 16. *The appearance of the wheels and their work was like the appearance of the chrysolite; and all four had one kind of figure: and their appearance and their work was as if one wheel were within the other.* Ver. 17. *Towards their four sides they went when they moved: they turned not as they went.* Ver. 18. *And their fellows, they were high and terrible; and their fellows were full of eyes round about in all the four.* Ver. 19. *And when the creatures moved, the wheels moved beside them; and when the creatures raised themselves up from the earth, the wheels also raised themselves.* Ver. 20. *Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went in the direction in which the spirit was to go; and the wheels raised themselves beside them: for the spirit of the creatures was in the wheels.* Ver. 21. *When the former moved, the latter moved also; when the former stood, the latter stood; and when the former raised themselves from the ground, the wheels raised*

themselves beside them : for the spirit of the creatures was in the wheels.—The words, “ and I saw the creatures,” prepare the way for the transition to the new object which presented itself in these creatures to the eye of the seer. By the side of these creatures upon the ground he sees a wheel, and that at the four fronts, or front faces of the creatures. The singular suffix in *לְאַרְבַּעַת פָּנָיו* can neither be referred, with Rosenmüller, to the chariot, which is not mentioned at all, nor, with Hitzig, to the preposition *אֵצֶל*, nor, with Hävernick, Maurer, and Kliefoth, to *אֹפֶן*, and so be understood as if every wheel looked towards four sides, because a second wheel was inserted in it at right angles. This meaning is not to be found in the words. The suffix refers *ad sensum* to *חַיִּים* (Ewald), or, to express it more correctly, to the figure of the cherubim with its four faces turned to the front, conceived as a unity—as *one* creature (*הַחַיִּים*, ver. 22). Accordingly, we have so to represent the matter, that by the side of the four cherubim, namely, beside his front face, a wheel was to be seen upon the earth. Ezekiel then saw four wheels, one on each front of a cherub, and therefore immediately speaks in ver. 16 of wheels (in the plural). In this verse *מִרְאָה* is *adspectus*, and *מַעֲשֶׂה* “work;” *i.e.* both statements employing the term “construction,” although in the first hemistich only the appearance, in the second only the construction, of the wheels is described. *תְּרִשִׁישׁ* is the chrysolite of the ancients, the topaz of the moderns,—a stone having the lustre of gold. The construction of the wheels was as if one wheel were within a wheel, *i.e.* as if in the wheel a second were inserted at right angles, so that without being turned it could go towards all the four sides. *נִבְיָהֶן*, in ver. 18, stands absolutely. “As regards their fellows,” they possessed height and terribleness,—the latter because they were full of eyes all round. Hitzig arbitrarily understands *גְּבִיָּה* of the upper sides; and *נִרְאָה*, after the Arabic, of the under side, or that which lies towards the back. The movement of the wheels completely followed the movement of the creatures (vers. 19-21), because the spirit of

the creature was in the wheels. הַחַיִּים, in vers. 20 and 21, is not the "principle of life" (Hävernicks), but the cherubic creatures conceived as a unity, as in ver. 22, where the meaning is undoubted. The sense is: the wheels were, in their motion and rest, completely bound by the movements and rest of the creatures, because the spirit which ruled in them was also in the wheels, and regulated their going, standing, and rising upwards. By the רוּחַ הַחַיִּים the wheels are bound in one with the cherub-figures, but not by means of a chariot, to or upon which the cherubim were attached.

Vers. 22–28. The throne of Jehovah.—Ver. 22. *And over the heads of the creature there appeared an expanse like the appearance of the terrible crystal, stretched out over their heads above.* Ver. 23. *And under the expanse were their wings, extended straight one towards another: each had two wings, covering to these, and each two (wings), covering to those, their bodies.* Ver. 24. *And I heard the sound of their wings, as the sound of many waters, like the voice of the Almighty, as they went: a loud rushing like the clamour of a camp: when they stood, they let down their wings.* Ver. 25. *And there came a voice from above the expanse which was above their heads; when they stood, they let their wings sink down.* Ver. 26. *Over the expanse above their heads was to be seen, like a sapphire stone, the figure of a throne: and over the figure of the throne was a figure resembling a man above it.* Ver. 27. *And I saw like the appearance of glowing brass, like the appearance of fire within the same round about; from the appearance of his loins upwards, and from the appearance of his loins downwards, I saw as of the appearance of fire, and a shining light was round about it.* Ver. 28. *Like the appearance of the bow, which is in the clouds in the day of rain, was the appearance of the shining light round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of Jehovah. And I saw it, and fell upon my face, and I heard the voice of one that spake.*—Above, over the heads of the figures of the cherubim, Ezekiel sees something like the firmament of heaven (ver.

22 sq.), and hears from above this canopy a voice, which re-echoes in the rushing of the wings of the cherubin, and determines the movement as well as the standing still of these creatures. The first sentence of ver. 22 literally signifies: "And a likeness was over the heads of the creature,—a canopy, as it were, stretched out." רָמֹת is not the genitive after רָמֹת, but an explanatory apposition to it, and before רָמֹת; neither has בָּ fallen out (as Hitzig supposes), nor is it to be supplied. For רָמֹת denotes not any definite likeness, with which another could be compared, but, properly, *similitudo*, and is employed by Ezekiel in the sense of "something like." רָמֹת, without the article, does not mean the firmament of heaven, but any expanse, the appearance of which is first described as resembling the firmament by the words בָּעֵין הַקָּדָשׁ. It is not the firmament of heaven which Ezekiel sees above the heads of the cherubim, but an expanse resembling it, which has the shining appearance of a fear-inspiring crystal. נוֹרָא, used of crystal, in so far as the appearance of this glittering mass dazzles the eyes, and assures terror, as in Judg. xiii. 6, of the look of the angel; and in Job xxxvii. 22, of the divine majesty. The description is based upon Ex. xxiv. 10, and the similitude of the crystal has passed over to the Apocalypse, iv. 6. Under the canopy were the wings of the cherubim, יְשָׁרוֹת, standing straight, i.e. spread out in a horizontal direction, so that they appeared to support the canopy. אֲשֶׁה אֶל-אֲחוֹתָהּ is not, with Jerome and others, to be referred to the cherubim (הַחַיִּים), but to בְּנֵי-יָהִים, as in ver. 9. The לְאִישׁ which follows does refer, on the contrary, to the cherub, and literally signifies, "To each were two wings, covering, namely, to these and those, their bodies." לְהִנָּה corresponds to לְאִישׁ, in a manner analogous to לְאִתָּהּ in ver. 6. By the repetition of the לְהִנָּה, "to these and those," the four cherubim are divided into two pairs, standing opposite to one another. That this statement contradicts, as Hitzig asserts, the first half of the verse, is by no means evident. If the two creatures on each side covered their bodies with the two wings, then two

other wings could very easily be so extended under the canopy that the tops of the one should touch those of the other. As the creatures moved, Ezekiel hears the sound, *i.e.* the rustling of their wings, like the roaring of mighty billows. This is strengthened by the second comparison, "like the voice of the Almighty," *i.e.* resembling thunder, cf. x. 5. The קול הַמֶּלֶךְ that follows still depends on אֲשַׁמֵּעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ, which occurs only here and in Jer. xi. 6, is probably synonymous with הִמְנוֹן, "roaring," "noise," "tumult." This rushing sound, however, was heard only when the creatures were in motion; for when they stood, they allowed their wings to fall down. This, of course, applies only to the upper wings, as the under ones, which covered the body, hung downwards, or were let down. From this it clearly appears that the upper wings neither supported nor bore up the canopy over their heads, but only were so extended, when the cherubim were in motion, that they *touched* the canopy. In ver. 25 is also mentioned whence the loud sound came, which was heard, during the moving of the wings, from above the canopy, consequently from him who was placed above it, so that the creatures, always after this voice resounded, went on or stood still, *i.e.* put themselves in motion, or remained without moving, according to its command. With the repetition of the last clause of ver. 24 this subject is concluded in ver. 25. Over or above upon the firmament was to be seen, like a sapphire stone, the likeness of a throne, on which sat one in the form of a man—*i.e.* Jehovah appeared in human form, as in Dan. vii. 9 sq. Upon this was poured out a fiery, shining light, like glowing brass (עֵינַן הַשֵּׁמֶל, as in ver. 4) and like fire, בֵּית־לֶּה סָבִיב, "within it round about" (מִבֵּית = בֵּית, "within," and לֶּה, pointing back to כִּסֵּא). This appears to be the simplest explanation of these obscure words. They are rendered differently by Hitzig, who translates them: "like fire which has a covering round about it, *i.e.* like fire which is enclosed, whose shining contrasts so much the more brightly on account of the dark surroundings." But, to say nothing of

the change which would then be necessary of בִּית into בֵּית, this meaning seems very far-fetched, and cannot be accepted for this reason alone, that מִרְאֵה אֵשׁ, neither in the following hemistich (ver. 27b) nor in viii. 2, has any such or similar strengthening addition. The appearance above shows, as the centre of the cloud (ver. 4), a fiery gleam of light, only there is to be perceived upon the throne a figure resembling a man, fiery-looking from the loins upwards and downwards, and round about the figure, or rather round the throne, a shining light (נֹרָא, cf. ver. 4), like the rainbow in the clouds, cf. Apoc. iv. 3. This [הוֹא, ver. 28, does not refer to הַנִּיחַ, but to the whole appearance of him who was enthroned,—the covering of light included, but throne and cherubim (x. 4, 19) excluded (Hitzig)] was the appearance of the likeness of Jehovah's glory. With these words closes the description of the vision. The following clause, "And I saw, etc.," forms the transition to the word of Jehovah, which follows on the second chapter, and which summoned Ezekiel to become a prophet to Israel. Before we pass, however, to an explanation of this word, we must endeavour to form to ourselves a clear conception of the significance of this theophany.

For its full understanding we have first of all to keep in view that it was imparted to Ezekiel not merely on his being called to the office of prophet, but was again repeated three times,—namely, in ch. iii. 22 sqq., where he was commissioned to predict symbolically the impending siege of Jerusalem; ch. viii. 4 sqq., when he is transported in spirit to the temple-court at Jerusalem for the purpose of beholding the abominations of the idol-worship practised by the people, and to announce the judgment which, in consequence of these abominations, was to burst upon the city and the temple, in which it is shown to him how the glory of the Lord abandons, first the temple and thereafter the city also; and in ch. xliii. 1 sqq., in which is shown to him the filling of the new temple with the glory of the Lord, to dwell for ever among the children of Israel. In

all three passages it is expressly testified that the divine appearance was like the first which he witnessed on the occasion of his call. From this Kliefoth has drawn the right conclusion, that the theophany in ch. i. 4 sqq. bears a relation not to the call only, but to the whole prophetic work of Ezekiel: "We may not say that God so appears to Ezekiel at a later time, because He so appeared to him at his call; but we must say, conversely, that because God wills and must so appear to Ezekiel at a later time while engaged in his prophetic vocation, therefore He also appears to him in this form already at his call." The intention, however, with which God so appears to him is distinctly contained in the two last passages, ch. viii.—xi. and ch. xliii: "God withdraws in a visible manner from the temple and Jerusalem, which are devoted to destruction on account of the sin of the people: in a visible manner God enters into the new temple of the future; and because the whole of what Ezekiel was inspired to foretell was comprehended in these two things,—the destruction of the existing temple and city, and the raising up of a new and a better;—because the whole of his prophetic vocation had its fulfilment in these, therefore God appears to Ezekiel on his call to be a prophet in the same form as that in which He departs from the ancient temple and Jerusalem, in order to their destruction, and in which He enters into the new edifice in order to make it a temple. The form of the theophany, therefore, is what it is in i. 4 sqq., because its purpose was to show and announce to the prophet, on the one side the destruction of the temple, and on the other its restoration and glorification." These remarks are quite correct, only the significance of the theophany itself is not thereby made clear. If it is clear from the purpose indicated why God here has the cherubim with Him, while on the occasion of other appearances (*e.g.* Dan. vii. 9; Isa. vi. 1) He is without cherubim; as the cherubim here have no other significancy than what their figures have in the tabernacle, viz. that God has there His dwelling-place, the seat of

His gracious presence; yet this does not satisfactorily explain either the special marks by which the cherubim of Ezekiel are distinguished from those in the tabernacle and in Solomon's temple, or the other attributes of the theophany. Kliefoth, moreover, does not misapprehend those diversities in the figures of the cherubim, and finds indicated therein the intention of causing it distinctly to appear that it is the one and same Jehovah, enthroned amid the cherubim, who destroys the temple, and who again uprears it. Because Ezekiel was called to predict both events, he therefore thinks there must be excluded, on the one hand, such attributes in the form of the manifestation as would be out of harmony with the different aims of the theophany; while, on the other, those which are important for the different aims must be combined and comprehended in one form, that this one form may be appropriate to all the manifestations of the theophany. It could not therefore have in it the ark of the covenant and the mercy-seat; because, although these would probably have been appropriate to the manifestation for the destruction of the old temple (viii. 1 sqq.), they would not have been in keeping with that for entering into the new temple. Instead of this, it must show the living God Himself upon the throne among "the living creatures;" because it belongs to the new and glorious existence of the temple of the future, that it should have Jehovah Himself dwelling within it in a visible form. From this, too, may be explained the great fulness of the attributes, which are divisible into three classes: 1. Those which relate to the manifestation of God for the destruction of Jerusalem; 2. Those which relate to the manifestation of God for entering into the new temple; and, 3. Those which serve both objects in common. To the last class belongs everything which is essential to the manifestation of God in itself, *e.g.* the visibility of God in general, the presence of the cherubim in itself, and so on: to the first class all the signs that indicate wrath and judgment, consequently, first, the coming from the north, especially the

fire, the lightnings, in which God appears as He who is coming to judgment; but to the second, besides the rainbow and the appearance of God in human form, especially the wheels and the fourfold manifestation in the cherubim and wheels. For the new temple does not represent the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel, but the economy of salvation founded by Christ at His appearing, to which they belong as essential tokens; to be founded, on the one hand, by God's own coming and dwelling upon the earth; on the other, to be of an œcumenic character, in opposition to the particularities and local nature of the previous ancient dispensation of salvation. God appears bodily, in human form; lowers down to earth the canopy on which His throne is seated; the cherubim, which indicate God's gracious presence with His people, appear not merely in symbol, but in living reality, plant their feet upon the ground, while each cherub has at his side a wheel, which moves, not in the air, but only upon the earth. By this it is shown that God Himself is to descend to the earth, to walk and to dwell visibly among His people; while the œcumenic character of the new economy of salvation, for the establishment of which God is to visit the earth, is represented in the fourfold form of the cherubim and wheels. The number four—the sign of the œcumenicity which is to come, and the symbol of its being spread abroad into all the world—is assigned to the cherubim and wheels, to portray the spreading abroad of the new kingdom of God over the whole earth. But how much soever that is true and striking this attempt at explanation may contain in details, it does not touch the heart of the subject, and is not free from bold combinations. The correctness of the assumption, that in the theophany attributes of an opposite kind are united, namely, such as should refer only to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, and such as relate only to the foundation and nature of the new economy of salvation, is beset with well-founded doubts. Why, on such a hypothesis, should the form of the theophany remain the same throughout

in all three or four cases? This question, which lies on the surface, is not satisfactorily answered by the remark that Ezekiel had to predict not only the destruction of the old, but also the foundation of a new and much more glorious kingdom of God. For not only would this end, but also the object of showing that it is the same God who is to accomplish both, have been fully attained if the theophany had remained the same only in those attributes which emblemize in a general way God's gracious presence in His temple; while the special attributes, which typify only the one and the other purpose of the divine appearance, would only then have been added, or brought prominently out, where this or that element of the theophany had to be announced. Moreover, the necessity in general of a theophany for the purpose alleged is not evident, much less the necessity of a theophany so peculiar in form. Other prophets also, *e.g.* Micah, without having seen a theophany, have predicted in the clearest and distinctest manner both the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and the raising up of a new and more glorious kingdom of God. The reason, then, why Ezekiel witnessed such a theophany, not only at his call, but had it repeated to him at every new turn in his prophetic ministry, must be deeper than that assigned; and the theophany must have another meaning than that of merely consecrating the prophet for the purpose of announcing both the judgment upon Jerusalem and the temple, and the raising up of a new and more glorious economy of salvation, and strengthening the word of the prophet by a symbolical representation of its contents.

To recognise this meaning, we must endeavour to form a distinct conception, not merely of the principal elements of our theophany, but to take into consideration at the same time their relation to other theophanies. In our theophany three elements are unmistakeably prominent,—1st, The peculiarly formed cherubim; 2d, The wheels are seen beside the cherubim; and, 3d, The firmament above, both with the throne and the form of

God in human shape seated upon the throne. The order of these three elements in the description is perhaps hardly of any importance, but is simply explicable from this, that to the seer who is on earth it is the under part of the figure which, appearing visibly in the clouds, first presents itself, and that his look next turns to the upper part of the theophany. Especially significant above all, however, is the appearance of the cherubim under or at the throne of God; and by this it is indisputably pointed out that He who appears upon the throne is the same God that is enthroned in the temple between the cherubim of the mercy-seat upon their outspread wings. Whatever opinion may be formed regarding the nature and significance of the cherubim, this much is undoubtedly established, that they belong essentially to the symbolical representation of Jehovah's gracious presence in Israel, and that this portion of our vision has its real foundation in the plastic representation of this gracious relation in the Holy of Holies of the tabernacle or temple. As, however, opinions are divided on the subject of the meaning of these symbols, and the cherubim of Ezekiel, moreover, present no inconsiderable differences in their four faces and four wings from the figures of the cherubim upon the mercy-seat and in the temple, which had only one face and two wings, we must, for the full understanding of our vision, look a little more closely to the nature and significance of the cherubim.

While, according to the older view, the cherubim are angelic beings of a higher order, the opinion at the present day is widely prevalent, that they are only symbolical figures, to which nothing real corresponds, — merely ideal representations of creature life in its highest fulness.¹ This modern view, how-

¹ Compare the investigation of the cherubim in my *Handbuch der Biblischen Archæologie*, I. pp. 86 sqq. and 113 sqq.; also Kliefoth's *Abhandlung über die Zahlensymbolik der heiligen Schrift in der Theolog. Zeitschrift von Dieckhoff und Kliefoth*, III. p. 381 sqq., where especially the older view — that the cherubim are angelic beings of a higher rank — is defended in a thorough manner, and the daring hypothesis of Hofmann signally refuted;

ever, finds in the circumstance that the cherubim in the Israelitish sanctuary, as well as in Ezekiel and in the Apocalypse, are symbolical figures of varying shape, only an apparent but no real support. The cherubim occur for the first time in the history of Paradise, where, in Gen. iii. 22-24, it is related that God, after expelling the first human pair from Paradise, placed at the east side of the garden the cherubim and the flame of a sword, which turned hither and thither, to guard the way to the tree of life. If this narrative contains historical truth, and is not merely a myth or philosopheme; if Paradise and the Fall, with their consequences, extending over all humanity, are to remain real things and occurrences,—then must the cherubim also be taken as real beings. “For God will not have placed symbols—pure creations of Hebrew fancy—at the gate of Paradise,” Kliefoth. Upon the basis of this narrative, Ezekiel also held the cherubim to be spiritual beings of a higher rank. This appears from ch. xxviii. 14-16, where he compares the prince of Tyre, in reference to the high and glorious position which God had assigned him, to a cherub, and to Elohim. It does not at all conflict with the recognition of the cherubim as real beings, and, indeed, as spiritual or angelic beings, that they are employed in visions to represent super-sensible relations, or are represented in a plastic form in the sanctuary of Israel. “When angels,” as Kliefoth correctly remarks in reference to this, “sing the song of praise in the holy night, this is an historical occurrence, and these angels are real angels, who testify by their appearance that there are such beings as angels; but when, in the Apocalypse, angels pour forth sounds of wrath, these angels are figures in vision, as elsewhere, also, men and objects are seen in vision.” But even this employment of the angels as “figures” in vision, rests upon the belief that

lastly, Ed. C. Aug. Riehm, *De naturâ et notione symbolicâ Cheruborum, Commentat. Basil.* 1864, who, proceeding from the view—adopted by Bähr, Hengstenberg, and others—that the cherubim were only symbolical figures, has sought to determine more minutely the meaning of these symbols.

there are actually beings of this kind. Biblical symbolism furnishes not a single undoubted instance of abstract ideas, or ideal creations of the imagination, being represented by the prophets as living beings. Under the plastic representation of the cherubim upon the mercy-seat, and in the most holy and holy place of the tabernacle and the temple, lies the idea, that these are heavenly, spiritual beings; for in the tabernacle and temple (which was built after its pattern) essential relations of the kingdom of God are embodied, and all the symbols derived from things having a real existence. When, however, on the other hand, Hengstenberg objects, on Apoc. iv. 6, "that what Vitringa remarks is sufficient to refute those who, under the cherubim, would understand angels of rank,—viz. that these four creatures are throughout the whole of this vision connected with the assembly of the elders, and are distinguished not only from the angels, but from *all* the angels, as is done in ch. vii. 11,"—we must regard this refutation as altogether futile. From the division of the heavenly assembly before the throne into two choirs or classes (Apoc. v. and vii.),—in which the ζῶα (cherubim) and the elders form the one (v. 8), the ἄγγελοι the other choir (ver. 11),—an argument can be as little derived against the angelic nature of the cherubim, as it could be shown, from the distinction between the στρατιὰ οὐράνιος and ἄγγελος, in Luke ii. 13, that the "multitude of the heavenly host" were no angels at all. And the passage in Apoc. vii. 11 would only then furnish the supposed proof against the relationship of the cherubim to the angels, if πάντες ἄγγελοι in general—all angels, how numerous soever they may be—were spoken of. But the very tenor of the words, πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι, "all the angels," points back to the choir of angels already mentioned in ch. v. 11, which was formed by πολλοὶ ἄγγελοι, whose number was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands.¹ From the distinction between

¹ See on this distinction Winer's *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Moulton's translation), p. 137, where, among other remarks, it is observed

the ζῶα and the ἄγγελοι in the Apocalypse, no further inference can be deduced than that the cherubim are not common angels, "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister" (Heb. i. 14), but constitute a special class of angels of higher rank. More exact information regarding the relationship of the cherubim to the other angels, or their nature, cannot indeed be obtained, either from the name *cherubim* or from the circumstance that, with the exception of Gen. iii., they occur always only in connection with the throne of God. The etymology of the word כְּרֻבִים is obscure: all the derivations that have been proposed from the Hebrew or any other Semitic dialect cannot make the slightest pretensions to probability. The word appears to have come down from antiquity along with the tradition of Paradise. See my *Biblical Archæology*, p. 88 sqq. If we take into consideration, however, that Ezekiel calls them חַיִּים, and first in ch. x. employs the name כְּרֻבִים, known from the tabernacle, or rather from the history of Paradise; since, as may be inferred from x. 20, he first recognised, from the repetition of the theophany related in ch. x., that the living creatures seen in the vision *were* cherubim,—we may, from the designation חַיִּים, form a supposition, if not as to their nature, at least as to the significance of their position towards the throne of God. They are termed חַיִּים, "living," not as being "ideal representatives of all living things upon the earth" (Hengstenberg), but as beings which, among all the creatures in heaven and earth, possess and manifest life in the fullest sense of the word, and on that very account, of all spiritual beings, stand nearest to the God of the spirits of all flesh (who lives from eternity to eternity), and encircle His throne. With this representation harmonises not only the fact, that after the expulsion of the first human beings from Paradise, God commanded them to guard the way to the tree of life, but also the form in which

that "πᾶσαι γενεαί are all generations, whatever their number; πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί (Matt. i. 17), *all the generations*,—those which, either from the context or in some other way, are familiar as a definite number."

they were represented in the sanctuary and in the visions. The cherubim in the sanctuary had the form of a man, and were only marked out by their wings as super-terrestrial beings, not bound by the earthly limits of space. The cherubim in Ezekiel and the Apocalypse also preserve the appearance of a man. Angels also assume the human form when they appear visibly to men on earth, because of all earthly creatures man, created in the image of God, takes the first and highest place. For although the divine image principally consists in the spiritual nature of man,—in the soul breathed into him by the Spirit of God,—yet his bodily form, as the vessel of this soul, is the most perfect corporeity of which we have any knowledge, and as such forms the most appropriate garment for rendering visible the heavenly spiritual being within. But the cherubim in our vision exhibit, besides the figure of the human body with the face of a man, also the face of the lion, of the ox, and of the eagle, and four wings, and appear as four-sided, square-formed beings, with a face on each of their four sides, so that they go in any direction without turning, and yet, while so doing, they can always proceed in the direction of one face; while in the vision in the Apocalypse, the four faces of the creatures named are divided among the four cherubim, so that each has only one of them. In the countenance of man is portrayed his soul and spirit, and in each one also of the higher order of animals, its nature. The union of the lion, ox, and eagle-faces with that of man in the cherubim, is intended, doubtless, to represent them as beings which possess the fullness and the power of life, which in the earthly creation is divided among the four creatures named. The Rabbinical dictum (*Schemoth Rabba*, Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, p. 1168): *Quatuor sunt qui principatum in hoc mundo tenent. Inter creaturas homo, inter aves aquila, inter pecora bos, inter bestias leo*, contains a truth, even if there lies at the foundation of it the idea that these four creatures represent the entire earthly creation. For in the cherub, the living powers of these

four creatures are actually united. That the eagle, namely, comes into consideration only in reference to his power of flight, in which he excels all other birds, may be concluded from the circumstance that in Apoc. iv. 7 the fourth ζῶον is described as resembling an eagle flying. According to this principle, the ox and the lion are only to be considered in reference to their physical strength, in virtue of which the ox amongst tame animals, the lion amongst wild beasts, take the first place, while man, through the power of his mind, asserts his supremacy over all earthly creatures.¹ The number four, lastly, both of the cherubim and of the four faces of each cherub in our vision, is connected with their capacity to go in all directions without turning, and can contribute nothing in favour of the assumption that these four indicate the whole living creation, upon the simple ground that the number four is not essential to them, for on the mercy-seat only two cherubim are found. That they are also represented in the vision as higher spiritual beings, appears not only from Ezek. x. 7, where a cherub stretches forth his hand and fetches out fire from between the cherubim, and places it in the hands of the angel clothed in white linen, who was to accomplish the burning of Jerusalem; but, still more distinctly, from what is said in the Apocalypse regarding their working. Here we observe them, as Kliefoth has already pointed out, "in manifold activity: they utter day and night the Tersanctus; they offer worship, iv. 8, 9, v. 8, xix. 4; they repeat the Amen to the song of praise from all creation, v. 14; they invite John to see what the four first seals are accomplishing, vi. 1, 3, 5, 7; one of them gives to the seven angels the seven phials of wrath, xv. 7."

¹ This has been already rightly recognised by Riehm, *l.c.* p. 21 ff., who has drawn from it the inference: *quaternis igitur faciebus eximiae vires atque facultates significantur cherubis a deo ad munus suum sustinendum impertitae*, which is connected with the erroneous representation that the cherubim are intended to bear the throne of God, and to carry the Lord of the world.

Besides this activity of theirs in the carrying out of the divine counsel of salvation, we must, in order to gain as clear a view as possible of the significance of the cherubim in our vision, as well as in Biblical symbolism generally, keep also in view the position which, in the Apocalypse, they occupy around the throne of God. Those who are assembled about the throne form these three concentric circles: the four ζῶα (cherubim) form the innermost circle; the twenty-four elders, seated upon thrones, clothed in white garments, and wearing golden crowns upon their heads, compose the wider circle that follows; while the third, and widest of all, is formed by the many angels, whose number was many thousands of thousands (Apoc. iv. 4, 6, v. 6, 8, vii. 11). To these are added the great, innumerable host, standing before the throne, of the just made perfect from among all heathens, peoples, and languages, in white raiment, and with palms in their hands, who have come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, and now, before the throne of God, serve Him day and night in His temple (vii. 9, 14, 15). Accordingly the twenty-four elders, as the patriarchs of the Old and New Testament congregation of God, have their place beside God's throne, between the cherubim and the myriads of the other angels; and in the same manner as they are exalted above the angels, are the cherubim exalted even above them. This position of the cherubim justifies the conclusion that they have the name of ζῶα from the indwelling fulness of the everlasting blessed life which is within them, and which streams out from the Creator of spirits—the King of all kings, and Lord of all lords—upon the spiritual beings of heaven, and that the cherubim immediately surround the throne of God, as being representatives and bearers of the everlasting life of blessedness, which men, created in the image of God, have forfeited by the Fall, but which they are again, from the infinitude of the divine compassion, to recover in the divine kingdom founded for the redemption of fallen humanity.

It is easier to recognise the meaning of the wheels which in our vision appear beside the cherubim. The wheel serves to put the chariot in motion. Although the throne of God is not now expressly represented and designated as a chariot-throne, yet there can be no doubt that the wheels which Ezekiel sees under the throne beside the cherubim are intended to indicate the possibility and ease with which the throne can be moved in the direction of the four quarters of the heavens. The meaning of the eyes, however, is matter of controversy, with which, according to i. 18, the felloes of the wheels, and, as is expressly mentioned in ch. x. 12, and also noted in Apoc. iv. 6, the cherubim themselves are furnished all round. According to Kliefoth, the eyes serve the purpose of motion; and as the movement of the cherubim and wheels indicates the spreading abroad over the whole earth of the new economy of salvation, this mass of eyes in the cherubim and wheels must indicate that this spreading abroad is to take place, not through blind accident, but with conscious clearness. The meaning is not appropriate to Apoc. iv. 6, where the cherubim have no wheels beside them, and where a going forth into all countries is not to be thought of. Here therefore, according to Kliefoth, the eyes only serve to bring into view the moral and physical powers which have created and supported the kingdom of God upon earth, and which are also to bring it now to its consummation. This is manifestly arbitrary, as any support from passages of the Bible in favour of the one view or the other is entirely wanting. The remark of Rosenmüller is nearer the truth, that by the multitude of the eyes is denoted *Coelestium naturarum perspicacia et ὁξυωπία*, and leads to the correct explanation of Apoc. v. 6, where the seven eyes of the Lamb are declared to be τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ ἀπεσταλμένα εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν; the eyes consequently indicate the spiritual effects which proceed from the Lamb over the entire earth in a manner analogous to His seven horns, which are the symbols of the completeness of His power. The eye, then, is the

picture and mirror of the Spirit; and the ornamentation of the cherubim and wheels with eyes, shows that the power of the divine Spirit dwells within them, and determines and guides their movements.

The remaining objects of the vision are not difficult to explain. The appearance of the expanse over above the cherubim and wheels, upon which a throne is to be seen, represents the firmament or heaven as the place of God's throne. God appears upon the throne in human form, in the terrible glory of His holy majesty. The whole appearance draws nigh to the prophet in the covering of a great fiery cloud (ver. 4). This cloud points back to the "thick cloud" in which Jehovah, in the ancient time, descended upon Mount Sinai amid thunders and lightnings (Ex. xix. 16) to establish His covenant of grace, promised to the patriarchs with their seed,—the people of Israel brought forth from Egypt,—and to found His kingdom of grace upon the earth. If we observe the connection of our theophany with that manifestation of God on Sinai for the founding of the Old Testament dispensation of salvation, we shall neither confine the fire and the lightnings in our vision to the manifestation of God for the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, nor refer the splendour which appears above the throne in the form of a rainbow to the grace which returns after the execution of judgment, or to the new dispensation of salvation which is to be established. Nor may we regard these differing attributes, by referring them specially to individual historical elements of the revelation of God in His kingdom, as in opposition; but must conceive of them, more generally and from the point of view of unity, as symbols of the righteousness, holiness, and grace which God reveals in the preservation, government, and consummation of His kingdom. It holds true also of our theophany what Düsterdieck remarks on Apoc. iv. 3 (cf. p. 219 of the second edition of his Commentary) regarding the importance of the divine appearance described in that passage: "We may not hastily apply in a general way

the description before us by special reference to the judgments of God (which are seen at a later time) in their relation to the divine grace; it is enough that here, where the everlasting and personal ground of all that follows is described, the sacred glory and righteousness of God appear in the closest connection with His unchanging, friendly grace, so that the entire future development of the kingdom of God, and of the world down to the final termination, as that is determined by the marvellous unity of being which is in the holy, righteous, and gracious God, must not only according to its course, but also according to its object, correspond to this threefold glory of the living God." As this fundamental vision (of the Apocalypse) contains all that serves to alarm the enemies and to comfort the friends of Him who sits on the throne, so the vision of Ezekiel also has its fundamental significance not only for the whole of the prophet's ministry, but, generally, for the continuation and development of the kingdom of God in Israel, until its aim has been reached in its consummation in glory. This, its fundamental significance, unmistakeably appears from the twofold circumstance,—firstly, that the theophany was imparted to the prophet at his call, and was then repeated at the principal points in his prophetic ministry, at the announcement both of the dissolution of the old kingdom of God by the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, ch. ix.-xi., and also at the erection of the new temple and a new arrangement of the kingdom (ch. xl.-xlviii.). Since, as was formerly already remarked (p. 35), a theophany was not required either for the calling of Ezekiel to the office of a prophet, or for the announcement which was entrusted to him of the annihilation of the old and the foundation of the new kingdom of God, so the revelation of God, which pointed in its phenomenal shape to the dwelling of the Lord among His people in the Holy of Holies in the temple (and which was imparted in this place to Ezekiel, living among the exiles in the land of Chaldea by the banks of the Chebar), could only be intended, in view of the dissolution

of the theocracy, which had already begun, and was shortly to be completed, to give to the prophet and those of his contemporaries who were living with him in exile, a real pledge that the essential element of the theocracy was not to be removed by the penal judgment which was passing over the sinful people and kingdom; but that God the Lord would still continue to attest Himself to His people as the living God, and preserve His kingdom, and one day bring it again to a glorious consummation.—In correspondence with this aim, God appears in the temple in the symbolical forms of His gracious presence as He who is throned above the cherubim; but cherubim and throne are furnished with attributes, which represent the movement of the throne in all directions, not merely to indicate the spreading of the kingdom of God over all the earth, but to reveal Himself as Lord and King, whose might extends over the whole world, and who possesses the power to judge all the heathen, and to liberate from their bondage His people, who have been given into their hands, if they repent and turn unto Him; and who will again gather them together, and raise them in the place of their inheritance to the glory which had been promised.

Such is the significance of the theophany at the inauguration of Ezekiel to the prophetic office. The significance, however, which its repetition possesses is clearly contained in the facts which the prophet was herewith permitted by God to behold. From the temple and city, polluted by sinful abominations, the gracious presence of God departs, in order that temple and city may be given over to the judgment of destruction; into the new and glorious temple there enters again the glory of God, to dwell for ever among the children of Israel.

Chap. ii. 1—iii. 3. CALL OF EZEKIEL TO THE PROPHETIC OFFICE.—Vers. 1 and 2. Upon the manifestation of the Lord follows the word of vocation. Having, in the feeling of his

weakness and sinfulness, fallen to the ground before the terrible revelation of Jehovah's glory, Ezekiel is first of all raised up again by the voice of God, to hear the word which calls him to the prophetic function.—Ver. 1. *And He said to me, Son of man, stand upon thy feet, I will speak with thee.* Ver. 2. *Then came spirit unto me as He spake unto me, and it placed me on my feet, and I heard Him speaking unto me.*—The address **בֶּן־אָדָם** occurs so frequently in Ezekiel, that it must be regarded as one of the peculiarities of his prophecies. Elsewhere it occurs only once, Dan. viii. 17. That it is significant, is generally recognised, although its meaning is variously given. Most expositors take it as a reminder of the weakness and frailness of human nature; Coccejus and Kliefoth, on the contrary, connect it with the circumstance that God appears to Ezekiel in human form, and find in it a *τεκμήριον amicitiae*, that God speaks in him as man to man, converses with him as a man with his friend. This last interpretation, however, has against it the *usus loquendi*. As **בֶּן־אָדָם** denotes man according to his natural condition, it is used throughout as a synonym with **אִנּוּשׁ**, denoting the weakness and fragility of man in opposition to God; cf. Ps. viii. 5; Job xxv. 6; Isa. li. 12, lvi. 2; and Num. xxiii. 19. This is the meaning also of **בֶּן־אָדָם** in the address, as may be distinctly seen from the various addresses in Daniel. Daniel is addressed, where comfort is to be imparted to him, as **אִישׁ הַמְּדוּת**, “man greatly beloved,” Dan. x. 11, 19, cf. ix. 23; but, on the contrary, in ch. viii. 17, where he has fallen on his face in terror before the appearance of Gabriel, with the words, “Understand, O son of man,” in order to remind him of his human weakness. This is also the case in our verse, where Ezekiel, too, had fallen upon his face, and by God's word spoken to him, is again raised to his feet. It is only in Ezekiel that this address is constantly employed to mark the distance between the human weakness of his nature and the divine power which gives him the capacity and the impulse to speak. Not, however, with the design, mentioned by Jerome on Dan. viii. 17, “that he

may not be elated on account of his high calling," because, as Hävernicks subjoins, Ezekiel's extremely powerful and forcible nature may have needed to be perpetually reminded of what it is in reality before God. If this were the meaning and object of this address, it would also probably occur in the writings of several of the other prophets, as the supposition that the nature of Ezekiel was more powerful and forcible than that of the other prophets is altogether without foundation. The constant use of this form of address in Ezekiel is connected rather with the manner and fashion in which most of the revelations were imparted to him, that is, with the prevalence of "vision," in which the distinction between God and man comes out more prominently than in ordinary inspiration or revelation, effected by means of an impression upon the inner faculties of man. The bringing prominently forward, however, of the distance between God and men is to remind the prophet, as well as the people to whom he communicated his revelations, not merely of the weakness of humanity, but to show them, at the same time, how powerfully the word of God operates in feeble man, and also that God, who has selected the prophet as the organ of His will, possesses also the power to redeem the people, that were lying powerless under the oppression of the heathen, from their misery, and to raise them up again.—At the word of the Lord, "*Stand upon thy feet*," came רַיָּח into the prophet, which raised him to his feet. רַיָּח here is not "life, consciousness" (Hitzig), but the spirit-power which proceeds from God, and which is conveyed through the word which imparted to him the strength to stand before the face of God, and to undertake His command. מְדַבֵּר, *partic. Hithpa.*, properly "*collocutor*," occurs here and in ch. xliii. 6, and in Num. vii. 89; elsewhere, only in 2 Sam. xiv. 13.

Vers. 3-7. The calling of the prophet begins with the Lord describing to Ezekiel the people to whom He is sending him, in order to make him acquainted with the difficulties of his vocation, and to encourage him for the discharge of the same.

Ver. 3. *And He said to me, Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to the rebels who have rebelled against me: they and their fathers have fallen away from me, even until this very day.* Ver. 4. *And the children are of hard face, and hardened heart. To them I send thee; and to them shalt thou speak: Thus says the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 5. *And they,—they may hear thee or fail (to do so); for they are a stiff-necked race,—they shall experience that a prophet has been in their midst.* Ver. 6. *But thou, son of man, fear not before them, and be not afraid of their words, if thistles and thorns are round about thee, and thou sittest upon scorpions; fear not before their words, and tremble not before their faces; for they are a stiff-necked race.* Ver. 7. *And speak my words to them, whether they may hear or fail (to do so); for they are stiff-necked.*

The children of Israel have become heathen, no longer a people of God, not even a heathen nation (בְּנֵי, Isa. i. 4), but חֲמוּרֵי־פָנִים, "heathens," that is, as being rebels against God. חֲמוּרֵי־פָנִים (with the article) is not to be joined as an adjective to בְּנֵי, which is without the article, but is employed substantively in the form of an apposition. They have rebelled against God in this, that they, like their fathers, have separated themselves from Jehovah down to this day (as regards פָּשַׁע בְּ, see on Isa. i. 2; and עֲצָצִים הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, as in the Pentateuch; cf. Lev. xxiii. 14; Gen. vii. 13, xvii. 23, etc.). Like their fathers, the sons are rebellious, and, in addition, they are קָשִׁי פָנִים, of hard countenance = הָקִי מַצָּח, "of hard brow" (iii. 7), *i.e.* impudent, without hiding the face, or lowering the look for shame. This shamelessness springs from hardness of heart. To these hardened sinners Ezekiel is to announce the word of the Lord. Whether they hear it or not (שָׁמְעוּ—יָשְׁמְעוּ, *sive—sive*, as in Josh. xxiv. 15; Eccles. xi. 3, xii. 14), they shall in any case experience that a prophet has been amongst them. That they will neglect to hear is very probable, because they are a stiff-necked race (בֵּית, "house" = family). The *Vau* before יִרְעֵי (ver. 5) introduces the *apodosis*. הָיָה is perfect, not present. This is

demanded by the *usus loquendi* and the connection of the thought. The meaning is not: they shall know from his testimony that a prophet is there; but they shall experience from the result, viz. when the word announced by him will have been fulfilled, that a prophet has been amongst them. Ezekiel, therefore, is not to be prevented by fear of them and their words from delivering a testimony against their sins. The ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, סְרָבִים and סְלִזְיִים, are not, with the older expositors, to be explained adjectively: “*rebelles et renuentes*,” but are substantives. As regards סְלִזְ, the signification “thorn” is placed beyond doubt by סְלִז in xxviii. 24, and סְרָב in Aramaic does indeed denote “*refractarius*,” but this signification is a derived one, and inappropriate here. סְרָב is related to צָרַב, “to burn, to singe,” and means “*urtica*,” “stinging-nettle, thistle,” as Donasch in *Raschi* has already explained it. אִתְּךָ is, according to the later usage, for אִתְּךָ, expressing the “by and with of association,” and occurs frequently in Ezekiel. Thistles and thorns are emblems of dangerous, hostile men. The thought is strengthened by the words “to sit on (עָלָה for אָל) scorpions,” as these animals inflict a painful and dangerous wound. For the similitude of dangerous men to scorpions, cf. Sir. xxvi. 10, and other proof passages in Bochart, *Hierozyic*. III. p. 551 sq., ed. Rosenmüll.

Ver. 8 *ad fin.* and ch. iii. 3.—After the Lord had pointed out to the prophet the difficulties of the call laid upon him, He prepares him for the performance of his office, by inspiring him with the divine word which he is to announce.—Ver. 8. *And thou, son of man, hear what I say to thee, Be not stiff-necked like the stiff-necked race; open thy mouth, and eat what I give unto thee.* Ver. 9. *Then I saw, and, lo, a hand outstretched towards me; and, lo, in the same a roll of a book.* Ver. 10. *And He spread it out before me; the same was written upon the front and back: and there were written upon it lamentations, and sighing, and woe.* Ch. iii. 1. *And He said to me: Son of man, what thou findest eat; eat the roll, and go and speak to the*

house of Israel. Ver. 2. *Then opened I my mouth, and He gave me this roll to eat.* Ver. 3. *And said to me: Son of man, feed thy belly, and fill thy body with this roll which I give thee. And I ate it, and it was in my mouth as honey and sweetness.*—The prophet is to announce to the people of Israel only that which the Lord inspires him to announce. This thought is embodied in symbol, in such a way that an outstretched hand reaches to him a book, which he is to swallow, and which also, at God's command, he does swallow; cf. Apoc. x. 9 sqq. This roll was inscribed on both sides with lamentations, sighing, and woe (וְיָ is either abbreviated from וְיָהּ, not = וְיָ, or as Ewald, § 101c, thinks, is only a more distinct form of וְהוּ or הוּ). The meaning is not, that upon the roll was inscribed a multitude of mournful expressions of every kind, but that there was written upon it all that the prophet was to announce, and what we now read in his book. These contents were of a mournful nature, for they related to the destruction of the kingdom, the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple. That Ezekiel may look over the contents, the roll is spread out before his eyes, and then handed to him to be eaten, with the words, "Go and speak to the children of Israel," *i.e.* announce to the children of Israel what you have received into yourself, or as it is termed in ver. 5, וְדִבַּרְתִּי, "my words." The words in iii. 3a were spoken by God while handing to the prophet the roll to be eaten. He is not merely to eat, *i.e.* take it into his mouth, but he is to fill his body and belly therewith, *i.e.* he is to receive into his innermost being the word of God presented to him, to change it, as it were, into sap and blood. Whilst eating it, it was sweet in his mouth. The sweet taste must not, with Kliefoth, be explained away into a sweet "after-taste," and made to bear this reference, that the destruction of Jerusalem would be followed by a more glorious restoration. The roll, inscribed with lamentation, sorrow, and woe, tasted to him sweetly, because its contents was God's word, which sufficed for the joy and gladness of his heart (Jer. xv. 16); for it is "infinitely sweet and lovely to

be the organ and spokesman of the Omnipotent," and even the most painful of divine truths possess to a spiritually-minded man a joyful and quickening side (Hengstenberg on the Apoc. x. 9). To this it is added, that the divine penal judgments reveal not only the holiness and righteousness of God, but also prepare the way for the revelation of salvation, and minister to the saving of the soul.

Chap. iii. 4-21. THE SENDING OF THE PROPHET.—This consists in God's promise to give him power to overcome the difficulties of his vocation (vers. 4-9); in next transporting him to the place where he is to labour (vers. 10-15); and lastly, in laying upon him the responsibility of the souls entrusted to his charge (vers. 16-21). After Ezekiel had testified, by eating the roll which had been given him, his willingness to announce the word of the Lord, the Lord acquaints him with the peculiar difficulties of his vocation, and promises to bestow upon him strength to overcome them.—Ver. 4. *And He said to me, Son of man, go away to the house of Israel, and speak with my words to them.* Ver. 5. *For not to a people of hollow lips and heavy tongue art thou sent, (but) to the house of Israel.* Ver. 6. *Not to many nations of hollow lips and heavy tongue, whose words thou dost not understand; but to them have I sent thee, they can understand thee.* Ver. 7. *But the house of Israel will not hear thee, because they will not hear me; for the whole house of Israel, of hard brow and hardened heart are they.* Ver. 8. *Lo, I make thy countenance hard like their countenances, and thy brow hard like their brow.* Ver. 9. *Like to adamant, harder than rock, do I make thy brow: fear not, and tremble not before them, for they are a stiff-necked race.*—The contents of this section present a great similarity to those in ch. ii. 3-7, inasmuch as here as well as there the obduracy and stiff-neckedness of Israel is stated as a hindrance which opposes the success of Ezekiel's work. This is done here, however, in a different relation than there, so that there is no tautology.

Here, where the Lord is sending the prophet, He first brings prominently forward what lightens the performance of his mission; and next, the obduracy of Israel, which surrounds it with difficulty for him, in order at the same time to promise him strength for the vanquishing of these difficulties. Ezekiel is to speak, in the words communicated to him by God, to the house (people) of Israel. This he can do, because Israel is not a foreign nation with an unintelligible language, but possesses the capacity of understanding the words of the prophet (vers. 5-7), עַמִּי שִׁפְהָ, “a people of deep lips,” i.e. of a style of speech hollow, and hard to be understood; cf. Isa. xxxiii. 19. עַמִּי is not genitive, and עַם is not the *status constructus*, but an adjective belonging to עַם, and used in the plural, because עַם contains a collective conception. “And of heavy tongue,” i.e. with a language the understanding of which is attended with great difficulty. Both epithets denote a barbarously sounding, unintelligible, foreign tongue. The unintelligibility of a language, however, does not alone consist in unacquaintance with the meaning of its words and sounds, but also in the peculiarities of each nation’s style of thought, of which language is only the expression in sounds. In this respect we may, with Coccejus and Kliefoth, refer the prophet’s inability to understand the language of the heathen to this, that their manner of thinking and speaking was not formed according to the word of God, but was developed out of purely earthly, and even God-resisting factors. Only the exclusive prominence given by Kliefoth to this side of the subject is incorrect, because irreconcilable with the words, “many nations, whose words (discourse) thou dost not understand” (ver. 6). These words show that the unintelligibility of the language lies in not understanding the sounds of its words. Before אֶל־בֵּית יְיָ, in ver. 5, the adversative particle *sed* is omitted (cf. Ewald, § 354a); the omission here is perhaps caused by this, that אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים, in consequence of its position between both sentences, can be referred to both. In ver. 6 the thought of ver. 5 is expanded

by the addition of עַמִּים רַבִּים, “many nations” with different languages, in order to show that it is not in the ability, but in the willingness, to hear the word of the Lord that the Israelites are wanting. It is not to many nations with unintelligible languages that God is sending the prophet, but to such men as are able to hear him, *i.e.* can understand his language. The second hemistich of ver. 6 is rendered by the old translators as if they had not read אַל after אִם, “if I sent thee to them (the heathen), they would hear thee.” Modern expositors have endeavoured to extract this meaning, either by taking אַל אִם as a particle of adjuration, *profecto*, “verily” (Rosenmüller, Hävernick, and others), or reading אַל אִם, as Ewald does, after Gen. xxiii. 13. But the one is as untenable as the other: against אַל אִם stands the fact that אַל is written with א, not with אֵ; against the view that it is a particle of adjuration, stands partly the position of the words before אִלֵּיהֶם שָׁלֵחַ, which, according to the sense, must belong to הִנֵּה יֵשֵׁב, partly the impossibility of taking שָׁלֵחַ conditionally after the preceding אַל אִם. “If such were the case, Ezekiel would have really done all he could to conceal his meaning” (Hitzig), for אַל אִם, after a negative sentence preceding, signifies “but;” cf. Gen. xxiv. 38. Consequently neither the one view nor the other yields an appropriate sense. “If I had sent thee to the heathen,” involves a repenting of the act, which is not befitting in God. Against the meaning “*profecto*” is the consideration that the idea, “Had I sent thee to the heathen, verily they would hear thee,” is in contradiction with the designation of the heathen as those whose language the prophet does not understand. If the heathen spoke a language unintelligible to the prophet, they consequently did not understand his speech, and could not therefore comprehend his preaching. It only remains, then, to apply the sentence simply to the Israelites, “not to heathen nations, but to the Israelites have I sent thee,” and to take שָׁמַע as potential, “they are able to hear thee,” “they can understand thy words.” This in ver. 7 is closed by the *antithesis*,

"But the house of Israel will not hear thee, because they will not hear me (Jehovah), as they are morally hardened." With 7b, cf. ii. 4. The Lord, however, will provide His prophet with power to resist this obduracy; will lend him unbending courage and unshaken firmness, ver. 8; cf. Jer. xv. 20. He will make his brow hard as adamant (cf. Zech. vii. 12), which is harder than rock; therefore he shall not fear before the obduracy of Israel. צַר, as in Ex. iv. 25, = צָרָה. As parallel passages in regard of the subject-matter, cf. Isa. l. 7 and Jer. i. 18.

Vers. 10-15. Prepared then for his vocation, Ezekiel is now transported to the sphere of his activity.—Ver. 10. *And He said to me, Son of man, all my words which I shall speak to thee, take into thy heart, and hear with thine ears.* Ver. 11. *And go to the exiles, to the children of thy people, and speak to them, and say to them, "Thus saith the Lord Jehovah," whether they may hear thee or fail (to hear thee).* Ver. 12. *And a wind raised me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great tumult, "Praised be the glory of Jehovah," from their place hitherward.* Ver. 13. *And the noise of the wings of the creatures touching each other, and the noise of the wheels beside them, the noise of a great tumult.* Ver. 14. *And a wind raised me up, and took me, and I went thither embittered in the warmth of my spirit; and the hand of Jehovah was strong upon me.* Ver. 15. *And I came to Tel-Abib to the exiles, who dwelled by the river Chebar, and where they sat there sat I down seven days, motionless and dumb, in their midst.*—The apparent *hysteron proteron*, "take into thy heart, and hear with thine ears" (ver. 10), disappears so soon as it is observed that the clause "hear with thine ears" is connected with the following "go to the exiles," etc. The meaning is not, "*postquam auribus tuis percepisses mea mandata, ea ne oblivioni tradas, sed corde suscipe et animo infige*" (Rosenmüller), but this, "All my words which I shall speak to thee lay to heart, that thou mayest obey them. When thou hast heard my words with thine ears, then go to the exiles and announce them to them." With ver. 11 cf. ii. 4, 5. Observe that

it is still בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ, “the children of thy” (not “my”) “people.” Stiff-necked Israel is no longer Jehovah’s people. The command “to go to the people” is, in ver. 12 sqq., immediately executed by the prophet, the wind raising him up and transporting him to Tel-Abib, among the exiles. רוּחַ, phenomenally considered, is a wind of which God makes use to conduct the prophet to the scene of his labour; but the wind is only the sensible substratum of the spirit which transports him thither. The representation is, that “he was borne thither through the air by the wind” (Kliefoth); but not as Jerome and Kliefoth suppose, *in ipso corpore*, i.e. so that an actual bodily removal through the air took place, but the raising up and taking away by the wind was effected in spirit in the condition of ecstasy. Not a syllable indicates that the theophany was at an end before this removal; the contrary rather is clearly indicated by the remark that Ezekiel heard behind him the noise of the wings of the cherubim and of the wheels. And that the words רוּחַ עֲזָרָתִי do not necessitate us to suppose a bodily removal is shown by the comparison with viii. 3, xi. 1, 24, where Kliefoth also understands the same words in a spiritual sense of a merely internal—i.e. experienced in a state of ecstasy—removal of the prophet to Jerusalem and back again to Chaldea. The great noise which Ezekiel hears behind him proceeds, at least in part, from the appearance of the כְּבוֹד יְהוָה being set in motion, but (according to ver. 13) not in order to remove itself from the raptured prophet, but by changing its present position, to attend the prophet to the sphere of his labour. It tells decidedly in favour of this supposition, that the prophet, according to ver. 23, again sees around him the same theophany in the valley where he begins his work. This reappearance, indeed; presupposes that it had previously disappeared from his sight, but the disappearance is to be supposed as taking place only after his call has been completed, i.e. after ver. 21. While being removed in a condition of ecstasy, Ezekiel heard the rushing sound, “Praised be the glory of Jehovah.” מְקוֹמוֹ

belongs not to *בְּרוּךְ וְגו'*, which would yield no appropriate sense, but to *אֲשַׁמַּע*, where it makes no difference of importance in the meaning whether the suffix is referred to *יְהוָה* or to *כְּבוֹד*. Ezekiel heard the voice of the praise of God's glory issuing forth from the place where Jehovah or His glory were to be found, *i.e.* where they had appeared to the prophet, not at all from the temple. Who sounded this song of praise is not mentioned. Close by Ezekiel heard the sound, the rustling of the wings of the cherubim setting themselves in motion, and how the wings came into contact with the tips of each other, touched each other (*מִשְׁקִיּוֹת*, from *נָשַׁק*, "to join," "to touch one another"). Ver. 14 describes the prophet's mood of mind as he is carried away. Raised by the wind, and carried on, he went, *i.e.* drove thither, *מֵר בְּחַמַּת רוּחַ*, "bitter in the heat of his spirit." Although *מֵר* is used as well of grief and mourning as of wrath and displeasure, yet mourning and sorrow are not appropriate to *חֶמָּה*, "warmth of spirit," "anger." The supposition, however, that sorrow as well as anger were in him, or that he was melancholy while displeased (*Kliefoth*), is incompatible with the fundamental idea of *מֵר* as "sharp," "bitter." Ezekiel feels himself deeply roused, even to the bitterness of anger, partly by the obduracy of Israel, partly by the commission to announce to this obdurate people, without any prospect of success, the word of the Lord. To so heavy a task he feels himself unequal, therefore his natural man rebels against the Spirit of God, which, seizing him with a strong and powerful grasp, tears him away to the place of his work; and he would seek to withdraw himself from the divine call, as Moses and Jonah once did. The hand of the Lord, however, was strong upon him, *i.e.* "held him up in this inner struggle with unyielding power" (*Kliefoth*); cf. Isa. viii. 11. *חֲזָק*, "firm," "strong," differs from *כָּבֵד*, "heavy," Ps. xxxii. 4. *הַלְ אָזְבִי*, *i.e.* "the hill of ears," is the name of the place where resided a colony of the exiles. The place was situated on the river Chebar (see on ch. i. 3), and derived its name, no doubt, from the fertility of the

valley, rich in grain (חֶבְלֵי עֵדֶן, ver. 23), by which it was surrounded; nothing further, however, is known of it; cf. Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 1505. The *Chetib* חֶטִיב, at which the Masoretes and many expositors have unnecessarily taken offence, is to be read חֶטִיב, and to be joined with the following חֶטִיב, "where they sat" (so rightly the Chaldee, Syriac, and Vulgate). That this signification would be expressed differently, as Hitzig thinks, cannot be established by means of Job xxxix. 30. The *Keri* חֶטִיב is not only unnecessary, but also inappropriate, which holds true also of other conjectures of modern expositors. Ezekiel sat there seven days, חֶטִיב, i.e. neither "deprived of sensation," nor "being silent," but as the *partic. Hiphil* from חֶטִיב, as חֶטִיב in Ezra ix. 3, 4, "rigidly without moving," therefore "motionless and dumb." The seven days are not regarded as a period of mourning, in support of which Job ii. 13 is referred to; but as both the purification and the dedication and preparation for a holy service is measured by the number seven, as being the number of God's works (cf. Ex. xxix. 29 sqq.; Lev. viii. 33 sqq.; 2 Chron. xxix. 17), so Ezekiel sits for a week "motionless and dumb," to master the impression which the word of God, conveyed to him in ecstatic vision, had made upon his mind, and to prepare and sanctify himself for his vocation (Kliefoth).

Vers. 16–21. When these seven days are completed, there comes to him the final word, which appoints him watchman over Israel, and places before him the task and responsibility of his vocation.—Ver. 16. *And it came to pass after the lapse of seven days, that the word of Jehovah came to me as follows:* Ver. 17. *Son of man, I have set thee to be a watchman over the house of Israel; thou shalt hear the word from my mouth, and thou shalt warn them from me* Ver. 18. *If I say to the sinner, Thou shalt surely die, and thou warnest him not, and speakest not to warn the sinner from his evil way that he may live, then shall he, the sinner, die because of his evil deeds, but his blood will I require at thy hand.* Ver. 19. *But if thou warnest the sinner,*

and he turn not from his wickedness and his evil way, then shall he die because of his evil deeds, but thou hast saved thy soul. Ver. 20. And if a righteous man turn from his righteousness, and do unrighteousness, and I lay a stumblingblock before him, then shall he die; if thou hast not warned him, he shall die because of his sin, and his righteousness which he has done shall not be remembered, but his blood will I require at thy hand. Ver. 21. But if thou warnest him—the righteous man—so that the righteous man sin not, and he do not sin, then will he live, because he has been warned, and thou hast saved thy soul.—As a prophet for Israel, Ezekiel is like one standing upon a watch-tower (Hab. ii. 1), to watch over the condition of the people, and warn them of the dangers that threaten them (Jer. vi. 17; Isa. lvi. 10). As such, he is responsible for the souls entrusted to his charge. From the mouth of Jehovah, *i.e.* according to God's word, he is to admonish the wicked to turn from their evil ways, that they die not in their sins. מִמֶּנִּי, "from me," *i.e.* in my name, and with my commission. "If I say to the sinner," *i.e.* if I commission thee to say to him (Kimchi). As מוֹת תָּמוּת reminds us of Gen. ii. 17, so is the threatening, "his blood will I require at thy hand," an allusion to Gen. ix. 5. If the prophet does not warn the wicked man, as God has commanded him, he renders himself guilty of a deadly sin, for which God will take vengeance on him as on the murderer for the shedding of blood. An awfully solemn statement for all ministers of the word. הִרְשָׁעָה, in vers. 18 and 19, at which the LXX. have stumbled, so that they have twice omitted it, is not a substantive, and to be changed, with Hitzig, into רִשְׁעָה, but is an adjective, *foemin. gen.*, and belongs to הִרְבּוּ, which is construed as feminine. The righteous man who backslides is, before God, regarded as equal with the sinner who persists in his sin, if the former, notwithstanding the warning, perseveres in his backsliding (ver. 20 sqq.). שׁוּב מִצִּדְקוֹ, "to turn oneself from his righteousness," denotes the formal falling away from the path of righteousness, not mere "stumbling or

sinning from weakness." עָשָׂה עָוֹל, "to do unrighteousness," "to act perversely," is "*se prorsus dedere impietati*" (Calvin). וְנָתַתִּי מִכְשׁוֹל belongs still to the *protasis*, הוּא יָמוּת forming the *apodosis*, not a relative sentence, — as Ewald and Hitzig suppose, — "so that he, or, in consequence of which, he die." מִכְשׁוֹל, "object of offence," by which any one comes to fall, is not destruction, considered as punishment deserved (Calvin, Hävernicks), but everything that God puts in the way of the sinner, in order that the sin, which is germinating in his soul, may come forth to the light, and ripen to maturity. God, indeed, neither causes sin, nor desires the death of the sinner; and in this sense He does not tempt to evil (Jas. i. 13), but He guides and places the sinner in relations in life in which he must come to a decision for or against what is good and divine, and either suppress the sinful lusts of his heart, or burst the barriers which are opposed to their satisfaction. If he does not do the former, but the latter, evil gains within him more and more strength, so that he becomes the servant of sin, and finally reaches a point where conversion is impossible. In this consists the מִכְשׁוֹל, which God places before him, who turns away from righteousness to unrighteousness or evil, but not in this, that God lets man run on in order that he may die or perish. For יָמוּת does not stand for נָמַת, and there is therefore no ground for a change of punctuation to carry forward *Athnach* to הוּא יָמוּת (Hitzig). For the subject spoken of is not that the backsliding righteous man "in general only dies if he is not warned" (Hitzig), — that meaning is not in ver. 21, "that he, in contrast to the רָשָׁע, gives sure obedience to the warning," — but only the possibility is supposed that a צַדִּיק, who has transgressed upon the way of evil, will yield obedience to the warning, but not that he will of a certainty do this. As with the רָשָׁע in ver. 19, only the case of his resisting the warning is expressly mentioned; while the opposite case — that he may, in consequence of the warning, be converted — is not excluded; so in ver. 21, with the צַדִּיק, who has entered upon the path of

unrighteousness, only the case of conversion in consequence of the warning is expressly mentioned, without the possibility of his hardening himself against the prophet's word being thereby excluded. For the instruction of the prophet it was sufficient to bring forward the two cases mentioned, as it appears from them that in the one case as well as in the other he has done his duty, and saved his soul.

CHAP. III. 22-V. 17. THE DESTINY OF JERUSALEM AND ITS INHABITANTS.

Vers. 22-27 in ch. iii. no longer belong to the prophet's inauguration and introduction into office, nor do they form the conclusion of his call, but the introduction to his first prophetic act and prediction, as has been rightly recognised by Ewald and Kliefoth. This appears already from the introductory formula, "The hand of Jehovah came upon me" (ver. 22), and, more distinctly still, from the glory of Jehovah appearing anew to the prophet (when, in obedience to a divine impulse, he had gone down into the valley), in the form in which he had seen it by the river Chebar, and giving him a commission to announce by word and symbol the siege of Jerusalem, and the fate of its inhabitants. For, that the divine commission did not consist merely in the general directions, ch. iii. 25-27, but is first given in its principal parts in ch. iv. and v., is indisputably evident from the repetition of the words וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה בְּיָמַי in ch. iii. 25, iv. 1, and v. 1. With וַיֹּאמֶר neither can the first nor, in general, a new prophecy begin. This has been recognised by Hitzig himself in ch. iv. 1, where he remarks that the first of the three oracles which follow down to viii. 1, and which he makes begin with iv. 1, "attaches itself to ch. iii. 25-27 as a continuation of the same." But what holds true of iv. 1 must hold true also of iii. 25, viz. that no new oracle can begin with this verse, but that it is connected with iii. 22-24. The commencement, then, we have to seek in the formula, "and

the hand of Jehovah came upon me" (iii. 22), with which also viii. 1 (where only וַיָּהֲבֵל stands instead of וַיָּהֲרִי) and xl. 1—new oracles—are introduced. No doubt these passages are preceded by chronological notices, while in iii. 22 every note of time is wanting. But nothing further can be inferred from this, than that the divine word contained in iii. 25–v. 17 was imparted to the prophet immediately after his consecration and call, so that it still falls under the date of ch. i. 2; which may also be discovered from this, that the וְעַתָּה in ver. 22 points to the locality named in ver. 15.

Immediately after his call, then, and still in the same place where the last word of calling (iii. 16–21) was addressed to him, namely, at Tel-Abib, in the midst of the exiles, Ezekiel received the first divine revelation which, as prophet, he was to announce to the people. This revelation is introduced by the words in ch. iii. 22–24; and divided into three sections by the thrice-occurring, similar address, "And thou, son of man" (iii. 25, iv. 1, v. 1). In the first section, ch. iii. 25–27, God gives him general injunctions as to his conduct while carrying out the divine commission; in the second, ch. iv., He commands him to represent symbolically the siege of Jerusalem with its miseries; and in the third, ch. v., the destiny of the inhabitants after the capture of the city.

Chap. iii. 22–27. Introduction to the first prophetic announcement.—Ver. 22. *And there came upon me there the hand of Jehovah, and He said to me, Up! go into the valley, there will I speak to thee.* Ver. 23. *And I arose, and went into the valley: and, lo, there stood the glory of Jehovah, like the glory which I had seen at the river Chebar: and I fell upon my face.* Ver. 24. *And spirit came into me, and placed me on my feet, and He spake with me, and said to me, Go, and shut thyself in thy house.*—וַיָּהֲבֵל is, without doubt, the valley situated near Tel-Abib. Ezekiel is to go out from the midst of the exiles—where, according to ver. 15, he had found himself—into the valley, because God will reveal Himself to him only in solitude.

When he had complied with this command, there appears to him there the glory of Jehovah, in the same form in which it had appeared to him at the Chaboras (i. 4-28); before it he falls, a second time, on his face; but is also, as on the first occasion, again raised to his feet, cf. i. 28-ii. 2. Hereupon the Lord commands him to shut himself up in his house,—which doubtless he inhabited in Tel-Abib,—not probably “as a sign of his future destiny,” as a realistic explanation of the words, “Thou canst not walk in their midst (ver. 25); they will prevent thee by force from freely exercising thy vocation in the midst of the people.” For in that case the “shutting of himself up in the house” would be an arbitrary identification with the “binding with fetters” (ver. 25); and besides, the significance of the address **וְאַתָּה בֵּן אָדָם**, and its repetition in iv. 1 and v. 1, would be misconceived. For as in iv. 1 and v. 1 there are introduced with this address the principal parts of the duty which Ezekiel was to perform, so the proper divine instruction may also first begin with the same in iii. 25; consequently the command “to shut himself up in his house” can only have the significance of a preliminary divine injunction, without possessing any significance in itself; but only “serve as a means for carrying out what the prophet is commissioned to do in the following chapters” (Kliefoth), *i.e.* can only mean that he is to perform in his own house what is commanded him in ch. iv. and v., or that he is not to leave his house during their performance. More can hardly be sought in this injunction, nor can it at all be taken to mean that, having shut himself up from others in his house, he is to allow no one to approach him; but only that he is not to leave his dwelling. For, according to iv. 3, the symbolical representation of the siege of Jerusalem is to be a sign for the house of Israel; and according to iv. 12, Ezekiel is, during this symbolical action, to bake his bread before their eyes. From this it is seen that his contemporaries might come to him and observe his proceedings.

Vers. 25-27. The general divine instructions.—Ver. 25. *And thou, son of man, lo, they will lay cords upon thee, and bind thee therewith, so that thou canst not go out into their midst.* Ver. 26. *And I shall make thy tongue cleave to thy palate, that thou mayest be dumb, and mayest not serve them as a reprover: for they are a stiff-necked generation.* Ver. 27. *But when I speak to thee, I will open thy mouth, that thou mayest say to them, Thus sayeth the Lord Jehovah, Let him who wishes to hear, hear, and let him who neglects, neglect (to hear): for they are a stiff-necked generation.*—The meaning of this general injunction depends upon the determination of the subject in נִתְּנָהּ, ver. 25. Most expositors think of the prophet's countrymen, who are to bind him with cords so that he shall not be able to leave his house. The words לֹא תִצָּא בְּתוֹכָם appear to support this, as the suffix in בְּתוֹכָם indisputably refers to his countrymen. But this circumstance is by no means decisive; while against this view is the twofold difficulty,—firstly, that a binding of the prophet with cords by his countrymen is scarcely reconcilable with what he performs in ch. iv. and v.; secondly, of hostile attacks by the exiles upon the prophet there is not a trace to be discovered in the entire remainder of the book. The house of Israel is indeed repeatedly described as a stiff-necked race, as hardened and obdurate towards God's word; but any embitterment of feeling against the prophet, which should have risen so far as to bind him, or even to make direct attempts to prevent him from exercising his prophetic calling, can, after what is related in xxxiii. 30-33 regarding the position of the people towards him, hardly be imagined. Further, the binding and fettering of the prophet is to be regarded as of the same kind with the cleaving of his tongue to his jaws, so that he should be silent and not speak (ver. 26). It is God, however, who suspends this dumbness over him; and according to iv. 8, it is also God who binds him with cords, so that he cannot stir from one side to the other. The demonstrative power of the latter passage is not to be weakened by the objection that it is a

passage of an altogether different kind, and the connection altogether different (Hävernicks). For the complete difference between the two passages would first have to be proved. The object, indeed, of the binding of the prophet in iv. 8 is different from that in our verse. Here it is to render it impossible for the prophet to go out of the house; in iv. 8, it is to prevent him from moving from one side to the other. But the one object does not exclude the other; both statements coincide, rather, in the general thought that the prophet must adapt himself entirely to the divine will,—not only not leave the house, but lie also for 390 days upon one side without turning.—We might rather, with Kliefoth, understand iv. 8 to mean that God accomplished the binding of the prophet by human instruments—viz. that He caused him to be bound by foreigners (iii. 25). But this supposition also would only be justified, if either the sense of the words in iii. 25, or other good reasons, pronounced in favour of the view that it was the exiles who had bound the prophet. But as this is not the case, so we are not at liberty to explain the definite נִתְּחַי, “I lay on” (iv. 8), according to the indefinite נִתְּחַי, “they lay on,” or “one lays on” (iii. 25); but must, on the contrary, understand our verse in accordance with iv. 8, and (with Hitzig) think of heavenly powers as the subject to נִתְּחַי,—as in Job vii. 3; Dan. iv. 28; Luke xii. 20,—without, in so doing, completely identifying the declaration in our verse with that in iv. 8, as if in the latter passage only that was brought to completion which had been here (iii. 25) predicted. If, however, the binding of the prophet proceeds from invisible powers, the expression is not to be understood literally,—of a binding with material cords;—but God binds him by a spiritual power, so that he can neither leave his house nor go forth to his countrymen, nor, at a later time (iv. 8), change the position prescribed to him. This is done, however, not to prevent the exercise of his vocation, but, on the contrary, to make him fitted for the successful performance of the work commanded him. He is

not to quit his house, nor enter into fellowship and intercourse with his exiled countrymen, that he may show himself, by separation from them, to be a prophet and organ of the Lord. On the same grounds he is also (vers. 26, 27) to keep silence, and not even correct them with words, but only to speak when God opens his mouth for that purpose; to remain, moreover, unconcerned whether they listen to his words or not (cf. ii. 4, 7). He is to do both of these things, because his contemporaries are a stiff-necked race; cf. ver. 9 and ii. 5, 7. That he may not speak from any impulse of his own, God will cause his tongue to cleave to his jaws, so that he cannot speak; cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 6. "That the prophet is to refrain from all speech—even from the utterance of the words given him by God—will, on the one hand, make the divine words which he utters appear the more distinctly as such; while, on the other, be an evidence to his hearers of the silent sorrow with which he is filled by the contents of the divine word, and with which they also ought justly to be filled" (Kliefoth).

This state of silence, according to which he is only then to speak when God opened his mouth for the utterance of words which were to be given him, is, indeed, at first imposed upon the prophet—as follows from the relation of vers. 25–27 to ch. iv. and v.—only for the duration of the period ch. iii. 25 to v. 17, or rather vii. 27. But the divine injunction extends, as Kliefoth has rightly recognised, still further on—over the whole period up to the fulfilment of his prophecies of threatening by the destruction of Jerusalem. This appears especially from this, that in xxiv. 27 and xxxiii. 22 there is an undeniable reference to the silence imposed upon him in our verse, and with reference to which it is said, that when the messenger should bring back the news of the fall of Jerusalem, his mouth should be opened and he should be no longer dumb. The reference in xxiv. 27 and in xxxiii. 22 to the verse before us has been observed by most expositors; but several of them

would limit the silence of the prophet merely to the time which lies between ch. xxiv. and xxxiii. 21 sqq. This is quite arbitrary, as neither in ch. xxiv. nor in ch. xxxiii. is silence imposed upon him; but in both chapters it is only stated that he should no longer be dumb after the receipt of the intelligence that Jerusalem had been destroyed by the Chaldeans. The supposition of Schmieder, moreover, is untenable, that the injunction of ver. 25 refers to the turning-point in the prophet's office, which commenced on the day when the siege of Jerusalem actually began. For although this day forms a turning-point in the prophetic activity of Ezekiel, in so far as he on it announced to the people for the last time the destruction of Jerusalem, and then spake no more to Israel until the occurrence of this event, yet it is not said in xxiv. 27 that he was then to be dumb from that day onwards. The hypothesis then only remains, that what was imposed and enjoined on the prophet, in vers. 26 and 27, should remain in force for the whole period from the commencement of his prophetic activity to the receipt of the news of the fall of Jerusalem, by the arrival of a messenger on the banks of the Chaboras. Therewith is also connected the position of this injunction at the head of the first prophecy delivered to him (not at his call), if only the contents and importance of this oracle be understood and recognised, that it embraces not merely the siege of Jerusalem, but also the capture and destruction of the city, and the dispersion of the people among the heathen,—consequently contains *in nuce* all that Ezekiel had to announce to the people down to the occurrence of this calamity, and which, in all the divine words from ch. vi. to ch. xxiv., he had again and again, though only in different ways, actually announced. If all the discourses down to ch. xxiv. are only further expositions and attestations of the revelation of God in ch. iv. and v., then the behaviour which was enjoined on him at the time of this announcement was to be maintained during all following discourses of similar contents. Besides, for a correct apprecia-

tion of the divine precept in vers. 26 and 27, it is also to be noticed that the prophet is not to keep entire silence, except when God inspires him to speak; but that his keeping silence is explained to mean, that he is to be to his contemporaries no *אִישׁ מוֹכִיחַ*, "no reprover," and consequently will place their sins before them to no greater extent, and in no other way, than God expressly directs him. Understood in this way, the silence is in contradiction neither with the words of God communicated in ch. vi. to xxiv., nor with the predictions directed against foreign nations in ch. xxv.—xxxiii., several of which fall within the time of the siege of Jerusalem. Cf. with this the remark upon xxiv. 27 and xxxiii. 22.

Chap. iv. THE SIGN OF THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.—This sign, which Ezekiel is to perform in his own house before the eyes of the exiles who visit him, consists in three interconnected and mutually-supplementary symbolical acts, the first of which is described in vers. 1–3, the second in vers. 4–8, and the third in vers. 9–17. In the first place, he is symbolically to represent the impending siege of Jerusalem (vers. 1–3); in the second place, by lying upon one side, he is to announce the punishment of Israel's sin (vers. 4–8); in the third place, by the nature of his food, he is, while lying upon one side, to hold forth to view the terrible consequences of the siege to Israel. The close connection as to their subject-matter of these three actions appears clearly from this, that the prophet, according to ver. 7, while lying upon one side, is to direct his look and his arm upon the picture of the besieged city before him; and, according to ver. 8, is to lie upon his side as long as the siege lasts, and during that time is to nourish himself in the manner prescribed in ver. 9 sqq. In harmony with this is the formal division of the chapter, inasmuch as the three acts, which the prophet is to perform for the purpose of portraying the impending siege of Jerusalem, are co-ordinated to each other by the repetition of the address *וְאַתָּה* in vers. 3, 4, and 8,

and subordinated to the general injunction—to portray Jerusalem as a besieged city—introduced in ver. 1 with the words
וַאֲתָהּ בֵּן אָדָם.

Vers. 1-3. The first symbolical action.—Ver. 1. *And thou, son of man, take to thyself a brick, and lay it before thee, and draw thereon a city, Jerusalem:* Ver. 2. *And direct a siege against it; build against it siege-towers, raise up a mound against it, erect camps against it, and place battering-rams against it round about.* Ver. 3. *And thou, take to thyself an iron pan, and place it as an iron wall between thee and the city, and direct thy face towards it; thus let it be in a state of siege, and besiege it. Let it be a sign to the house of Israel.*

The directions in vers. 1 and 2 contain the general basis for the symbolical siege of Jerusalem, which the prophet is to lay before Israel as a sign. Upon a brick he is to sketch a city (קָטַף, to engrave with a writing instrument) which is to represent Jerusalem: around the city he is to erect siege-works—towers, walls, camps, and battering-rams; i.e. he is to inscribe the representation of them, and place before himself the picture of the besieged city. The selection of a brick, i.e. of a tile-stone, not burnt in a kiln, but merely dried in the sun, is not, as Hävernicks supposes, a reminiscence of Babylon and monumental inscriptions; in Palestine, also, such bricks were a common building material (Isa. ix. 9), in consequence of which the selection of such a soft mass of clay, on which a picture might be easily inscribed, was readily suggested. נָתַן מְצוֹר = שָׂם מְצוֹר, Mic. iv. 14, “to make a siege,” i.e. “to bring forward siege-works.” מְצוֹר is therefore the general expression which is specialized in the following clauses by הֵייל, “siege-towers” (see on 2 Kings xxv. 1); by מְלִלָה, “mound” (see on 2 Sam. xx. 15); by מַחֲנֹת, “camps” in the plural, because the hostile army raises several camps around the city; בָּרִים, “battering-rams,” “wall-breakers,” *arietes*; according to Joseph Kimchi, “iron rams,” to break in the walls (and gates, xxi. 27). They consisted of strong beams of hard wood, furnished at the end

with a ram's head made of iron, which were suspended by a chain, and driven forcibly against the wall by the soldiers. Compare the description of them by Josephus, *de bello Judairo* iii. 7. 19. The suffix in עֲלֵיהָ, in ver. 2, refers to עִיר. The siege-works which are named were not probably to be placed by Ezekiel as little figures around the brick, so that the latter would represent the city, but to be engraved upon the brick around the city thereon portrayed. The expressions, "to make a siege," "to build towers," "to erect a mound," etc., are selected because the drawing was to represent what is done when a city is besieged. In ver. 3, in reference to this, the inscribed picture of the city is at once termed "city," and in ver. 7 the picture of the besieged Jerusalem, "the siege of Jerusalem." The meaning of the picture is clear. Every one who saw it was to recognise that Jerusalem will be besieged. But the prophet is to do still more; he is to take in hand the siege itself, and to carry it out. To that end, he is to place an iron pan as an iron wall between himself and the city sketched on the brick, and direct his countenance stedfastly towards the city (הָעִיר), and so besiege it. The iron pan, erected as a wall, is to represent neither the wall of the city (Ewald) nor the enemies' rampart, for this was already depicted on the brick; while to represent it, *i.e.* the city wall, as "iron," *i.e.* immovably fast, would be contrary to the meaning of the prophecy. The iron wall represents, as Rosenmüller, after the hints of Theodoret, Cornelius a Lapide, and others, has already observed, a firm, impregnable wall of partition, which the prophet as messenger and representative of God is to raise between himself and the beleaguered city, *ut significaret, quasi ferreum murum interjectum esse cives inter et se*, *i.e.* *Deum Deique decretum et sententiam contra illos latam esse irrevocabilem, nec Deum civium preces et querimonias auditurum aut iis ad misericordiam flectendum.* Cf. Isa lix. 2; Lam. iii. 44. מַחֲבֶת, "pan," *i.e.* an iron plate for baking their loaves and slices of cakes; see on Lev. ii. 5. The selection of such an iron plate for the purpose

mentioned is not to be explained, as Kliefoth thinks, from the circumstance that the pan is primarily to serve the prophet for preparing his food while he is occupied in completing his sketch. The text says nothing of that. If he were to have employed the pan for such a purpose, he could not, at the same time, have placed it as a wall between himself and the city. The choice is to be explained simply from this, that such a plate was to be found in every household, and was quite fitted for the object intended. If any other symbolical element is contained in it, the hard ignoble metal might, perhaps, with Grotius, be taken to typify the hard, wicked heart of the inhabitants of Jerusalem; cf. xxii. 18; Jer. xv. 12. The symbolical siege of Jerusalem is to be a sign for the house of Israel, *i.e.* a pre-announcement of its impending destiny. The house of Israel is the whole covenant people, not merely the ten tribes as in ver. 5, in contradistinction to the house of Judah (ver. 6).

Vers. 4-8. The second symbolical act.—Ver. 4. *And do thou lay thyself upon thy left side, and lay upon it the evil deeds of the house of Israel; for the number of the days during which thou liest thereon shalt thou bear their evil deeds.* Ver. 5. *And I reckon to thee the years of their evil deeds as a number of days; three hundred and ninety days shalt thou bear the evil deeds of the house of Israel.* Ver. 6. *And (when) thou hast completed these, thou shalt then lay thyself a second time upon thy right side, and bear the evil deeds of the house of Judah forty days; each day I reckon to thee as a year.* Ver. 7. *And upon the siege of Jerusalem shalt thou steadfastly direct thy countenance, and thy naked arm, and shalt prophesy against it.* Ver. 8. *And, lo, I lay cords upon thee, that thou stir not from one side to the other until thou hast ended the days of thy siege.*—Whilst Ezekiel, as God's representative, carries out in a symbolical manner the siege of Jerusalem, he is in this situation to portray at the same time the destiny of the people of Israel beleaguered in their metropolis. Lying upon his left side for 390 days without

turning, he is to bear the guilt of Israel's sin; then, lying 40 days more upon his right side, he is to bear the guilt of Judah's sin. In so doing, the number of the *days* during which he reclines upon his sides shall be accounted as exactly equal to the same number of *years* of their sinning. נָשָׂא אֶת־עֲוֹנוֹתָם, "to bear the evil deeds," *i.e.* to take upon himself the consequence of sin, and to atone for them, to suffer the punishment of sin; cf. Num. xiv. 34, etc. Sin, which produces guilt and punishment, is regarded as a burden or weight, which Ezekiel is to lay upon the side upon which he reclines, and in this way bear it. This bearing, however, of the guilt of sin is not to be viewed as vicarious and mediatorial, as in the sacrifice of atonement, but is intended as purely epideictic and symbolical; that is to say, Ezekiel, by his lying so long bound under the burden of Israel and Judah which was laid upon his side, is to show to the people how they are to be cast down by the siege of Jerusalem, and how, while lying on the ground, without the possibility of turning or rising, they are to bear the punishment of their sins. The full understanding of this symbolical act, however, depends upon the explanation of the specified periods of time, with regard to which the various views exhibit great discrepancy.

In the first place, the separation of the guilt into that of the house of Israel and that of the house of Judah is closely connected with the division of the covenant people into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. That Ezekiel now is to bear the sin of Israel upon the left, that of Judah on the right side, is not fully explained by the circumstance that the kingdom of the ten tribes lay to the left, *i.e.* to the north, the kingdom of Judah to the right, *i.e.* to the south of Jerusalem, but must undoubtedly point at the same time to the pre-eminence of Judah over Israel; cf. Eccles. x. 2. This pre-eminence of Judah is manifestly exhibited in its period of punishment extending only to 40 days = 40 years; that of Israel, on the contrary, 390 days = 390 years. These numbers, however,

cannot be satisfactorily explained from a chronological point of view, whether they be referred to the time during which Israel and Judah sinned, and heaped upon themselves guilt which was to be punished, or to the time during which they were to atone, or suffer punishment for their sins. Of themselves, both references are possible; the first, viz. in so far as the days in which Ezekiel is to bear the guilt of Israel, might be proportioned to the number of the years of their guilt, as many Rabbins, Vatablus, Calvin, Lightfoot, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, and others suppose, while in so doing the years are calculated very differently; cf. des Vignoles, *Chronol.* I. p. 479 sqq., and Rosenmüller, *Scholia, Excurs.* to ch. iv. All these hypotheses, however, are shattered by the impossibility of pointing out the specified periods of time, so as to harmonize with the chronology. If the days, reckoned as years, correspond to the duration of their sinning, then, in the case of the house of Israel, only the duration of this kingdom could come into consideration, as the period of punishment began with the captivity of the ten tribes. But this kingdom lasted only 253 years. The remaining 137 years the Rabbins have attempted to supply from the period of the Judges; others, from the time of the destruction of the ten tribes down to that of Ezekiel, or even to that of the destruction of Jerusalem. Both are altogether arbitrary. Still less can the 40 years of Judah be calculated, as all the determinations of the beginning and the end are mere phantoms of the air. The fortieth year before our prophecy would nearly coincide with the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, and therefore with the year in which this pious king effected the reformation of religion. Ezekiel, however, could not represent this year as marking the commencement of Judah's sin. We must therefore, as the literal meaning of the words primarily indicates, regard the specified periods of time as periods of punishment for Israel and Judah. Since Ezekiel, then, had to maintain during the symbolical siege of Jerusalem this attitude of reclining for Israel and Judah, and after the

completion of the 390 days for Israel must lie a second time (צָנִית, ver. 6) 40 days for Judah, he had to recline in all 430 (390 + 40) days. To include the *forty* days in the *three hundred and ninety* is contrary to the statements in the text. But to reckon the two periods *together* has not only no argument against it, but is even suggested by the circumstance that the prophet, while reclining on his left and right sides, is to represent the siege of Jerusalem. Regarded, however, as periods of punishment, both the numbers cannot be explained consistently with the chronology, but must be understood as having a symbolical signification. The space of 430 years, which is announced to both kingdoms together as the duration of their chastisement, recalls the 430 years which in the far past Israel had spent in Egypt in bondage (Ex. xii. 40). It had been already intimated to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13) that the sojourn in Egypt would be a period of servitude and humiliation for his seed; and at a later time, in consequence of the oppression which the Israelites then experienced on account of the rapid increase of their number, it was—upon the basis of the threat in Deut. xxviii. 68, that God would punish Israel for their persistent declension, by bringing them back into ignominious bondage in Egypt—taken by the prophet as a type of the banishment of rebellious Israel among the *heathen*. In this sense Hosea already threatens (viii. 13, ix. 3, 6) the ten tribes with being carried back to Egypt; see on Hos. ix. 3. Still more frequently, upon the basis of this conception, is the redemption from Assyrian and Babylonian exile announced as a new and miraculous exodus of Israel from the bondage of Egypt, *e.g.* Hos. ii. 2; Isa. xi. 15, 16.—This typical meaning lies also at the foundation of the passage before us, as, in accordance with the statement of Jerome,¹ it was already accepted by the Jews of his time, and has been again recognised in

¹ *Alii vero et maxime Judaei a secundo anno Vespasiani, quando Hierusalem a Romanis capta templumque subversum est, supputari volunt in tribulatione et angustia et captivitatis jugo populi constitui annos quadringentos*

modern times by Hävernicks and Hitzig. That Ezekiel looked upon the period during which Israel had been subject to the heathen in the past as "typical of the future, is to be assumed, because only then does the number of 430 cease to be arbitrary and meaningless, and at the same time its division into $390 + 40$ become explicable."—Hitzig. This latter view is not, of course, to be understood as Hitzig and Hävernicks take it, *i.e.* as if the 40 years of Judah's chastisement were to be viewed apart from the 40 years' sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness, upon which the look of the prophet would have been turned by the sojourn in Egypt. For the 40 years in the wilderness are not included in the 430 years of the Egyptian sojourn, so that Ezekiel could have reduced these 430 years to 390, and yet have added to them the 40 years of the desert wanderings. For the coming period of punishment, which is to commence for Israel with the siege of Jerusalem, is fixed at 430 years with reference to the Egyptian bondage of the Israelites, and this period is divided into 390 and 40; and this division therefore must also have, if not its point of commencement, at least a point of connection, in the 430 years of the Egyptian sojourn. The division of the period of chastisement into two parts is to be explained probably from the sending of the covenant people into the kingdom of Israel and Judah, and the appointment of a longer period of chastisement for Israel than for Judah, from the greater guilt of the ten tribes in comparison with Judah, but not the incommensurable relation of the divisions into 390 and 40 years. The foundation of this division can, first of all, only lie in this, that the number *forty* already possessed the symbolical significance of a measured period of divine visitation. This significance it had already received, not through the 40 years of the desert wandering, but through the 40 days of rain at the time of the deluge (Gen. vii. 17), so that, in conformity

triginta, et sic redire populum ad pristinum statum ut quomodo filii Israel 430 annis fuerunt in Aegypto, sic in eodem numero finiatur: scriptumque esse in Ex. xii. 40.—HIERONYMUS.

with this, the punishment of dying in the wilderness, suspended over the rebellious race of Israel at Kadesh, is already stated at 40 years, although it included in reality only 38 years; see on Num. xiv. 32 sqq. If now, however, it should be supposed that this penal sentence had contributed to the fixing of the number 40 as a symbolical number to denote a longer period of punishment, the 40 years of punishment for Judah could not yet have been viewed apart from this event. The fixing of the chastisement for Israel and Judah at $390 + 40$ years could only in that case be measured by the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, if the relations of this sojourn presented a point of connection for a division of the 430 years into 390 and 40, *i.e.* if the 40 last years of the Egyptian servitude could somehow be distinguished from the preceding 390. A point of contact for this is offered by an event in the life of Moses which falls within that period, and was fertile in results for him as well as for the whole of Israel, *viz.* his flight from Egypt in consequence of the slaughter of an Egyptian who had ill-treated an Israelite. As the Israelites, his brethren, did not recognise the meaning of this act, and did not perceive that God would save them by his hand, Moses was necessitated to flee into the land of Midian, and to tarry there 40 years as a stranger, until the Lord called him to be the saviour of his nation, and sent him as His messenger to Pharaoh (Ex. ii. 11–iii. 10; Acts vii. 23–30). These 40 years were for Moses not only a time of trial and purification for his future vocation, but undoubtedly also the period of severest Egyptian oppression for the Israelites, and in this respect quite fitted to be a type of the coming time of punishment for Judah, in which was to be repeated what Israel had experienced in Egypt, that, as Israel had lost their helper and protector with the flight of Moses, so now Judah was to lose her king, and be given over to the tyranny of the heathen world-power.¹

¹ Another ingenious explanation of the numbers in question has been attempted by Kliefoth, *Comment.* p. 123. Proceeding from the symbolical

While Ezekiel thus reclines upon one side, he is to direct his look unchangingly upon the siege of Jerusalem, *i.e.* upon the picture of the besieged city, and keep his arm bare, *i.e.* ready for action (Isa. lii. 10), and outstretched, and prophesy against the city, especially through the menacing attitude which he had taken up against it. To be able to carry this out, God will bind him with cords, *i.e.* fetter him to his couch (see on iii. 25), so that he cannot stir from one side to another until he has completed the time enjoined upon him for the siege. In this is contained the thought that the siege of Jeru-

signification of the number 40 as a measure of time for divine visitation and trial, he supposes that the prescription in Deut. xxv. 3—that if an Israelite were to be subjected to corporal punishment, he was not to receive more than 40 stripes—is founded upon this symbolical signification,—a prescription which, according to 2 Cor. xi. 24, was in practice so carried out that only 39 were actually inflicted. From the application and bearing thus given to the number 40, the symbolical numbers in the passage before us are to be explained. Every year of punishment is equivalent to a stripe of chastisement. To the house of Israel 10×39 years = stripes, were adjudged, *i.e.* to each of the ten tribes 39 years = stripes; the individual tribes are treated as so many single individuals, and each receives the amount of chastisement usual in the case of one individual. Judah, on the contrary, is regarded as the one complete historical national tribe, because in the two faithful tribes of Judah and Benjamin the people collectively were represented. Judah, then, may receive, not the number of stripes falling to individuals, but that only which fell upon one, although, as a fair compensation, not the usual number of 40, but the higher number—compatible with the Torah—of 40 stripes = years. To this explanation we would give our assent, if only the transformation into stripes or blows of the days of the prophet's reclining, or of the years of Israel's punishment, could be shown to be probable through any analogous *Biblical* example, and were not merely a deduction from the modern law of punishment, in which corporal punishment and imprisonment hold the same importance. The assumption, then, is altogether arbitrary irrespective of this, that in the case of the house of Israel the measure of punishment is fixed differently from that of Judah; in the former case, according to the number of the tribes; in the latter, according to the unity of the kingdom: in the former at 39, in the latter at 40 stripes. Finally, the presupposition that the later Jewish practice of inflicting only 39 instead of 40 stripes—in order not to transgress the letter of the law in the enumeration which probably was made at the infliction of the punishment—goes back to the time of the exile, is extremely improbable, as it altogether breathes the spirit of Pharisaic micrology.

salem is to be mentally carried on until its capture; but no new symbol of the state of prostration of the besieged Jerusalem is implied. For such a purpose the food of the prophet (ver. 9 sqq.) during this time is employed.

Vers. 9–17. The third symbolical act.—Ver. 9. *And do thou take to thyself wheat, and barley, and beans, and lentiles, and millet, and spelt, and put them in a vessel, and prepare them as bread for thyself, according to the number of the days on which thou liest on thy side; three hundred and ninety days shalt thou eat it.* Ver. 10. *And thy food, which thou eatest, shall be according to weight, twenty shekels for a day; from time to time shalt thou eat it.* Ver. 11. *And water shalt thou drink according to measure, a sixth part of the hin, from time to time shalt thou drink it.* Ver. 12. *And as barley cakes shalt thou eat it, and shalt bake it before their eyes with human excrement.* Ver. 13. *And Jehovah spake; then shall the children of Israel eat their bread polluted amongst the heathen, whither I shall drive them.* Ver. 14. *Then said I: Ah! Lord, Jehovah, my soul has never been polluted; and of a carcase, and of that which is torn, have I never eaten from my youth up until now, and abominable flesh has not come into my mouth.* Ver. 15. *Then said He unto me: Lo, I allow thee the dung of animals instead of that of man; therewith mayest thou prepare thy bread.* Ver. 16. *And He said to me, Son of man, lo, I will break the staff of bread in Jerusalem, so that they will eat bread according to weight, and in affliction, and drink water by measure, and in amazement.* Ver. 17. *Because bread and water shall fail, and they shall pine away one with another, and disappear in their guilt.*—For the whole duration of the symbolical siege of Jerusalem, Ezekiel is to furnish himself with a store of grain corn and leguminous fruits, to place this store in a vessel beside him, and daily to prepare in the form of bread a measured portion of the same, 20 shekels in weight (about 9 ounces), and to bake this as barley cakes upon a fire, prepared with dried dung, and then to partake of it at the different hours for meals throughout the day. In

addition to this, he is, at the hours appointed for eating, to drink water, in like manner according to measure, a sixth part of the hin daily, *i.e.* a quantity less than a pint (cf. *Biblisch. Archäol.* II. p. 141). The Israelites, probably, *generally* prepared the מִנֶּחֱ from wheat flour, and not merely when they had guests (Gen. xviii. 6). Ezekiel, however, is to take, in addition, other kinds of grain with leguminous fruits, which were employed in the preparation of bread when wheat was deficient; barley—baked into bread by the poor (Judg. vii. 13; 2 Kings iv. 42; John vi. 9; see on 1 Kings v. 8); בִּינָה, “beans,” a common food of the Hebrews (2 Sam. xvii. 28), which appears to have been mixed with other kinds of grain for the purpose of being baked into bread.¹ This especially holds true of the lentiles, a favourite food of the Hebrews (Gen. xxv. 29 sq.), from which, in Egypt at the present day, the poor still bake bread in times of severe famine (Sonnini, *R.* II. 390; ἄπτος φάκινος, *Athenaeus*, IV. 158). מִלֵּךְ, “millet,” termed by the Arabs “*Dochn*” (دخن), *panicum*, a fruit cultivated in Egypt, and still more frequently in Arabia (see Wellsted, *Arab.* I. 295), consisting of longish round brown grain, resembling rice, from which, in the absence of better fruits, a sort of bad bread is baked. Cf. Celsius, *Hierobotan*, i. 453 sqq.; and Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 333. כֶּסֶם, “spelt or German corn” (cf. Ex. ix. 32), a kind of grain which produces a finer and whiter flour than wheat flour; the bread, however, which is baked from it is somewhat dry, and is said to be less nutritive than wheat bread; cf. Celsius, *Hierobotan*, ii. 98 sq. Of all these fruits Ezekiel is to place certain quantities in a vessel—to indicate that all kinds of grain and leguminous fruits capable of being converted into bread will be collected, in order to bake bread for the appeasing of hunger. In the intermixture of various kinds of flour we are not, with Hitzig, to seek a transgression of the

¹ Cf. Plinii *Histor. Natur.* xviii. 30: “*Inter legumina maximus honos fabae, quippe ex qua tentatus sit etiam panis . . . Frumento etiam miscetur apud plerasque gentes et maxime panico solida ac delicatius fracta.*”

law in Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9. מִסְפָּר is the accusative of measure or duration. The quantity is to be fixed according to the number of the days. In ver. 9 only the 390 days of the house of Israel's period of punishment are mentioned—*quod plures essent et fere universa summa* (Prado); and because this was sufficient to make prominent the hardship and oppression of the situation, the 40 days of Judah were omitted for the sake of brevity.¹ מִאֲכָלְךָ וְנָה, “thy food which thou shalt eat,” i.e. the definite portion which thou shalt have to eat, shall be according to weight (between subject and predicate the substantive verb is to be supplied). Twenty shekels = 8 or 9 ounces of flour, yield 11 or 12 ounces of bread, i.e. at most the half of what a man needs in southern countries for his daily support.² The same is the case with the water. A sixth part of a hin, i.e. a quantity less than a pint, is a very niggardly allowance for a day. Both, however,—eating the

¹ Kliefoth's supposition is untenable, that what is required in vers. 9-17 refers in reality only to the 390 days of Israel, and not also to the 40 days of Judah, so that so long as Ezekiel lay and bore the sins of Israel, he was to eat his food by measure, and unclean. For this is in contradiction with the distinct announcement that during the whole time that he lay upon the one side and the other, he was besieging Jerusalem; and by the scanty and unclean food, was to portray both the deficiency of bread and water which occurred in the besieged city (ver. 17), as well as the eating of unclean bread, which impended over the Israelites when among the heathen nations. The famine which took place in Jerusalem during the siege did not affect the ten tribes, but that of Judah; while unclean bread had to be eaten among the heathen not only by the Israelites, but also by the Jews transported to Babylon. By the limitation of what is prescribed to the prophet in vers. 9-15 to the time during which the sin of Israel was to be borne, the significance of this symbolical act for Jerusalem and Judah is taken away.

² In our climate (Germany) we count 2 lbs. of bread for the daily supply of a man; but in warm countries the demand for food is less, so that scarcely 1½ lbs. are required. Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, II. p. 200) relates that “the Bedoweens will undertake a journey of 10 to 12 days without carrying with them any nutriment, save a hottle full of small cakes, baked of white flour and camel or goat's milk, and a leather bag of water. Such a cake weighs about 5 ounces. Two of them, and a mouthful of water, the latter twice within 24 hours, is all which they then partake of.”

bread and drinking the water,—he shall do from time to time, *i.e.* “not throughout the entire fixed period of 390 days” (Hävernicks); but he shall not eat the daily ration at once, but divided into portions according to the daily hours of meals, so that he will never be completely satisfied. In addition to this is the pollution (ver. 12 sqq.) of the scanty allowance of food by the manner in which it is prepared. עֲנֵה שְׁעָרַי is predicate: “as barley cakes,” “prepared in the form of barley cakes,” shalt thou eat them. The suffix in הַמִּצֵּה is neuter, and refers to לֶחֶם in ver. 9, or rather to the kinds of grain there enumerated, which are ground and baked before them: לֶחֶם, *i.e.* “food.” The addition שְׁעָרַי is not to be explained from this, that the principal part of these consisted of barley, nor does it prove that in general no other than barley cakes were known (Hitzig), but only that the cakes of barley meal, baked in the ashes, were an extremely frugal kind of bread, which that prepared by Ezekiel was to resemble. The עֲנֵה was probably always baked on hot ashes, or on hot stones (1 Kings xix. 6), not on pans, as Kliefoth here supposes. The prophet, however, is to bake them in (with) human ordure. This is by no means to be understood as if he were to mix the ordure with the food, for which view Isa. xxxvi. 12 has been erroneously appealed to; but—as עֲנֵה in ver. 15 clearly shows—he is to bake it *over* the dung, *i.e.* so that dung forms the material of the fire. That the bread must be polluted by this is conceivable, although it cannot be proved from the passages in Lev. v. 3, vii. 21, and Deut. xxiii. 13 that the use of fire composed of dung made the food prepared thereon levitically unclean. The use of fire with human ordure must have communicated to the bread a loathsome smell and taste, by which it was rendered unclean, even if it had not been immediately baked in the hot ashes. That the pollution of the bread is the object of this injunction, we see from the explanation which God gives in ver. 13: “Thus shall the children of Israel eat their defiled bread among the heathen.” The heart of the prophet, however, rebels against such food.

He says he has never in his life polluted himself by eating food forbidden in the law; from his youth up he has eaten no unclean flesh, neither of a carcase, nor of that which was torn by wild beasts (cf. Ex. xxii. 30; Dent. xiv. 21), nor flesh of sacrifices decayed or putrefying (בָּגֵל, see on Lev. vii. 18; Isa. lxxv. 4). On this God omits the requirement in ver. 12, and permits him to take for firing the dung of oxen instead of that of men.¹ In ver. 16 sq., finally, is given the explanation of the scanty allowance of food meted out to the prophet, namely, that the Lord, at the impending siege of Jerusalem, is to take away from the people the staff of bread, and leave them to languish in hunger and distress. The explanation is in literal adherence to the threatenings of the law (Lev. xxvi. 26 and 39), which are now to pass into fulfilment. Bread is called "staff of bread" as being indispensable for the preservation of life. To בֶּמֶשְׁקָל, Lev. xxvi. 26, בְּרָצָה, "in sorrow," is added; and to the water, בְּשִׁמְמוֹן, "in astonishment," i.e. in fixed, silent pain at the miserable death, by hunger and thirst, which they see before them. נִמְסָהוּ בַעֲוֹנָם as Lev. xxvi. 39. If we, finally, cast a look over the contents of this first sign, it says that Jerusalem is soon to be besieged, and during the siege is to suffer hunger and terror as a punishment for the sins of Israel

¹ The use of dung as a material for burning is so common in the East, that it cannot be supposed that Ezekiel first became acquainted with it in a foreign country, and therefore regarded it with peculiar loathing. Human ordure, of course, so far as our knowledge goes, is never so employed, although the objection raised by Hitzig, on the other hand, that it would not yield so much heat as would be necessary for roasting without immediate contact, i.e. through the medium of a brick, rests upon an erroneous representation of the matter. But the employment of cattle-dung for firing could not be unknown to the Israelites, as it forms in the Hauran (the ancient Bashan) the customary firing material; cf. Wetzstein's remarks on Delitzsch's *Job*, vol. I. pp. 377, 8 (Eng. tran.); where the preparation of the *gelle*—this prevalent material for burning in the Hauran—from cow-dung mixed with chopped straw is minutely described; and this remark is made among others, that the flame of the *gelle*, prepared and dried from the dung of oxen that feed at large, is entirely without smoke, and that the ashes, which retain their heat for a lengthened time, are as clean as those of wood.

and Judah; that upon the capture of the city of Israel (Judah) they are to be dispersed among the heathen, and will there be obliged to eat unclean bread. To this in ch. v. is joined a second sign, which shows further how it shall fare with the people at and after the capture of Jerusalem (vers. 1-4); and after that a longer oracle, which develops the significance of these signs, and establishes the necessity of the penal judgment (vers. 5-17).

Chap. v. 1-4.—THE SIGN WHICH IS TO PORTRAY ISRAEL'S IMPENDING DESTINY.—Ver. 1. *And thou, son of man, take to thyself a sharp sword, as a razor shalt thou take it to thyself, and go with it over thy head, and over thy chin, and take to thee scales, and divide it (the hair).* Ver. 2. *A third part burn with fire in the midst of the city, when the days of the siege are accomplished: and take the (other) third, smite with the sword round about it: and the (remaining) third scatter to the winds; and the sword will I draw out after them.* Ver. 3. *Yet take a few of them by number, and bind them in the skirt of thy garment.* Ver. 4. *And of these again take a few, and cast them into the fire, and burn them with fire; from thence a fire shall go forth over the whole house of Israel.*—The description of this sign is easily understood. תַּעֲרֵר הַנֶּגְלִים, “razor of the barbers,” is the predicate, which is to be understood to the suffix in תִּקְחֶנָּה; and the clause states the purpose for which Ezekiel is to use the sharp sword—viz. as a razor, in order to cut off therewith the hair of his head and beard. The hair, when cut off, he is to divide into three parts with a pair of scales (the suffix in תִּקְחֶנָּה refers *ad sensum* to the hair). The one third he is to burn in the city, *i.e.* not in the actual Jerusalem, but in the city, sketched on the brick, which he is symbolically besieging (iv. 3). To the city also is to be referred the suffix in מִבְּיֹתֶיהָ, ver. 2, as is placed beyond doubt by ver. 12. In the last clause of ver. 2, which is taken from Lev. xxvi. 33, the description of the sign passes over into

its exposition, for **אֲחֵרֵיהֶם** does not refer to the hair, but to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The significance also of this symbolical act is easily recognised, and is, moreover, stated in ver. 12. Ezekiel, in this act, represents the besieged Jerusalem. What he does to his hair, that will God do to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. As the hair of the prophet falls under the sword, used as a razor, so will the inhabitants of Jerusalem fall, when the city is captured, into destruction, and that verily an ignominious destruction. This idea is contained in the picture of the hair-cutting, which was a dishonour done to what forms the ornament of a man. See on 2 Sam. x. 4 sqq. A third of the same is to perish in the city. As the fire destroys the hair, so will pestilence and hunger consume the inhabitants of the beleaguered city (ver. 12). The second third will, on the capture of the city, fall by the sword in the environs (ver. 12); the last third will God scatter to the winds, and—as Moses has already threatened the people—will draw forth the sword after them, still to persecute and smite them (ver. 12). This sign is continued (vers. 3 and 4) in a second symbolical act, which shadows forth what is further to happen to the people when dispersed among the heathen. Of the third scattered to the winds, Ezekiel is to bind a small portion in the skirt of his garment. **מִשָּׁם**, “from thence,” refers not to **הַשָּׂלִישִׁית**, but, *ad sensum*, to **הַמָּוֶלָה לָרֵיחַ**: “from the place where the third that is scattered to the winds is found”—i.e., as regards the subject-matter, of those who are to be found among the dispersion. The binding up into the **בְּנָפִים**, “the corners or ends of the garment” (cf. Jer. ii. 34), denotes the preservation of the few, who are gathered together out of the whole of those who are dispersed among the heathen; cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 29; Ezek. xvi. 8. But even of these few He shall still cast some into the fire, and consume them. Consequently those who are gathered together out of exile are not all to be preserved, but are still to be sifted by fire, in which process a part is consumed. This image does not refer to those who remain behind

in the land; when the nation is led away captive to Babylon (Theodoret, Grotius, and others), but, as Ephrem the Syrian and Jerome saw, to those who were saved from Babylon, and to their further destiny, as is already clear from the מִשְׁמָחָה, rightly understood. The meaning of the last clause of ver. 4 is disputed; in it, as in the final clause of ver. 2, the symbolical representation passes over into the announcement of the thing itself. כִּפְזֵי, which Ewald would arbitrarily alter into כִּפְזֵי, cannot, with Hävernicks, be referred to אֵל-תּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ, because this yields a very forced sense, but relates to the whole act described in vers. 3 and 4: that a portion thereof is rescued and preserved, and yet of this portion many are consumed by fire,—from that a fire shall go forth over the whole house of Israel. This fire is explained by almost all expositors, from Theodoret and Jerome onwards, of the penal judgments which were inflicted after the exile upon the Jews, which reached their culminating point in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and which still continue in their dispersion throughout the whole world. But this view, as Kliefoth has already remarked, is not only in decided antagonism to the intention of the text, but it is, moreover, altogether impossible to see how a judgment of extermination for all Israel can be deduced from the fact that a small number of the Israelites, who are scattered to the winds, is saved, and that of those who are saved a part is still consumed with fire. From thence there can only come forth a fire of purification for the whole of Israel, through which the remnant, as Isaiah had already predicted (vi. 12 sqq.), is converted into a holy seed. In the last clause, consuming by fire is not referred to. The fire, however, has not merely a destructive, but also a cleansing, purifying, and quickening power. To kindle such a fire on earth did Christ come (Luke xii. 49), and from Him the same goes out over the whole house of Israel. This view, for which Kliefoth has already rightly decided, receives a confirmation through ch. vi. 8-10, where is announced the conversion of the

remnant of those Israelites who had been dispersed among the nations.

So far the symbolical acts. Before, however, we pass on to the explanation of the following oracle, we must still briefly touch the question, whether these acts were undertaken and performed by the prophet in the world of external reality, or whether they were occurrences only *internally* real, which Ezekiel experienced in spirit—*i.e.* in an ecstatic condition—and afterwards communicated to the people. Amongst modern expositors, Kliefoth has defended the former view, and has adduced the following considerations in support: A significant act, and yet also a silent, leisurely one, must be performed, that it may show something to those who behold it. Nor is the case such, as Hitzig supposes, that it would have been impossible to carry out what had been required of the prophet in ch. iv. 1-17. It had, indeed, its difficulty; but God sometimes requires from His servants what is difficult, although He also helps them to the performance of it. So here He will make it easy for the prophet to recline, by binding him (iv. 8). "In the sign, this certainly was kept in view, that it should be performed; and it, moreover, *was* performed, although the text, in a manner quite intelligible with reference to an act commanded by God, does not expressly state it." For these latter assertions, however, there is anything but convincing proof. The matter is not so simple as Kliefoth supposes, although we are at one with him in this, that neither the difficulty of carrying out what was commanded in the world of external reality, nor the non-mention of the actual performance, furnishes sufficient grounds for the supposition of merely internal, spiritual occurrences. We also are of opinion that very many of the symbolical acts of the prophets were undertaken and performed in the external world, and that this supposition, as that which corresponds most fully with the literal meaning of the words, is on each occasion the most obvious, and is to be firmly adhered to, unless there can be good grounds for the opposite view. In

the case now before us, we have first to take into consideration that the oracle which enjoins these symbolical acts on Ezekiel stands in close connection, both as to time and place, with the inauguration of Ezekiel to the prophetic office. The hand of the Lord comes upon him at the same place, where the concluding word at his call was addressed to him (the נִשְׁמָה , iii. 22, points back to נִשְׁמָה in iii. 15); and the circumstance that Ezekiel found himself still on the same spot to which he had been transported by the Spirit of God (iii. 14), shows that the new revelation, which he here still received, followed very *soon*, if not *immediately*, after his consecration to the office of prophet. Then, upon the occasion of this divine revelation, he is again, as at his consecration, transported into an ecstatic condition, as is clear not only from the formula, "the hand of the Lord came upon me," which in our book always has this signification, but also most undoubtedly from this, that he again sees the glory of Jehovah in the same manner as he had seen it in ch. i. —viz. when in an ecstatic condition. But if this were an ecstatic vision, it is obvious that the acts also which the divine appearance imposed upon him must be regarded as ecstatic occurrences; since the assertion that every significant act must be *performed*, in order that something may be *shown* to those who witness it, is fundamentally insufficient for the proof that this act must fall within the domain of the earthly world of sense, because the occurrences related in ch. viii.—xi. are viewed even by Kliefoth himself as purely *internal* events. As decisive, however, for the purely internal character of the symbolical acts under consideration (ch. iv. and v.), is the circumstance that the supposition of Ezekiel having, in his own house, actually lain 390 days upon his left, and then, again, 40 days upon his right side without turning, stands in irreconcilable contradiction with the fact that he, according to ch. viii. 1 sqq., was carried away in ecstasy to Jerusalem, there to behold in the temple the monstrosities of Israel's idolatry and the destruction of Jerusalem. For the proof of this, see the introduction to ch. viii.

Vers. 5-17. THE DIVINE WORD WHICH EXPLAINS THE SYMBOLICAL SIGNS, in which the judgment that is announced is laid down as to its cause (5-9) and as to its nature (10-17).

—Ver. 5. *Thus says the Lord Jehovah : This Jerusalem have I placed in the midst of the nations, and raised about her the countries.*

Ver. 6. *But in wickedness she resisted my laws more than the nations, and my statutes more than the countries which are round about her; for they rejected my laws, and did not walk in my statutes.*

Ver. 7. *Therefore thus says the Lord Jehovah : Because ye have raged more than the nations round about you, and have not walked in my statutes, and have not obeyed my laws, and have not done even according to the laws of the nations which are round about you ;* Ver. 8. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah : Lo, I, even I, shall be against thee, and will perform judgments in thy midst before the eyes of the nations.* Ver. 9. *And I will do unto thee what I have never done, nor will again do in like manner, on account of all thine abominations.*

‘זֹאת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, not “this is Jerusalem,” i.e. this is the *destiny* of Jerusalem (Hävernicks), but “this Jerusalem” (Hitzig); זֹאת is placed before the noun in the sense of *iste*, as in Ex. xxxii. 1; cf. Ewald, § 293b. To place the culpability of Jerusalem in its proper prominence, the censure of her sinful conduct opens with the mention of the exalted position which God had assigned her upon earth. Jerusalem is described in ver. 5 as forming the central point of the earth: this is done, however, neither in an external, geographical (Hitzig), nor in a purely typical sense, as the city that is blessed more than any other (Calvin, Hävernicks), but in a historical sense, in so far as “God’s people and city actually stand in the central point of the God-directed world-development and its movements” (Kliefoth); or, in relation to the history of salvation, as the city in which God hath set up His throne of grace, from which shall go forth the law and the statutes for all nations, in order that the salvation of the whole world may be accomplished (Isa. ii. 2 sqq.; Mic. iv. 1 sqq.). But instead of keeping the laws and statutes of

the Lord, Jerusalem has, on the contrary, turned to do wickedness more than the heathen nations in all the lands round about (הִמָּרָה, *cum accusat. object.*, "to act rebelliously towards"). Here we may not quote Rom. ii. 12, 14 against this, as if the heathen, who did not know the law of God, did not also transgress the same, but sinned *ἀνόμως*; for the sinning *ἀνόμως*, of which the apostle speaks, is really a transgression of the law written on the heart of the heathen. With לָמַח, in ver. 7, the penal threatening is introduced; but before the punishment is laid down, the correspondence between guilt and punishment is brought forward more prominently by repeatedly placing in juxtaposition the godless conduct of the rebellious city. הִמָּנֶכֶם is infinitive, from מָנַח, a secondary form מָנַח, in the sense of מָנַח, "to rage," *i.e.* to rebel against God; cf. Ps. ii. 1. The last clause of ver. 7 contains a climax: "And ye have not even acted according to the laws of the heathen." This is not in any real contradiction to ch. xi. 12 (where it is made a subject of reproach to the Israelites that they have acted according to the laws of the heathen), so that we would be obliged, with Ewald and Hitzig, to expunge the לָמַח in the verse before us, because wanting in the Peshito and several Hebrew manuscripts. Even in these latter, it has only been omitted to avoid the supposed contradiction with xi. 12. The solution of the apparent contradiction lies in the double meaning of the מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַגּוֹיִם. The heathen had laws which were opposed to those of God, but also such as were rooted in the law of God written upon their hearts. Obedience to the latter was good and praiseworthy; to the former, wicked and objectionable. Israel, which hated the law of God, followed the wicked and sinful laws of the heathen, and neglected to observe their *good* laws. The passage before us is to be judged by Jer. ii. 10, 11, to which Raschi had already made reference.¹ In ver. 8 the announcement of

¹ Coccejus had already well remarked on ch. xi. 12: "*Haec probe concordant. Imitabantur Judaei gentiles vel fovendo opiniones gentiles, vel etiam assumendo ritus et sacra gentilium. Sed non faciebant ut gentes, quae integre*

the punishment, interrupted by the repeated mention of the cause, is again resumed with the words לָכֵן בִּה וְגו'. Since Jerusalem has acted worse than the heathen, God will execute His judgments upon her before the eyes of the heathen. עָשָׂה שְׁפָטִים or עָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּטִים (vers. 10, 15, ch. xi. 9, xvi. 41, etc.), "to accomplish or execute judgments," is used in Ex. xii. 12 and Num. xxxiii. 4 of the judgments which God suspended over Egypt. The punishment to be suspended shall be so great and heavy, that the like has never happened before, nor will ever happen again. These words do not require us either to refer the threatening, with Coccejus, to the last destruction of Jerusalem, which was marked by greater severity than the earlier one, or to suppose, with Hävernicks, that the prophet's look is directed to both the periods of Israel's punishment—the times of the Babylonian and Roman calamity together. Both suppositions are irreconcilable with the words, as these can only be referred to the first impending penal judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem. This was, so far, more severe than any previous or subsequent one, inasmuch as by it the existence of the people of God was for a time suspended, while that Jerusalem and Israel, which were destroyed and annihilated by the Romans, were no longer the people of God, inasmuch as the latter consisted at that time of the Christian community, which was not affected by that catastrophe (Kliefoth).

Vers. 10–17. Further execution of this threat.—Ver. 10. *Therefore shall fathers devour their children in thy midst, and children shall devour their fathers: and I will exercise judgments upon thee, and disperse all thy remnant to the winds.* Ver. 11. *Therefore, as I live, is the declaration of the Lord Jehovah, Verily, because thou hast polluted my sanctuary with all thine abominations and all thy crimes, so shall I take away mine eye without mercy, and will not spare.* Ver. 12. *A third of thee shall die by the pestilence, and perish by hunger in thy diis suis serviebant. Nam Israelitæ nomine Dei abutebantur et ipsius populus videri volebant."*

midst; and the third part shall fall by the sword about thee; and the third part will I scatter to all the winds; and will draw out the sword after them. Ver. 13. And my anger shall be fulfilled, and I will cool my wrath against them, and will take vengeance. And they shall experience that I, Jehovah, have spoken in my zeal, when I accomplish my wrath upon them. Ver. 14. And I will make thee a desolation and a mockery among the nations which are round about thee, before the eyes of every passer-by. Ver. 15. And it shall be a mockery and a scorn, a warning and a terror for the nations round about thee, when I exercise my judgments upon thee in anger and wrath and in grievous visitations. I, Jehovah, have said it. Ver. 16. When I send against thee the evil arrows of hunger, which minister to destruction, which I shall send to destroy you; for hunger shall I heap upon you, and shall break to you the staff of bread: Ver. 17. And I shall send hunger upon you, and evil beasts, which shall make thee childless; and pestilence and blood shall pass over thee; and the sword will I bring upon thee. I, Jehovah, have spoken it.—

As a proof of the unheard-of severity of the judgment, there is immediately mentioned in ver. 10 a most horrible circumstance, which had been already predicted by Moses (Lev. xxvi. 29; Deut. xxviii. 53) as that which should happen to the people when hard pressed by the enemy, viz. a famine so dreadful, during the siege of Jerusalem, that parents would eat their children, and children their parents; and after the capture of the city, the dispersion of those who remained “to all the winds, i.e. to all quarters of the world.” This is described more minutely, as an appendix to the symbolical act in vers. 1 and 2, in vers. 11 and 12, with a solemn oath, and with repeated and prominent mention of the sins which have drawn down such chastisements. As sin, is mentioned the pollution of the temple by idolatrous abominations, which are described in detail in ch. viii. The *אֲנִיָּה*, which is variously understood by the old translators (for which some *Codices* offer the explanatory correction *אֲנִיָּה*), is to be explained, after Job xxxvi. 7, of the “turning away of the

eye," and the עֵינַי following as the object; while וְלֹא-תַחֲמוּם, "that it feel no compassion," is interjected between the verb and its object with the adverbial signification of "mercilessly." For that the words וְלֹא תַחֲמוּם are adverbially subordinate to אֲנִירֶע, distinctly appears from the correspondence—indicated by וְנִסְאִי—between אֲנִירֶע and לֹא אֲחַמּוּל. Moreover, the thought, "Jehovah will mercilessly withdraw His care for the people," is not to be termed "feeble" in connection with what follows; nor is the contrast, which is indicated in the clause וְנִסְאִי, lost, as Hävernick supposes. וְנִסְאִי does not require נִרֶע to be understood of a positive act, which would correspond to the desecration of the sanctuary. This is shown by the last clause of the verse. The withdrawal without mercy of the divine providence is, besides, in reality, equivalent to complete devotion to destruction, as it is particularized in ver. 12. For ver. 12 see on vers. 1 and 2. By carrying out the threatened division of the people into three parts, the wrath of God is to be fulfilled, *i.e.* the full measure of the divine wrath upon the people is to be exhausted (cf. 7, 8), and God is to appear and "cool" His anger. הִנֵּינִי חָמָה, "*sedavit iram*," occurs again in xvi. 42, xxi. 22, xxiv. 13. הִנְחָמָתִי, *Hithpael*, pausal form for הִנְחָמָתִי, "*se consolari*," "to procure satisfaction by revenge;" cf. Isa. i. 24, and for the thing, Deut. xxviii. 63. In ver. 14 sqq. the discourse turns again from the people to the city of Jerusalem. It is to become a wilderness, as was already threatened in Lev. xxvi. 31 and 33 to the cities of Israel, and thereby a "mockery" to all nations, in the manner described in Deut. xxix. 23 sq. הָרִיתָהּ, in ver. 15, is not to be changed, after the LXX., Vulgate, and some MSS., into the second person; but Jerusalem is to be regarded as the subject which is to become the object of scorn and hatred, etc., when God accomplishes His judgments. מוֹסֵר is a warning-example. Among the judgments which are to overtake it, in ver. 16, hunger is again made specially prominent (cf. iv. 16); and first in ver. 17 are wild beasts, pestilence, blood, and sword added, and a quartette of judgments announced as in

xiv. 21. For pestilence and blood are comprehended together as a unity by means of the predicate. Their connection is to be understood according to xiv. 19, and the number four is significant, as in xiv. 21; Jer. xv. 3sq. For more minute details as to the meaning, see on xiv. 21. The evil arrows point back to Deut. xxxii. 23; the evil beasts, to Lev. xxiv. 22 and Deut. xxxii. 24 sq. To produce an impression, the prophet heaps his words together. *Unum ejus consilium fuit penetrare in animos populi quasi lapideos et ferreos. Hæc igitur est ratio, cur hic tanta varietate utatur et exornet suam doctrinam variis figuris* (Calvin).

CHAP. VI. THE JUDGMENT UPON THE IDOLATROUS PLACES,
AND ON THE IDOL-WORSHIPPERS.

To God's address in vers. 5-17, explaining the signs in ch. iv. 1-5, are appended in ch. vi. and vii. two additional oracles, which present a further development of the contents of these signs, the judgment portrayed by them in its extent and greatness. In ch. vi. there is announced, in the first section, to the idolatrous places, and on their account to the land, desolation, and to the idolaters, destruction (vers. 3-7); and to this is added the prospect of a remnant of the people, who are dispersed among the heathen, coming to be converted to the Lord (vers. 8-10). In the second section the necessity and terrible character of the impending judgment is repeatedly described at length as an appendix to vers. 12, 14 (vers. 11-14).

Vers. 1-7. The desolation of the land, and destruction of the idolaters.—Ver. 1. *And the word of the Lord came to me, saying:* Ver. 2. *Son of man, turn thy face towards the mountains of Israel, and prophesy against them.* Ver. 3. *And say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord Jehovah: Thus saith the Lord Jehovah to the mountains, and to the hills, to the valleys, and to the low grounds, Behold, I bring the sword upon you, and destroy your high places.* Ver. 4. *Your altars shall be made desolate, and your sun-pillars shall be broken; and I shall*

make your slain fall in the presence of your idols. Ver. 5. And I will lay the corpses of the children of Israel before their idols, and will scatter your bones round about your altars. Ver. 6. In all your dwellings shall the cities be made desolate, and the high places waste; that your altars may be desolate and waste, and your idols broken and destroyed, and your sun-pillars hewn down, and the works of your hands exterminated. Ver. 7. And the slain will fall in your midst; that you may know that I am Jehovah.—With ver. 1 cf. iii. 16. The prophet is to prophesy against the mountains of Israel. That the mountains are mentioned (ver. 2) as *pars pro toto*, is seen from ver. 3, when to the mountains and hills are added also the valleys and low grounds, as the places where idolatry was specially practised; cf. Hos. iv. 13; Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6; see on Hos. *l.c.* and Deut. xii. 2. נַחֲלֵי מַיִם, in the older writings, denotes the “river channels,” “the beds of the stream;” but Ezekiel uses the word as equivalent to valley, *i.e.* נַחַל, a valley with a brook or stream, like the Arabic wady. אֲדָמָה, properly “deepening,” “the deep ground,” “the deep valley;” on the form אֲדָמָה, cf. Ewald, § 186*da*. The juxtaposition of mountains and hills, of valleys and low grounds, occurs again in xxxvi. 4, 6, and xxxv. 8; the opposition between mountains and valleys also, in xxxii. 5, 6, and xxxiv. 13. The valleys are to be conceived of as furnished with trees and groves, under the shadow of which the worship of Astarte especially was practised; see on ver. 15. On the mountains and in the valleys were sanctuaries erected to Baal and Astarte. The announcement of their destruction is appended to the threatening in Lev. xxvi. 30, which Ezekiel takes up and describes at greater length. Beside the מִזְבֵּחַ, the places of sacrifice and worship, and the חֲמָצִיטִים, pillars or statues of Baal, dedicated to him as the sun-god, he names also the altars, which, in Lev. *l.c.* and other places, are comprehended along with the מִזְבֵּחַ; see on Lev. xxvi. 30 and 1 Kings iii. 3. With the destruction of the idol temples, altars, and statues, the idol-worshippers are also to be smitten, so as to fall down in the

presence of their idols. The fundamental meaning of the word גִּלְגָּלִים, "idols," borrowed from Lev. *l.c.*, and frequently employed by Ezekiel, is uncertain; signifying either "logs of wood," from גָּלַל, "to roll" (Gesen.), or *stercorei*, from גֵּל, "dung;" not "monuments of stone" (Hävernicks). Ver. 5a is taken quite literally from Lev. xxvi. 30b. The ignominy of the destruction is heightened by the bones of the slain idolaters being scattered round about the idol altars. In order that the idolatry may be entirely rooted out, the cities throughout the whole land, and all the high places, are to be devastated, ver. 6. The forms הַיִּשְׁמָנָה and יִשְׁמָנו are probably not to be derived from שָׁמַם (Ewald, § 138b), but to be referred back to a stem-form יִשְׁם, with the signification of שָׁמַם, the existence of which appears certain from the old name יִשְׁמִי' in Ps. lxxviii. and elsewhere. The נ in יִשְׁמָנו is certainly only *mater lectionis*. In ver. 7, the singular הָלַל stands as indefinitely general. The thought, "slain will fall *in your midst*," involves the idea that not all the people will fall, but that there will survive some who are saved, and prepares for what follows. The falling of the slain—the idolaters with their idols—leads to the recognition of Jehovah as the omnipotent God, and to conversion to Him.

Vers. 8-10. The survivors shall go away into banishment amongst the heathen, and shall remember the word of the Lord that will have been fulfilled.—Ver. 8. *But I shall preserve a remnant, in that there shall be to you some who have escaped the sword among the nations, when ye shall be dispersed among the lands.* Ver. 9. *And those of you who have escaped, will make mention of me among the nations whither they are led captive, when I have broken to me their whorish heart, which had departed from me, and their eyes, which went a whoring after their idols: and they shall loathe themselves because of the evil which they have done in reference to all their abominations.* Ver. 10. *And ye shall know that I am Jehovah. Not in vain have I spoken this evil to you.*—הוֹחִיר, *superstites facere*, "to make or preserve survivors." The connection with בְּחַיִּיתוֹ is analogous to the construction of

הוֹתִיר, in the sense of "giving a superabundance," with *rei*, Deut. xxviii. 11 and xxx. 9, and is not to be rejected, with Ewald and Hitzig, as inadmissible. For בְּהִיּוֹת is supported by the old versions, and the change of הוֹתִירָתִי into וְדַבַּרְתִּי, which would have to be referred to ver. 7, is in opposition to the two-fold repetition of the יהוה אֲנִי יהוה (וַיִּדְעוּ), vers. 10 and 14, as this repetition shows that the thought in ver. 7 is different from that in 17, 21, not "they shall know that Jehovah has spoken," but "they shall know that He who has done this is Jehovah, the God of Israel." The preservation of a remnant will be shown in this, that they shall have some who have escaped the sword. הִיִּרְתִּיָּם is *infin. Niph.* with a plural form of the suffix, as occurs elsewhere only with the plural ending ת of nouns, while Ezekiel has extended it to the ת of the infinitive of לָהּ verbs; cf. xvi. 31, and Ewald, § 259*b*. The remembrance of Jehovah (ver. 9) is the commencement of conversion to Him. אֲשֶׁר before נִשְׁבַּרְתִּי is not to be connected as relative pronoun with לָבָם, but is a conjunction, though not used conditionally, "if," as in Lev. iv. 22, Deut. xi. 27, and elsewhere, but of time, ὅτε, "when," as Deut. xi. 6 and 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, and נִשְׁבַּרְתִּי in the signification of the *futur. exact*. The *Niphal* נִשְׁבַּר here is not to be taken as passive, but middle, *sibi frangere*, i.e. לָבָם, *poenitentiâ conterere animum eorum ut ad ipsum (Deum) redeant* (Maurer, Hävernick). Besides the heart, the eyes also are mentioned, which God is to smite, as the external senses which allure the heart to whoredom. וְנִקְטוּ corresponds to וְחָכְרוּ at the beginning of the verse. קִיָּם, the later form for קִיָּן, "to feel a loathing," *Hiphil*, "to be filled with loathing;" cf. Job x. 1 with *object.*, "in (on) their פָּנִים, faces," i.e. their persons or themselves: so also in xx. 43, xxxvi. 31. אֵל הָרָעוֹת, in allusion to the evil things; לְכָל-תּוֹעֵב, in reference to all their abominations. This fruit, which is produced by chastisement, namely, that the idolaters are inspired with loathing for themselves, and led to the knowledge of Jehovah, will furnish the proof that God has not spoken in vain.

Vers. 11-14. The punishment is just and well deserved.—
 Ver. 11. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Smite with thy hand, and stamp with thy foot, and say, Woe on all the wicked abominations of the house of Israel! that they must perish by sword, hunger, and pestilence.* Ver. 12. *He that is afar off will die by the pestilence; and he that is near at hand shall fall by the sword; and he who survives and is preserved will die of hunger: and I shall accomplish my wrath upon them.* Ver. 13. *And ye shall know that I am Jehovah, when your slain lie in the midst of your idols round about your altars, on every high hill, upon all the summits of the mountains, and under every green tree, and under every thick-leaved terebinth, on the places where they brought their pleasant incense to all their idols.* Ver. 14. *And I will stretch out my hand against them, and make the land waste and desolate more than the wilderness of Diblath, in all their dwellings: so shall ye know that I am Jehovah.*—Through clapping of the hands and stamping of the feet—the gestures which indicate violent excitement—the prophet is to make known the displeasure of Jehovah at the horrible idolatry of the people, and thereby make manifest that the penal judgment is well deserved. הָיָה בְּכַפֵּי is in xxi. 19 expressed more distinctly by הָיָה בְּרֶגֶל אֶל בְּרֶגֶל, “to strike one hand against the other,” i.e. “to clap the hands;” cf. Num. xxiv. 10. אָח, an exclamation of lamentation, occurring only here and in xxi. 20. אֲשֶׁר, ver. 11, is a conjunction, “at.” Their abominations are so wicked, that they must be exterminated on account of them. This is specially mentioned in ver. 12. No one will escape the judgment: he who is far removed from its scene as little as he who is close at hand; while he who escapes the pestilence and the sword is to perish of hunger. נִצָּוִי, *servatus*, preserved, as in Isa. xlix. 6. The signification “besieged” (LXX., Vulgate, Targum, etc.), Hitzig can only maintain by arbitrarily expunging הַנִּשְׁאָר as a gloss. On ver. 12*b*, cf. v. 13; on 13*a*, cf. ver. 5; and on 13*b*, cf. ver. 3, and Hos. iv. 13; Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6; Deut. xii. 2. אֶל כָּל-גִּב׳, according to later usage, for עַל כָּל-גִּב׳. רִיחַ נִיחַח, used

in the Pentateuch of sacrifices pleasing to God, is here transferred to idol sacrifices; see on Lev. i. 9 and Gen. viii. 21. On account of the prevalence of idolatry in all parts, God will make the land entirely desolate. The union of *וּמִשְׁפַּחַת* serves to strengthen the idea; cf. xxxiii. 8 sqq., xxxv. 3. The words *בְּמִדְבַּר דִּבְלָתָה* are obscure, either “in the wilderness towards Diblath” (even to Diblath), or “more than the wilderness of Diblath” (מן of comparison). There is no doubt that *דִּבְלָתָה* is a *nom. prop.*; cf. the name of the city *דִּבְלָתַיִם* in Jer. xlviii. 22; Num. xxxiii. 46. The second acceptance of the words is more probable than the first. For, if *בְּמִדְבַּר* is the *terminus a quo*, and *דִּבְלָתָה* the *terminus ad quem* of the extent of the land, then must *בְּמִדְבַּר* be punctuated not only as *status absolut.*, but it must also have the article; because a definite wilderness—that, namely, of Arabia—is meant. The omission of the article cannot be justified by reference to xxi. 3 or to Ps. lxxv. 7 (Hitzig, Ewald), because both passages contain general designations of the quarters of the world, with which the article is always omitted. In the next place, no *Dibla* can be pointed out in the north; and the change of *Diblatha* into *Ribla*, already proposed by Jerome, and more recently brought forward again by J. D. Michaelis, has not only against it the authority of all the old versions, but also the circumstance that the *Ribla* mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 33 did not form the northern boundary of Palestine, but lay on the other side of it, in the land of *Hamath*; while the *הַרְבֵּלָה*, named in Num. xxxiv. 11, is a place on the eastern boundary to the north of the Sea of Gennesareth, which would, moreover, be inappropriate as a designation of the northern boundary. Finally, the extent of the land from the south to the north is constantly expressed in a different way; cf. Num. xiii. 21 (xxxiv. 8); Josh. xiii. 5; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xiv. 65; Amos vi. 14; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; 2 Chron. vii. 8; and even by Ezekiel himself (xlvi. 1) *לְבֹאֵת הָמָת* is named as the boundary on the north. The form *דִּבְלָתָה* is similar to *הַמִּנְחָה* for *הַמִּנָּה*, although the name is hardly

to be explained, with Hävernicks, as an appellation, after the Arabic *دبْل*, *calamitas, exitium*. The wilderness of *Diblah* is unknown. With וַיָּדַע כִּי וְנֹחַ the discourse is rounded off in returning to the beginning of ver. 13, while the thoughts in vers. 13 and 14 are only a variation of vers. 4-7.

CHAP. VII. THE OVERTHROW OF ISRAEL.

The second "word of God," contained in this chapter, completes the announcement of judgment upon Jerusalem and Judah, by expanding the thought, that the end will come both quickly and inevitably upon the land and people. This word is divided into two unequal sections, by the repetition of the phrase, "Thus saith Adonai Jehovah" (vers. 2 and 5). In the first of these sections the theme is given in short, expressive, and monotonous clauses; namely, the end is drawing nigh, for God will judge Israel without mercy according to its abominations. The second section (vers. 5-27) is arranged in four strophes, and contains, in a form resembling the lamentation in chap. xix., a more minute description of the end predicted.

Vers. 1-4. The end cometh.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me thus:* Ver. 2. *And thou, son of man, thus saith the Lord Jehovah: An end to the land of Israel! the end cometh upon the four borders of the land.* Ver. 3. *Now (cometh) the end upon thee, and I shall send my wrath upon thee, and judge thee according to thy ways, and bring upon thee all thine abominations.* Ver. 4. *And my eye shall not look with pity upon thee, and I shall not spare, but bring thy ways upon thee; and thy abominations shall be in the midst of thee, that ye may know that I am Jehovah.*—וַיֵּאמֶר, with the copula, connects this word of God with the preceding one, and shows it to be a continuation. It commences with an emphatic utterance of the thought, that the end is coming to the land of Israel, i.e. to the kingdom of Judah, with its capital Jerusalem. Desecrated as it has been

by the abominations of its inhabitants, it will cease to be the land of God's people Israel. 'לְאַרְצַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (to the land of Israel) is not to be taken with כֹּה אָמַר (thus saith the Lord) in opposition to the accents, but is connected with קֵץ (an end), as in the Targ. and Vulgate, and is placed first for the sake of greater emphasis. In the construction, compare Job vi. 14. אֲרֻבַּעַת אֲרָצֵי הָאָרֶץ is limited by the parallelism to the four extremities of the land of Israel. It is used elsewhere for the whole earth (Isa. xi. 12). The *Chetib* אֲרֻבַּעַת is placed, in opposition to the ordinary rule, before a noun in the feminine gender. The *Keri* gives the regular construction (*vid.* Ewald, § 267c). In ver. 3 the end is explained to be a wrathful judgment. "Give (נָתַת) thine abominations upon thee;" *i.e.* send the consequences, inflict punishment for them. The same thought is expressed in the phrase, "thine abominations shall be in the midst of thee;" in other words, they would discern them in the punishments which the abominations would bring in their train. For ver. 4a compare ch. v. 11.

Vers. 5-27. The execution of the judgment announced in vers. 2-4, arranged in four strophes: vers. 5-9, 10-14, 15-22, 23-27.—The *first* strophe depicts the end as a terrible calamity, and as near at hand. Vers. 3 and 4 are repeated as a refrain in vers. 8 and 9, with slight modifications. Ver. 5. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Misfortune, a singular misfortune, behold, it cometh.* Ver. 6. *End cometh: there cometh the end; it waketh upon thee; behold, it cometh.* Ver. 7. *The fate cometh upon thee, inhabitants of the land: the time cometh, the day is near; tumult and not joy upon the mountains.* Ver. 8. *Now speedily will I pour out my fury upon thee, and accomplish mine anger on thee; and judge thee according to thy ways, and bring upon thee all thine abominations.* Ver. 9. *My eye shall not look with pity upon thee, and I shall not spare; according to thy ways will I bring it upon thee, and thy abominations shall be in the midst of thee, that ye may know that I, Jehovah, am smiting.*—Misfortune of a singular kind shall come. רָעָה is made more emphatic

by אֶתֶּה רָעָה, in which אֶתֶּה is placed first for the sake of emphasis, in the sense of *unicus, singularis*; a calamity singular (unique) of its kind, such as never had occurred before (cf. ch. v. 9). In ver. 6 the poetical הִנֵּי, it (the end) waketh upon thee, is suggested by the paronomasia with הִנֵּן. The force of the words is weakened by supplying Jehovah as the subject to הִנֵּן, in opposition to the context. And it will not do to supply רָעָה (evil) from ver. 5 as the subject to הִנֵּה בָּאָה (behold, it cometh). בָּאָה is construed impersonally: It cometh, namely, every dreadful thing which the end brings with it. The meaning of *tz'phiráh* is doubtful. The only other passage in which it occurs is Isa. xxviii. 5, where it is used in the sense of diadem or crown, which is altogether unsuitable here. Raschi has therefore had recourse to the Syriac and Chaldee צִפְרָא, *aurora, tempus matutinum*, and Hävernicks has explained it accordingly, "the dawn of an evil day." But the dawn is never used as a symbol or omen of misfortune, not even in Joel ii. 2, but solely as the sign of the bursting forth of light or of salvation. Abarbanel was on the right track when he started from the radical meaning of צִפְרָא, to twist, and taking *tz'phiráh* in the sense of *orbis, ordo*, or periodical return, understood it as probably denoting *rerum fatigue vicissitudinem in orbem redeuntem* (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1188). But it has been justly observed, that the rendering succession, or periodical return, can only give a forced sense in ver. 10. Winer has given a better rendering, viz. *fatum, malum fatale*, fate or destiny, for which he refers to the Arabic ^{صبرم} صبرم, *intortum*, then *fatum haud mutandum inevitabile*. Different explanations have also been given of הִיר הָרִים. But the opinion that it is synonymous with הִירָד, the joyous vintage cry (Jer. xxv. 30; Isa. xvi. 10), is a more probable one than that it is an unusual form of הוֹד, *splendor, gloria*. So much at any rate is obvious from the context, that the *hapax legomenon* הִיר is the antithesis of מְרוּמָה, tumult, or the noise of war. The shouting of the

mountains, is shouting, a rejoicing upon the mountains. מְקַרֵּב, from the immediate vicinity, in a temporal not a local sense, as in Deut. xxxii. 17 (=immediately). For בְּלִפְנֵי אֵף, see ch. vi. 12. The remainder of the strophe (vers. 8b and 9) is a repetition of vers. 3 and 4; but מַכָּה is added in the last clause. They shall learn that it is Jehovah who smites. This thought is expanded in the following strophe.

Vers. 10–14. *Second strophe.*—Ver. 10. *Behold the day, behold, it cometh; the fate springeth up; the rod sprouteth; the pride blossometh.* Ver. 11. *The violence riseth up as the rod of evil: nothing of them, nothing of their multitude, nothing of their crowd, and nothing glorious upon them.* Ver. 12. *The time cometh, the day approacheth: let not the buyer rejoice, and let not the seller trouble himself; for wrath cometh upon the whole multitude thereof.* Ver. 13. *For the seller will not return to that which was sold, even though his life were still among the living: for the prophecy against its whole multitude will not turn back; and no one will strengthen himself as to his life through his iniquity.* Ver. 14. *They blow the trumpet and make everything ready; but no one goeth into the battle: for my wrath cometh upon all their multitude.*—The rod is already prepared; nothing will be left of the ungodly. This is the leading thought of the strophe. The three clauses of ver. 10b are synonymous; but there is a gradation in the thought. The approaching fate springs up out of the earth (אֲרָץ), applied to the springing up of plants, as in 1 Kings v. 13; Isa. xi. 1, etc.); it sprouts as a rod, and flowers as pride. *Matteh*, the rod as an instrument of chastisement (Isa. x. 5). This rod is then called *zâdhôn*, pride, inasmuch as God makes use of a proud and violent people, namely the Chaldeans (Hab. i. 6 sqq.; Jer. l. 31 seq.), to inflict the punishment. Sprouting and blossoming, which are generally used as figurative representations of fresh and joyous prosperity, denote here the vigorous growth of that power which is destined to inflict the punishment. Both *châmâs* (violence) and *zâdhôn* (pride) refer to the enemy who is to chastise Israel. The violence

which he employs rises up into the chastening rod of "evil," *i.e.* of ungodly Israel. In ver. 11b the effect of the blow is described in short, broken sentences. The emotion apparent in the frequent repetition of לֹא is intensified by the omission of the verb, which gives to the several clauses the character of exclamations. So far as the meaning is concerned, we have to insert יְהִיָּה in thought, and to take מִן in a partitive sense: there will not be anything of them, *i.e.* nothing will be left of them (the Israelites, or the inhabitants of the land). מֵהֶם (of them) is explained by the nouns which follow. הָמוֹן and the ἀπ. λεγ. הַמְּהָם, plural of הֶם or הֵמָּה, both derivatives of הָמָה, are so combined that הָמוֹן signifies the tumultuous multitude of people, הֵמָּה the multitude of possessions (like הָמוֹן, Isa. lx. 2; Ps. xxxvii. 16, etc.). The meaning which Hävernicks assigns to *hâmech*, viz. anxiety or trouble, is unsupported and inappropriate. The ἀπ. λεγ. נֹחַ is not to be derived from נָחָה, to lament, as the Rabbins affirm; or interpreted, as Kimchi—who adopts this derivation—maintains, on the ground of Jer. xvi. 4 sqq., as signifying that, on account of the multitude of the dying, there will be no more lamentation for the dead. This leaves the *Mappik* in ה unexplained. נֹחַ is a derivative of a root נָחַ; in Arabic, نَحَى, *elata fuit res, eminuît, magnificus fuit*; hence נֹחַ, *res magnifica*. When everything disappears in such a way as this, the joy occasioned by the acquisition of property, and the sorrow caused by its loss, will also pass away (ver. 12). The buyer will not rejoice in the property he has bought, for he will not be able to enjoy it; and the seller will not mourn that he has been obliged to part with his possession, for he would have lost it in any case.¹ The wrath of God is kindled against their whole multitude; that is to say, the judgment falls equally upon 'them all. The suffix in הַמִּנֵּה refers, as

¹ "It is a natural thing to rejoice in the purchase of property, and to mourn over its sale. But when slavery and captivity stare you in the face, rejoicing and mourning are equally absurd."—JEROME.

Jerome has correctly shown, to the "land of Israel" (*admath*, *Yisrâ'el*) in ver. 2, *i.e.* to the inhabitants of the land. The words, "the seller will not return to what he has sold," are to be explained from the legal regulations concerning the year of jubilee in Lev. xxv., according to which all landed property that had been sold was to revert to its original owner (or his heir), without compensation, in the year of jubilee; so that he would then return to his *mimkâr* (Lev. xxv. 14, 27, 28). Henceforth, however, this will take place no more, even if הַיָּהוּדָה, their (the sellers') life, should be still alive (*sc.* at the time when the return to his property would take place, according to the regulations of the year of jubilee), because Israel will be banished from the land. The clause וְעוֹד בְּחַיִּים ה' is a conditional circumstantial clause. The seller will not return (לֹא יָשׁוּב) to his possession, because the prophecy concerning the whole multitude of the people will not return (לֹא יָשׁוּב), *i.e.* will not turn back (for this meaning of שׁוּב, compare Isa. xlv. 23, lv. 11). As לֹא יָשׁוּב corresponds to the previous לֹא יָשׁוּב, so does חֲרוֹן אֶל-בֶּל-הַמוֹנָה to חֲזוֹן אֶת-בֶּל הַמוֹנָה in ver. 12. In the last clause of ver. 13, חַיָּתוֹ is not to be taken with בְּעוֹנוֹ in the sense of "in the iniquity of his life," which makes the suffix in בְּעוֹנוֹ superfluous, but with יִתְחַזֵּק, the *Hithpael* being construed with the accusative, "strengthen himself in his life." Whether these words also refer to the year of jubilee, as Hävernîck supposes, inasmuch as the regulation that every one was to recover his property was founded upon the idea of the restitution and re-creation of the theocracy, we may leave undecided; since the thought is evidently simply this: ungodly Israel shall be deprived of its possession, because the wicked shall not obtain the strengthening of his life through his sin. This thought leads on to ver. 14, in which we have a description of the utter inability to offer any successful resistance to the enemy employed in executing the judgment. There is some difficulty connected with the word בְּתִקְוָה, since the *infin. absolute*, which the form תִּקְוָה seems to indicate, cannot be con-

strued with either a preposition or the article. Even if the expression *בְּהִקְוֶה הִקְעִי* in Jer. vi. 1 was floating before the mind of Ezekiel, and led to his employing the bold phrase *בְּהִקְוֶה*, this would not justify the use of the infinitive absolute with a preposition and the article. *הִקְוֶה* must be a substantive form, and denote not *clangour*, but the instrument used to sound an alarm, viz. the *shōphâr* (ch. xxxiii. 3). *הִקְוֶה*, an unusual form of the *inf. abs.* (see Josh. vii. 7), used in the place of the finite tense, and signifying to equip for war, as in Nah. ii. 4. *הִקְוֶה*, everything requisite for waging war. And no one goes into the battle, because the wrath of God turns against them (Lev. xxvi. 17), and smites them with despair (Deut. xxxii. 30).

Vers. 15-22. *Third strophe.* Thus will they fall into irresistible destruction; even their silver and gold they will not rescue, but will cast it away as useless, and leave it for the enemy.—Ver. 15. *The sword without, and pestilence and famine within: he who is in the field will die by the sword; and famine and pestilence will devour him that is in the city.* Ver. 16. *And if their escaped ones escape, they will be upon the mountains like the doves of the valleys, all moaning, every one for his iniquity.* Ver. 17. *All hands will become feeble, and all knees flow with water.* Ver. 18. *They will gird themselves with sackcloth, and terrors will cover them; on all faces there will be shame, and baldness on all their heads.* Ver. 19. *They will throw their silver into the streets, and their gold will be as filth to them. Their silver and their gold will not be able to rescue them in the day of Jehovah's wrath; they will not satisfy their souls therein, nor fill their stomachs thereby, for it was to them a stumbling-block to guilt.* Ver. 20. *And His beautiful ornament, they used it for pride; and their abominable images, their abominations they made thereof: therefore I make it filth to them.* Ver. 21. *And I shall give it into the hand of foreigners for prey, and to the wicked of the earth for spoil, that they may defile it.* Ver. 22. *I shall turn my face from them, that they defile my treasure;*

and oppressors shall come upon it and defile it.—The chastisement of God penetrates everywhere (ver. 15 compare with ch. v. 12); even flight to the mountains, that are inaccessible to the foe (compare 1 Macc. ii. 28; Matt. xxiv. 16), will only bring misery. Those who have fled to the mountains will coo—*i.e.* mourn, moan—like the doves of the valleys, which (as Bochart has correctly interpreted the simile in his *Hieroz.* II. p. 546, ed. Ros.), “when alarmed by the bird-catcher or the hawk, are obliged to forsake their natural abode, and fly elsewhere to save their lives. The mountain doves are contrasted with those of the valleys, as wild with tame.” In בָּלָם הַמִּוֶּת the figure and the fact are fused together. The words actually relate to the men who have fled; whereas the gender of הַמִּוֶּת is made to agree with that of בִּינִי. The cooing of doves was regarded by the ancients as a moan (*hāgāh*), a mournful note (for proofs, see Gesen. on Isa. xxxviii. 14); for which Ezekiel uses the still stronger expression *hāmāh fremere*, to howl or growl (cf. Isa. lix. 11). The low moaning has reference to their iniquity, the punishment of which they are enduring. When the judgment bursts upon them, they will all (not merely those who have escaped, but the whole nation) be overwhelmed with terror, shame, and suffering. The words, “all knees flow with water” (for *hālāk* in this sense, compare Joel iv. 18), are a hyperbolical expression used to denote the entire loss of the strength of the knees (here, ver. 17 and ch. xxi. 12), like the heart melting and turning to water in Josh. vii. 5. With this utter despair there are associated grief and horror at the calamity that has fallen upon them, and shame and pain at the thought of the sins that have plunged them into such distress. For בָּסַתָּה פְּלָצוֹת, compare Ps. lv. 6; for אֶל-בָּל-פָּנִים בּוֹשָׁה, Mic. vii. 10, Jer. li. 51; and for בָּבֶל-רֹאשׁ קָרָהָה, Isa. xv. 2, Amos viii. 10. On the custom of shaving the head bald on account of great suffering or deep sorrow, see the comm. on Mic. i. 16.—In this state of anguish they will throw all their treasures away as sinful trash (ver. 19 sqq.). By the silver

and gold which they will throw away (ver. 19), we are not to understand idolatrous images particularly, — these are first spoken of in ver. 20,—but the treasures of precious metals on which they had hitherto set their hearts. They will not merely throw these away as worthless, but look upon them as *niddāh*, filth, an object of disgust, inasmuch as they have been the servants of their evil lust. The next clause, “silver and gold cannot rescue them,” are a reminiscence from Zeph. i. 18. But Ezekiel gives greater force to the thought by adding, “they will not appease their hunger therewith,”—that is to say, they will not be able to protect their lives thereby, either from the sword of the enemy (see the comm. on Zeph. i. 18) or from death by starvation, because there will be no more food to purchase within the besieged city. The clause *בִּי מִבְּשׁוּל וְגִי* assigns the reason for that which forms the leading thought of the verse, namely, the throwing away of the silver and gold as filth; *מִבְּשׁוּל עֵינִים*, a stumbling-block through which one falls into guilt and punishment; *צִבִּי עֲרִי*, the beauty of his ornament, *i.e.* his beautiful ornament. The allusion is to the silver and gold; and the singular suffix is to be explained from the fact that the prophet fixed his mind upon the people as a whole, and used the singular in a general and indefinite sense. The words are written absolutely at the commencement of the sentence; hence the suffix attached to *שָׂמָהּ*. Jerome has given the true meaning of the words: “what I (God) gave for an ornament of the possessors and for their wealth, they turned into pride.” And not merely to ostentatious show (in the manner depicted in Isa. iii. 16 sqq.), but to abominable images, *i.e.* idols, did they apply the costly gifts of God (cf. Hos. viii. 4, xiii. 2). *עָשָׂה בָּ*, to make of (gold and silver); *בָּ* denoting the material with which one works and of which anything is made (as in Ex. xxxi. 4, xxxviii. 8). God punishes this abuse by making it (gold and silver) into *niddāh* to them, *i.e.*, according to ver. 19, by placing them in such circumstances that they cast it away as filth, and (ver. 21) by giving it as booty to the foe. The

enemy is described as “the wicked of the earth” (cf. Ps. lxxv. 9), *i.e.* godless men, who not only seize upon the possession of Israel, but in the most wicked manner lay hands upon all that is holy, and defile it. The *Chetib* חֶלְלִיתָ is to be retained, notwithstanding the fact that it was preceded by a masculine suffix. What is threatened will take place, because the Lord will turn away His face from His people (מִפְּנֵיהֶם, from the Israelites), *i.e.* will withdraw His gracious protection from them, so that the enemy will be able to defile His treasure. *Tsâphûn*, that which is hidden, the treasure (Job xx. 26; Obad. ver. 6). *Tsâphûnî* is generally supposed to refer to the temple, or the Most Holy Place in the temple. Jerome renders it *arcanum meum*, and gives this explanation: “signifying the Holy of Holies, which no one except the priests and the high priest dared to enter.” This interpretation was so commonly adopted by the Fathers, that even Theodoret explains the rendering given in the Septuagint, τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ μου, as signifying the Most Holy Place in the temple. On the other hand, the Chaldee has אֶרֶץ בֵּית שְׁכִינָתִי, “the land of the house of my majesty;” and Calvin understands it as signifying “the land which was safe under His (*i.e.* God’s) protection.” But it is difficult to reconcile either explanation with the use of the word *tsâphûn*. The verb *tsâphan* signifies to hide, shelter, lay up in safety. These meanings do not befit either the Holy of Holies in the temple or the land of Israel. It is true that the Holy of Holies was unapproachable by the laity, and even by the ordinary priests, but it was not a secret, a hidden place; and still less was this the case with the land of Canaan. We therefore adhere to the meaning, which is so thoroughly sustained by Job xx. 26 and Obad. ver. 6,—namely, “treasure,” by which, no doubt, the temple-treasure is primarily intended. This rendering suits the context, as only treasures have been referred to before; and it may be made to harmonize with בֵּית חַיִּים which follows. בֵּית חַיִּים signifies not merely *intrare in locum*, but also *venire in* (*e.g.* 2 Kings vi. 23; possibly Ezek.

xxx. 4), and may therefore be very properly rendered, "to get possession of," since it is only possible to obtain possession of a treasure by penetrating into the place where it is laid up or concealed. There is nothing at variance with this in the word חָלַל, *profanare*, since it has already occurred in ver. 21 in connection with the defiling of treasures and jewels. Moreover, as Calvin has correctly observed, the word is employed here to denote "an indiscriminate abuse, when, instead of considering to what purpose things have been entrusted to us, we squander them rashly and without selection, in contempt and even in scorn."

Vers. 23-27. *Fourth strophe.* Still worse is coming, namely, the captivity of the people, and overthrow of the kingdom.—Ver. 23. *Make the chain, for the land is full of capital crime, and the city full of outrage.* Ver. 24. *I shall bring evil ones of the nations, that they may take possession of their houses; and I shall put an end to the pride of the strong, that their sanctuaries may be defiled.* Ver. 25. *Ruin has come; they seek salvation, but there is none.* Ver. 26. *Destruction upon destruction cometh, and report upon report ariseth; they seek visions from prophets, but the law will vanish away from the priest, and counsel from the elders.* Ver. 27. *The king will mourn, and the prince will clothe himself in horror, and the hands of the common people will tremble. I will deal with them according to their way, and according to their judgments will I judge them, that they may learn that I am Jehovah.*—Those who have escaped death by sword or famine at the conquest of Jerusalem have captivity and exile awaiting them. This is the meaning of the command to make the chain, *i.e.* the fetters needed to lead the people into exile. This punishment is necessary, because the land is full of *mishpat dāmim*, judgment of blood. This cannot mean, there is a judgment upon the shedding of blood, *i.e.* upon murder, which is conducted by Jehovah, as Hävernicks supposes. Such a thought is irreconcilable with מִלְּאָה, and with the parallel מִלְּאָה הָמָּס. מִשְׁפָּט דָּמִים is to be explained after the

same manner as מִשְׁפַּט מָוֶת (a matter for sentence of death, a capital crime) in Deut. xix. 6, 21, 22, as signifying a matter for sentence of bloodshed, *i.e.* a crime of blood, or capital crime, as the Chaldee has already rendered it. Because the land is filled with capital crime, and the city (Jerusalem) with violence, the Lord will bring רָעִי נָאִים, evil ones of the heathen, *i.e.* the worst of the heathen, to put an end to the pride of the Israelites. נָאִים נָאִים is not "pride of the insolents;" for נָאִים does not stand for עֲוֵי פָנִים (Deut. xxviii. 50, etc.). The expression is rather to be explained from נָאִים עָוֹ, pride of strength, in ch. xxiv. 21, xxx. 6, 18 (cf. Lev. xxvi. 19), and embraces everything on which a man (or a nation) bases his power and rests his confidence. The Israelites are called נָאִים, because they thought themselves strong, or, according to ch. xxiv. 21, based their strength upon the possession of the temple and the holy land. This is indicated by נִחְלוֹ מִקְדָּשֵׁיהֶם which follows. נִחְל, *Niphal* of חָלַל and מִקְדָּשֵׁיהֶם, not a participle *Piel*, from מִקְדָּשׁ, with the Dagesh dropped, but an unusual form, from מִקְדָּשׁ for מִקְדָּשֵׁיהֶם (*vid.* Ew. § 215a).—The ἀπ. λεγ. קָפְרָה, with the tone drawn back on account of the tone-syllable which follows (cf. Ges. § 29. 3. 6), signifies *excidium*, destruction (according to the Rabbins), from קָפַר, to shrink or roll up (Isa. xxxviii. 12). נָאִים is a prophetic perfect. In ver. 25 the ruin of the kingdom is declared to be certain, and in vers. 26 and 27 the occurrence of it is more minutely depicted. Stroke upon stroke does the ruin come; and it is intensified by reports, alarming accounts, which crowd together and increase the terror, and also by the desperation of the spiritual and temporal leaders of the nation,—the prophets, priests, and elders,—whom God deprives of revelation, knowledge, and counsel; so that all ranks (king and princes and the common people) sink into mourning, alarm, and horror. That it is to no purpose that visions or prophecies are sought from the prophets (ver. 26), is evident from the antithetical statement concerning the priests and elders which immediately follows. The three statements serve

as complements of one another. They seek for predictions from prophets, but the prophets receive no vision, no revelation. They seek instruction from priests, but instruction is withdrawn from the priests; and so forth. *Tôrâh* signifies instruction out of the law, which the priests were to give to the people (Mal. ii. 7). In ver. 27, the three classes into which the people were divided are mentioned—viz. king, prince (*i.e.* tribe-princes and heads of families), and, in contradistinction to both, עַם הָאָרֶץ, the common people, the people of the land, in distinction from the civil rulers, as in 2 Kings xxi. 24, xxiii. 30. מִדְרָכָם, literally from their way, their mode of action, will I do to them: *i.e.* my action will be derived from theirs, and regulated accordingly. אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה לָּהֶם כְּמַעַלְתָּם for אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה לָּהֶם, as in ch. iii. 22, etc. (See the comm. on ch. xvi. 59.)

CHAP. VIII.—XI. VISION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

A year and two months after his call, the glory of the Lord appeared to the prophet a second time, as he had seen it by the Chebar. He is transported in spirit to Jerusalem into the court of the temple (ch. viii. 1–4), where the Lord causes him to see, first the idolatry of Israel (ch. viii. 5–18), and secondly, the judgment why, on account of this idolatry, all the inhabitants of Jerusalem are smitten (chap. ix.), the city is burned with fire, and the sanctuary forsaken by God (ch. x.). Lastly, after he has been charged to foretell to the representatives of the people more especially the coming judgment, and to those who are sent into exile a future salvation (ch. xi. 1–21), he describes how the gracious presence of God forsakes the city before his own eyes (ch. xi. 22, 23). After this has taken place, Ezekiel is carried back in the vision to Chaldea once more; and there, after the vision has come to an end, he announces to the exiles what he has seen and heard (ch. xi. 24, 25).

Chap. viii. ABOMINATIONS OF THE IDOLATRY OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL.—Vers. 1–4. Time and place of the divine revelation.—Ver. 1. *And it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth (month), on the fifth (day) of the month, I was sitting in my house, and the elders of Judah were sitting before me ; there fell upon me the hand of the Lord Jehovah there.* Ver. 2. *And I saw, and behold a figure like the look of fire, from the look of its loins downwards fire, and from its loins upwards like a look of brilliance, like the sight of red-hot brass.* Ver. 3. *And he stretched out the form of a hand, and took me by the locks of my head, and wind carried me away between earth and heaven, and brought me to Jerusalem in visions of God, to the entrance of the gate of the inner court, which faces towards the north, where the image of jealousy exciting jealousy had its stand.* Ver. 4. *And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel was there, like the vision which I have seen in the valley.*—The place where Ezekiel received this new theophany agrees with the statements in ch. iii. 24 and iv. 4, 6, that he was to shut himself up in his house, and lie 390 days upon the left side, and 40 days upon the right side—in all, 430 days. The use of the word יָשַׁב, “I sat,” is not at variance with this, as יָשַׁב does not of necessity signify sitting as contrasted with lying, but may also be used in the more general sense of staying, or living, in the house. Nor is the presence of the elders of Judah opposed to the command, in ch. iii. 24, to shut himself up in the house, as we have already observed in the notes on that passage. The new revelation is made to him in the presence of these elders, because it is of the greatest importance to them. They are to be witnesses of his ecstasy ; and after this has left the prophet, are to hear from his lips the substance of the divine revelation (ch. xi. 25). It is otherwise with the time of the revelation. If we compare the date given in ch. viii. 1 with those mentioned before, this new vision apparently falls within the period required for carrying out the symbolical actions of the previous vision. Between ch. i. 1, 2 (the fifth day of the fourth month in the fifth year) and

ch. viii. 1 (the fifth day of the sixth month in the sixth year) we have one year and two months, that is to say (reckoning the year as a lunar year at 354 days, and the two months at 59 days), 413 days; whereas the two events recorded in ch. i. 1-vii. 27 require at least 437 days, namely 7 days for ch. iii. 15, and $390 + 40 = 430$ days for ch. iv. 5, 6. Consequently the new theophany would fall within the 40 days, during which Ezekiel was to lie upon the right side for Judah. To get rid of this difficulty, Hitzig conjectures that the fifth year of Jehoiachin (ch. i. 2) was a leap year of 13 months or 385 days, by which he obtains an interval of 444 days after adding 59 for the two months,—a period sufficient not only to include the 7 days (ch. iii. 15) and $390 + 40$ days (ch. iv. 5, 6), but to leave 7 days for the time that elapsed between ch. vii. and viii. But however attractive this reckoning may appear, the assumption that the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin was a leap year is purely conjectural; and there is nothing whatever to give it probability. Consequently the only thing that could lead us to adopt such a solution, would be the impossibility of reconciling the conclusion to be drawn from the chronological data, as to the time of the two theophanies, with the substance of these divine revelations. If we assume that Ezekiel carried out the symbolical acts mentioned in ch. iv. and v. in all their entirety, we can hardly imagine that the vision described in the chapters before us, by which he was transported in spirit to Jerusalem, occurred within the period of forty days, during which he was to typify the siege of Jerusalem by lying upon his right side. Nevertheless, Kliefoth has decided in favour of this view, and argues in support of it, that the vision described in ch. viii. 1 sqq. took place in the prophet's own house, that it is identical in substance with what is contained in ch. iii. 22-vii. 27, and that there is no discrepancy, because all that occurred here was purely internal, and the prophet himself was to address the words contained in ch. xi. 4-12 and xi. 14-21 to the inhabitants of Jerusalem in his state of ecstasy.

Moreover, when it is stated in ch. xi. 25 that Ezekiel related to the exiles all that he had seen in the vision, it is perfectly open to us to assume that this took place at the same time as his report to them of the words of God in ch. vi. and vii., and those which follow in ch. xii. But, on the other hand, it may be replied that the impression produced by ch. xi. 25 is not that the prophet waited several weeks after his visionary transport to Jerusalem before communicating to the elders what he saw in the vision. And even if the possibility of this cannot be disputed, we cannot imagine any reason why the vision should be shown to the prophet four weeks before it was to be related to the exiles. Again, there is not sufficient identity between the substance of the vision in ch. viii.-xi. and the revelation in ch. iv.-vii., to suggest any motive for the two to coincide. It is true that the burning of Jerusalem, which Ezekiel sees in ch. viii.-xi., is consequent upon the siege and conquest of that city, which he has already predicted in ch. iv.-vii. both in figure and word; but they are not so closely connected, that it was necessary on account of this connection for it to be shown to him before the completion of the symbolical siege of Jerusalem. And, lastly, although the ecstasy as a purely internal process is so far reconcilable with the prophet's lying upon his right side, that this posture did not preclude a state of ecstasy or render it impossible, yet this collision would ensue, that while the prophet was engaged in carrying out the former word of God, a new theophany would be received by him, which must necessarily abstract his mind from the execution of the previous command of God, and place him in a condition in which it would be impossible for him to set his face firmly upon the siege of Jerusalem, as he had been commanded to do in ch. iv. 7. On account of this collision, we cannot subscribe to the assumption, that it was during the time that Ezekiel was lying bound by God upon his right side to bear the sin of Jerusalem, that he was transported in spirit to the temple at Jerusalem. On the contrary, the fact that this transport

occurred, according to ch. viii. 1, at a time when he could not have ended the symbolical acts of ch. iv., if he had been required to carry them out in all their external reality, furnishes us with conclusive evidence of the correctness of the view we have already expressed, that the symbolical acts of ch. iv. and v. did not lie within the sphere of outward reality (see comm. on ch. v. 4).—And if Ezekiel did not really lie for 430 days, there was nothing to hinder his having a fresh vision 14 months after the theophany in ch. i. and ch. iii. 22 sqq. For תָּפַל עָלַי 'נִי, see at ch. iii. 22 and i. 3.

The figure which Ezekiel sees in the vision is described in ver. 2 in precisely the same terms as the appearance of God in ch. i. 27. The sameness of the two passages is a sufficient defence of the reading כְּמַרְאֵה-אִישׁ against the arbitrary emendation כְּמַרְאֵה-אֱלֹהִים, after the Sept. rendering *ὁμοίωμα ἀνδρός*, in support of which Ewald and Hitzig appeal to ch. i. 26, though without any reason, as the reading there is not אִישׁ, but אָדָם. It is not expressly stated here that the apparition was in human form—the fiery appearance is all that is mentioned; but this is taken for granted in the allusion to the מְתַנִּים (the loins), either as self-evident, or as well known from ch. i. וְהָרִי is synonymous with נִיָּה in ch. i. 4, 27. What is new in the present theophany is the stretching out of the hand, which grasps the prophet by the front hair of his head, whereupon he is carried by wind between heaven and earth, i.e. through the air, to Jerusalem, not in the body, but in visions of God (cf. ch. i. 1), that is to say, in spiritual ecstasy, and deposited at the entrance of the inner northern door of the temple. הַפְּנִימִית is not an adjective belonging to שַׁעַר, for this is not a feminine noun, but is used as a substantive, as in ch. xliii. 5 (= הַחֲצֵר הַפְּנִימִית: cf. ch. xl. 40): gate of the inner court, i.e. the gate on the north side of the inner court which led into the outer court. We are not informed whether Ezekiel was placed on the inner or outer side of this gate, i.e. in the inner or outer court; but it is evident from ver. 5 that he was placed in the

inner court, as his position commanded a view of the image which stood at the entrance of the gate towards the north. The further statement, "where the standing place of the image of jealousy was," anticipates what follows, and points out the reason why the prophet was placed just there. The expression "image of jealousy" is explained by *תַּפְסוּתָהּ*, which excites the jealousy of Jehovah (see the comm. on Ex. xx. 5). Consequently, we have not to think of any image of Jehovah, but of an image of a heathen idol (cf. Deut. xxxii. 21); probably of Baal or Asherah, whose image had already been placed in the temple by Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 7); certainly not the image of the corpse of Adonis moulded in wax or clay. This opinion, which Hävernicks advances, is connected with the erroneous assumption that all the idolatrous abominations mentioned in this chapter relate to the celebration of an Adonis-festival in the temple. There (ver. 4) in the court of the temple Ezekiel saw once more the glory of the God of Israel, as he had seen it in the valley (ch. iii. 22) by the Chaboras, *i.e.* the appearance of God upon the throne with the cherubim and wheels; whereas the divine figure, whose hand grasped him in his house, and transported him to the temple (ver. 2), showed neither throne nor cherubim. The expression "God of Israel," instead of Jehovah (ch. iii. 23), is chosen as an antithesis to the strange god, the heathen idol, whose image stood in the temple. As the God of Israel, Jehovah cannot tolerate the image and worship of another god in *His* temple. To set up such an image in the temple of Jehovah was a practical renunciation of the covenant, a rejection of Jehovah on the part of Israel as its covenant God.

Here, in the temple, Jehovah shows to the prophet the various kinds of idolatry which Israel is practising both publicly and privately, not merely in the temple, but throughout the whole land. The arrangement of these different forms of idolatry in four groups or abomination scenes (vers. 5, 6, 7-12, 13-15, and 16-18), which the prophet sees both in and from

the court of the temple, belong to the visionary drapery of this divine revelation. It is altogether erroneous to interpret the vision as signifying that all these forms of idolatry were practised in the temple itself; an assumption which cannot be carried out without doing violence to the description, more especially of the second abomination in vers. 7-12. Still more untenable is Hävernicks's view, that the four pictures of idolatrous practices shown to the prophet are only intended to represent different scenes of a festival of Adonis held in the temple. The selection of the courts of the temple for depicting the idolatrous worship, arises from the fact that the temple was the place where Israel was called to worship the Lord its God. Consequently the apostasy of Israel from the Lord could not be depicted more clearly and strikingly than by the following series of pictures of idolatrous abominations practised in the temple under the eyes of God.

Vers. 5 and 6. *First abomination-picture.*—Ver. 5. *And He said to me, Son of man, lift up thine eyes now towards the north. And I lifted up my eyes towards the north, and, behold, to the north of the gate of the altar was this image of jealousy at the entrance.* Ver. 6. *And He said to me, Son of man, seest thou what they do? great abominations, which the house of Israel doeth here, that I may go far away from my sanctuary; and thou shalt yet again see greater abominations still.*—As Ezekiel had taken his stand in the inner court at the entrance of the north gate, and when looking thence towards the north saw the image of jealousy to the north of the altar gate, the image must have stood on the outer side of the entrance, so that the prophet saw it as he looked through the open doorway. The altar gate is the same as the northern gate of the inner court mentioned in ver. 3. But it is impossible to state with certainty how it came to be called the altar gate. Possibly from the circumstance that the sacrificial animals were taken through this gate to the altar, to be slaughtered on the northern side of the altar, according to Lev. i. 4, v. 11, etc. מִזְבֵּחַ, contracted from מִזְבֵּחַהּ, like

מִןּ from מָה in Ex. iv. 2. The words "what they are doing here" do not force us to assume that at that very time they were worshipping the idol. They simply describe what was generally practised there. The setting up of the image involved the worship of it. The subject to לְרַחֵק is not the house of Israel, but Jehovah. They perform great abominations, so that Jehovah is compelled to go to a distance from His sanctuary, *i.e.* to forsake it (cf. ch. xi. 23), because they make it an idol-temple.

Vers. 7-12. *Second abomination: Worship of beasts.*—Ver. 7. *And He brought me to the entrance of the court, and I saw, and behold there was a hole in the wall.* Ver. 8. *And He said to me, Son of man, break through the wall: and I broke through the wall, and behold there was a door.* Ver. 9. *And He said to me, Come and see the wicked abominations which they are doing here.* Ver. 10. *And I came and saw, and behold there were all kinds of figures of reptiles, and beasts, abominations, and all kinds of idols of the house of Israel, drawn on the wall round about.* Ver. 11. *And seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel, with Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan standing among them, stood in front, every man with his censer in his hand; and the smell of a cloud of incense arose.* Ver. 12. *And He said to me, Seest thou, son of man, what the elders of the house of Israel do in the dark, every one in his image-chambers? For they say: Jehovah doth not see us; Jehovah hath forsaken the land.*—The entrance of the court to which Ezekiel was now transported cannot be the principal entrance to the outer court towards the east (Ewald). This would be at variance with the context, as we not only find the prophet at the northern entrance in vers. 3 and 5, but at ver. 14 we find him there still. If he had been taken to the eastern gate in the meantime, this would certainly have been mentioned. As that is not the case, the reference must be to that entrance to the court which lay between the entrance-gate of the inner court (ver. 3) and the northern entrance-gate to the house of Jehovah (ver. 14), or northern gate of the outer court, in other words, the northern entrance

into the outer court. Thus the prophet was conducted out of the inner court through its northern gate into the outer court, and placed in front of the northern gate, which led out into the open air. There he saw a hole in the wall, and on breaking through the wall, by the command of God, he saw a door, and having entered it, he saw all kinds of figures of animals engraved on the wall round about, in front of which seventy of the elders of Israel were standing and paying reverence to the images of beasts with burning incense. According to ver. 12, the prophet was thereby shown what the elders of Israel did in the dark, every one in his image-chamber. From this explanation on the part of God concerning the picture shown to the prophet, it is very evident that it had no reference to any idolatrous worship practised by the elders in one or more of the cells of the outer court of the temple. For even though the objection raised by Kliefoth to this view, namely, that it cannot be proved that there were halls with recesses in the outer court, is neither valid nor correct, since the existence of such halls is placed beyond the reach of doubt by Jer. xxxv. 4, 2 Kings xxiii. 11, and 1 Chron. xxviii. 12; such a supposition is decidedly precluded by the fact, that the cells and recesses at the gates cannot have been large enough to allow of seventy-one men taking part in a festive idolatrous service. The supposition that the seventy-one men were distributed in different chambers is at variance with the distinct words of the text. The prophet not only sees the seventy elders standing along with Jaazaniah, but he could not look through one door into a number of chambers at once, and see the pictures drawn all round upon their walls. The assembling of the seventy elders in a secret cell by the northern gate of the outer temple to worship the idolatrous images engraved on the walls of the cell, is one feature in the visionary form given to the revelation of what the elders of the people were doing secretly throughout the whole land. To bring out more strikingly the secrecy of this idolatrous worship, the cell is so completely hidden in the wall,

that the prophet is obliged to enlarge the hole by breaking through the wall before he can see the door which leads to the cell and gain a view of them and of the things it contains, and the things that are done therein.¹ And the number of the persons assembled there suggests the idea of a symbolical representation, as well as the secrecy of the cell. The seventy elders represent the whole nation; and the number is taken from Ex. xxiv. 1 sqq. and Num. xi. 16, xxiv. 25, where Moses, by the command of God, chooses seventy of the elders to represent the whole congregation at the making of the covenant, and afterwards to support his authority. This representation of the congregation was not a permanent institution, as we may see from the fact that in Num. xi. seventy other men are said to have been chosen for the purpose named. The high council, consisting of seventy members, the so-called Sanhedrim, was formed after the captivity on the basis of these Mosaic types. In the midst of the seventy was Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, a different man therefore from the Jaazaniah mentioned in ch. xi. 1. Shaphan is probably the person mentioned as a man of distinction in 2 Kings xxii. 3 sqq.; Jer. xxix. 3, xxxvi. 10, xxxix. 14. It is impossible to decide on what ground Jaazaniah is specially mentioned by name; but it can hardly be on account of the meaning of the name he bore, "Jehovah hears," as Hävernicks supposes. It is probable that he held a prominent position among the elders of the nation, so that he is mentioned here by name as the leader of this national representation. —On the wall of the chamber round about there were drawn all kinds of figures of רֶמֶשׂ וּבְהֵמָה, reptiles and quadrupeds (see Gen. i. 24). שָׁמַיָּא is in apposition not only to בְּהֵמָה, but also to רֶמֶשׂ, and therefore, as belonging to both, is not to be connected with בְּהֵמָה in the construct state. The drawing of

¹ "Because the whole is exhibited pictorially and figuratively, he says that he saw one hole in a wall, and was directed to dig through and make it larger, that he might enter as if through an open door, and see the things which he could not possibly have seen while stationed outside." — JEROME.

reptiles and quadrupeds became a *sheqetz*, or abomination, from the fact that the pictures had been drawn for the purpose of religious worship. The following clause, "and all the idols of the house of Israel," is co-ordinate with בְּלִחְבֵּנִית וְנֹו. Besides the animals drawn on the walls, there were idols of other kinds in the chamber. The drawing of reptiles and quadrupeds naturally suggests the thought of the animal-worship of Egypt. We must not limit the words to this, however, since the worship of animals is met with in the nature-worship of other heathen nations, and the expression בְּלִחְבֵּנִית, "all kinds of figures," as well as the clause, "all kinds of idols of the house of Israel," points to every possible form of idol-worship as spread abroad in Israel. עֲתָר, according to the Aramaean usage, signifies *suffimentum*, perfume, בַּחֲשֵׁךְ, in the dark, *i.e.* in secret, like בַּסֶּתֶר in 2 Sam. xii. 12; not in the sacred darkness of the cloud of incense (Hävernicks). חֲרָרֵי מִשְׁבֵּית, image-chambers, is the term applied to the rooms or closets in the dwelling-houses of the people in which idolatrous images were set up and secretly worshipped. מִשְׁבֵּית signifies idolatrous figures, as in Lev. xxvi. 1 and Num. xxxiii. 52. This idolatry was justified by the elders, under the delusion that "Jehovah seeth us not;" that is to say, not: "He does not trouble Himself about us," but He does not see what we do, because He is not omniscient (cf. Isa. xxix. 15); and He has forsaken the land, withdrawn His presence and His help. Thus they deny both the omniscience and omnipresence of God (cf. ch. ix. 9).

Vers. 13-15. *Third abomination: Worship of Thammuz.*—
 Ver. 13. *And He said to me, Thou shalt yet again see still greater abominations which they do.* Ver. 14. *And He brought me to the entrance of the gate of the house of Jehovah, which is towards the north, and behold there sat the women, weeping for Thammuz.* Ver. 15. *And He said to me, Dost thou see it, O son of man? Thou shalt yet again see still greater abominations than these.*—
 The prophet is taken from the entrance into the court to the entrance of the gate of the temple, to see the women sitting

there weeping for Thammuz. The article in תָּשִׁים is used generically. Whilst the men of the nation, represented by the seventy elders, were secretly carrying on their idolatrous worship, the women were sitting at the temple gate, and indulging in public lamentation for Thammuz. Under the weeping for Thammuz, Jerome (with Melito of Sardis and all the Greek Fathers) has correctly recognised the worship of Adonis. “תָּשִׁים, Θαμμούζ or Θαμμούς,” says Jerome, “whom we have interpreted as Adonis, is called *Thamuz* both in Hebrew and Syriac; and because, according to the heathen legend, this lover of Venus and most beautiful youth is said to have been slain in the month of June and then restored to life again, they call this month of June by the same name, and keep an annual festival in his honour, at which he is lamented by women as though he were dead, and then afterwards celebrated in songs as having come to life again.” This view has not been shaken even by the objections raised by Chwolson in his *Ssaabins* (II. 27. 202 sqq.), his relics of early Babylonian literature (p. 101), and his Tammuz and human-worship among the ancient Babylonians. For the myth of Thammuz, mentioned in the Nabataean writings as a man who was put to death by the king of Babylon, whom he had commanded to introduce the worship of the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, and who was exalted to a god after his death, and honoured with a mourning festival, is nothing more than a refined interpretation of the very ancient nature-worship which spread over the whole of Hither Asia, and in which the power of the sun over the vegetation of the year was celebrated. The etymology of the word *Tammuz* is doubtful. It is probably a contraction of תָּמָז, from תָּז = תָּזַח, so that it denotes the decay of the force of nature, and corresponds to the Greek ἀφανισμὸς Ἀδώνιδος (see Hävernicks in loc.).

Vers. 16-18. *Fourth abomination*: Worship of the sun by the priests.—Ver. 16. *And He took me into the inner court of the house of Jehovah, and behold, at the entrance into the temple of*

Jehovah, between the porch and the altar, as it were five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple of Jehovah and their faces towards the east; they were worshipping the sun towards the east. Ver. 17. And He said to me, Seest thou this, son of man? Is it too little for the house of Judah to perform the abominations which they are performing here, that they also fill the land with violence, and provoke me to anger again and again? For behold they stretch out the vine-branch to their nose. Ver. 18. But I also will act in fury; my eye shall not look compassionately, and I will not spare; and if they cry with a loud voice in my ears, I will not hear them.—After Ezekiel has seen the idolatrous abominations in the outer court, or place for the people, he is taken back into the inner court, or court of the priests, to see still greater abominations there. Between the porch of the temple and the altar of burnt-offering, the most sacred spot therefore in the inner court, which the priests alone were permitted to tread (Joel ii. 17), he sees as if twenty-five men, with their backs toward the temple, were worshipping the sun in the east. פְּ before עֲשָׂרִים is not a preposition, *circa*, about, but a particle of comparison (an appearance): as if twenty-five men; after the analogy of פְּ before an accusative (*vid.* Ewald, § 282e). For the number here is not an approximative one; but twenty-five is the exact number, namely, the twenty-four leaders of the classes of priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 5 sqq.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14; Ezra x. 5), with the high priest at the head (see Lightfoot's *Chronol. of O. T.*, Opp. I. 124). As the whole nation was seen in the seventy elders, so is the entire priesthood represented here in the twenty-five leaders as deeply sunk in disgraceful idolatry. Their apostasy from the Lord is shown in the fact that they turn their back upon the temple, and therefore upon Jehovah, who was enthroned in the temple, and worship the sun, with their faces turned towards the east. The worship of the sun does not refer to the worship of Adonis, as Hävernicks supposes, although Adonis was a sun-god; but generally to the worship of the heavenly bodies, against which

Moses had warned the people (Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3), and which found its way in the time of Manasseh into the courts of the temple, whence it was afterwards expelled by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 5, 11). The form מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּתָם must be a copyist's error for מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיִּים; as the supposition that it is an unusual form, with a play upon הִשְׁחִיתָ¹, is precluded by the fact that it would in that case be a 2d per. plur. perf., and such a construction is rendered impossible by the הִמָּה which immediately precedes it (cf. Ewald, § 118a).—To these idolatrous abominations Judah has added other sins, as if these abominations were not bad enough in themselves. This is the meaning of the question in ver. 17, הֲנֶקֶל וגו': is it too little for the house of Judah, etc.? נֶקֶל with מן, as in Isa. xlix. 6. To indicate the fulness of the measure of guilt, reference is again briefly made to the moral corruption of Judah. הָמָס embraces all the injuries inflicted upon men; תוֹעֵבוֹת, impiety towards God, i.e. idolatry. By violent deeds they provoke God repeatedly to anger (שָׂנֵה, followed by an infinitive, expresses the repetition of an action). The last clause of ver. 17 (וְהֵמָּה שֹׁלְחִים וגו') is very obscure. The usual explanation, which has been adopted by J. D. Michaelis and Gesenius: "they hold the twig to their nose," namely, the sacred twig Barsom, which the Parsees held in their hands when praying (*vid.* Hyde, *de relig. vet. Pars.* p. 350, ed. 2; and Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, III. p. 204), suits neither the context nor the words. According to the position of the clause in the context, we do not expect an allusion to a new idolatrous rite, but an explanation of the way in which Judah had excited the wrath of God by its violent deeds. Moreover, מְזוֹרָה is not a suitable word to apply to the Barsom,—*Z'mōrāh* is a shoot or tendril of the vine (cf. ch. xv. 2; Isa. xvii. 10; Num. xiii. 23). The Barsom, on the other hand, consisted of bunches of twigs of the tree *Gez* or *Hom*, or of branches of the pomegranate, the tamarisk, or the date (cf. Kleuker *l.c.*, and Strabo, XV. 733),

¹ "An extraordinary form, invented for the purpose of more effectually expressing their extraordinary abomination."—LIGHTFOOT.

and was not held to the nose, but kept in front of the mouth as a magical mode of driving demons away (*vid.* Hyde, *l.c.*). Lastly, שָׁלַח אֵל does not mean to hold anything, but to stretch out towards, to prepare to strike, to use violence. Of the other explanations given, only two deserve any consideration,—namely, first, the supposition that it is a proverbial expression, “to apply the twig to anger,” in the sense of adding fuel to the fire, which Doederlein (*ad Grotii adnott.*) applies in this way, “by these things they supply food, as it were, to my wrath, which burns against themselves,” *i.e.* they bring fuel to the fire of my wrath. Lightfoot gives a similar explanation in his *Hor. hebr. ad John xv. 6*. The second is that of Hitzig: “they apply the sickle to their nose,” *i.e.* by seeking to injure me, they injure themselves. In this case זְמוּרָה must be taken in the sense of מְזַמְרָה, a sickle or pruning-knife, and pointed זְמוּרָה. The saying does appear to be a proverbial one, but the origin and meaning of the proverb have not yet been satisfactorily explained.—Ver. 18. Therefore will the Lord punish unsparingly (*cf.* ch. vii. 4, 9, v. 11). This judgment he shows to the prophet in the two following chapters.

Chap. ix. THE ANGELS WHICH SMITE JERUSALEM.—Vers. 1-3. At the call of Jehovah, His servants appear to execute the judgment.—Ver. 1. *And He called in my ears with a loud voice, saying, Come hither, ye watchmen of the city, and every one his instrument of destruction in his hand.* Ver. 2. *And behold six men came by the way of the upper gate, which is directed toward the north, every one with his smashing-tool in his hand; and a man in the midst of them, clothed in white linen, and writing materials by his hip; and they came and stood near the brazen altar.* Ver. 3. *And the glory of the God of Israel rose up from the cherub, upon which it was, to the threshold of the house, and called to the man clothed in white linen, by whose hip the writing materials were.*—פְּקֻדֹת הָעִיר does not mean the punishments of the city. This rendering does not suit the con-

text, since it is not the punishments that are introduced, but the men who execute them; and it is not established by the usage of the language. **פִּקְדָּיָה** is frequently used, no doubt, in the sense of visitation or chastisement (*e.g.* Isa. x. 3; Hos. ix. 7); but it is not met with in the plural in this sense. In the plural it only occurs in the sense of supervision or protectorate, in which sense it occurs not only in Jer. lii. 11 and Ezek. xliv. 11, but also (in the singular) in Isa. lx. 17, and as early as Num. iii. 38, where it relates to the presidency of the priests, and very frequently in the Chronicles. Consequently **פִּקְדָּיֹת** are those whom God has appointed to watch over the city, the city-guard (2 Kings xi. 18),—not earthly, but heavenly watchmen,—who are now to inflict punishment upon the ungodly, as the authorities appointed by God. **קָרְבִי** is an imperative *Piel*, as in Isa. xli. 21, and must not be altered into **קָרְבִי** (*Kal*), as Hitzig proposes. The *Piel* is used in an intransitive sense, *festinanter appropinquavit*, as in ch. xxxvi. 8. The persons called come by the way of the upper northern gate of the temple, to take their stand before Jehovah, whose glory had appeared in the inner court. The upper gate is the gate leading from the outer court to the inner, or upper court, which stood on higher ground,—the gate mentioned in ch. viii. 3 and 5. In the midst of the six men furnished with smashing-tools there was one clothed in white byssus, with writing materials at his side. The dress and equipment, as well as the instructions which he afterwards receives and executes, show him to be the prince or leader of the others. Kliefoth calls in question the opinion that these seven men are angels; but without any reason. Angels appearing in human form are frequently called **אַנְשֵׁים** or **אֲנִישׁ**, according to their external *habitus*. But the number seven neither presupposes the dogma of the seven archangels, nor is copied from the seven Parsic *amschaspands*. The dress worn by the high priest, when presenting the sin-offering on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 4, 23), was made of **בָּר**, *i.e.* of white material

woven from byssus thread (see the comm. on Ex. xxviii. 42). It has been inferred from this, that the figure clothed in white linen was the angel of Jehovah, who appears as the heavenly high priest, to protect and care for his own. In support of this, the circumstance may be also adduced, that the man whom Daniel saw above the water of the Tigris, and whose appearance is described, in Dan. x. 5, 6, in the same manner as that of Jehovah in Ezek. i. 4, 26, 27, and that of the risen Christ in Rev. i. 13-15, appears clothed in כְּתֹרֶת (Dan. x. 5, xii. 6, 7).¹ Nevertheless, we cannot regard this view as established. The shining white talar, which is evidently meant by the plural כְּתֹרֶת, occurring only here and in Daniel (*ut. sup.*), is not a dress peculiar to the angel of Jehovah or to Christ. The seven angels, with the vials of wrath, also appear in garments of shining white linen (ἐνδεδυμένοι λίνον καθαρὸν λαμπρόν, Rev. xv. 6); and the shining white colour, as a symbolical representation of divine holiness and glory (see comm. on Lev. xvi. 4 and Rev. xix. 8), is the colour generally chosen for the clothing both of the heavenly spirits and of "just men made perfect" (Rev. xix. 8). Moreover, the angel with the writing materials here is described in a totally different manner from the appearance of Jehovah in Ezek. i. and Dan. x., or that of Christ in Rev. i.; and there is nothing whatever to indicate a being equal with God. Again, the distinction between him and the other six men leads to no other conclusion, than that he stood in the same relation to them as the high priest to the Levites, or the chancellor to the other officials. This position is indicated by the writing materials on his hips, *i.e.* in the girdle on

¹ כְּתֹרֶת לְבוּשׁ is rendered by the LXX., in the passage before us, ἐνδεδυκὸς ποδήρη. It is in accordance with this that Christ is described in Rev. i. 13 as clothed with a ποδήρης, and not after Dan. x. 5, as Hengstenberg supposes. In Dan. x. 5, the Septuagint has ἐνδεδυμένος βαδδίν or τὰ βαδδίν. In other places, the Sept. rendering of כְּתֹרֶת is λίνον (thus Lev. xvi. 4, 23, vi. 3; Ex. xxviii. 42, etc.); and hence the λίνον λαμπρόν of Rev. xv. 6 answers to the כְּתֹרֶת made of שֵׁשׁ, βύσσος, and is really the same as the βύσσινον λαμπρόν of Rev. xix. 8.

his hips, in which scribes in the East are accustomed to carry their writing materials (*vid.* Rosenmüller, *A. u. N. Morgenland*, IV. p. 323). He is provided with these for the execution of the commission given to him in ver. 4. In this way the description can be very simply explained, without the slightest necessity for our resorting to Babylonian representations of the god Nebo, *i.e.* Mercury, as the scribe of heaven. The seven men take their station by the altar of burnt-offering, because the glory of God, whose commands they were about to receive, had taken up its position there for the moment (Kliefoth); not because the apostate priesthood was stationed there (Hävernicks). The glory of Jehovah, however, rose up from the cherub to the threshold of the house. The meaning of this is not that it removed from the interior of the sanctuary to the outer threshold of the temple-building (Hävernicks), for it was already stationed, according to ch. viii. 16, above the cherub, between the porch and the altar. It went back from thence to the threshold of the temple-porch, through which one entered the Holy Place, to give its orders there. The reason for leaving its place above the cherubim (the singular כְּרִיב is used collectively) to do this, was not that "God would have had to turn round in order to address the seven from the throne, since, according to ch. viii. 4 and 16, He had gone from the north gate of the outer court into the inner court, and His servants had followed Him" (Hitzig); for the cherubim moved in all four directions, and therefore God, even from the throne, could turn without difficulty to every side. God left His throne, that He might issue His command for the judgment upon Israel from the threshold of the temple, and show Himself to be the judge who would forsake the throne which He had assumed in Israel. This command He issues from the temple court, because the temple was the place whence God attested Himself to His people, both by mercy and judgment.

Vers. 4-7. The divine command.—Ver. 4. *And Jehovah said to him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of*

Jerusalem, and mark a cross upon the foreheads of the men who sigh and groan over all the abominations which take place in their midst. Ver. 5. And to those he said in my ears: Go through the city behind him, and smite. Let not your eye look compassionately, and do not spare. Ver. 6. Old men, young men, and maidens, and children, and women, slay to destruction: but ye shall not touch any one who has the cross upon him; and begin at my sanctuary. And they began with the old men, who were before the house. Ver. 7. And He said to them, Defile the house, and fill the courts with slain; go ye out. And they went out, and smote in the city.—God commands the man provided with the writing materials to mark on the forehead with a cross all the persons in Jerusalem who mourn over the abominations of the nation, in order that they may be spared in the time of the judgment. ׀, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, had the form of a cross in the earlier writing. הַתִּיּוֹהּ, to mark a ת, is therefore the same as to make a mark in the form of a cross; although there was at first no other purpose in this sign than to enable the servants employed in inflicting the judgment of God to distinguish those who were so marked, so that they might do them no harm. Ver. 6. And this was the reason why the ׀ was to be marked upon the forehead, the most visible portion of the body; the early Christians, according to a statement in Origen, looked upon the sign itself as significant, and saw therein a prophetic allusion to the sign of the cross as the distinctive mark of Christians. A direct prophecy of the cross of Christ is certainly not to be found here, since the form of the letter *Tāv* was the one generally adopted as a sign, and, according to Job xxxi. 35, might supply the place of a signature. Nevertheless, as Schmieder has correctly observed, there is something remarkable in this coincidence to the thoughtful observer of the ways of God, whose counsel has carefully considered all beforehand, especially when we bear in mind that in the counterpart to this passage (Rev. vii. 3) the seal of the living God is stamped upon the foreheads of the servants of

God, who are to be exempted from the judgment, and that according to Rev. xiv. 1 they had the name of God written upon their foreheads. So much, at any rate, is perfectly obvious from this, namely, that the sign was not arbitrarily chosen, but was inwardly connected with the fact which it indicated; just as in the event upon which our vision is based (Ex. xii. 13, 22 sqq.) the distinctive mark placed upon the houses of the Israelites in Egypt, in order that the destroying angel might pass them by, namely, the smearing of the door-posts with the blood of the paschal lamb that had been slain, was selected on account of its significance and its corresponding to the thing signified. The execution of this command is passed over as being self-evident; and it is not till ver. 11 that it is even indirectly referred to again.—In vers. 5, 6 there follows, first of all, the command given to the other six men. They are to go through the city, behind the man clothed in white linen, and to smite without mercy all the inhabitants of whatever age or sex, with this exception, that they are not to touch those who are marked with the cross. The *על* for *אל* before *תהיו* is either a slip of the pen, or, as the continued transmission of so striking an error is very improbable, is to be accounted for from the change of *א* into *ע*, which is so common in Aramaean. The *Chetib* *עֵינֵיכֶם* is the unusual form grammatically considered, and the singular, which is more correct, has been substituted as *Keri*. *תהרני* is followed by *למשחת*, to increase the force of the words and show the impossibility of any life being saved. They are to make a commencement at the sanctuary, because it has been desecrated by the worship of idols, and therefore has ceased to be the house of the Lord. To this command the execution is immediately appended; they began with the old men who were before the house, *i.e.* they began to slay them. *הַזִּקְנִים הָאֵלֶּים* are neither the twenty-five priests (ch. viii. 16) nor the seventy elders (ch. viii. 11). The latter were not *לפני הבית*, but in a chamber by the outer temple gate; whereas *לפני הבית*, in front of the

temple house, points to the inner court. This locality makes it natural to think of priests, and consequently the LXX. rendered מִמְקָדָשׁ by ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μου. But the expression זָקְנִים זָקְנִים is an unsuitable one for the priests. We have therefore no doubt to think of men advanced in years, who had come into the court possibly to offer sacrifice, and thereby had become liable to the judgment. In ver. 7 the command, which was interrupted in ver. 6b, is once more resumed. They are to defile the house, *i.e.* the temple, namely, by filling the courts with slain. It is in this way that we are to connect together, so far as the sense is concerned, the two clauses, "defile . . . and fill." This is required by the facts of the case. For those slain "before the house" could only have been slain in the courts, as there was no space between the temple house and the courts in which men could have been found and slain. But לִפְנֵי הַבַּיִת cannot be understood as signifying "in the neighbourhood of the temple," as Kliefoth supposes, for the simple reason that the progressive order of events would thereby be completely destroyed. The angels who were standing before the altar of burnt-offering could not begin their work by going out of the court to smite the sinners who happened to be in the neighbourhood of the temple, and then returning to the court to do the same there, and then again going out into the city to finish their work there. They could only begin by slaying the sinners who happened to be in the courts, and after having defiled the temple by their corpses, by going out into the city to slay all the ungodly there, as is related in the second clause of the verse (ver. 7b).

Vers. 8-11. Intercession of the prophet, and the answer of the Lord.—Ver. 8. *And it came to pass when they smote and I remained, I fell upon my face, and cried, and said: Alas! Lord Jehovah, wilt Thou destroy all the remnant of Israel, by pouring out Thy wrath upon Jerusalem?* Ver. 9. *And He said to me: The iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah is immeasurably great, and the land is full of blood-guiltiness, and the city full of*

perversion; for they say Jehovah hath forsaken the land, and Jehovah seeth not. Ver. 10. So also shall my eye not look with pity, and I will not spare; I will give their way upon their head. Ver. 11. And, behold, the man clothed in white linen, who had the writing materials on his hip, brought answer, and said: I have done as thou hast commanded me.—The *Chetib* נִשְׁאָר is an incongruous form, composed of participle and imperfect fused into one, and is evidently a copyist's error. It is not to be altered into נִשְׁאָר, however (the 1st pers. imperf. *Niph.*), but to be read as a participle נִשְׁאָר, and taken with כִּי־בָּבוֹתָם as a continuation of the circumstantial clause. For the words do not mean that Ezekiel alone was left, but that when the angels smote and he was left, *i.e.* was spared, was not smitten with the rest, he fell on his face, to entreat the Lord for mercy. These words and the prophet's intercession both apparently presuppose that among the inhabitants of Jerusalem there was no one found who was marked with the sign of the cross, and therefore could be spared. But this is by no means to be regarded as established. For, in the first place, it is not stated that *all* had been smitten by the angels; and, secondly, the intercession of the prophet simply assumes that, in comparison with the multitude of the slain, the number of those who were marked with the sign of the cross and spared was so small that it escaped the prophet's eye, and he was afraid that they might all be slain without exception, and the whole of the remnant of the covenant nation be destroyed. The נְשִׁאֲרִית of Israel and Judah is the covenant nation in its existing state, when it had been so reduced by the previous judgments of God, that out of the whole of what was once so numerous a people, only a small portion remained in the land. Although God has previously promised that a remnant shall be preserved (ch. v. 3, 4), He does not renew this promise to the prophet, but begins by holding up the greatness of the iniquity of Israel, which admits of no sparing, but calls for the most merciless punishment, to show him that, according to the strict demand of justice, the whole nation has

deserved destruction. מִטָּה (ver. 9) is not equivalent to מוֹהָט, oppression (Isa. lviii. 9), but signifies perversion of justice; although מִשְׁפָּט is not mentioned, since this is also omitted in Ex. xxiii. 2, where הָטָה occurs in the same sense. For ver. 9b, *vid.* ch. viii. 12. For בְּרִי נְתַתִּי (ver. 10 and ch. xi. 21, 22, 31), *vid.* 1 Kings viii. 32. While God is conversing with the prophet, the seven angels have performed their work; and in ver. 11 their leader returns to Jehovah with the announcement that His orders have been executed. He does this, not in his own name only, but in that of all the rest. The first act of the judgment is thus shown to the prophet in a figurative representation. The second act follows in the next chapter.

Chap. x. BURNING OF JERUSALEM, AND WITHDRAWAL OF THE GLORY OF JEHOVAH FROM THE SANCTUARY.—This chapter divides itself into two sections. In vers. 1-8 the prophet is shown how Jerusalem is to be burned with fire. In vers. 9-22 he is shown how Jehovah will forsake His temple.

Vers. 1-8. The angel scatters coals of fire over Jerusalem.—Ver. 1. *And I saw, and behold upon the firmament, which was above the cherubim, it was like sapphire-stone, to look at as the likeness of a throne; He appeared above them.* Ver. 2. *And He spake to the man clothed in white linen, and said: Come between the wheels below the cherubim, and fill thy hollow hands with fire-coals from between the cherubim, and scatter them over the city: and he came before my eyes.* Ver. 3. *And the cherubim stood to the right of the house when the man came, and the cloud filled the inner court.* Ver. 4. *And the glory of Jehovah had lifted itself up from the cherubim to the threshold of the house; and the house was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the splendour of the glory of Jehovah.* Ver. 5. *And the noise of the wings of the cherubim was heard to the outer court, as the voice of the Almighty God when He speaketh.* Ver. 6. *And it came to pass, when He commanded the man clothed in white linen, and said, Take fire from between the wheels, from between the*

cherubim, and he came and stood by the side of the wheel, Ver. 7. That the cherub stretched out his hand between the cherubim to the fire, which was between the cherubim, and lifted (some) off and gave it into the hands of the man clothed in white linen. And he took it, and went out. Ver. 8. And there appeared by the cherubim the likeness of a man's hand under their wings.—

Ver. 1 introduces the description of the second act of the judgment. According to ch. ix. 3, Jehovah had come down from His throne above the cherubim to the threshold of the temple to issue His orders thence for the judgment upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and according to ch. x. 4 He goes thither once more. Consequently He had resumed His seat above the cherubim in the meantime. This is expressed in ver. 1, not indeed in so many words, but indirectly or by implication. Ezekiel sees the theophany; and on the firmament above the cherubim, like sapphire-stone to look at, he beholds the likeness of a throne on which Jehovah appeared. To avoid giving too great prominence in this appearance of Jehovah to the bodily or human form, Ezekiel does not speak even here of the form of Jehovah, but simply of His throne, which he describes in the same manner as in ch. i. 26. לְאֵל stands for עַל according to the later usage of the language. It will never do to take לְאֵל in its literal sense, as Kliefoth does, and render the words: "Ezekiel saw it move away to the firmament;" for the object to וַיֵּרָא וַיֵּרָא is not וַיֵּרָא or וַיֵּרָא, but the form of the throne sparkling in sapphire-stone; and this throne had not separated itself from the firmament above the cherubim, but Jehovah, or the glory of Jehovah, according to ch. ix. 3, had risen up from the cherubim, and moved away to the temple threshold. The כִּי before וַיֵּרָא is not to be erased, as Hitzig proposes after the LXX., on the ground that it is not found in ch. i. 26; it is quite appropriate here. For the words do not affirm that Ezekiel saw the likeness of a throne like sapphire-stone; but that he saw something like sapphire-stone, like the appearance of the form of a throne. Ezekiel does not see Jehovah, or the

glory of Jehovah, move away to the firmament, and then return to the throne. He simply sees once more the resemblance of a throne upon the firmament, and the Lord appearing thereon. The latter is indicated in **נִרְאָה עֲלֵיהֶם**. These words are not to be taken in connection with **בְּמִרְאֵה וְגו'**, so as to form one sentence; but have been very properly separated by the *athnach* under **בָּפֶסַח**, and treated as an independent assertion. The subject to **נִרְאָה** might, indeed, be **קְדֻמַּת בָּפֶסַח**, "the likeness of a throne appeared above the cherubim;" but in that case the words would form a pure tautology, as the fact of the throne becoming visible has already been mentioned in the preceding clause. The subject must therefore be Jehovah, as in the case of **וַיֵּאמֶר** in ver. 2, where there can be no doubt on the matter. Jehovah has resumed His throne, not "for the purpose of removing to a distance, because the courts of the temple have been defiled by dead bodies" (Hitzig), but because the object for which He left it has been attained. He now commands the man clothed in white linen to go in between the wheels under the cherubim, and fill his hands with fire-coals from thence, and scatter them over the city (Jerusalem). This he did, so that Ezekiel could see it. According to this, it appears as if Jehovah had issued the command from His throne; but if we compare what follows, it is evident from ver. 4 that the glory of Jehovah had risen up again from the throne, and removed to the threshold of the temple, and that it was not till after the man in white linen had scattered the coals over the city that it left the threshold of the temple, and ascended once more up to the throne above the cherubim, so as to forsake the temple (ver. 18 sqq.). Consequently we can only understand vers. 2-7 as implying that Jehovah issued the command in ver. 2, not from His throne, but from the threshold of the temple, and that He had therefore returned to the threshold of the temple for this purpose, and for the very same reason as in ch. ix. 3. The possibility of interpreting the verses in this way is apparent from the fact that ver. 2 contains a summary

of the whole of the contents of this section, and that vers. 3-7 simply furnish more minute explanations, or contain circumstantial clauses, which throw light upon the whole affair. This is obvious in the case of ver. 3, from the form of the clause; and in vers. 4 and 5, from the fact that in vers. 6 and 7 the command (ver. 2) is resumed, and the execution of it, which was already indicated in *וַיָּבֵא לְעֵינַי* (ver. 2), more minutely described and carried forward in the closing words of the seventh verse, *וַיִּקַּח וַיִּזְצֵל* in ver. 2 signifies the whirl or rotatory motion, *i.e.* the wheel-work, or the four *ōphannim* under the cherubim regarded as moving. The angel was to go in between these, and take coals out of the fire there, and scatter them over the city. "In the fire of God, the fire of His wrath, will kindle the fire for consuming the city" (Kliefoth). To depict the scene more clearly, Ezekiel observes in ver. 3, that at this moment the cherubim were standing to the right of the house, *i.e.* on the south or rather south-east of the temple house, on the south of the altar of burnt-offering. According to the Hebrew usage the right side was the southern side, and the prophet was in the inner court, whither, according to ch. viii. 16, the divine glory had taken him; and, according to ch. ix. 2, the seven angels had gone to the front of the altar, to receive the commands of the Lord. Consequently we have to picture to ourselves the cherubim as appearing in the neighbourhood of the altar, and then taking up their position to the south thereof, when the Lord returned to the threshold of the temple. The reason for stating this is not to be sought, as Calvin supposes, in the desire to show "that the way was opened for the angel to go straight to God, and that the cherubim were standing there ready, as it were, to contribute their labour." The position in which the cherubim appeared is more probably given with prospective reference to the account which follows in vers. 9-22 of the departure of the glory of the Lord from the temple. As an indication of the significance of this act to Israel, the glory which issued from this manifestation of the

divine *doxa* is described in vers. 3b-5. The cloud, as the earthly vehicle of the divine *doxa*, filled the inner court; and when the glory of the Lord stood upon the threshold, it filled the temple also, while the court became full of the splendour of the divine glory. That is to say, the brilliancy of the divine nature shone through the cloud, so that the court and the temple were lighted by the shining of the light-cloud. The brilliant splendour is a symbol of the light of the divine grace. The wings of the cherubim rustled, and at the movement of God (i. 24) were audible even in the outer court.

After this picture of the glorious manifestation of the divine *doxa*, the fetching of the fire-coals from the space between the wheels under the cherubim is more closely described in vers. 6 and 7. One of the cherub's hands took the coals out of the fire, and put them into the hands of the man clothed in white linen. To this a supplementary remark is added in ver. 8, to the effect that the figure of a hand was visible by the side of the cherubim under their wings. The word *וַיֵּצֵא*, "and he went out," indicates that the man clothed in white linen scattered the coals over the city, to set it on fire and consume it.

Vers. 9-22. The glory of the Lord forsakes the temple.—
 Ver. 9. *And I saw, and behold four wheels by the side of the cherubim, one wheel by the side of every cherub, and the appearance of the wheels was like the look of a chrysolith stone.* Ver. 10. *And as for their appearance, they had all four one form, as if one wheel were in the midst of the other.* Ver. 11. *When they went, they went to their four sides; they did not turn in going; for to the place to which the head was directed, to that they went; they did not turn in their going.* Ver. 12. *And their whole body, and their back, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes round about: by all four their wheels.* Ver. 13. *To the wheels, to them was called, "whirl!" in my hearing.* Ver. 14. *And every one had four faces; the face of the first was the face of the cherub, the face of the second a man's face, and the third a lion's face, and the fourth an eagle's face.*

Ver. 15. *And the cherubim ascended. This was the being which I saw by the river Chebar.* Ver. 16. *And when the cherubim went, the wheels went by them; and when the cherubim raised their wings to ascend from the earth, the wheels also did not turn from their side.* Ver. 17. *When those stood, they stood; and when those ascended, they ascended with them; for the spirit of the being was in them.* Ver. 18. *And the glory of Jehovah went out from the threshold of the house, and stood above the cherubim.* Ver. 19. *And the cherubim raised their wings, and ascended from the earth before my eyes on their going out, and the wheels beside them; and they stopped at the entrance of the eastern gate of the house of Jehovah; and the glory of the God of Israel was above them.* Ver. 20. *This was the being which I saw under the God of Israel by the river Chebar, and I perceived that they were cherubim.* Ver. 21. *Every one had four faces, each and every one four wings, and something like a man's hands under their wings.* Ver. 22. *And as for the likeness of their faces, they were the faces which I had seen by the river Chebar, their appearance and they themselves. They went every one according to its face.—* With the words "I saw, and behold," a new feature in the vision is introduced. The description of the appearance of the cherubim in these verses coincides for the most part *verbatim* with the account of the theophany in ch. i. It differs from this, however, not only in the altered arrangement of the several features, and in the introduction of certain points which serve to complete the former account; but still more in the insertion of a number of narrative sentences, which show that we have not merely a repetition of the first chapter here. On the contrary, Ezekiel is now describing the moving of the appearance of the glory of Jehovah from the inner court or porch of the temple to the outer entrance of the eastern gate of the outer court; in other words, the departure of the gracious presence of the Lord from the temple: and in order to point out more distinctly the importance and meaning of this event, he depicts once more the leading features of the theophany itself. The

narrative sentences are found in vers. 13, 15, 18, and 19. In ver. 13 we have the exclamation addressed to the wheels by the side of the cherubim to set themselves in motion; in ver. 15, the statement that the cherubim ascended; and in vers. 18 and 19, the account of the departure of the glory of the Lord from the inner portion of the temple. To this we may add the repeated remark, that the appearance was the same as that which the prophet had seen by the river Chebar (vers. 15, 20, 22). To bring clearly out to view both the independence of these divine manifestations and their significance to Israel, Ezekiel repeats the leading features of the former description; but while doing this, he either makes them subordinate to the thoughts expressed in the narrative sentences, or places them first as introductory to these, or lets them follow as explanatory. Thus, for example, the description of the wheels, and of the manner in which they moved (vers. 9-12), serves both to introduce and explain the call to the wheels to set themselves in motion. The description of the wheels in vers. 9-11 harmonizes with ch. i. 16 and 17, with this exception, however, that certain points are given with greater exactness here; such, for example, as the statement that the movements of the wheels were so regulated, that in whichever direction the front one turned, the others did the same. קראשׁ, the head, is not the head-wheel, or the wheel which was always the first to move, but the front one, which originated the motion, drawing the others after it and determining their direction. For ver. 12b and the fact that the wheels were covered with eyes, see ch. i. 18. In ver. 12a we have the important addition, that the whole of the body and back, as well as the hands and wings, of the cherubim were full of eyes. There is all the less reason to question this addition, or remove it (as Hitzig does) by an arbitrary erasure, inasmuch as the statement itself is apparently in perfect harmony with the whole procedure; and the significance possessed by the eyes in relation to the wheels was not only appropriate in the case of the cherubim, but necessarily to be assumed in

such a connection. The fact that the suffixes in כְּרֻבִּים, כְּרֻבִּים, etc., refer to the cherubim, is obvious enough, if we consider that the wheels to which immediate reference is made were by the side of the cherubim (ver. 9), and that the cherubim formed the principal feature in the whole of the vision.—Ver. 13 does not point back to ver. 2, and bring the description of the wheel-work to a close, as Hitzig supposes. This assumption, by which the meaning of the whole description has been obscured, is based upon the untenable rendering, “and the wheels they named before my ears whirl” (J. D. Mich., Ros., etc.). Hävernick has already pointed out the objection to this, namely, that with such a rendering וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ forms an unmeaning addition; whereas it is precisely this addition which shows that וַיִּקְרָא is used here in the sense of addressing, calling, and not of naming. One called to the wheels וַיִּקְרָא, whirl; *i.e.* they were to verify their name *galgal*, viz. to revolve or whirl, to set themselves in motion by revolving. This is the explanation given by Theodoret: *ἀνακυκλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνακινεῖσθαι προσετάχθησαν*. These words therefore gave the signal for their departure, and accordingly the rising up of the cherubim is related in ver. 15. Ver. 14 prepares the way for their ascent by mentioning the four faces of each cherub; and this is still further expanded in vers. 16 and 17, by the statement that the wheels moved according to the movements of the cherubim. וַיִּקְרָא without an article is used distributively (every one), as in ch. i. 6 and 10. The fact that in the description which follows only one face of each of the four cherubs is given, is not at variance with ch. i. 10, according to which every one of the cherubs had the four faces named. It was not Ezekiel’s intention to mention all the faces of each cherub here, as he had done before; but he regarded it as sufficient in the case of each cherub to mention simply the one face, which was turned toward him. The only striking feature which still remains is the statement that the face of the one, *i.e.* of the first, was the face of the cherub instead of the face of an ox (cf. ch. i. 10),

since the faces of the man, the lion, and the eagle were also cherubs' faces. We may, no doubt, get rid of the difficulty by altering the text, but this will not solve it; for it would still remain inexplicable how **הַכְּרִיב** could have grown out of **שׁוּר** by a copyist's error; and still more, how such an error, which might have been so easily seen and corrected, could have been not only perpetuated, but generally adopted. Moreover, we have the article in **הַכְּרִיב**, which would also be inexplicable if the word had originated in an oversight, and which gives us precisely the index required to the correct solution of the difficulty, showing as it does that it was not merely *a* cherub's face, but the face of *the* cherub, so that the allusion is to one particular cherub, who was either well known from what had gone before, or occupied a more prominent position than the rest. Such a cherub is the one mentioned in ver. 7, who had taken the coals from the fire between the wheels, and stood nearest to Ezekiel. There did not appear to be any necessity to describe his face more exactly, as it could be easily seen from a comparison with ch. i. 10.—In ver. 15, the fact that the cherubim arose to depart from their place is followed by the remark that the cherubic figure was the being (**הַתְּיָה**, singular, as in ch. i. 22) which Ezekiel saw by the Chaboras, because it was a matter of importance that the identity of the two theophanies should be established as a help to the correct understanding of their real signification. But before the departure of the theophany from the temple is related, there follows in vers. 16 and 17 a repetition of the circumstantial description of the harmonious movements of the wheels and the cherubim (cf. ch. i. 19-21); and then, in ver. 18, the statement which had such practical significance, that the glory of the Lord departed from the threshold of the temple, and resumed the throne above the cherubim; and lastly, the account in ver. 19, that the glory of the God of Israel, seated upon this throne, took up its position at the entrance of the eastern gate of the temple. The entrance of this gate is not the gate of the temple, but the outer side of

the eastern gate of the outer court, which formed the principal entrance to the whole of the temple-space. The expression "God of Israel" instead of "Jehovah" is significant, and is used to intimate that God, as the covenant God, withdrew His gracious presence from the people of Israel by this departure from the temple; not, indeed, from the whole of the covenant nation, but from the rebellious Israel which dwelt in Jerusalem and Judah; for the same glory of God which left the temple in the vision before the eyes of Ezekiel had appeared to the prophet by the river Chebar, and by calling him to be the prophet for Israel, had shown Himself to be the God who kept His covenant, and proved that, by the judgment upon the corrupt generation, He simply desired to exterminate its ungodly nature, and create for Himself a new and holy people. This is the meaning of the remark which is repeated in vers. 20-22, that the apparition which left the temple was the same being as Ezekiel had seen by the Chaboras, and that he recognised the beings under the throne as cherubim.

Chap. xi. THREATENING OF JUDGMENT AND PROMISE OF MERCY. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION.—This chapter contains the concluding portion of the vision; namely, *first*, the prediction of the destruction of the ungodly rulers (vers. 1-13); *secondly*, the consolatory and closing promise, that the Lord would gather to Himself a people out of those who had been carried away into exile, and would sanctify them by His Holy Spirit (vers. 14-21); and, *thirdly*, the withdrawal of the gracious presence of God from the city of Jerusalem, and the transportation of the prophet back to Chaldea with the termination of his ecstasy (vers. 22-25).

Vers. 1-13. Judgment upon the rulers of the nation.—Ver. 1. *And a wind lifted me up, and took me to the eastern gate of the house of Jehovah, which faces towards the east; and behold, at the entrance of the gate were five and twenty men, and I saw among them Jaazaniah the son of Azzur, and Pelatiah the son of*

Benaiah, the chiefs of the nation. Ver. 2. *And he said to me: Son of man, these are the men who devise iniquity, and counsel evil counsel in this city; Ver. 3. Who say, It is not near to build houses; it is the pot, and we are the flesh. Ver. 4. Therefore prophesy against them; prophesy, son of man.*—Ezekiel is once more transported from the inner court (ch. viii. 16) to the outer entrance of the eastern gate of the temple (חֶשֶׁן רִיחַ, as in ch. viii. 3), to which, according to ch. x. 19, the vision of God had removed. There he sees twenty-five men, and among them two of the princes of the nation, whose names are given. These twenty-five men are not identical with the twenty-five priests mentioned in ch. viii. 16, as Hävernicks supposes. This is evident, not only from the difference in the locality, the priests standing between the porch and the altar, whereas the men referred to here stood at the outer eastern entrance to the court of the temple, but from the fact that the two who are mentioned by name are called שְׂרֵי הָעָם (princes of the people), so that we may probably infer from this that all the twenty-five were secular chiefs. Hävernicks's opinion, that שְׂרֵי הָעָם is a term that may also be applied to princes among the priests, is as erroneous as his assertion that the priest-princes are called "princes" in Ezra viii. 20, Neh. x. 1, and Jer. xxxv. 4, whereas it is only to national princes that these passages refer. Hävernicks is equally incorrect in supposing that these twenty-five men take the place of the seventy mentioned in ch. viii. 11; for those seventy represented the whole of the nation, whereas these twenty-five (according to ver. 2) were simply the counsellors of the city—not, however, the twenty-four *duces* of twenty-four divisions of the city, with a prince of the house of Judah, as Prado maintains, on the strength of certain Rabbinical assertions; or twenty-four members of a Sanhedrim, with their president (Rosenmüller); but the twelve tribe-princes (princes of the nation) and the twelve royal officers, or military commanders (1 Chron. xxvii.), with the king himself, or possibly with the commander-in-chief of the army; so that these twenty-five

men represent the civil government of Israel, just as the twenty-four priest-princes, together with the high priest, represent the spiritual authorities of the covenant nation. The reason why two are specially mentioned by name is involved in obscurity, as nothing further is known of either of these persons. The words of God to the prophet in ver. 2 concerning them are perfectly applicable to representatives of the civil authorities or temporal rulers, namely, that they devise and give unwholesome and evil counsel. This counsel is described in ver. 3 by the words placed in their mouths: "house-building is not near; it (the city) is the caldron, we are the flesh." These words are difficult, and different interpretations have consequently been given. The rendering, "it (the judgment) is not near, let us build houses," is incorrect; for the infinitive construct בְּנוֹת cannot stand for the imperative or the infinitive absolute, but must be the subject of the sentence. It is inadmissible also to take the sentence as a question, "Is not house-building near?" in the sense of "it is certainly near," as Ewald does, after some of the ancient versions. For even if an interrogation is sometimes indicated simply by the tone in an energetic address, as, for example, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5, this cannot be extended to cases in which the words of another are quoted. Still less can לֹא בְּקֶרֶב mean *non est tempus*, it is not yet time, as Maurer supposes. The only way in which the words can be made to yield a sense in harmony with the context, is by taking them as a tacit allusion to Jer. xxix. 5. Jeremiah had called upon those in exile to build themselves houses in their banishment, and prepare for a lengthened stay in Babylon, and not to allow themselves to be deceived by the words of false prophets, who predicted a speedy return; for severe judgments had yet to fall upon those who had remained behind in the land. This word of Jeremiah the authorities in Jerusalem ridiculed, saying "house-building is not near," i.e. the house-building in exile is still a long way off; it will not come to this, that Jerusalem should fall either permanently or entirely into the hands of the

king of Babylon. On the contrary, Jerusalem is the pot, and we, its inhabitants, are the flesh. The point of comparison is this: as the pot protects the flesh from burning, so does the city of Jerusalem protect us from destruction.¹ On the other hand, there is no foundation for the assumption that the words also contain an allusion to other sayings of Jeremiah, namely, to Jer. i. 13, where the judgment about to burst in from the north is represented under the figure of a smoking pot; or to Jer. xix., where Jerusalem is depicted as a pot about to be broken in pieces by God; for the reference in Jer. xix. is simply to an earthen pitcher, not to a meat-caldron; and the words in the verse before us have nothing at all in common with the figure in Jer. i. 13. The correctness of our explanation is evident both from ch. xxiv. 3, 6, where the figure of pot and flesh is met with again, though differently applied, and from the reply which Ezekiel makes to the saying of these men in the verses that follow (vers. 7-11). This saying expresses not only false confidence in the strength of Jerusalem, but also contempt and scorn of the predictions of the prophets sent by God. Ezekiel is therefore to prophesy, as he does in vers. 5-12, against this pernicious counsel, which is confirming the people in their sins.

Ver. 5. *And the Spirit of Jehovah fell upon me, and said to me: Say, Thus saith Jehovah, So ye say, O house of Israel, and what riseth up in your spirit, that I know.* Ver. 6. *Ye have increased your slain in this city, and filled its streets with slain.* Ver. 7. *Therefore, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Your slain, whom ye have laid in the midst of it, they are the flesh, and it is the pot; but men will lead you out of it.* Ver. 8. *The sword you fear; but the sword shall I bring upon you, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 9. *I shall lead you out of it and give you into*

¹ "This city is a pot, our receptacle and defence, and we are the flesh enclosed therein; as flesh is preserved in its caldron till it is perfectly boiled, so shall we continue here till an extreme old age."—Hülsemann in *Calov. Bibl. Illustr.*

the hand of foreigners, and shall execute judgments upon you. Ver. 10. *By the sword shall ye fall: on the frontier of Israel shall I judge you; and ye shall learn that I am Jehovah.* Ver. 11. *It shall not be as a pot to you, so that you should be flesh therein: on the frontier of Israel shall I judge.* Ver. 12. *And ye shall learn that I am Jehovah, in whose statutes ye have not walked, and my judgments ye have not done, but have acted according to the judgments of the heathen who are round about you.*—For תַּפֵּל 'עָלַי רִיחַ', compare ch. viii. 1. Instead of the "hand" (ch. viii. 1), the Spirit of Jehovah is mentioned here; because what follows is simply a divine inspiration, and there is no action connected with it. The words of God are directed against the "house of Israel," whose words and thoughts are discerned by God, because the twenty-five men are the leaders and counsellors of the nation. מַעְלוֹת רִיחַ, thoughts, suggestions of the mind, may be explained from the phrase עָלָה עַל לֵב, to come into the mind. Their actions furnish the proof of the evil suggestions of their heart. They have filled the city with slain; not "turned the streets of the city into a battle-field," however, by bringing about the capture of Jerusalem in the time of Jeconiah, as Hitzig would explain it. The words are to be understood in a much more general sense, as signifying murder, in both the coarser and the more refined signification of the word.¹ מַלְאֲחֵי is a copyist's error for מַלְאָחֵם. Those who have been murdered by you are the flesh in the caldron (ver. 7). Ezekiel gives them back their own words, as words which contain an undoubted truth, but in a different sense from that in which they have used them. By their bloodshed they have made the city into a pot in which the flesh of the slain is pickled. Only in this sense is Jerusalem a pot for them; not a pot to protect the flesh from burning while cooking, but a

¹ Calvin has given the correct explanation, thus: "He does not mean that men had been openly assassinated in the streets of Jerusalem; but under this form of speech he embraces all kinds of injustice. For we know that all who oppressed the poor, deprived men of their possessions, or shed innocent blood, were regarded as murderers in the sight of God."

pot into which the flesh of the slaughtered is thrown. Yet even in this sense will Jerusalem not serve as a pot to these worthless counsellors (ver. 11). They will lead you out of the city (הוֹצִיא, in ver. 7, is the 3d pers. sing. with an indefinite subject). The sword which ye fear, and from which this city is to protect you, will come upon you, and cut you down—not in Jerusalem, but on the frontier of Israel. עַל-גְּבול, in ver. 10, cannot be taken in the sense of “away over the frontier,” as Kliefoth proposes; if only because of the synonym אֶל-גְּבול in ver. 11. This threat was literally fulfilled in the bloody scenes at Riblah (Jer. lii. 24–27). It is not therefore a *vaticinium ex eventu*, but contains the general thought, that the wicked who boasted of security in Jerusalem would not find protection either in Jerusalem or in the land of Israel as a whole, but were to be led out of the land, and judged outside. This threat intensifies the punishment, as Calvin has already shown.¹ In ver. 11 the negation (אֵין) of the first clause is to be supplied in the second, as, for example, in Deut. xxxiii. 6. For ver. 12, compare the remarks on ch. v. 7. The truth and the power of this word are demonstrated at once by what is related in the following verse.

Ver. 13. *And it came to pass, as I was prophesying, that Pelatiah the son of Benaiah died: then I fell upon my face, and cried with a loud voice, and said: Alas! Lord Jehovah, dost Thou make an end of the remnant of Israel?*—The sudden death of one of the princes of the nation, while Ezekiel was prophesying, was intended to assure the house of Israel of the certain fulfilment of this word of God. So far, however, as

¹ “He threatens a double punishment; *first*, that God will cast them out of Jerusalem, in which they delight, and where they say that they will still make their abode for a long time to come, so that exile may be the first punishment. He then adds, *secondly*, that He will not be content with exile, but will send a severer punishment, after they have been cast out, and both home and land have spued them out as a stench which they could not bear. *I will judge you at the frontier of Israel, i.e.* outside the holy land, so that when one curse shall have become manifest in exile, a severer and more formidable punishment shall still await you.”

the fact itself is concerned, we must bear in mind, that as it was only in spirit that Ezekiel was at Jerusalem, and prophesied to the men whom he saw in spirit there, so the death of Pelatiah was simply a part of the vision, and in all probability was actually realized by the sudden death of this prince during or immediately after the publication of the vision. But the occurrence, even when the prophet saw it in spirit, made such an impression upon his mind, that with trembling and despair he once more made an importunate appeal to God, as in ch. ix. 8, and inquired whether He meant to destroy the whole of the remnant of Israel. עֲשֵׂה כָּלָה, to put an end to a thing, with אֵת before the object, as in Zeph. i. 18 (see the comm. on Nah. i. 8). The Lord then gives him the comforting assurance in vers. 14–21, that He will preserve a remnant among the exiles, and make them His people once more.

Vers. 14–21. Promise of the gathering of Israel out of the nations.—Ver. 14. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 15. *Son of man, thy brethren, thy brethren are the people of thy proxy, and the whole house of Israel, the whole of it, to whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem say, Remain far away from Jehovah; to us the land is given for a possession.* Ver. 16. *Therefore say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Yea, I have sent them far away, and have scattered them in the lands, but I have become to them a sanctuary for a little while in the lands whither they have come.* Ver. 17. *Therefore say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, And I will gather you from the nations, and will collect you together from the lands in which ye are scattered, and will give you the land of Israel.* Ver. 18. *And they will come thither, and remove from it all its detestable things, and all its abominations.* Ver. 19. *And I will give them one heart, and give a new spirit within you; and will take the heart of stone out of their flesh, and give them a heart of flesh;* Ver. 20. *That they may walk in my statutes, and preserve my rights, and do them: and they will be my people, and I will be their God.* Ver. 21. *But those whose heart goeth to the heart of their detestable things and*

their abominations, I will give their way upon their head, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—The prophet had interceded, first of all for the inhabitants of Jerusalem (ch. ix. 8), and then for the rulers of the nation, and had asked God whether He would entirely destroy the remnant of Israel. To this God replies that his brethren, in whom he is to interest himself, are not these inhabitants of Jerusalem and these rulers of the nation, but the Israelites carried into exile, who are regarded by these inhabitants at Jerusalem as cut off from the people of God. The nouns in ver. 15a are not “accusatives, which are resumed in the suffix to הִרְחִיקְתִּים in ver. 16,” as Hitzig imagines, but form an independent clause, in which אֲחֵיךָ is the subject, and אֲנִישׁי נְאֻלְתְּךָ as well as כָּל-בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל the predicates. The repetition of “thy brethren” serves to increase the force of the expression: thy true, real brethren; not in contrast to the priests, who were lineal relations (Hävernick), but in contrast to the Israelites, who had only the name of Israel, and denied its nature. These brethren are to be the people of his proxy: and toward these he is to exercise נְאֻלָּה. נְאֻלָּה is the business, or the duty and right, of the *Goël*. According to the law, the *Goël* was the brother, or the nearest relation, whose duty it was to come to the help of his impoverished brother, not only by redeeming (buying back) his possession, which poverty had compelled him to sell, but to redeem the man himself, if he had been sold to pay his debts (*vid.* Lev. xxv. 25, 48). The *Goël* therefore became the possessor of the property of which his brother had been unjustly deprived, if it were not restored till after his death (Num. v. 8). Consequently he was not only the avenger of blood, but the natural supporter and agent of his brother; and נְאֻלָּה signifies not merely redemption or kindred, but *proxy*, *i.e.* both the right and obligation to act as the legal representative, the avenger of blood, the heir, etc., of the brother. The words “and the whole of the house of Israel” are a second predicate to “thy brethren,” and affirm that the brethren, for whom Ezekiel can and is to intercede, form the

whole of the house of Israel, the term "whole" being rendered more emphatic by the repetition of כָּל in כָּל־הָעָם. A contrast is drawn between this "whole house of Israel" and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who say to those brethren, "Remain far away from Jehovah, to us is the land given for a possession." It follows from this, first of all, that the brethren of Ezekiel, towards whom he was to act as *Goël*, were those who had been taken away from the land, his companions in exile; and, secondly, that the exiles formed the whole of the house of Israel, that is to say, that they alone would be regarded by God as His people, and not the inhabitants of Jerusalem or those left in the land, who regarded the exiles as no longer a portion of the nation: simply because, in their estrangement from God, they looked upon the mere possession of Jerusalem as a pledge of participation in the grace of God. This shows the prophet where the remnant of the people of God is to be found. To this there is appended in ver. 16 sqq. a promise of the way in which the Lord will make this remnant His true people. לָכֵן, therefore, viz. because the inhabitants of Jerusalem regard the exiles as rejected by the Lord, Ezekiel is to declare to them that Jehovah is their sanctuary even in their dispersion (ver. 16); and because the others deny that they have any share in the possession of the land, the Lord will gather them together again, and give them the land of Israel (ver. 17). The two לָכֵן are co-ordinate, and introduce the antithesis to the disparaging sentence pronounced by the inhabitants of Jerusalem upon those who have been carried into exile. The וְ before the two leading clauses in ver. 16 does not mean "because," serving to introduce a protasis, to which ver. 17 would form the apodosis, as Ewald affirms; but it stands before the direct address in the sense of an assurance, which indicates that there is some truth at the bottom of the judgment pronounced by their opponents, the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The thought is this: the present position of affairs is unquestionably that Jehovah has scattered them (the house of Israel) among the Gentiles; but He has

not therefore cast them off. He has become a sanctuary to them in the lands of their dispersion. *Migdāsh* does not mean either asylum or an object kept sacred (Hitzig), but a sanctuary, more especially the temple. They had, indeed, lost the outward temple (at Jerusalem); but the Lord Himself had become their temple. What made the temple into a sanctuary was the presence of Jehovah, the covenant God, therein. This even the exiles were to enjoy in their banishment, and in this they would possess a substitute for the outward temple. This thought is rendered still more precise by the word מֶעֱזָבָה, which may refer either to time or measure, and signify "for a short time," or "in some measure." It is difficult to decide between these two renderings. In support of the latter, which Kliefoth prefers (after the LXX. and Vulgate), it may be argued that the manifestation of the Lord, both by the mission of prophets and by the outward deliverances and inward consolations which He bestowed upon the faithful, was but a partial substitute to the exile for His gracious presence in the temple and in the holy land. Nevertheless, the context, especially the promise in ver. 17, that He will gather them again and lead them back into the land of Israel, appears to favour the former signification, namely, that this substitution was only a provisional one, and was only to last for a short time, although it also implies that this could not and was not meant to be a perfect substitute for the gracious presence of the Lord. For Israel, as the people of God, could not remain scattered abroad; it must possess the inheritance bestowed upon it by the Lord, and have its God in the midst of it in its own land, and that in a manner more real than could possibly be the case in captivity among the Gentiles. This will be fully realized in the heavenly Jerusalem, where the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb will be a temple to the redeemed (Rev. xxi. 22). Therefore will Jehovah gather together the dispersed once more, and lead them back into the land of Israel, *i.e.* into the land which He designed for Israel; whereas the inhabitants of

Jerusalem, who boast of their possession of Canaan (ver. 15), will lose what they now possess. Those who are restored will then remove all idolatrous abominations (ver. 17), and receive from God a new and feeling heart (ver. 19), so that they will walk in the ways of God, and be in truth the people of God (ver. 20).

The fulfilment of this promise did, indeed, begin with the return of a portion of the exiles under Zerubbabel; but it was not completed under either Zerubbabel or Ezra, or even in the Maccabean times. Although Israel may have entirely relinquished the practice of gross idolatry after the captivity, it did not then attain to that newness of heart which is predicted in vers. 19, 20. This only commenced with the Baptist's preaching of repentance, and with the coming of Christ; and it was realized in the children of Israel, who accepted Jesus in faith, and suffered Him to make them children of God. Yet even by Christ this prophecy has not yet been perfectly fulfilled in Israel, but only in part, since the greater portion of Israel has still in its hardness that stony heart which must be removed out of its flesh before it can attain to salvation. The promise in ver. 19 has for its basis the prediction in Deut. xxx. 6. "What the circumcision of the heart is there, viz. the removal of all uncleanness, of which outward circumcision was both the type and pledge, is represented here as the giving of a heart of flesh instead of one of stone" (Hengstenberg). I give them *one* heart. לֵב אֶחָד, which Hitzig is wrong in proposing to alter into לֵב אֲחֵר, *another* heart, after the LXX., is supported and explained by Jer. xxxii. 39, "I give them *one* heart and *one* way to fear me continually" (cf. Zeph. iii. 9 and Acts iv. 32). *One* heart is not an upright, undivided heart (לֵב שֶׁלֵם), but a harmonious, united heart, in contrast to the division or plurality of hearts which prevails in the natural state, in which every one follows his own heart and his own mind, turning "every one to his own way" (Isa. liii. 6). God gives *one* heart, when He causes all hearts and minds to become one. This can only be

effected by His giving a "new spirit," taking away the stone-heart, and giving a heart of flesh instead. For the old spirit fosters nothing but egotism and discord. The heart of stone has no susceptibility to the impressions of the word of God and the drawing of divine grace. In the natural condition, the heart of man is as hard as stone. "The word of God, the external leadings of God, pass by and leave no trace behind. The latter may crush it, and yet not break it. Even the fragments continue hard; yea, the hardness goes on increasing" (Hengstenberg). The heart of flesh is a tender heart, susceptible to the drawing of divine grace (compare ch. xxxvi. 26, where these figures, which are peculiar to Ezekiel, recur; and for the substance of the prophecy, Jer. xxxi. 33). The fruit of this renewal of heart is walking in the commandments of the Lord; and the consequence of the latter is the perfect realization of the covenant relation, true fellowship with the Lord God. But judgment goes side by side with this renewal. Those who will not forsake their idols become victims to the judgment (ver. 21). The first hemistich of ver. 21 is a relative clause, in which לְבָבָם is to be supplied and connected with לְבָבָם: "Whose heart walketh after the heart of their abominations." The heart, which is attributed to the abominations and detestations, *i.e.* to the idols, is the inclination to idolatry, the disposition and spirit which manifest themselves in the worship of idols. Walking after the heart of the idols forms the antithesis to walking after the heart of God (1 Sam. xiii. 14). For וְהָיָה דְרָכָם, "I will give their way," see ch. ix. 10.

Vers. 22-25. The promise that the Lord would preserve to Himself a holy seed among those who had been carried away captive, brought to a close the announcement of the judgment that would fall upon the ancient Israel and apostate Jerusalem. All that is now wanting, as a conclusion to the whole vision, is the practical confirmation of the announcement of judgment. This is given in the two following verses.—Ver. 22. *And the cherubim raised their wings, and the wheels beside them; and the*

glory of the God of Israel was up above them. Ver. 23. And the glory of Jehovah ascended from the midst of the city, and took its stand upon the mountain which is to the east of the city. Ver. 24. And wind lifted me up, and brought me to Chaldea to the exiles, in the vision, in the Spirit of God; and the vision ascended away from me, which I had seen. Ver. 25. And I spoke to the exiles all the words of Jehovah, which He had shown to me.—The manifestation of the glory of the Lord had already left the temple, after the announcement of the burning of Jerusalem, and had taken its stand before the entrance of the eastern gate of the outer court, that is to say, in the city itself (ch. x. 19, xi. 1). But now, after the announcement had been made to the representatives of the authorities of their removal from the city, the glory of the God of Israel forsook the devoted city also, as a sign that both temple and city had ceased to be the seats of the gracious presence of the Lord. The mountain on the east of the city is the Mount of Olives, which affords a lofty outlook over the city. There the glory of God remained, to execute the judgment upon Jerusalem. Thus, according to Zech. xiv. 4, will Jehovah also appear at the last judgment on the Mount of Olives above Jerusalem, to fight thence against His foes, and prepare a way of escape for those who are to be saved. It was from the Mount of Olives also that the Son of God proclaimed to the degenerate city the second destruction (Luke xix. 21; Matt. xxiv. 3); and from the same mountain He made His visible ascension to heaven after His resurrection (Luke xxiv. 50; cf. Acts i. 12); and, as Grotius has observed, “thus did Christ ascend from this mountain into His kingdom, to execute judgment upon the Jews.”

After this vision of the judgments of God upon the ancient people of the covenant and the kingdom of God, Ezekiel was carried back in the spirit into Chaldea, to the river Chaboras. The vision then vanished; and he related to the exiles all that he had seen.

CHAP. XII. DEPARTURE OF THE KING AND PEOPLE;
AND BREAD OF TEARS.

The words of God which follow in ch. xii.-xix. do not contain any chronological data defining the exact period at which they were communicated to the prophet and reported by him. But so far as their contents are concerned, they are closely connected with the foregoing announcements of judgment; and this renders the assumption a very probable one, that they were not far removed from them in time, but fell within the space of eleven months intervening between ch. viii. 1 and xx. 1, and were designed to carry out still further the announcement of judgment in ch. viii.-xi. This is done more especially in the light thrown upon all the circumstances, on which the impenitent people rested their hope of the preservation of the kingdom and Jerusalem, and of their speedy liberation from the Babylonian yoke. The purpose of the whole is to show the worthlessness of this false confidence, and to affirm the certainty and irresistibility of the predicted destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, in the hope of awakening the rebellious and hardened generation to that thorough repentance, without which it was impossible that peace and prosperity could ever be enjoyed. This definite purpose in the prophecies which follow is clearly indicated in the introductory remarks in ch. xii. 2, xiv. 1, and xx. 1. In the first of these passages the hardness of Israel is mentioned as the motive for the ensuing prophecy; whilst in the other two, the visit of certain elders of Israel to the prophet, to seek the Lord and to inquire through him, is given as the circumstance which occasioned the further prophetic declarations. It is evident from this that the previous words of God had already made some impression upon the hearers, but that their hard heart had not yet been broken by them.

In ch. xii., Ezekiel receives instructions to depict, by means of a symbolical action, the departure of the king and people

from Jerusalem (vers. 3-7), and to explain the action to the refractory generation (vers. 8-16). After this he is to exhibit, by another symbolical sign, the want and distress to which the people will be reduced (vers. 17-20). And lastly, he is to rebut the frivolous sayings of the people, to the effect that what is predicted will either never take place at all, or not till a very distant time (vers. 21-28).

VERS. 1-7. SYMBOL OF THE EMIGRATION.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, thou dwellest amidst the refractory generation, who have eyes to see, and see not; and have ears to hear, and hear not; for they are a refractory generation.* Ver. 3. *And thou, son of man, make thyself an outfit for exile, and depart by day before their eyes; and depart from thy place to another place before their eyes: perhaps they might see, for they are a refractory generation.* Ver. 4. *And carry out thy things like an outfit for exile by day before their eyes; but do thou go out in the evening before their eyes, as when going out to exile.* Ver. 5. *Before their eyes break through the wall, and carry it out there.* Ver. 6. *Before their eyes take it upon thy shoulder, carry it out in the darkness: cover thy face, and look not upon the land; for I have set thee as a sign to the house of Israel.* Ver. 7. *And I did so as I was commanded: I carried out my things like an outfit for exile by day, and in the evening I broke through the wall with my hand; I carried it out in the darkness; I took it upon my shoulder before their eyes.*—In ver. 2 the reason is assigned for the command to perform the symbolical action, namely, the hard-heartedness of the people. Because the generation in the midst of which Ezekiel dwelt was blind, with seeing eyes, and deaf, with hearing ears, the prophet was to depict before its eyes, by means of the sign that followed, the judgment which was approaching; in the hope, as is added in ver. 3, that they might possibly observe and lay the sign to heart. The refractoriness (בְּיִתּוֹ מֵרִי, as in ch. ii. 5, 6, iii. 26, etc.) is described as obduracy, viz. having eyes,

and not seeing ; having ears, and not hearing, after Deut. xxix. 3 (cf. Jer. v. 21 ; Isa. vi. 9 ; Matt. xiii. 14, 15). The root of this mental blindness and deafness was to be found in obstinacy, *i.e.* in not willing ; “in that presumptuous insolence,” as Michaelis says, “through which divine light can obtain no admission.” גִּלְגָּל גּוֹלָה, the goods (or outfit) of exile, were a pilgrim’s staff and traveller’s wallet, with the provisions and utensils necessary for a journey. Ezekiel was to carry these out of the house into the street in the day-time, that the people might see them and have their attention called to them. Then in the evening, after dark, he was to go out himself, not by the door of the house, but through a hole which he had broken in the wall. He was also to take the travelling outfit upon his shoulder and carry it through the hole and out of the place, covering his face all the while, that he might not see the land to which he was going. “Thy place” is thy dwelling-place. גּוֹלָה בְּמוֹצָאֵי גּוֹלָה : as the departures of exiles generally take place, *i.e.* as exiles are accustomed to depart, not “at the usual time of departure into exile,” as Hävernick proposes. For מוֹצֵא, see the comm. on Mic. v. 1. בְּעֶלְמָה differs from בְּעֶרְב, and signifies the darkness of the depth of night (cf. Gen. xv. 17) ; not, however, “darkness artificially produced, equivalent to, with the eyes shut, or the face covered ; so that the words which follow are simply explanatory of בְּעֶלְמָה,” as Schmieder imagines. Such an assumption would be at variance not only with ver. 7, but also with ver. 12, where the covering or concealing of the face is expressly distinguished from the carrying out “in the dark.” The order was to be as follows : In the day-time Ezekiel was to take the travelling outfit and carry it out into the road ; then in the evening he was to go out himself, having first of all broken a hole through the wall as evening was coming on ; and in the darkness of night he was to place upon his shoulders whatever he was about to carry with him, and take his departure. This he was to do, because God had made him a *mōphēth* for Israel : in other words, by doing this he was

to show himself to be a marvellous sign to Israel. For *mōphēth*, see the comm. on Ex. iv. 21. In ver. 7, the execution of the command, which evidently took place in the strictness of the letter, is fully described. There was nothing impracticable in the action, for breaking through the wall did not preclude the use of a hammer or some other tool.

Vers. 8–16. Explanation of the symbolical action.—Ver. 8. *And the word of Jehovah came to me in the morning, saying,* Ver. 9. *Son of man, have they not said to thee, the house of Israel, the refractory generation, What art thou doing?* Ver. 10. *Say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, This burden applies to the prince in Jerusalem, and to all the house of Israel to whom they belong.* Ver. 11. *Say, I am your sign: as I have done, so shall it happen to them; into exile, into captivity, will they go.* Ver. 12. *And the prince who is in the midst of them he will lift it upon his shoulder in the dark, and will go out: they will break through the wall, and carry it out thereby: he will cover his face, that he may not see the land with eyes.* Ver. 13. *And I will spread my net over him, so that he will be caught in my snare: and I will take him to Babel, into the land of the Chaldeans; but he will not see it, and will die there.* Ver. 14. *And all that is about him, his help and all his troops, I will scatter into all winds, and draw out the sword behind them.* Ver. 15. *And they shall learn that I am Jehovah, when I scatter them among the nations, and winnow them in the lands.* Ver. 16. *Yet I will leave of them a small number of men from the sword, from the famine, and from the pestilence; that they may relate all their abominations among the nations whither they have come; and learn that I am Jehovah.*—As queries introduced with הֲלֹא have, as a rule, an affirmative sense, the words “have they not asked,” etc., imply that the Israelites had asked the prophet what he was doing, though not in a proper state of mind, not in a penitential manner, as the epithet בֵּית הַפְּזִירִי plainly shows. The prophet is therefore to interpret the action which he had just been performing, and all its different stages. The words הַנְּשִׂיאַת הַמִּשְׁטָח הַזֶּה, to which very

different renderings have been given, are to be translated simply "the prince is this burden," *i.e.* the object of this burden. *Hammassâ* does not mean the carrying, but the burden, *i.e.* the threatening prophecy, the prophetic action of the prophet, as in the headings to the oracles (see the comm. on Nah. i. 1). The "prince" is the king, as in ch. xxi. 30, though not Jehoiachin, who had been carried into exile, but Zedekiah. This is stated in the apposition "in Jerusalem," which belongs to "the prince," though it is not introduced till after the predicate, as in Gen. xxiv. 24. To this there is appended the further definition, "the whole house of Israel," which, being co-ordinated with הַנְּשִׂיָא, affirms that all Israel (the covenant nation) will share the fate of the prince. In the last clause of ver. 10 בְּתוֹכָם does not stand for בְּתוֹכָהּ, so that the suffix would refer to Jerusalem, "in the midst of which they (the house of Israel) are." אֲשֶׁר cannot be a nominative, because in that case הָיָה would be superfluous; it is rather to be taken with בְּתוֹכָם, and הָיָה to be understood as referring to the persons addressed, *i.e.* to the Israelites in exile (Hitzig, Kliefoth): in the midst of whom they are, *i.e.* to whom they belong. The sentence explains the reason why the prophet was to announce to those in exile the fate of the prince and people in Jerusalem; namely, because the exiles formed a portion of the nation, and would be affected by the judgment which was about to burst upon the king and people in Jerusalem. In this sense Ezekiel was also able to say to the exiles (in ver. 11), "I am *your* sign;" inasmuch as his sign was also of importance for them, as those who were already banished would be so far affected by the departure of the king and people which Ezekiel depicted, that it would deprive them of all hope of a speedy return to their native land. לָהֶם, in ver. 11, refers to the king and the house of Israel in Jerusalem. בְּנוֹלָה is rendered more forcible by the addition of בְּשָׂכִי. The announcement that both king and people must go into exile, is carried out still further in vers. 12 and 13 with reference to the king, and in ver. 14 with regard to the

people. The king will experience all that Ezekiel has described. The literal occurrence of what is predicted here is related in Jer. xxxix. 1 sqq., lii. 4 sqq.; 2 Kings xxv. 4 sqq. When the Chaldeans forced their way into the city after a two years' siege, Zedekiah and his men of war fled by night out of the city through the gate between the two walls. It is not expressly stated, indeed, in the historical accounts that a breach was made in the wall; but the expression "through the gate between the two walls" (Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7; 2 Kings xxv. 4) renders this very probable, whether the gate had been walled up during the siege, or it was necessary to break through the wall at one particular spot in order to reach the gate. The king's attendants would naturally take care that a breach was made in the wall, to secure for him a way of escape; hence the expression, "*they* will break through." The covering of the face, also, is not mentioned in the historical accounts; but in itself it is by no means improbable, as a sign of the shame and grief with which Zedekiah left the city. The words, "that he may not see the land with eyes," do not appear to indicate anything more than the necessary consequence of covering the face, and refer primarily to the simple fact that the king fled in the deepest sorrow, and did not want to see the land; but, as ver. 13 clearly intimates, they were fulfilled in another way, namely, by the fact that Zedekiah did not see with his eyes the land of the Chaldeans into which he was led, because he had been blinded at Riblah (Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 11; 2 Kings xxv. 7). לְעֵינָיו, by eye = with his eyes, is added to give prominence to the idea of seeing. For the same purpose, the subject, which is already implied in the verb, is rendered more emphatic by הוּא; and this הוּא is placed after the verb, so that it stands in contrast with הַמֶּלֶךְ. The capture of the king was not depicted by Ezekiel; so that in this respect the announcement (ver. 13) goes further than the symbolical action, and removes all doubt as to the credibility of the prophet's word, by a distinct prediction of the fate awaiting him. At the same time, his not seeing

the land of Babylon is left so indefinite, that it cannot be regarded as a *vaticinium post eventum*. Zedekiah died in prison at Babylon (Jer. lii. 11). Along with the king, the whole of his military force will be scattered in all directions (ver. 14). עֲזָרָה, his help, *i.e.* the troops that break through with him. כָּל־אֲנָפָיו, all his wings (the wings of his army), *i.e.* all the rest of his forces. The word is peculiar to Ezekiel, and is rendered "wings" by Jos. Kimchi, like *k'nāphaim* in Isa. viii. 8. For the rest of the verse compare ch. v. 2; and for the fulfilment, Jer. lii. 8, xl. 7, 12. The greater part of the people will perish, and only a small number remain, that they may relate among the heathen, wherever they are led, all the abominations of Israel, in order that the heathen may learn that it is not from weakness, but simply to punish idolatry, that God has given up His people to them (cf. Jer. xxii. 8).

Vers. 17-20. SIGN DEPICTING THE TERRORS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM.—Ver. 17. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 18. *Son of man, thou shalt eat thy bread with quaking, and drink thy water with trembling and trouble;* Ver. 19. *And say to the people of the land, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, in the land of Israel, They will eat their bread in trouble, and drink their water in amazement, because her land is laid waste of all its fulness for the wickedness of all who dwell therein.* Ver. 20. *And the inhabited cities become desolate, and the land will be laid waste; that ye may learn that I am Jehovah.*—The carrying out of this sign is not mentioned; not that there is any doubt as to its having been done, but that it is simply taken for granted. The trouble and trembling could only be expressed by means of gesture. רָעַשׁ, generally an earthquake or violent convulsion; here, simply shaking, synonymous with רָנָה, trembling. "Bread and water" is the standing expression for food; so that even here the idea of scanty provisions is not to be sought therein. This idea is found merely in the signs

of anxiety and trouble with which Ezekiel was to eat his food. $\text{עַל-אֶרֶץ} = \text{אֶרֶץ}$, "upon the land," equivalent to "in the land." This is appended to show that the prophecy does not refer to those who had already been carried into exile, but to the inhabitants of Jerusalem who were still in the land. For the subject-matter, compare ch. iv. 16, 17. לְמַעַן indicates not the intention, "in order that," but the motive, "because."

Vers. 21-28. DECLARATIONS TO REMOVE ALL DOUBT AS TO THE TRUTH OF THE THREAT. — The scepticism of the people as to the fulfilment of these threatening prophecies, which had been made still more emphatic by signs, manifested itself in two different ways. Some altogether denied that the prophecies would ever be fulfilled (ver. 22); others, who did not go so far as this, thought that it would be a long time before they came to pass (ver. 27). These doubts were fed by the lying statements of false prophets. For this reason the refutation of these sceptical opinions (vers. 21-28) is followed in the next chapter by a stern reproof of the false prophets and prophetesses who led the people astray. — Ver. 21. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 22. *Son of man, what kind of proverb have ye in the land of Israel, that ye say, The days become long, and every prophecy comes to nothing?* Ver. 23. *Therefore say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I will put an end to this saying, and they shall say it no more in Israel; but say to them, The days are near, and the word of every prophecy.* Ver. 24. *For henceforth there shall be no vain prophecy and flattering soothsaying in the midst of the house of Israel.* Ver. 25. *For I am Jehovah; I speak; the word which I speak will come to pass, and no longer be postponed; for in your days, O refractory generation, I speak a word and do it, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—*Máshál*, a proverb, a saying current among the people, and constantly repeated as a truth. "The days become long," etc., i.e. the time is lengthening out, and yet the prophecy is not being fulfilled. אָבַד , *perire*, to come to nothing, to fail of

fulfilment, is the opposite of **בֵּא**, to come, to be fulfilled. God will put an end to these sayings, by causing a very speedy fulfilment of the prophecy. The days are near, and every word of the prophecy, *i.e.* the days in which every word predicted shall come to pass. The reason for this is given in vers. 24 and 25, in two co-ordinate sentences, both of which are introduced with **וְ**. First, every false prophecy shall henceforth cease in Israel (ver. 24); secondly, God will bring about the fulfilment of His own word, and that without delay (ver. 25). Different explanations have been given of the meaning of ver. 24. Kliefoth proposes to take **אִשָּׁה** and **הַלְּבָב מִקְדָּם** as the predicate to **אִשָּׁה**: no prophecy in Israel shall be vain and flattering soothsaying, but all prophecy shall become true, *i.e.* be fulfilled. Such an explanation, however, is not only artificial and unnatural, since **מִקְדָּם** would be inserted as a predicate in a most unsuitable manner, but it contains this incongruity, that God would apply the term **מִקְדָּם**, soothsaying, to the predictions of prophets inspired by Himself. On the other hand, there is no force in the objection raised by Kliefoth to the ordinary rendering of the words, namely, that the statement that God was about to put an end to false prophecy in Israel would anticipate the substance of the sixth word of God (*i.e.* ch. xiii.). It is impossible to see why a thought should not be expressed here, and then still further expanded in ch. xiii. **לֶבָב**, smooth, *i.e.* flattering (compare Hos. x. 2; and for the prediction, Zech. xiii. 4, 5). The same reply serves also to overthrow the sceptical objection raised by the frivolous despisers of the prophet's words. Hence there is only a brief allusion made to them in vers. 26-28.—Ver. 26. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 27. *Son of man, behold, the house of Israel saith, The vision that he seeth is for many days off, and he prophesies for distant times.* Ver. 28. *Therefore say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, All my words shall be no longer postponed: the word which I shall speak shall come to pass, saith the Lord Jehovah.*—The words are plain; and after what has already

been said, they need no special explanation. Ver. 20 compare with ver. 25.

CHAP. XIII. AGAINST THE FALSE PROPHETS AND PROPHETESSES.

The way was already prepared for the address in this chapter by the announcement in ch. xii. 24. It divides itself into two parts, viz. vers. 1-16, directed against the false prophets; and vers. 17-23, against the false prophetesses. In both parts their conduct is first described, and then the punishment foretold. Jeremiah, like Ezekiel, and sometimes still more strongly, denounces the conduct of the false prophets, who are therefore to be sought for not merely among the exiles, but principally among those who were left behind in the land (*vid.* Jer. xxiii. 9 sqq.). A lively intercourse was kept up between the two, so that the false prophets extended their operations from Canaan to the Chaboras, and *vice versa*.

Vers. 1-16. AGAINST THE FALSE PROPHETS.—Vers. 1-7. Their conduct.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, prophesy against the prophets of Israel who prophesy, and say to the prophets out of their heart, Hear ye the word of Jehovah.* Ver. 3. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Woe upon the foolish prophets, who go after their spirit, and that which they have not seen!* Ver. 4. *Like foxes in ruins have thy prophets become, O Israel.* Ver. 5. *Ye do not stand before the breaches, nor wall up the wall around the house of Israel to stand firm in the battle on the day of Jehovah.* Ver. 6. *They see vanity and lying soothsaying, who say, "Oracle of Jehovah;" and Jehovah hath not sent them; so that they might hope for the fulfilment of the word.* Ver. 7. *Do ye not see vain visions, and speak lying soothsaying, and say, Oracle of Jehovah; and I have not spoken?*—The addition הַנְּבִיאִים, "who prophesy," is not superfluous. Ezekiel is not to direct his words against the prophets

as a body, but against those who follow the vocation of prophet in Israel without being called to it by God on receiving a divine revelation, but simply prophesying out of their own heart, or according to their own subjective imagination. In the name of the Lord he is to threaten them with woes, as fools who follow their own spirit; in connection with which we must bear in mind that folly, according to the Hebrew idea, was not merely a moral failing, but actual godlessness (cf. Ps. xiv. 1). The phrase "going after their spirit" is interpreted and rendered more emphatic by לְבָלְתִי רָאִי, which is to be taken as a relative clause, "that which they have not seen," i.e. whose prophesying does not rest upon intuition inspired by God. Consequently they cannot promote the welfare of the nation, but (ver. 4) are like foxes in ruins or desolate places. The point of comparison is to be found in the undermining of the ground by foxes, *qui per cuniculos subjectam terram excavant et suffodiunt* (Bochart). For the thought is not exhausted by the circumstance that they withdraw to their holes instead of standing in front of the breach (Hitzig); and there is no force in the objection that, with this explanation, בְּחָרְבוֹת is passed over and becomes in fact tautological (Hävernick). The expression "in ruins" points to the fall of the theocracy, which the false prophets cannot prevent, but, on the contrary, accelerate by undermining the moral foundations of the state. For (ver. 5) they do not stand in the breaches, and do not build up the wall around the house of Israel (אֵל belongs to both clauses). He who desires to keep off the enemy, and prevent his entering the fortress, will stand in the breach. For the same purpose are gaps and breaches in the fortifications carefully built up. The sins of the people had made gaps and breaches in the walls of Jerusalem; in other words, had caused the moral decay of the city. But they had not stood in the way of this decay and its causes, as the calling and duty of prophets demanded, by reproving the sins of the people, that they might rescue the people and kingdom from destruction by restoring its moral

and religious life. לַעֲמֹד בְּפִלְחָמָה, to stand, or keep ground, *i.e.* so that ye might have kept your ground in the war. The subject is the false prophets, not Israel, as Hävernicks supposes. "In the day of Jehovah," *i.e.* in the judgment which Jehovah has decreed. Not to stand, does not mean merely to avert the threatening judgment, but not to survive the judgment itself, to be overthrown by it. This arises from the fact that their prophesying is a lie; because Jehovah, whose name they have in their mouths, has not sent them (ver. 6). וַיְהִי is dependent upon שְׁלָחָם: God has not sent them, so that they could hope for the fulfilment of the word which they speak. The rendering adopted by others, "and they cause to hope," is untenable; for וַיְהִי with לֵאמֹר does not mean "to cause to hope," or give hope, but simply to hope for anything. This was really the case; and it is affirmed in the declaration, which is repeated in the form of a direct appeal in ver. 7, to the effect that their visions were vain and lying soothsaying. For this they are threatened with the judgment described in the verses which follow.

Vers. 8–16. Punishment of the false prophets.—Ver. 8. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because ye speak vanity and prophesy lying, therefore, behold, I will deal with you, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 9. *And my hand shall be against the prophets who see vanity and divine lies: in the council of my people they shall not be, and in the register of the house of Israel they shall not be registered, and into the land of Israel shall they not come; and ye shall learn that I am the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 10. *Because, yea because they lead my people astray, and say, "Peace," though there is no peace; and when it (my people) build a wall, behold, they plaster it with cement:* Ver. 11. *Say to the plasterers, that it will fall: there cometh a pouring rain; and ye hailstones fall, and thou stormy wind break loose!* Ver. 12. *And, behold, the wall falleth; will men not say to you, Where is the plaster with which ye have plastered it?* Ver. 13. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I cause a stormy wind to break*

forth in my wrath, and a pouring rain will come in my anger, and hailstones in wrath, for destruction. Ver. 14. And I demolish the wall which ye have plastered, and cast it to the ground, that its foundation may be exposed, and it shall fall, and ye shall perish in the midst of it; and shall learn that I am Jehovah. Ver. 15. And I will exhaust my wrath upon the wall, and upon those who plaster it; and will say to you, It is all over with the wall, and all over with those who plastered it; Ver. 16. With the prophets of Israel who prophesied to Jerusalem, and saw visions of peace for her, though there is no peace, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—In ver. 8 the punishment which is to fall upon the false prophets is threatened in general terms; and in ver. 9 it is more specifically described in the form of a climax, rising higher and higher in the severity of its announcements. (1) They are no longer to form part of the council of the people of God; that is to say, they will lose their influential position among the people. (סֹדֵר is the sphere of counsellors, not the social sphere.) (2) Their names shall not be registered in the book of the house of Israel. The book of the house of Israel is the register in which the citizens of the kingdom of God are entered. Any one whose name was not admitted into this book, or was struck out of it, was separated thereby from the citizenship of Israel, and lost all the privileges which citizenship conferred. The figure of the book of life is a similar one (cf. Ex. xxxii. 32). For Israel is not referred to here with regard to its outward nationality, but as the people of God; so that exclusion from Israel was also exclusion from fellowship with God. The circumstance that it is not the erasure of their names from the book that is mentioned here, but their not being entered in the book at all, may be accounted for from the reference contained in the words to the founding of the new kingdom of God. The old theocracy was abolished, although Jerusalem was not yet destroyed. The covenant nation had fallen under the judgment; but out of that portion of Israel which was dispersed among the heathen, a remnant

would be gathered together again, and having been brought back to its own land, would be made anew into a holy people of God (cf. ch. xi. 17 sqq.). But the false prophets are not to be received into the citizenship of the new kingdom. (3) They are not even to come into the land of Israel; *i.e.* they are not merely to remain in exile, but to lose all share in the privileges and blessings of the kingdom of God. This judgment will come upon them because they lead astray the people of God, by proclaiming peace where there is no peace; *i.e.* by raising and cherishing false hopes of prosperity and peace, by which they encourage the people in their sinful lives, and lead them to imagine that all is well, and there is no judgment to be feared (cf. Jer. xxiii. 17 and Mic. iii. 5). The exposure of this offence is introduced by the solemn *וְעַל כֵּן*, because and because (cf. Lev. xxvi. 43); and the offence itself is exhibited by means of a figure. When the people build a wall, the false prophets plaster the wall with lime. *וְהָיָה* (ver. 10) refers to *וְעָפֵי*, and the clause is a circumstantial one. *תָּפַל* signifies the plaster coating or cement of a wall, probably from the primary meaning of *תָּפַל*, to stick or plaster over (= *תָּפַל*, *conglutinare*, to glue, or fasten together), from which the secondary meaning of weak, insipid, has sprung. The proper word for plaster or cement is *בִּיחַ* (ver. 12), and *תָּפַל* is probably chosen with an allusion to the tropical signification of that which is silly or absurd (Jer. xxiii. 13; Lam. ii. 14). The meaning of the figure is intelligible enough. The people build up foolish hopes, and the prophets not only paint these hopes for them in splendid colours, but even predict their fulfilment, instead of denouncing their folly, pointing out to the people the perversity of their ways, and showing them that such sinful conduct must inevitably be followed by punishment and ruin. The plastering is therefore a figurative description of deceitful flattery or hypocrisy, *i.e.* the covering up of inward corruption by means of outward appearance (as in Matt. xxiii. 27 and Acts xxiii. 3). This figure leads the prophet to describe the judgment which they

are bringing upon the nation and themselves, as a tempest accompanied with hail and pouring rain, which throws down the wall that has been erected and plastered over; and in connection with this figure he opens out this double thought: (1) the conduct of the people, which is encouraged by the false prophets, cannot last (vers. 11 and 12); and (2) when this work of theirs is overthrown, the false prophets themselves will also meet with the fate they deserve (vers. 13-16). The threat of judgment commences with the short, energetic **יִפֹּל**, let it (the wall) fall, or it shall fall, with *Vav* to indicate the train of thought (Ewald, § 347a). The subject is **הַיֵּל**, to which **יִפֹּל** suggests a resemblance in sound. In ver. 12 this is predicted as the fate awaiting the plastered wall. In the description of the bursting storm the account passes with **וְאַתֶּנָּה** (and ye) into a direct address; in other words, the description assumes the form of an appeal to the destructive forces of nature to burst forth with all their violence against the work plastered over by the prophets, and to destroy it. **נִשְׁפָּם שׁוֹטֵף**, pouring rain; cf. ch. xxxviii. 22. **אֶבְנֵי אֲלֻנִּיִּם** here and ch. xxxviii. 22 are hailstones. The word **אֲלֻנִּיִּם**, which is peculiar to Ezekiel, is probably **גְּבִישׁ** (Job xxviii. 18), with the Arabic article **אֵל**; ice, then crystal. **רֵיחַ כְּעָרוֹת**, wind of storms, a hurricane or tempest. **תִּבְקַע** (ver. 11) is used intransitively, to break loose; but in ver. 13 it is transitive, to cause to break loose. The active rendering adopted by Kliefoth, "the storm will rend," *sc.* the plaster of the wall, is inappropriate in ver. 11; for a tempest does not rend either the plaster or the wall, but throws the wall down. The translation which Kliefoth gives in ver. 13, "I will rend by tempest," is at variance with both the language and the sense. Jehovah will cause this tempest to burst forth in His wrath and destroy the wall, and lay it level with the ground. The suffix in **בְּתוֹכָהּ** refers (*ad sensum*) to Jerusalem, not to **קִיר** (the wall), which is masculine, and has no **תְּיָנָה** (midst). The words pass from the figure to the reality here; for the plastered wall is a symbol of Jerusalem, as the centre of the

theocracy, which is to be destroyed, and to bury the lying prophets in its ruins. *וְכָלֵיתִי* (ver. 15) contains a play upon the word *לְכַלֵּה* in ver. 13. By a new turn given to *כָּלָה*, Ezekiel repeats the thought that the wrath of God is to destroy the wall and its plasterers; and through this repetition he rounds off the threat with the express declaration, that the false prophets who are ever preaching peace are the plasterers to whom he refers.

Vers. 17–23. AGAINST THE FALSE PROPHETESSES. — As the Lord had not endowed men only with the gifts of prophecy, but sometimes women also, *e.g.* Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah; so women also rose up along with the false prophets, and prophesied out of their own hearts without being impelled by the Spirit of God. Vers. 17–19. Their conduct.—Ver. 17. *And thou, son of man, direct thy face towards the daughters of thy people, who prophesy out of their heart and prophesy against them,* Ver. 18. *And say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Woe to those who sew coverings together over all the joints of my hands, and make caps for the head of every size, to catch souls! Ye catch the souls of my people, and keep your souls alive.* Ver. 19. *And ye profane me with my people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, to slay souls which should not die, and to keep alive which should not live, by your lying to my people who hearken to lying.*—Like the prophets in ver. 2, the prophetesses are here described as prophesying out of their own heart (ver. 17); and in vers. 18 and 19 their offences are more particularly described. The meaning of these verses is entirely dependent upon the view to be taken of *יָדַי*, which the majority of expositors, following the lead of the LXX., the Syriac, and the Vulgate, have regarded as identical with *יָדַיִם* or *יָדַי*, and understood as referring to the hands of the women or prophetesses. But there is nothing to justify the assumption that *יָדַי* is an unusual form for *יָדַיִם*, which even Ewald takes it to be (*Lehrbuch*, § 177a). Still less can it stand for the

singular יָד. And we have not sufficient ground for altering the text, as the expression וְרָעַתְיֶכֶם in ver. 20 (I will tear the בְּרָחוֹת from your arms) does not require the assumption that the prophetesses had hidden their arms in בְּרָחוֹת; and such a supposition is by no means obviously in harmony with the facts. The word בְּרָחוֹת, from בָּרַח, with ת fem. treated as a radical letter (cf. Ewald, § 186e), means a covering or concealment = בְּרִיחַ. The meaning "cushion" or "pillow" (LXX. προσκεφάλαια, Vulg. *pulvilli*) is merely an inference drawn from this passage, and is decidedly erroneous; for the word תָּפַר (to sew together) is inapplicable to cushions, as well as the phrase עַל בֶּל-אֶצְבָּלֵי יָד, inasmuch as cushions are not placed upon the joints of the hands, and still less are they sewed together upon them. The latter is also a decisive reason for rejecting the explanation given by Hävernicks, namely, that the *k'sáthōth* were carpets, which were used as couches, and upon which these voluptuous women are represented as reclining. For cushions or couches are not placed upon, but under, the arm-joints (or elbows) and the shoulders, which Hävernicks understands by יָד אֶצְבָּלֵי. This also overthrows another explanation given of the words, namely, that they refer to carpets, which the prophetesses had sewed together for all their arm-joints, so as to form comfortable beds upon splendid carpets, that they may indulge in licentiousness thereon. The explanation given by Ephraem Syrus, and adopted by Hitzig, namely, that the *k'sáthōth* were amulets or straps, which they wound round their arm-joints when they received or delivered their oracles, is equally untenable. For, as Kliefoth has observed, "it is evident that there is not a word in the text about adultery, or amulets, or straps used in prayer." And again, when we proceed to the next clause, the traditional rendering of מִטְפָּחוֹת, as signifying either pillows (*ὀπauχένια*, Symm.; *cervicalia*, Vulg.) or broad cloaks = מִטְפָּחוֹת (Hitzig, Hävernicks, etc.), is neither supported by the usage of the language, nor in harmony with עַל רֹאשׁ. *Mispáchōth*, from *sáphach*, to join, cannot

have any other meaning in the present context than a cap fitting close to the head; and לֵב must denote the pattern which was followed, as in Ps. cx. 4, Esth. ix. 26: they make the caps after (answering to) the head of every stature. The words of both clauses are figurative, and have been correctly explained by Kliefoth as follows: "A double charge is brought against the prophetesses. In the first place, they sew coverings together to wrap round all the joints of the hand of God, so that He cannot touch them; *i.e.* they cover up and conceal the word of God by their prophesying, more especially its rebuking and threatening force, so that the threatening and judicial arm of God, which ought above all to become both manifest and effective through His prophetic word, does not become either one or the other. In the second place, they make coverings upon the heads of men, and construct them in such a form that they exactly fit the stature or size of every individual, so that the men neither hear nor see; *i.e.*, by means of their flattering lies, which adapt themselves to the subjective inclinations of their hearers at the time, they cover up the senses of the men, so that they retain neither ear nor eye for the truth." They do both of these to catch souls. The inevitable consequence of their act is represented as having been intended by them; and this intention is then still further defined as being to catch the souls of the people of God; *i.e.* to allure them to destruction, and take care of their own souls. The clause $\text{הֲנִפְשׁוּתְהֶם צֹדִיקִים}$ is not to be taken as a question, "Will ye catch the souls?" implying a doubt whether they really thought that they could carry on such conduct as theirs with perfect impunity (Hävernick). It contains a simple statement of what really took place in their catching of souls, namely, "they catch the souls of the people of God, and preserve their own souls;" *i.e.* they rob the people of God of their lives, and take care of their own (Kliefoth). לְעַמִּי is used instead of the genitive (*stat. constr.*) to show that the accent rests upon עַמִּי . And in the same way we have לְבָנָה instead of the suffix. The construction

is the same as in 1 Sam xiv. 16. Ver. 19 shows how great their sin had been. They profane God among His people; namely, by delivering the suggestions of their own heart to the people as divine revelations, for the purpose of getting their daily bread thereby (cf. Mic. iii. 5); by hurling into destruction, through their lies, those who are only too glad to listen to lying; by slaying the souls of the people which ought to live, and by preserving those which ought not to live, *i.e.* their own souls (Deut. xviii. 20). The punishment for this will not fail to come.

Vers. 20-23. Punishment of the false prophetesses.—Ver. 20. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with your coverings with which ye catch, I will let the souls fly; and I will tear them away from your arms, and set the souls free, which ye catch, the souls to fly.* Ver. 21. *And I will tear your caps in pieces, and deliver my people out of your hand, and they shall no more become a prey in your hand; and ye shall learn that I am Jehovah.* Ver. 22. *Because ye grieve the heart of the righteous with lying, when I have not pained him; and strengthen the hands of the wicked, so that he does not turn from his evil way, to preserve his life.* Ver. 23. *Therefore ye shall no more see vanity, and no longer practise soothsaying: and I will deliver my people out of your hand; and ye shall learn that I am Jehovah.*—The threat of judgment is closely connected with the reproof of their sins. Vers. 20 and 21 correspond to the reproof in ver. 18, and vers. 22 and 23 to that in ver. 19. In the first place, the Lord will tear in pieces the coverings and caps, *i.e.* the tissue of lies woven by the false prophetesses, and rescue the people from their snares (vers. 20 and 21); and, secondly, He will entirely put an end to the pernicious conduct of the persons addressed (vers. 22 and 23). The words from לְפָרוֹחַת וְאֶשֶׁר אֶתְנָה (ver. 20a), when taken as one clause, as they generally are, offer insuperable difficulties, since it is impossible to get any satisfactory meaning from אֶשֶׁר, and לְפָרוֹחַת will not fit in. Whether we understand by *k'sâthôth*

coverings or cushions, the connection of שָׁם with אֲשֶׁר (*where* ye catch the souls), which the majority of commentators prefer, is untenable; for coverings and cushions were not the places where the souls were caught, but could only be the means employed for catching them. Instead of שָׁם we should expect בָּם or בְּהֵם; and Hitzig proposes to amend it in this way. Still less admissible is the proposal to take שָׁם as referring to Jerusalem ("wherewith ye catch souls *there*"); as שָׁם would not only contain a perfectly superfluous definition of locality, but would introduce a limitation altogether at variance with the context. It is not affirmed either of the prophets or of the prophetesses that they lived and prophesied in Jerusalem alone. In vers. 2 and 17 reference is made in the most general terms to the prophets of Israel and the daughters of thy people; and in ver. 16 it is simply stated that the false prophets prophesied peace to Jerusalem when there was no peace at all. Consequently we must regard the attempt to find in שָׁם an allusion to Jerusalem (cf. ver. 16) as a mere loophole, which betrays an utter inability to get any satisfactory sense from the word. Moreover, if we construe the words in this manner, לְפָרְחוֹת is also incomprehensible. Commentators have for the most part admitted that פָּרַח is used here in the Aramaean sense of *volare*, to fly. In the second half of the verse there is no doubt about its having this meaning. For שִׁלַּח is used in Deut. xxii. 7 for liberating a bird, or letting it fly; and the combination שִׁלַּח אֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁ לְפָרְחוֹת is supported by the expression שִׁלַּח לְחַפְּשִׁי in Ex. xxi. 26, while the comparison of souls to birds is sustained by Ps. xi. 1 and cxxiv. 7. Hence the true meaning of the whole passage לְפָרְחוֹת אֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁוֹת . . . שִׁלַּחְתִּי is, I send away (set free) the souls, which ye have caught, as flying ones, *i.e.* so that they shall be able to fly away at liberty. And in the first half also we must not adopt a different rendering for לְפָרְחוֹת, since אֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁוֹת is also connected with it there. But if the words in question are combined into one clause in the first hemistich, they will give us a sense which is obviously

wrong, viz. "wherewith ye catch the souls to let them fly." As the impossibility of adopting this rendering has been clearly seen, the attempt has been made to cloak over the difficulty by means of paraphrases. Ewald, for example, renders לְפָרְחוֹת in both cases "as if they were birds of passage;" but in the first instance he applies it to birds of passage, for which nets are spread for the purpose of catching them; and in the second, to birds of passage which are set at liberty. Thus, strictly speaking, he understands the first לְפָרְחוֹת as signifying the catching of birds; and the second, letting them fly: an explanation which refutes itself, as *pârach*, to fly, cannot mean "to catch" as well. The rendering adopted by Kimchi, Rosenmüller, and others, who translate לְפָרְחוֹת *ut advolent ad vos* in the first hemistich, and *ut avolent* in the second, is no better. And the difficulty is not removed by resorting to the dialects, as Hävernick, for the purpose of forcing upon פָּרְחוֹת the meaning dissoluteness or licentiousness, for which there is no authority in the Hebrew language itself. If, therefore, it is impossible to obtain any satisfactory meaning from the existing text, it cannot be correct; and no other course is open to us than to alter the unsuitable שָׁם into שָׁם, and divide the words from אֲשֶׁר אֶתְנֶה לְפָרְחוֹת into two clauses, as we have done in our translation above. There is no necessity to supply anything to the relative אֲשֶׁר, as צוּר is construed with a double accusative (e.g. Mic. vii. 2, צוּר חָרָם, to catch with a net), and the object to מְצַדְדוֹת, viz. the souls, can easily be supplied from the next clause. שָׁם, as a participle, can either be connected with הִנְנִי, "behold, I make," or taken as introducing an explanatory clause: "making the souls into flying ones," i.e. so that they are able to fly (שׁוֹם, Gen. xii. 2, etc.). The two clauses of the first hemistich would then exactly correspond to the two clauses of the second half of the verse. וְקָרַעְתִּי אֹתָם is explanatory of הִנְנִי אֹל כַּסֹּת, I will tear off the coverings from their arms. These words do not require the assumption that the prophetesses wore the לַכְתּוֹת on their arms, but may be fully

explained from the supposition that the persons in question prepared them with their own hands. 'וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי וְגו' corresponds to 'שָׁם אֶת־הַנְּפֹשֹׁת וְגו' ; and לְפָרְחוֹת is governed by וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי. The insertion of אֶת־הַנְּפֹשִׁים is to be accounted for from the copious nature of Ezekiel's style ; at the same time, it is not merely a repetition of אֶת־הַנְּפֹשֹׁת, which is separated from לְפָרְחוֹת by the relative clause 'אֲשֶׁר אֵתָם מִצֵּ', but as the unusual plural form נְפֹשִׁים shows, is intended as a practical explanation of the fact, that the souls, while compared to birds, are regarded as living beings, which is the meaning borne by נֶפֶשׁ in other passages. The omission of the article after אֵת may be explained, however, from the fact that the souls had been more precisely defined just before ; just as, for example, in 1 Sam. xxiv. 6, 2 Sam. xviii. 18, where the more precise definition follows immediately afterwards (cf. Ewald, § 277a, p. 683).—The same thing is said in ver. 21, with regard to the caps, as has already been said of the coverings in ver. 20. God will tear these in pieces also, to deliver His people from the power of the lying prophetesses. In what way God will do this is explained in vers. 22 and 23, namely, not only by putting their lying prophecies to shame through His judgments, but by putting an end to soothsaying altogether, and exterminating the false prophetesses by making them an object of ridicule and shame. The reason for this threat is given in ver. 22, where a further description is given of the disgraceful conduct of these persons ; and here the disgracefulness of their conduct is exhibited in literal terms and without any figure. They do harm to the righteous and good, and strengthen the hands of the wicked. הִכָּאוֹת, *Hiphil* of כָּאַה, in Syriac, to use harshly or depress ; so here in the *Hiphil*, connected with לֵב, to afflict the heart. שֶׁקֶר is used adverbially : with lying, or in a lying manner ; namely, by predicting misfortune and divine punishments, with which they threatened the godly, who would not acquiesce in their conduct ; whereas, on the contrary, they predicted prosperity and peace to the ungodly, who were willing to be ensnared by them, and

thus strengthened them in their evil ways. For this God would put them to shame through His judgments, which would make their deceptions manifest, and their soothsaying loathsome.

CHAP. XIV. ATTITUDE OF GOD TOWARDS THE WORSHIPPERS
OF IDOLS, AND CERTAINTY OF THE JUDGMENTS.

This chapter contains two words of God, which have obviously an internal connection with each other. The first (vers. 1–11) announces to the elders, who have come to the prophet to inquire of God, that the Lord will not allow idolaters to inquire of Him, but will answer all who do not turn from idolatry with severe judgments, and will even destroy the prophets who venture to give an answer to such inquirers. The second (vers. 12–23) denounces the false hope that God will avert the judgment and spare Jerusalem because of the righteousness of the godly men therein.

Vers. 1–11. THE LORD GIVES NO ANSWER TO THE IDOLATERS.—Ver. 1 narrates the occasion for this and the following words of God: *There came to me men of the elders of Israel, and sat down before me.* These men were not deputies from the Israelites in Palestine, as Grotius and others suppose, but elders of the exiles among whom Ezekiel had been labouring. They came to visit the prophet (ver. 3), evidently with the intention of obtaining, through him, a word of God concerning the future of Jerusalem, or the fate of the kingdom of Judah. But Hävernicks is wrong in supposing that we may infer, from either the first or second word of God in this chapter, that they had addressed to the prophet a distinct inquiry of this nature, to which the answer is given in vers. 12–23. For although their coming to the prophet showed that his prophecies had made an impression upon them, it is not stated in ver. 1 that they had come to inquire of God, like the elders in ch. xx. 1, and there is no allusion to any definite questions in the words of

God themselves. The first (vers. 2–11) simply assumes that they have come with the intention of asking, and discloses the state of heart which keeps them from coming to inquire; and the second (vers. 12–23) points out the worthlessness of their false confidence in the righteousness of certain godly men.

Ver. 2. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 3. *Son of man, these men have let their idols rise up in their heart, and have set the stumbling-block to guilt before their face: shall I allow myself to be inquired of by them?* Ver. 4. *Therefore speak to them, and say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Every man of the house of Israel who lifteth up his idols in his heart, and setteth the stumbling-block to his sin before his face, and cometh to the prophet, to him do I, Jehovah, show myself, answering according thereto, according to the multitude of his idols;* Ver. 5. *To grasp the house of Israel by their heart, because they have turned away from me, all of them through their idols.*—We have not to picture these elders to ourselves as given up to gross idolatry. הָעֵלָה עַל לֵב means, to allow anything to come into the mind, to permit it to rise up in the heart, to be mentally busy therewith. “To set before one’s face” is also to be understood, in a spiritual sense, as relating to a thing which a man will not put out of his mind. מְכַשֵּׁל עֲוֹנֹם, stumbling-block to sin and guilt (cf. ch. vii. 19), i.e. the idols. Thus the two phrases simply denote the leaning of the heart and spirit towards false gods. God does not suffer those whose heart is attached to idols to seek and find Him. The interrogative clause הֲאֶדְרִשׁ וְנִי contains a strong negation. The emphasis lies in the infinitive absolute אֶדְרִשׁ placed before the verb, in which the ה is softened into א, to avoid writing ה twice. נִדְרֶשׁ, to allow oneself to be sought, involves the finding of God; hence in Isa. lxxv. 1 we have נִדְרֶשׁ as parallel to נִמְצָא. In vers. 4, 5, there follows a positive declaration of the attitude of God towards those who are devoted to idolatry in their heart. Every such Israelite will be answered by God according to the measure of the multitude of his idols. The *Niphal* נִעֲנָה has not the signifi-

tion of the *Kal*, and does not mean "to be answerable," as Ewald supposes, or to converse; but is generally used in a passive sense, "to be answered," *i.e.* to find or obtain a hearing (Job xi. 2, xix. 7). It is employed here in a reflective sense, to hold or show oneself answering. כה, according to the *Chetib* כה, for which the *Keri* suggests the softer gloss כה, refers to 'ל' which follows; the nominative being anticipated, according to an idiom very common in Aramaean, by a previous pronoun. It is written here for the sake of emphasis, to bring the following object into more striking prominence. כ is used here in the sense of *secundum*, according to, not because, since this meaning is quite unsuitable for the כ in ver. 7, where it occurs in the same connection ('ב). The manner in which God will show Himself answering the idolatry according to their idols, is reserved till ver. 8. Here, in ver. 5, the design of this procedure on the part of God is given: viz. to grasp Israel by the heart; *i.e.* not merely to touch and to improve them, but to bring down their heart by judgments (cf. Lev. xxvi. 41), and thus move them to give up idolatry and return to the living God. נָזַר, as in Isa. i. 4, to recede, to draw away from God. בָּלֵם is an emphatic repetition of the subject belonging to נָזַר.

Vers. 6-8. In these verses the divine threat, and the summons to repent, are repeated, expanded, and uttered in the clearest words.—Ver. 6. *Therefore say to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Repent, and turn away from your idols; and turn away your face from all your abominations.* Ver. 7. *For every one of the house of Israel, and of the foreigners who sojourn in Israel, if he estrange himself from me, and let his idols rise up in his heart, and set the stumbling-block to his sin before his face, and come to the prophet to seek me for himself; I will show myself to him, answering in my own way.* Ver. 8. *I will direct my face against that man, and will destroy him, for a sign and for proverbs, and will cut him off out of my people; and ye shall learn that I am Jehovah.*—לָבֹן in ver. 6 is co-ordinate with the

לָבֹן in ver. 4, so far as the thought is concerned, but it is directly attached to ver. 5b: because they have estranged themselves from God, therefore God requires them to repent and turn. For God will answer with severe judgments every one who would seek God with idols in his heart, whether he be an Israelite, or a foreigner living in the midst of Israel. שׁוּבוּ, turn, be converted, is rendered still more emphatic by the addition of פְּנִיָּבָם . . . הָשִׁיבוּ. This double call to repentance corresponds to the double reproof of their idolatry in ver. 3, viz. שׁוּבוּ, to הָעֵלָה גֹּל' עַל לֵב; and הָשִׁיבוּ פְּנִיָּבָם, to their setting the idols פְּנִיָּהֶם. לָבֹחַ פְּנִיָּהֶם is not used intransitively, as it apparently is in ch. xviii. 30, but is to be taken in connection with the object פְּנִיָּבָם, which follows at the end of the verse; and it is simply repeated before פְּנִיָּבָם for the sake of clearness and emphasis. The reason for the summons to repent and give up idolatry is explained in ver. 7, in the threat that God will destroy every Israelite, and every foreigner in Israel, who draws away from God and attaches himself to idols. The phraseology of ver. 7a is adopted almost *verbatim* from Lev. xvii. 8, 10, 13. On the obligation of foreigners to avoid idolatry and all moral abominations, *vid.* Lev. xx. 2, xviii. 26, xvii. 10; Ex. xii. 19, etc. The ו before יָגִיד and יַעַל does not stand for the *Vav relat.*, but simply supposes a case: "should he separate himself from my followers, and let his idols rise up, etc." לְדַרְשׁ-לֹי כִי does not mean, "to seek counsel of him (the prophet) from me," for לֹי cannot be taken as referring to the prophet, although דַּרְשׁ with לְ does sometimes mean to seek any one, and לְ may therefore indicate the person to whom one goes to make inquiry (cf. 2 Chron. xv. 13, xvii. 4, xxxi. 21), because it is Jehovah who is sought in this case; and Hävernicks's remark, that "דַּרְשׁ with לְ merely indicates the external object sought by a man, and therefore in this instance the medium or organ through whom God speaks," is proved to be erroneous by the passages just cited. לֹי is reflective, or to be taken as a *dat. commodi*, denoting the inquirer or seeker. The person ap-

proached for the purpose of inquiring or seeking, *i.e.* God, is indicated by the preposition בְּ, as in 1 Chron. x. 14 (הָרַשׁ בַּיהוָה); and also frequently, in the case of idols, when either an oracle or help is sought from them (1 Sam. xxviii. 7; 2 Kings i. 2 sqq.). It is only in this way that לוֹ and בִּי can be made to correspond to the same words in the apodosis: Whosoever seeks counsel of God, to him will God show Himself answering בִּי, in Him, *i.e.* in accordance with His nature, in His own way,—namely, in the manner described in ver. 8. The threat is composed of passages in the law: נָתַתִּי פָנַי וְגו' and הִכְרַתִּי וְגו', after Lev. xx. 3, 5, 6; and הִשְׁמוּתִּיהוּ וְגו', though somewhat freely, after Deut. xxviii. 37 (הָיָה לְשִׁפּוֹחַ לְמִשְׁלַל וְגו'). There is no doubt, therefore, that הִשְׁמוּתִּי is to be derived from שָׁמַם, and stands for הִשְׁמוּתִּי, in accordance with the custom in later writings of resolving the *Dagesh forte* into a long vowel. The allusion to Deut. xxviii. 37, compared with הָיָה לְאוֹת in ver. 46 of the same chapter, is sufficient to set aside the assumption that הִשְׁמוּתִּי is to be derived from שָׁם, and pointed accordingly; although the LXX., Targ., Syr., and Vulg. have all renderings of שָׁם (cf. Ps. xliv. 16). Moreover, שָׁם in the perfect never takes the *Hiphil* form; and in ch. xx. 26 we have אֶשְׁמָם in a similar connection. The expression is a pregnant one: I make him desolate, so that he becomes a sign and proverbs.

Vers. 9-11. No prophet is to give any other answer.—Ver. 9. *But if a prophet allow himself to be persuaded, and give a word, I have persuaded this prophet, and will stretch out my hand against him, and cut him off out of my people Israel.* Ver. 10. *They shall bear their guilt: as the guilt of the inquirer, so shall the guilt of the prophet be;* Ver. 11. *In order that the house of Israel may no more stray from me, and may no more defile itself with all its transgressions; but they may be my people, and I their God, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—The prophet who allows himself to be persuaded is not a prophet מְלַבֵּב (ch. xiii. 2), but one who really thinks that he has a word of God. פָּתָה, to persuade, to entice by friendly words (in a good sense,

Hos. ii. 16); but generally *sensu malo*, to lead astray, or seduce to that which is unallowable or evil. "If he allow himself to be persuaded:" not necessarily "with the hope of payment from the hypocrites who consult him" (Michaelis). This weakens the thought. It might sometimes be done from unselfish good-nature. And "the word" itself need not have been a divine oracle of his own invention, or a false prophecy. The allusion is simply to a word of a different character from that contained in vers. 6-8, which either demands repentance or denounces judgment upon the impenitent: every word, therefore, which could by any possibility confirm the sinner in his security.—By אֲנִי יְהוָה (ver. 9) the apodosis is introduced in an emphatic manner, as in vers. 4 and 7; but פְּהִייתִי cannot be taken in a future sense ("I will persuade"). It must be a perfect; since the persuading of the prophet would necessarily precede his allowing himself to be persuaded. The Fathers and earlier Lutheran theologians are wrong in their interpretation of פְּהִייתִי, which they understand in a permissive sense, meaning simply that God allowed it, and did not prevent their being seduced. Still more wrong are Storr and Schmieder, the former of whom regards it as simply declaratory, "I will declare him to have gone astray from the worship of Jehovah;" the latter, "I will show him to be a fool, by punishing him for his disobedience." The words are rather to be understood in accordance with 1 Kings xxii. 20 sqq., where the persuading (*pittâh*) is done by a lying spirit, which inspires the prophets of Ahab to predict success to the king, in order that he may fall. As Jehovah sent the spirit in that case, and put it into the mouth of the prophets, so is the persuasion in this instance also effected by God: not merely divine permission, but divine ordination and arrangement; though this does not destroy human freedom, but, like all "persuading," presupposes the possibility of not allowing himself to be persuaded. See the discussion of this question in the commentary on 1 Kings xxii. 20 sqq. The remark of Calvin on the verse before us is

correct: "it teaches that neither impostures nor frauds take place apart from the will of God" (*nisi Deo volente*). But this willing on the part of God, or the persuading of the prophets to the utterance of self-willed words, which have not been inspired by God, only takes place in persons who admit evil into themselves, and is designed to tempt them and lead them to decide whether they will endeavour to resist and conquer the sinful inclinations of their hearts, or will allow them to shape themselves into outward deeds, in which case they will become ripe for judgment. It is in this sense that God persuades such a prophet, in order that He may then cut him off out of His people. But this punishment will not fall upon the prophet only. It will reach the seeker or inquirer also, in order if possible to bring Israel back from its wandering astray, and make it into a people of God purified from sin (vers. 10 and 11). It was to this end that, in the last times of the kingdom of Judah, God allowed false prophecy to prevail so mightily,—namely, that it might accelerate the process of distinguishing between the righteous and the wicked; and then, by means of the judgment which destroyed the wicked, purify His nation and lead it on to the great end of its calling.

Vers. 12-23. THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE GODLY WILL NOT AVERT THE JUDGMENT.—The threat contained in the preceding word of God, that if the idolaters did not repent, God would not answer them in any other way than with an exterminating judgment, left the possibility still open, that He would avert the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem for the sake of the righteous therein, as He had promised the patriarch Abraham that He would do in the case of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xviii. 23 sqq.). This hope, which might be cherished by the people and by the elders who had come to the prophet, is now to be taken from the people by the word of God which follows, containing as it does the announcement, that if any land should sin so grievously against God by its apostasy, He

would be driven to inflict upon it the punishments threatened by Moses against apostate Israel (Lev. xxvi. 22, 25, 26, and elsewhere), namely, to destroy both man and beast, and make the land a desert; it would be of no advantage to such a land to have certain righteous men, such as Noah, Daniel, and Job, living therein. For although these righteous men would be saved themselves, their righteousness could not possibly secure salvation for the sinners. The manner in which this thought is carried out in vers. 13–20 is, that four exterminating punishments are successively supposed to come upon the land and lay it waste; and in the case of every one, the words are repeated, that even righteous men, such as Noah, Daniel, and Job, would only save their own souls, and not one of the sinners. And thus, according to vers. 21–23, will the Lord act when He sends His judgments against Jerusalem; and He will execute them in such a manner that the necessity and righteousness of His acts shall be made manifest therein.—This word of God forms a supplementary side-piece to Jer. xv. 1–4, where the Lord replies to the intercession of the prophet, that even the intercession of a Moses and a Samuel on behalf of the people would not avert the judgments which were suspended over them.

Ver. 12. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,*
Ver. 13. *Son of man, if a land sin against me to act treacherously, and I stretch out my hand against it, and break in pieces for it the support of bread, and send famine into it, and cut off from it man and beast: Ver. 14. And there should be these three men therein, Noah, Daniel, and Job, they would through their righteousness deliver their soul, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 15. If I bring evil beasts into the land, so that they make it childless, and it become a desert, so that no one passeth through it because of the beasts: Ver. 16. These three men therein, as I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, would not deliver sons and daughters; they only would be delivered, but the land would become a desert. Ver. 17. Or I bring the sword into that land, and say, Let the sword go through the land; and I cut off*

from it man and beast: Ver. 18. *These three men therein, as I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, would not deliver sons and daughters, but they only would be delivered.* Ver. 19. *Or I send pestilence into that land, and pour out my fury upon it in blood, to cut off from it man and beast:* Ver. 20. *Verily, Noah, Daniel, and Job, in the midst of it, as I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, would deliver neither son nor daughter; they would only deliver their own soul through their righteousness.*—וְאֵלֶּיךָ in ver. 13 is intentionally left indefinite, that the thought may be expressed in the most general manner. On the other hand, the sin is very plainly defined as לְמַעַל-מַעַל. מַעַל, literally, to cover, signifies to act in a secret or treacherous manner, especially towards Jehovah, either by apostasy from Him, in other words, by idolatry, or by withholding what is due to Him (see comm. on Lev. v. 15). In the passage before us it is the treachery of apostasy from Him by idolatry that is intended. As the epithet used to denote the sin is taken from Lev. xxvi. 40 and Deut. xxxii. 51, so the four punishments mentioned in the following verses, as well as in ch. v. 17, are also taken from Lev. xxvi.,—viz. the breaking up of the staff of bread, from ver. 26; the evil beasts, from ver. 22; and the sword and pestilence, from ver. 25. The three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, are named as examples of true righteousness of life, or צִדְקָה (vers. 14, 20); i.e., according to Calvin's correct explanation, *quicquid pertinet ad regulam sancte et juste vivendi*. Noah is so described in Gen. vi. 9; and Job, in the Book of Job i. 1, xii. 4, etc.; and Daniel, in like manner, is mentioned in Dan. i. 8 sqq., vi. 11 sqq., as faithfully confessing his faith in his life. The fact that Daniel is named before Job does not warrant the conjecture that some other older Daniel is meant, of whom nothing is said in the history, and whose existence is merely postulated. For the enumeration is not intended to be chronological, but is arranged according to the subject-matter; the order being determined by the nature of the deliverance experienced by these men for their righteousness in the midst of

great judgments. Consequently, as Hävernicks and Kliefoth have shown, we have a climax here: Noah saved his family along with himself; Daniel was able to save his friends (Dan. ii. 17, 18); but Job, with his righteousness, was not even able to save his children.—The second judgment (ver. 15) is introduced with **אִל**, which, as a rule, supposes a case that is not expected to occur, or even regarded as possible; here, however, **אִל** is used as perfectly synonymous with **אִם**. **שֶׁכֶּלֶתָהּ** has no *Mappik*, because the tone is drawn back upon the penultima (see comm. on Amos i. 11). In ver. 19, the expression “to pour out my wrath in blood” is a pregnant one, for to pour out my wrath in such a manner that it is manifested in the shedding of blood or the destruction of life, for the life is in the blood. In this sense pestilence and blood were also associated in ch. v. 17.—If we look closely at the four cases enumerated, we find the following difference in the statements concerning the deliverance of the righteous: that, in the first instance, it is simply stated that Noah, Daniel, and Job would save their soul, *i.e.* their life, by their righteousness; whereas, in the three others, it is declared that as truly as the Lord liveth they would not save either sons or daughters, but they alone would be delivered. The difference is not merely a rhetorical climax or progress in the address by means of asseveration and antithesis, but indicates a distinction in the thought. The first case is only intended to teach that in the approaching judgment the righteous would save their lives, *i.e.* that God would not sweep away the righteous with the ungodly. The three cases which follow are intended, on the other hand, to exemplify the truth that the righteousness of the righteous will be of no avail to the idolaters and apostates; since even such patterns of righteousness as Noah, Daniel, and Job would only save their own lives, and would not be able to save the lives of others also. This tallies with the omission of the asseveration in ver. 14. The first declaration, that God would deliver the righteous in the coming judgments, needed no asseveration,

inasmuch as this truth was not called in question ; but it was required in the case of the declaration that the righteousness of the righteous would bring no deliverance to the sinful nation, since this was the hope which the ungodly cherished, and it was this hope which was to be taken from them. The other differences which we find in the description given of the several cases are merely formal in their nature, and do not in any way affect the sense ; *e.g.* the use of לָא, in ver. 18, instead of the particle אִם, which is commonly employed in oaths, and which we find in vers. 16 and 20 ; the choice of the singular בֵּן and בַּת, in ver. 20, in the place of the plural וּבָנִים וּבָנוֹת, used in vers. 16 and 18 ; and the variation in the expressions, יִנְצְלוּ נַפְשָׁם (ver. 14), יִצְלוּ נַפְשָׁם (ver. 20), and הִמָּוֶה לְבָרָם יִנְצְלוּ (vers. 16 and 18), which Hitzig proposes to remove by altering the first two forms into the third, though without the slightest reason. For although the *Piel* occurs in Ex. xii. 36 in the sense of taking away or spoiling, and is not met with anywhere else in the sense of delivering, it may just as well be used in this sense, as the *Hiphil* has both significations.

Vers. 21-23. The rule expounded in vers. 13-20 is here applied to Jerusalem. — Ver. 21. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, How much more when I send my four evil judgments, sword, and famine, and evil beasts, and pestilence, against Jerusalem, to cut off from it man and beast?* Ver. 22. *And, behold, there remain escaped ones in her who will be brought out, sons and daughters ; behold, they will go out to you, that ye may see their walk and their works ; and console yourselves concerning the evil which I have brought upon Jerusalem.* Ver. 23. *And they will console you, when ye see their walk and their works : and ye will see that I have not done without cause all that I have done to her, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* — By בִּי in ver. 21 the application of the general rule to Jerusalem is made in the form of a reason. The meaning, however, is not, that the reason why Jehovah was obliged to act in this unsparing manner was to be found in the corrupt condition of

the nation, as Hävernicks supposes,—a thought quite foreign to the context; but **וְ** indicates that the judgments upon Jerusalem will furnish a practical proof of the general truth expressed in vers. 13–20, and so confirm it. This **וְ** is no more an emphatic *yea* than the following “**וְ**” is a forcible introduction to the antithesis formed by the coming fact, to the merely imaginary cases mentioned above” (Hitzig). **וְ** has undoubtedly the force of a climax, but not of an asseveration, “*verily*” (Häv.); a meaning which this particle never has. It is used here, as in Job iv. 19, in the sense of **וְ** **וְ**; and the **וְ** which follows **וְ** in this case is a conditional particle of time, “*when*.” Consequently **וְ** ought properly to be written twice; but it is only used once, as in ch. xv. 5; Job ix. 14, etc. The thought is this: how much more will this be the case, namely, that even a Noah, Daniel, and Job will not deliver either sons or daughters when I send my judgments upon Jerusalem. The perfect **וְ** is used, and not the imperfect, as in ver. 13, because God has actually resolved upon sending it, and does not merely mention it as a possible case. The number four is significant, symbolizing the universality of the judgment, or the thought that it will fall on all sides, or upon the whole of Jerusalem; whereby it must also be borne in mind that Jerusalem as the capital represents the kingdom of Judah, or the whole of Israel, so far as it was still in Canaan. At the same time, by the fact that the Lord allows sons and daughters to escape death, and to be led away to Babylon, He forces the acknowledgment of the necessity and righteousness of His judgments among those who are in exile. This is in general terms the thought contained in vers. 22 and 23, to which very different meanings have been assigned by the latest expositors. Hävernicks, for example, imagines that, in addition to the four ordinary judgments laid down in the law, ver. 22 announces a new and extraordinary one; whereas Hitzig and Kliefoth have found in these two verses the consolatory assurance, that in the time of the judgments a few of the younger

generation will be rescued and taken to those already in exile in Babylon, there to excite pity as well as to express it, and to give a visible proof of the magnitude of the judgment which has fallen upon Israel. They differ so far from each other, however, that Hitzig regards those of the younger generation who are saved as צַדִּיקִים, who have saved themselves through their innocence, but not their guilty parents, and who will excite the commiseration of those already in exile through their blameless conduct; whilst Kliefoth imagines that those who are rescued are simply less criminal than the rest, and when they come to Babylon will be pitied by those who have been longer in exile, and will pity them in return.—Neither of these views does justice to the words themselves or to the context. The meaning of ver. 22a is clear enough; and in the main there has been no difference of opinion concerning it. When man and beast are cut off out of Jerusalem by the four judgments, all will not perish; but פְּלִיטָה, *i.e.* persons who have escaped destruction, will be left, and will be led out of the city. These are called sons and daughters, with an allusion to vers. 16, 18, and 20; and consequently we must not take these words as referring to the younger generation in contrast to the older. They will be led out of Jerusalem, not to remain in the land, but to come to “you,” *i.e.* those already in exile, that is to say, to go into exile to Babylon. This does not imply either a modification or a sharpening of the punishment; for the cutting off of man and beast from a town may be effected not only by slaying, but by leading away. The design of God in leaving some to escape, and carrying them to Babylon, is explained in the clauses which follow from וַיֵּרָאֵם onwards, the meaning of which depends partly upon the more precise definition of דְּרָכָם and עֲלֵי־אֲחֵיהֶם, and partly upon the explanation to be given of וַיִּחַמוּ אֲתָכֶם and נִחַמְתֶּם עַל-הָרָעָה. The ways and works are not to be taken without reserve as good and righteous works, as Kliefoth has correctly shown in his reply to Hitzig. Still less can ways and works denote their

experience or fate, which is the explanation given by Kliefoth of the words, when expounding the meaning and connection of vers. 21-23. The context certainly points to wicked ways and evil works. And it is only the sight of such works that could lead to the conviction that it was not בְּהִנֵּם, in vain, *i.e.* without cause, that God had inflicted such severe judgments upon Jerusalem. And in addition to this effect, which is mentioned in ver. 23 as produced upon those who were already in exile, by the sight of the conduct of the בָּלִיטָה that came to Babylon, the immediate design of God is described in ver. 22*b* as בְּנַחֲמָתָם 'עַל-הָרָעָה וְנו'. The verb נָחַם with עַל cannot be used here in the sense of to repent of anything, or to grieve over it (Hitzig); still less can it mean to pity any one (Kliefoth). For a man cannot repent of, or be sorry for, a judgment which God has inflicted upon him, but only of evil which he himself has done; and נָחַם does not mean to pity a person, either when construed in the *Piel* with an accusative of the person, or in the *Niphal* c. עַל, *rei.* בְּנַחֲמָתָם is *Niphal*, and signifies here to console oneself, as in Gen. xxxviii. 12 with עַל, concerning anything, as in 2 Sam. xiii. 39, Jer. xxxi. 15, etc.; and נָחַמוּ (ver. 23), with the accusative of the person, to comfort any one, as in Gen. li. 21; Job ii. 11, etc. But the works and doings of those who came to Babylon could only produce this effect upon those who were already there, from the fact that they were of such a character as to demonstrate the necessity for the judgments which had fallen upon Jerusalem. A conviction of the necessity for the divine judgments would cause them to comfort themselves with regard to the evil inflicted by God; inasmuch as they would see, not only that the punishment endured was a chastisement well deserved, but that God in His righteousness would stay the punishment when it had fulfilled His purpose, and restore the penitent sinner to favour once more. But the consolation which those who were in exile would derive from a sight of the works of the sons and daughters who had escaped from death and come to Babylon, is attributed in

ver. 23 (נַחֲנוּ אֶתְכֶם) to the persons themselves. It is in this sense that it is stated that "they will comfort you;" not by expressions of pity, but by the sight of their conduct. This is directly affirmed in the words, "when ye shall see their conduct and their works." Consequently ver. 23a does not contain a new thought, but simply the thought already expressed in ver. 22b, which is repeated in a new form to make it the more emphatic. And the expression אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר הִבֵּאתִי עֲלֶיהָ, in ver. 22, serves to increase the force; whilst אֵת, in the sense of *quoad*, serves to place the thought to be repeated in subordination to the whole clause (cf. Ewald, § 277a, p. 683).

CHAP. XV. JERUSALEM, THE USELESS WOOD OF A WILD VINE.

As certainly as God will not spare Jerusalem for the sake of the righteousness of the few righteous men therein, so certain is it that Israel has no superiority over other nations, which could secure Jerusalem against destruction. As the previous word of God overthrows false confidence in the righteousness of the godly, what follows in this chapter is directed against the fancy that Israel cannot be rejected and punished by the overthrow of the kingdom, because of its election to be the people of God.

Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, what advantage has the wood of the vine over every wood, the vine-branch, which was among the trees of the forest?* Ver. 3. *Is wood taken from it to use for any work? or do men take a peg from it to hang all kinds of vessels upon?* Ver. 4. *Behold, it is given to the fire to consume. If the fire has consumed its two ends, and the middle of it is scorched, will it then be fit for any work?* Ver. 5. *Behold, when it is uninjured, it is not used for any work: how much less when the fire has consumed it and scorched it can it be still used for work!* Ver. 6. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, As the wood of the vine among the wood of the forest, which I give to the fire to consume,*

so do I give up the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Ver. 7. And direct my face against them. They have gone out of the fire, and the fire will consume them; that ye may learn that I am Jehovah, when I set my face against them. Ver. 8. And I make the land a desert, because they committed treachery, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.

—Israel is like the wood of the wild vine, which is put into the fire to burn, because it is good for nothing. From Deut. xxxii. 32, 33 onwards, Israel is frequently compared to a vine or a vineyard (cf. Ps. lxxx. 9 sqq.; Isa. v.; Hos. x. 1; Jer. ii. 21), and always, with the exception of Ps. lxxx., to point out its degeneracy. This comparison lies at the foundation of the figure employed, in vers. 2–5, of the wood of the wild vine. This wood has no superiority over any other kind of wood. It cannot be used, like other timber, for any useful purposes; but is only fit to be burned, so that it is really inferior to all other wood (vers. 2 and 3a). And if, in its perfect state, it cannot be used for anything, how much less when it is partially scorched and consumed (vers. 4 and 5)! מֵהֲיֵהוּהָ, followed by מִן, means, what is it above (מִן, comparative)?—*i.e.* what superiority has it to כָּל־עֵץ, all kinds of wood? *i.e.* any other wood. הַמִּזְמוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר וְגו' is in apposition to עֵץ הַגִּפֶּן, and is not to be connected with מִכָּל־עֵץ, as it has been by the LXX. and Vulgate,—notwithstanding the Masoretic accentuation,—so as to mean every kind of fagot; for זְמוֹרָה does not mean a fagot, but the tendril or branch of the vine (cf. ch. viii. 17), which is still further defined by the following relative clause: to be a wood-vine, *i.e.* a wild vine, which bears only sour, uneatable grapes. The preterite הָיָה (which *was*; not, “*is*”) may be explained from the idea that the vine had been fetched from the forest in order that its wood might be used. The answer given in ver. 3 is, that this vine-wood cannot be used for any purpose whatever, not even as a peg for hanging any kind of domestic utensils upon (see comm. on Zech. x. 4). It is too weak even for this. The object has to be supplied לַעֲשׂוֹת לְמִלְאָכָה: to make, or apply it, for any work. Because it cannot

be used as timber, it is burned. A fresh thought is introduced in ver. 4*b* by the words 'אֵת שְׁנֵי ק'. The two clauses in ver. 4*b* are to be connected together. The first supposes a case, from which the second is deduced as a conclusion. The question, "Is it fit for any work?" is determined in ver. 5 in the negative. אֵין כִּי as in ch. xiv. 21. נָהָר: perfect; and יָהָר: imperfect, *Niphal*, of הָרַר, in the sense of, to be burned or scorched. The subject to יָהָר is no doubt the wood, to which the suffix in אֶכְלָתָהּ refers. At the same time, the two clauses are to be understood, in accordance with ver. 4*b*, as relating to the burning of the ends and the scorching of the middle.—Vers. 6-8. In the application of the parable, the only thing to which prominence is given, is the fact that God will deal with the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the same manner as with the vine-wood, which cannot be used for any kind of work. This implies that Israel resembles the wood of a forest-vine. As this possesses no superiority to other wood, but, on the contrary, is utterly useless, so Israel has no superiority to other nations, but is even worse than they, and therefore is given up to the fire. This is accounted for in ver. 7: "They have come out of the fire, and the fire will consume them" (the inhabitants of Jerusalem). These words are not to be interpreted proverbially, as meaning, "he who escapes one judgment falls into another" (Hävernicks), but show the application of vers. 4*b* and 5 to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Out of a fire one must come either burned or scorched. Israel has been in the fire already. It resembles a wild vine which has been consumed at both ends by the fire, while the middle has been scorched, and which is now about to be given up altogether to the fire. We must not restrict the fire, however, out of which it has come half consumed, to the capture of Jerusalem in the time of Jehoiachin, as Hitzig does, but must extend it to all the judgments which fell upon the covenant nation, from the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes to the catastrophe in the reign of Jehoiachin, and in consequence of which Israel now resembled

a vine burned at both ends and scorched in the middle. The threat closes in the same manner as the previous one. Compare ver. 7*b* with ch. xiv. 8*b*, and ver. 8 with ch. xiv. 15 and 13.

CHAP. XVI. INGRATITUDE AND UNFAITHFULNESS OF
JERUSALEM. ITS PUNISHMENT AND SHAME.

The previous word of God represented Israel as a wild and useless vine, which had to be consumed. But as God had planted this vine in His vineyard, as He had adopted Israel as His own people, the rebellious nation, though met by these threatenings of divine judgment, might still plead that God would not reject Israel, on account of its election as the covenant nation. This proof of false confidence in the divine covenant of grace is removed by the word of God in the present chapter, which shows that by nature Israel is no better than other nations; and that, in consequence of its shameful ingratitude towards the Lord, who saved it from destruction in the days of its youth, it has sinned so grievously against Him, and has sunk so low among the heathen through its excessive idolatry, that God is obliged to punish and judge it in the same manner as the others. At the same time, the Lord will continue mindful of His covenant; and on the restoration of Sodom and Samaria, He will also turn the captivity of Jerusalem,—to the deep humiliation and shame of Israel,—and will establish an everlasting covenant with it.—The contents of this word of God divide themselves, therefore, into three parts. In the *first*, we have the description of the nation's sin, through its falling away from its God into idolatry (vers. 2–34); in the *second*, the announcement of the punishment (vers. 35–52); and in the *third*, the restoration of Israel to favour (vers. 53–63). The past, present, and future of Israel are all embraced, from its first commencement to its ultimate consummation.—These copious contents are draped in an allegory, which is carried out on a magnificent scale. Starting from the repre-

sentation of the covenant relation existing between the Lord and His people, under the figure of a marriage covenant,—which runs through the whole of the Scriptures,—Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom of God, as the representative of Israel, the covenant nation, is addressed as a wife; and the attitude of God to Israel, as well of that of Israel to its God, is depicted under this figure.

Vers. 1-14. Israel, by nature unclean, miserable, and near to destruction (vers. 3-5), is adopted by the Lord and clothed in splendour (vers. 6-14). Vers. 1 and 2 form the introduction.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, show Jerusalem her abominations.*—The “abominations” of Jerusalem are the sins of the covenant nation, which were worse than the sinful abominations of Canaan and Sodom. The theme of this word of God is the declaration of these abominations. To this end the nation is first of all shown what it was by nature.—Ver. 3. *And say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah to Jerusalem, Thine origin and thy birth are from the land of the Canaanites; thy father was the Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite.* Ver. 4. *And as for thy birth, in the day of thy birth thy navel was not cut, and thou wast not bathed in water for cleansing; and not rubbed with salt, and not wrapped in bandages.* Ver. 5. *No eye looked upon thee with pity, to do one of these to thee in compassion; but thou wast cast into the field, in disgust at thy life, on the day of thy birth.*—According to the allegory, which runs through the whole chapter, the figure adopted to depict the origin of the Israelitish nation is that Jerusalem, the existing representative of the nation, is described as a child, born of Canaanitish parents, mercilessly exposed after its birth, and on the point of perishing. Hitzig and Kliefoth show that they have completely misunderstood the allegory, when they not only explain the statement concerning the descent of Jerusalem, in ver. 3, as relating to the city of that name, but restrict it to the city alone, on the ground that “Israel as a whole was not of

Canaanitish origin, whereas the city of Jerusalem was radically a Canaanitish, Amoritish, and Hittite city." But were not all the cities of Israel radically Canaanite? Or was Israel not altogether, but only half, of Aramaean descent? Regarded merely as a city, Jerusalem was neither of Amoritish nor Hittite origin, but simply a Jebusite city. And it is too obvious to need any proof, that the prophetic word does not refer to the city as a city, or to the mass of houses; but that Jerusalem, as the capital of the kingdom of Judah at that time, so far as its inhabitants were concerned, represents the people of Israel, or the covenant nation. It was not the mass of houses, but the population,—which was the foundling,—that excited Jehovah's compassion, and which He multiplied into myriads (ver. 7), clothed in splendour, and chose as the bride with whom He concluded a marriage covenant. The descent and birth referred to are not physical, but spiritual descent. Spiritually, Israel sprang from the land of the Canaanites; and its father was the Amorite and its mother a Hittite, in the same sense in which Jesus said to the Jews, "Ye are of your father the devil" (John viii. 44). The land of the Canaanites is mentioned as the land of the worst heathen abominations; and from among the Canaanitish tribes, the Amorites and Hittites are mentioned as father and mother, not because the Jebusites are placed between the two, in Num. xiii. 29, as Hitzig supposes, but because they were recognised as the leaders in Canaanitish ungodliness. The iniquity of the Amorites (הַאֲמֹרִי) was great even in Abraham's time, though not yet full or ripe for destruction (Gen. xv. 16); and the daughters of Heth, whom Esau married, caused Rebekah great bitterness of spirit (Gen. xxvii. 46). These facts furnish the substratum for our description. And they also help to explain the occurrence of הַאֲמֹרִי with the article, and הִתִּי without it. The plurals מְבִרְתֶּיךָ and מְלִרְתֶּיךָ also point to spiritual descent; for physical generation and birth are both acts that take place once for all. מְבִרָה or מְלִרָה (ch. xxi. 35, xxix. 14) is not the

place of begetting, but generation itself, from כָּרָה = כָּוִר, to dig = to beget (cf. Isa. li. 1). It is not equivalent to מְקוֹר, or a plural corresponding to the Latin *natales, origines*. מוֹלָדָת : birth. Vers. 4 and 5 describe the circumstances connected with the birth. וּמִלֵּילֶיהָ (ver. 4) stands at the head as an absolute noun. At the birth of the child it did not receive the cleansing and care which were necessary for the preservation and strengthening of its life, but was exposed without pity. The construction הוּלָדָת אוֹתָהּ (the passive, with an accusative of the object) is the same as in Gen. xl. 20, and many other passages of the earlier writings. בָּרַת : for בָּרַת (Judg. vi. 28), *Pual* of בָּרַת ; and שָׁרָה : from שָׂר, with the reduplication of the ר, which is very rare in Hebrew (*vid.* Ewald, § 71). By cutting the navel-string, the child is liberated after birth from the blood of the mother; with which it was nourished in the womb. If the cutting be neglected, as well as the tying of the navel-string, which takes place at the same time, the child must perish when the decomposition of the *placenta* begins. The new-born child is then bathed, to cleanse it from the impurities attaching to it. מִשְׁעֵי cannot be derived from שָׁעָה = שָׁעָה ; because neither the meaning to see, to look (שָׁעָה), nor the other meaning to smear (שָׁעָה), yields a suitable sense. Jos. Kimchi is evidently right in deriving it from מִשְׁעָה, in Arabic مَسَحَ, ii. and iv., to wipe off, cleanse. The termination י is the Aramaean form of the absolute state, for the Hebrew מִשְׁעִית, cleansing (cf. Ewald, § 165a). After the washing, the body was rubbed with salt, according to a custom very widely spread in ancient times, and still met with here and there in the East (*vid.* Hieron. *ad h. l. Galen, de Sanit.* i. 7 ; *Troilo Reisebeschr.* p. 721); and that not merely for the purpose of making the skin drier and firmer, or of cleansing it more thoroughly, but probably from a regard to the virtue of salt as a protection from putrefaction, "to express in a symbolical manner a hope and desire for the vigorous health of the child" (Hitzig and Hävernick). And, finally, it was bound round with swaddling-

clothes. Not one of these things, so indispensable to the preservation and strengthening of the child, was performed in the case of Israel at the time of its birth from any feeling of compassionate love (לְהַמִּלֵּן, infinitive, to show pity or compassion towards it); but it was cast into the field, *i.e.* exposed, in order that it might perish נִפְשָׁם בְּגִוְעַל in disgust at thy life (compare לָעָל, to thrust away, reject, despise, Lev. xxvi. 11, xv. 30). The day of the birth of Jerusalem, *i.e.* of Israel, was the period of its sojourn in Egypt, where Israel as a nation was born,—the sons of Jacob who went down to Egypt having multiplied into a nation. The different traits in this picture are not to be interpreted as referring to historical peculiarities, but have their explanation in the totality of the figure. At the same time, they express much more than “that Israel not only stood upon a level with all other nations, so far as its origin and its nature were concerned, but was more helpless and neglected as to both its nature and its natural advantages, possessing a less gifted nature than other nations, and therefore inferior to the rest” (Kliefoth). The smaller gifts, or humbler natural advantages, are thoughts quite foreign to the words of the figure as well as to the context. Both the Canaanitish descent and the merciless exposure of the child point to a totally different point of view, as indicated by the allegory. The Canaanitish descent points to the moral depravity of the nature of Israel; and the neglected condition of the child is intended to show how little there was in the heathen surroundings of the youthful Israel in Canaan and Egypt that was adapted to foster its life and health, or to educate Israel and fit it for its future destination. To the Egyptians the Israelites were an abomination, as a race of shepherds; and not long after the death of Joseph, the Pharaohs began to oppress the growing nation.

Vers. 6–14. Israel therefore owes its preservation and exaltation to honour and glory to the Lord its God alone.—Ver. 6. *Then I passed by thee, and saw thee stamping in thy blood, and said to thee, In thy blood live! and said to thee, In thy blood*

live! Ver. 7. I made thee into myriads as the growth of the field, and thou grewest and becamest tall, and camest to ornament of cheeks. The breasts expanded, and thy hair grew, whereas thou wast naked and bare. Ver. 8. And I passed by thee, and saw thee, and, behold, it was thy time, the time of love; and I spread my wing over thee, and covered thy nakedness; and I swore to thee, and entered into covenant with thee, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, and thou becamest mine. Ver. 9. And I bathed thee in water, and rinsed thy blood from thee, and anointed thee with oil. Ver. 10. And I clothed thee with embroidered work, and shod thee with morocco, and wrapped thee round with byssus, and covered thee with silk. Ver. 11. I adorned thee with ornaments, and put bracelets upon thy hands, and a chain around thy neck. Ver. 12. And I gave thee a ring in thy nose, and earrings in thine ears, and a splendid crown upon thy head. Ver. 13. And thou didst adorn thyself with gold and silver; and thy clothing was byssus, and silk, and embroidery. Wheaten-flour, and honey, and oil thou didst eat; and thou wast very beautiful; and didst thrive to regal dignity. Ver. 14. Thy name went forth among the nations on account of thy beauty; for it was perfect through my glory, which I put upon thee, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—The description of what the Lord did for Israel in His compassionate love is divided into two sections by the repetition of the phrase “I passed by thee” (vers. 6 and 8). The first embraces what God had done for the preservation and increase of the nation; the second, what He had done for the glorification of Israel, by adopting it as the people of His possession. When Israel was lying in the field as a neglected new-born child, the Lord passed by and adopted it, promising it life, and giving it strength to live. To bring out the magnitude of the compassion of God, the fact that the child was lying in its blood is mentioned again and again. The explanation to be given of מְתַבֹּסֵסִת (the *Hithpolel* of בֹּסַס, to trample upon, tread under foot) is doubtful, arising from the difficulty of deciding whether the *Hithpolel* is to be taken in a passive or

a reflective sense. The passive rendering, "trampled upon" (Umbreit), or *ad conculcandum projectus*, thrown down, to be trodden under foot (Gesenius, etc.), is open to the objection that the *Hophal* is used for this. We therefore prefer the reflective meaning, treading oneself, or stamping; as the objection offered to this, namely, that a new-born child thrown into a field would not be found stamping with the feet, has no force in an allegorical description. In the clause ver. 6*b*, which is written twice, the question arises whether בְּדַמִּיָּךְ is to be taken with חַיִּי or with וְאָמַר לָךְ: I said to thee, "In thy blood live;" or, "I said to thee in thy blood, 'Live.'" We prefer the former, because it gives a more emphatic sense. בְּדַמִּיָּךְ is a concise expression; for although lying in thy blood, in which thou wouldst inevitably bleed to death, yet thou shalt live. Hitzig's proposal to connect בְּדַמִּיָּךְ in the first clause with חַיִּי, and in the second with וְאָמַר, can hardly be entertained. A double construction of this kind is not required either by the repetition of וְאָמַר לָךְ, or by the uniform position of בְּדַמִּיָּךְ before חַיִּי in both clauses, as compared with 1 Kings xx. 18 and Isa. xxvii. 5.—In ver. 7*a* the description of the real fact breaks through the allegory. The word of God חַיִּי, live, was visibly fulfilled in the innumerable multiplication of Israel. But the allegory is resumed immediately. The child grew (רָבָה, as in Gen. xxi. 20; Deut. xxx. 16), and came into ornament of cheeks (בּוֹא with בָּ, to enter into a thing, as in ver. 8; not to proceed in, as Hitzig supposes). עֲרֵי עֲרִיִים, not most beautiful ornament, or highest charms, for עֲרִיִים is not the plural of עֲרִי; but according to the *Chetib* and most of the editions, with the tone upon the penultima, is equivalent to עֲרִיִים, a dual form; so that עֲרִי cannot mean ornament in this case, but, as in Ps. xxxix. 9 and ciii. 5, "the cheek," which is the traditional meaning (cf. Ges. *Thes.* p. 993). Ornament of cheeks is youthful freshness and beauty of face. The clauses which follow describe the arrival of puberty. נִבְּוֶן, when applied to the breasts, means to expand, lit. to raise oneself up. שֹׁעַר רִגְלִים = שֹׁעַר, *pubes*. The descrip-

tion given in these verses refers to the preservation and marvellous multiplication of Israel in Egypt, where the sons of Israel grew into a nation under the divine blessing. Still it was quite naked and bare (עָרִים and עֲרִיָה are substantives in the abstract sense of nakedness and bareness, used in the place of adjectives to give greater emphasis). Naked and bare are figurative expressions for still destitute of either clothing or ornaments. This implies something more than "the poverty of the people in the wilderness attached to Egypt" (Hitzig). Nakedness represents deprivation of all the blessings of salvation with which the Lord endowed Israel and made it glorious, after He had adopted it as the people of His possession. In Egypt, Israel was living in a state of nature, destitute of the gracious revelations of God.—Ver. 8. The Lord then went past again, and chose for His bride the virgin, who had already grown up to womanhood, and with whom He contracted marriage by the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai. עֲתִיקָה, thy time, is more precisely defined as עֵת הַדִּוּרִים, the time of conjugal love. I spread my wing over thee, *i.e.* the lappet of my garment, which also served as a counterpane; in other words, I married thee (cf. Ruth iii. 9), and thereby covered thy nakedness. "I swore to thee," *sc.* love and fidelity (cf. Hos. ii. 21, 22), and entered into a covenant with thee, *i.e.* into that gracious connection formed by the adoption of Israel as the possession of Jehovah, which is represented as a marriage covenant (compare Ex. xxiv. 8 with xix. 5, 6, and Deut. v. 2: —אֶתָּהּ for אֶתָּהּ). Vers. 9 sqq. describe how Jehovah provided for the purification, clothing, adorning, and maintenance of His wife. As the bride prepares herself for the wedding by washing and anointing, so did the Lord cleanse Israel from the blemishes and impurities which adhered to it from its birth. The rinsing from the blood must not be understood as specially referring either to the laws of purification given to the nation (Hitzig), or as relating solely to the purification effected by the covenant sacrifice (Hävernicks). It embraces all that the Lord

did for the purifying of the people from the pollution of sin, *i.e.* for its sanctification. The anointing with oil indicates the powers of the Spirit of God, which flowed to Israel from the divine covenant of grace. The clothing with costly garments, and adorning with all the jewellery of a wealthy lady or princess, points to the equipment of Israel with all the gifts that promote the beauty and glory of life. The clothing is described as made of the costliest materials with which queens were accustomed to clothe themselves. רִקְמָה, embroidered cloth (Ps. xlv. 15). שֶׁמֶן, probably the sea-cow, *Manati* (see the comm. on Ex. xxv. 5). The word is used here for a fine description of leather of which ornamental sandals were made; a kind of morocco. "I bound thee round with byssus:" this refers to the headband; for שֶׁבַח is the technical expression for the binding or winding round of the turban-like headdress (cf. ch. xxiv. 17; Ex. xxix. 9; Lev. viii. 13), and is applied by the Targum to the headdress of the priests. Consequently covering with מְצִי, as distinguished from clothing, can only refer to covering with the veil, one of the principal articles of a woman's toilet. The ἀπ. λεγ. מְצִי (vers. 10 and 13) is explained by the Rabbins as signifying silk. The LXX. render it *τρίχαπτον*. According to Jerome, this is a word formed by the LXX.: *quod tantae subtilitatis fuerit vestimentum, ut pilorum et capillorum tenuitatem habere credatur*. The jewellery included not only armlets, nose-rings, and ear-rings, which the daughters of Israel were generally accustomed to wear, but also necklaces and a crown, as ornaments worn by princesses and queens. For רִבְרִי, see comm. on Gen. xli. 42. Ver. 13 sums up the contents of vers. 9-12. מְצִי is made to conform to מְצִי; the food is referred to once more; and the result of the whole is said to have been, that Jerusalem became exceedingly beautiful, and flourished even to royal dignity. The latter cannot be taken as referring simply to the establishment of the monarchy under David, any more than merely to the spiritual sovereignty for which Israel was chosen from the

very beginning (Ex. xix. 5, 6). The expression includes both, viz. the call of Israel to be a kingdom of priests, and the historical realization of this call through the Davidic sovereignty. The beauty, *i.e.* glory, of Israel became so great, that the name or fame of Israel sounded abroad in consequence among the nations. It was perfect, because the Lord had put His glory upon His Church. This, too, we must not restrict (as Hävernicks does) to the far-sounding fame of Israel on its departure from Egypt (Ex. xv. 14 sq.); it refers pre-eminently to the glory of the theocracy under David and Solomon, the fame of which spread into all lands.—Thus had Israel been glorified by its God above all the nations, but it did not continue in fellowship with its God.

Vers. 15-34. The apostasy of Israel. Its origin and nature, vers. 15-22; its magnitude and extent, vers. 23-34. In close connection with what precedes, this apostasy is described as whoredom and adultery.—Ver. 15. *But thou didst trust in thy beauty, and didst commit fornication upon thy name, and didst pour out thy fornication over every one who passed by: his it became.* Ver. 16. *Thou didst take of thy clothes, and didst make to thyself spotted heights, and didst commit fornication upon them: things which should not come, and that which should not take place.* Ver. 17. *And thou didst take jewellery of thine ornament of my gold and of my silver, which I had given thee, and didst make to thyself male images, and didst commit fornication with them;* Ver. 18. *And thou didst take thy embroidered clothes, and didst cover them therewith: and my oil and my incense thou didst set before them.* Ver. 19. *And my bread, which I gave to thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey, wherewith I fed thee, thou didst set before them for a pleasant odour: this came to pass, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 20. *And thou didst take thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou barest to me, and didst sacrifice them to them to devour. Was thy fornication too little?* Ver. 21. *Thou didst slay my sons, and didst give them up, devoting them to them.* Ver. 22. *And in all thine abominations and thy fornications thou didst not*

remember the days of thy youth, when thou wast naked and bare, and layest stamping in thy blood.—The beauty, *i.e.* the glory, of Israel led to its fall, because it made it the ground of its confidence; that is to say, it looked upon the gifts and possessions conferred upon it as its desert; and forgetting the giver, began to traffic with the heathen nations, and allowed itself to be seduced to heathen ways. For the fact, compare Deut. xxxii. 15 and Hos. xiii. 6. “We are inflamed with pride and arrogance, and consequently profane the gifts of God, in which His glory ought to be resplendent” (Calvin). *הִזְנִי עַל שְׁמִי* does not mean either “thou didst commit fornication notwithstanding thy name” (Winer and Ges. *Thes.* p. 422), or “against thy name” (Hävernick); for *עַל* connected with *הִזְנִי* has neither of these meanings, even in Judg. xix. 2. It means, “thou didst commit fornication upon thy name, *i.e.* in reliance upon thy name” (Hitzig and Maurer); only we must not understand *שְׁמִי* as referring to the name of the city of God, but must explain it, in accordance with ver. 14, as denoting the name, *i.e.* the renown, which Israel had acquired among the heathen on account of its beauty. In the closing words, *לֹא יְהִי*, *לֹא* refers to *פְּלִעֹכֶיךָ*, and *יְהִי* stands for *וְיְהִי*, the copula having been dropped from *וְיְהִי* because *לֹא* ought to stand first, and only *יְהִי* remaining (compare *אֵל*, Hos. vi. 1). The subject to *יְהִי* is *יָפִי*; the beauty became his (cf. Ps. xlv. 12). This fornication is depicted in concrete terms in vers. 16–22; and with the marriage relation described in vers. 8–13 still in view, Israel is represented as giving up to idolatry all that it had received from its God.—Ver. 16. With the clothes it made spotted heights for itself. *בְּמִוֹת* stands for *בְּמִיֹּת בְּמִוֹת*, temples of heights, small temples erected upon heights by the side of the altars (1 Kings xiii. 32; 2 Kings xvii. 29; for the fact, see the comm. on 1 Kings iii. 2), which may probably have consisted simply of tents furnished with carpets. Compare 2 Kings xxiii. 7, where the women are described as weaving tents for Astarte, also the tent-like temples of the Slavonian

tribes in Germany, which consisted of variegated carpets and curtains (see Mohne on Creuzer's *Symbolik*, V. p. 176). These *bamoth* Ezekiel calls מְלֻאֲחַת, not variegated, but spotted or speckled (cf. Gen. xxx. 32), possibly with the subordinate idea of patched (מְסֻלָּא, Josh. ix. 5), because they used for the carpets not merely whole garments, but pieces of cloth as well; the word being introduced here for the purpose of indicating contemptuously the worthlessness of such conduct. "Thou didst commit whoredom upon them," i.e. upon the carpets in the tent-temples. The words 'לֹא בָּאוֹת וְגו' are no doubt relative clauses; but the usual explanation, "which has not occurred, and will not be," after Ex. x. 14, cannot be vindicated, as it is impossible to prove either the use of בָּוֹא in the sense of occurring or happening (= הָיָה), or the use of the participle instead of the preterite in connection with the future. The participle בָּאוֹת in this connection can only supply one of the many senses of the imperfect (Ewald, § 168c), and, like יֹהִי, express that which ought to be. The participial form בָּאוֹת is evidently chosen for the sake of obtaining a *paronomasia* with בָּמוֹת: the heights which should not come (i.e. should not be erected); while לֹא יֹהִי points back to וְהָיוּ עֲלֵיהֶם: "what should not happen."—Ver. 17. The jewellery of gold and silver was used by Israel for צִלְמֵי זָכָר, idols of the male sex, to commit fornication with them. Ewald thinks that the allusion is to Penates (*teraphim*), which were set up in the house, with ornaments suspended upon them, and worshipped with *lectisternia*. But there is no more allusion to *lectisternia* here than in ch. xxiii. 41. And there is still less ground for thinking, as Vatke, Movers, and Hävernicks do, of Lingam- or Phallus-worship, of which it is impossible to find the slightest trace among the Israelites. The arguments used by Hävernicks have been already proved by Hitzig to have no force whatever. The context does not point to idols of any particular kind, but to the many varieties of Baal-worship; whilst the worship of Moloch is specially mentioned in vers. 20 sqq. as being the greatest abomination of the whole. The

fact that *לִפְנֵיהֶם*, to set before them (the idols), does not refer to *lectisternia*, but to sacrifices offered as food for the gods, is indisputably evident from the words *לְרִיחַ נִיחֹחַ*, the technical expression for the sacrificial odour ascending to God (cf. Lev. i. 9, 13, etc.). *וַיְהִי* (ver. 19), and it came to pass (*sc.* this abomination), merely serves to give emphatic expression to the disgust which it occasioned (Hitzig).—Vers. 20; 21. And not even content with this, the adulteress sacrificed the children which God had given her to idols. The revulsion of feeling produced by the abominations of the Moloch-worship is shown in the expression *לְאָכֹל*, thou didst sacrifice thy children to idols, that they might devour them; and still more in the reproachful question *הֲמָעַט מֵת*, “was there too little in thy whoredom?” *כִּן* before *הַזֵּנִיחֶיךָ* is used in a comparative sense, though not to signify “was this a smaller thing than thy whoredom?” which would mean far too little in this connection. The *כִּן* is rather used, as in ch. viii. 17 and Isa. xlix. 6, in the sense of *too*: was thy whoredom, already described in vers. 16–19, too little, that thou didst also slaughter thy children to idols? The *Chetib* *הַזֵּנִיחֶיךָ* (vers. 20 and 25) is a singular, as in vers. 25 and 29; whereas the *Keri* has treated it as a plural, as in vers. 15, 22, and 33, but without any satisfactory ground. The indignation comes out still more strongly in the description given of these abominations in ver. 21: “thou didst slay *my* sons” (whereas in ver. 20 we have simply “thy sons, whom thou hast born to me”), “and didst give them up to them, *בְּהַעֲבִיר*, by making them pass through,” *sc.* the fire. *הַעֲבִיר* is used here not merely for lustration or februation by fire, but for the actual burning of the children slain as sacrifices, so that it is equivalent to *הַעֲבִיר בְּאֵשׁ לְמֹלֶךְ* (2 Kings xxiii. 10). By the process of burning, the sacrifices were given to Moloch to devour. Ezekiel has the Moloch-worship in his eye in the form which it had assumed from the times of Ahaz downwards, when the people began to burn their children to Moloch (cf. 2 Kings xvi. 3, xxi. 6, xxiii. 10), whereas all that can be proved to have been practised

in earlier times by the Israelites was the passing of children through fire without either slaying or burning; a februation by fire (compare the remarks on this subject in the comm. on Lev. xviii. 21).—Amidst all these abominations Israel did not remember its youth, or how the Lord had adopted it out of the deepest wretchedness to be His people, and had made it glorious through the abundance of His gifts. This base ingratitude shows the depth of its fall, and magnifies its guilt. For ver. 22b compare vers. 7 and 6.

Vers. 23-34. Extent and magnitude of the idolatry.—Ver. 23. *And it came to pass after all thy wickedness—Woe, woe to thee! is the saying of the Lord Jehovah*—Ver. 24. *Thou didst build thyself arches, and didst make thyself high places in all the streets.* Ver. 25. *Thou didst build thy high places at every cross road, and didst disgrace thy beauty, and stretch open thy feet for every one that passed by, and didst increase thy whoredom.* Ver. 26. *Thou didst commit fornication with the sons of Egypt thy neighbours, great in flesh, and didst increase thy whoredom to provoke me.* Ver. 27. *And, behold, I stretched out my hand against thee, and diminished thine allowance, and gave thee up to the desire of those who hate thee, the daughters of the Philistines, who are ashamed of thy lewd way.* Ver. 28. *And thou didst commit fornication with the sons of Asshur, because thou art never satisfied; and didst commit fornication with them, and wast also not satisfied.* Ver. 29. *And thou didst increase thy whoredom to Canaan's land, Chaldaea, and even thereby wast not satisfied.* Ver. 30. *How languishing is thy heart! is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, that thou doest all this, the doings of a dissolute prostitute.* Ver. 31. *When thou buildest thy arches at every cross road, and madest thy high places in every road, thou wast not like the harlot, since thou despisedst payment.* Ver. 32. *The adulterous wife taketh strangers instead of her husband.* Ver. 33. *Men give presents to all prostitutes; but thou gavest thy presents to all thy suitors, and didst reward them for coming to thee from all sides, for fornication with thee.* Ver. 34. *And there*

was in thee the very opposite of the women in thy whoredom, that men did not go whoring after thee. In that thou givest payment, and payment was not given to thee, thou wast the very opposite.—

By אֲחֵרֵי כָל־רָעָתָהּ, the picture of the wide spread of idolatry, commenced in ver. 22, is placed in the relation of chronological sequence to the description already given of the idolatry itself. For all sin, all evil, must first exist before it can spread. The spreading of idolatry was at the same time an increase of apostasy from God. This is not to be sought, however, in the fact that Israel forsook the sanctuary, which God had appointed for it as the scene of His gracious presence, and built itself idol-temples (Kliefoth). It consisted rather in this, that it erected idolatrous altars and little temples at all street-corners and cross-roads (vers. 24, 25), and committed adultery with all heathen nations (vers. 26, 28, 29), and could not be induced to relinquish idolatry either by the chastisements of God (ver. 27), or by the uselessness of such conduct (vers. 32–34). כָּל־רָעָתָהּ is the whole of the apostasy from the Lord depicted in vers. 15–22, which prevailed more and more as idolatry spread. The picture of this extension of idolatry is introduced with woe! woe! to indicate at the outset the fearful judgment which Jerusalem was bringing upon itself thereby. The exclamation of woe is inserted parenthetically; for וְהָבֵנִי (ver. 24) forms the apodosis to וַיְהִי in ver. 23. בָּנִי and רָמָה are to be taken as general terms; but, as the singular בָּנָה with the plural רְמוֹתָיָהּ in ver. 39 plainly shows, בָּנִי is a collective word. Hävernicks has very properly called attention to the analogy between בָּנִי and קִבְּהָ in Num. xxv. 8, which is used there to denote an apartment furnished or used for the service of Baal-Peor. As קִבְּהָ, from קִבֵּב, signifies literally that which is arched, a vault; so בָּנִי, from בָּנָה, is literally that which is curved or arched, a hump or back, and hence is used here for buildings erected for idolatrous purposes, small temples built on heights, which were probably so called to distinguish them as chapels for fornication. The ancient translations suggest this, viz.:

LXX. οἶκημα πορνικόν and ἔκθεμα, which Polychron. explains thus: προαγωγίον, ἔνθα τὰς πόρνas τρέφειν εἴωθασι; Vulg.: *lupanar* and *prostibulum*. הֲרֵי signifies artificial heights, *i.e.* altars built upon eminences, commonly called *bāmōth*. The word *rāmāh* is probably chosen here with an allusion to the primary signification, height, as Jerome has said: *quod excelsus sit ut volentibus fornicari procul appareat fornicationis locus et non necesse sit quaeri*. The increase of the whoredom, *i.e.* of the idolatry and illicit intercourse with heathenish ways, is individualized in vers. 26-29 by a specification of historical facts. We cannot agree with Hitzig in restricting the illicit intercourse with Egypt (ver. 26), Asshur (ver. 28), and Chaldaea (ver. 29) to political apostasy, as distinguished from the religious apostasy already depicted. There is nothing to indicate any such distinction. Under the figure of whoredom, both in what precedes and what follows, the inclination of Israel to heathen ways in all its extent, both religious and political, is embraced. Egypt stands first; for the apostasy of Israel from the Lord commenced with the worship of the golden calf, and the longing in the wilderness for the fleshpots of Egypt. From time immemorial Egypt was most deeply sunken in the heathenish worship of nature. The sons of Egypt are therefore described, in accordance with the allegory, as גִּבְרֵי בָשָׂר, *magni carne* (*bāzār*, a euphemism; cf. ch. xxiii. 20), *i.e.* according to the correct explanation of Theodoret: μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς τῇ τῶν εἰδώλων θεραπείᾳ προστετηκότας, οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ τράγους καὶ βόας καὶ πρόβατα, κύνας τε καὶ πιθήκους καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ἰβεις καὶ ἱέρακας προσεκύνησαν. The way in which God punished this erring conduct was, that, like a husband who endeavours by means of chastisement to induce his faithless wife to return, He diminished the supply of food, clothing, etc. (*chōg*, as in Prov. xxx. 8), intended for the wife (for the fact compare Hos. ii. 9, 10); this He did by "not allowing Israel to attain to the glory and power which would otherwise have been conferred upon it; that is to say, by not permitting it to

acquire the undisturbed and undivided possession of Canaan, but giving it up to the power and scorn of the princes of the Philistines" (Kliefoth). נָתַן בְּנַפְשׁוֹ, to give any one up to the desire of another. The daughters of the Philistines are the Philistian states, corresponding to the representation of Israel as an adulterous wife. The Philistines are mentioned as the principal foes, because Israel fell completely into their power at the end of the period of the Judges (cf. Judg. xiii.-xvi.; 1 Sam. iv.); and they are referred to here, for the deeper humiliation of Israel, as having been ashamed of the licentious conduct of the Israelites, because they adhered to their gods, and did not exchange them for others as Israel had done (compare Jer. ii. 10, 11). זִמְמָה (ver. 27) is in apposition to דִּרְכָּךְ: thy way, which is *zimmâh*. *Zimmâh* is applied to the sin of profligacy, as in Lev. xviii. 17.—But Israel was not improved by this chastisement. It committed adultery with Asshur also from the times of Ahaz, who sought help from the Assyrians (2 Kings xvi. 7 sqq.); and even with this it was not satisfied; that is to say, the serious consequences brought upon the kingdom of Judah by seeking the friendship of Assyria did not sober it, so as to lead it to give up seeking for help from the heathen and their gods. In ver. 28, הִזְנִי אֵלַי is distinguished from הִזְנִי (הִזְנָה, with accus.). The former denotes the immoral pursuit of a person for the purpose of procuring his favour; the latter, adulterous intercourse with him, when his favour has been secured. The thought of the verse is this: Israel sought the favour of Assyria, because it was not satisfied with illicit intercourse with Egypt, and continued to cultivate it; yet it did not find satisfaction or sufficiency even in this, but increased its adultery בְּשִׁדְיָמָהּ בָּנֶנּוּ אֶל-אֲרָץ כְּנָעַן, to the Canaan's-land Chaldaea. אֲרָץ כְּנָעַן is not the proper name of the land of Canaan here, but an appellative designation applied to Chaldaea (*Kasdim*) or Babylonia, as in ch. xvii. 4 (Raschi). The explanation of the words, as signifying the land of Canaan, is precluded by the fact that an allusion to Canaanitish idolatry and inter-

course after the mention of Asshur would be out of place, and would not coincide with the historical order of things; since it cannot be shown that "a more general diffusion of the religious customs of Canaan took place after the Assyrian era." And it is still more decidedly precluded by the introduction of the word *בְּשָׂדֵימָה*, which cannot possibly mean as far as, or unto, Chaldaea, and can only be a more precise definition of *אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן*. The only thing about which a question can be raised, is the reason why the epithet *כְּנָעַן* should have been applied to Chaldaea; whether it merely related to the commercial spirit, in which Babylon was by no means behind the Canaanitish Tyre and Sidon, or whether allusion was also made to the idolatry and immorality of Canaan. The former is by no means to be excluded, as we find that in ch. xvii. 4 "the land of Canaan" is designated "a city of merchants" (*rokh'lim*). But we must not exclude the latter either, inasmuch as in the Belus- and Mylitta-worship of Babylon the voluptuous character of the Baal- and Astarte-worship of Canaan had degenerated into shameless unchastity (cf. Herodotus, i. 199).

In ver. 30, the contents of vers. 16-29 are summed up in the verdict which the Lord pronounces upon the harlot and adulteress: "yet how languishing is thy heart!" *אִמְלָה* (as a participle *Kal áπ. λεγ.*; since the verb only occurs elsewhere in the *Pual*, and that in the sense of faded or pining away) can only signify a morbid pining or languishing, or the craving of immodest desire, which has grown into a disease. The form *לְבָה* is also *áπ. λεγ.*; but it is analogous to the plural *לְבוֹת*.¹ *שְׁלֵטָה*, powerful, commanding; as an epithet applied to *zōnâh*, one who knows no limit to her actions, unrestrained;

¹ Hitzig objects to the two forms, which do not occur elsewhere; and with the help of the Sept. rendering *τί διαθῶ τὴν θυγατέρα σου*, which is a mere guess founded upon the false reading *מָה אִמְלָה לְבָתָּהּ*, he adopts the conjectural reading *מָה אִמְלָה לְבָתָּהּ*, "what hope is there for thy daughter?" by which he enriches the Hebrew language with a new word (*אִמְלָה*), and the prophecy contained in this chapter with a thought which is completely foreign to it, and altogether unsuitable.

hence in Arabic, insolent, shameless. Ver. 31 contains an independent sentence, which facilitates the transition to the thought expanded in vers. 32-34, namely, that Jerusalem had surpassed all other harlots in her whoredoms. If we take ver. 31 as dependent upon the protasis in ver. 30, we not only get a very draggling style of expression, but the new thought expressed in ver. 31b is reduced to a merely secondary idea; whereas the expansion of it in vers. 32 sqq. shows that it introduces a new feature into the address. And if this is the case, *לֹא-הָיִיתִי* cannot be taken as co-ordinate with *עָשִׂיתִי*, but must be construed as the apodosis: "in thy building of rooms . . . thou wast not like the (ordinary) harlot, since thou disdainest payment." For the plural suffix attached to *בְּבִנְיֹתָךְ*, see the commentary on ch. vi. 8. The infinitive *לִקְלֹם* answers to the Latin gerund in *ndo* (*vid.* Ewald, § 237c and 280d), indicating wherein, or in what respect, the harlot Jerusalem differed from an ordinary prostitute; namely, in the fact that she disdained to receive payment for her prostitution. That this is the meaning of the words, is rendered indisputable by vers. 32-34. But the majority of expositors have taken *לִקְלֹם אֲהֲנֶן* as indicating the point of comparison between Israel and other harlots, *i.e.* as defining in what respect Israel resembled other prostitutes; and then, as this thought is at variance with what follows, have attempted to remove the discrepancy by various untenable explanations. Most of them resort to the explanation: thou wast not like the other prostitutes, who disdain to receive the payment offered for their prostitution, in the hope of thereby obtaining still more,¹—an explanation which imports into the

¹ Jerome adopts this rendering: *non facta es quasi meretrix fastidio augens pretium*, and gives the following explanation: "thou hast not imitated the cunning prostitutes, who are accustomed to raise the price of lust by increasing the difficulties, and in this way to excite their lovers to greater frenzy." Rosenmüller and Maurer have adopted a similar explanation: "thou differest greatly from other harlots, who despise the payment offered them by their lovers, that they may get still more; for thou acceptest any reward, being content with the lowest payment; yea, thou dost even offer a price to thine own lovers."

words a thought that has no existence in them at all. Hävernick seeks to fix upon קלס, by means of the Aramaean, the meaning to cry out (crying out payment), in opposition to the ordinary meaning of קלס, to disdain, or ridicule, in which sense Ezekiel also uses the noun קלס in ch. xxii. 4. Hitzig falls back upon the handy method of altering the text; and finally, Kliefoth gives to ל the imaginary meaning "so far as," i.e. "to such a degree that," which cannot be defended either through Ex. xxxix. 19 or from Deut. xxiv. 5.—With the loose way in which the infinitive construct with ל is used, we grant that the words are ambiguous, and might have the meaning which the majority of the commentators have discovered in them; but this view is by no means necessary, inasmuch as the subordinate idea introduced by ל קלס אהתן may refer quite as well to the subject of the sentence, "thou," as to the *zōnāh* with whom the subject is compared. Only in the latter case the ל קלס אהתן would apply to other harlots as well as to Israel; whereas in the former it applies to Israel alone, and shows in what it was that Israel did not resemble ordinary prostitutes. But the explanation which followed was a sufficient safeguard against mistake. In this explanation adulteresses are mentioned first (ver. 32), and then common prostitutes (vers. 33, 34). Ver. 32 must not be taken, as it has been by the majority of commentators, as an exclamation, or a reproof addressed to the adulteress Jerusalem: O thou adulterous wife, that taketh strangers instead of her husband! Such an exclamation as this does not suit the connection at all. But the verse is not to be struck out on that account, as Hitzig proposes. It has simply to be construed in another way, and taken as a statement of what adulteresses do (Kliefoth). They take strangers instead of their husband, and seek their recompense in the simple change, and the pleasure of being with other men. תחת אישה, lit. under her husband, i.e. as a wife subject to her husband, as in the connection with ונה in ch. xxiii. 5 and Hos. iv. 12 (see the comm. on Num. v. 19).—Vers. 33, 34. Common prostitutes give themselves up for pre-

sents; but Israel, on the contrary, gave presents to its lovers, so that it did the very opposite to all other harlots, and the practice of ordinary prostitutes was left far behind by that of Israel. The change of forms נָתַן and נָתַן (a present) is probably to be explained simply on the ground that the form נָתַן was lengthened into נָתַן with a consonant as the termination, because the suffix could be attached more easily to the other. נָתַן, the reverse, the opposite, *i.e.* with the present context, something unheard of, which never occurred in the case of any other harlot. — Ezekiel has thus fulfilled the task appointed him in ver. 2, to charge Jerusalem with her abominations. The address now turns to an announcement of the punishment.

Vers. 35–52. As Israel has been worse than all the heathen, Jehovah will punish it notwithstanding its election, so that its shame shall be uncovered before all the nations (vers. 36–42), and the justice of the judgment to be inflicted upon it shall be made manifest (vers. 43–52). According to these points of view, the threat of punishment divides itself into two parts in the following manner :—In the first (vers. 35–42) we have, first of all (in ver. 36), a recapitulation of the guilty conduct described in vers. 16–34; and secondly, an announcement of the punishment corresponding to the guilt, as the punishment of adultery and murder (vers. 37 and 48), and a picture of its infliction, as retribution for the enormities committed (vers. 39–42). In the second part (vers. 43–52) there follows a proof of the justice of this judgment.

Vers. 35–42. The punishment will correspond to the sin. —Ver. 35. *Therefore, O harlot, hear the word of Jehovah!* Ver. 36. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because thy brass has been lavished, and thy shame exposed in thy whoredom with thy lovers, and because of all the idols of thine abominations, and according to the blood of thy sons, which thou hast given them;* Ver. 37. *Therefore, behold, I will gather together all thy lovers, whom thou hast pleased, and all whom thou hast loved, together with all whom thou hast hated, and will gather them against thee*

from round about, and will expose thy shame to them, that they may see all thy shame. Ver. 38. I will judge thee according to the judgment of adulteresses and murderesses, and make thee into blood of wrath and jealousy. Ver. 39. And I will give thee into their hand, that they may destroy thy arches, and pull down thy heights; that they may strip thy clothes off thee, and take thy splendid jewellery, and leave thee naked and bare. Ver. 40. And they shall bring up a company against thee, and stone thee, and cut thee in pieces with their swords. Ver. 41. And they shall burn thy houses with fire, and execute judgment upon thee before the eyes of many women. Thus do I put an end to thy whoredom; and thou wilt also give payment no more. Ver. 42. And I quiet my fury toward thee, and will turn away my jealousy from thee, that I may repose and vex myself no more.

—In the brief summary of the guilt of the whore, the following objects are singled out, as those for which she is to be punished: (1) the pouring out of her brass and the exposure of her shame; (2) the idols of her abominations (with לִפְנֵי before the noun, corresponding to לִפְנֵי before the infinitive); (3) the blood of her sons, with the preposition בְּ, according to, to indicate the measure of her punishment. Two things are mentioned as constituting the first ground of punishment. The first is, “because thy brass has been poured out.” Most of the commentators have explained this correctly, as referring to the fact that Israel had squandered the possessions received from the Lord, viz. gold, silver, jewellery, clothing, and food (vers. 10-13 and 16-19), upon idolatry. The only difficulty connected with this is the use of the word *nēchōsheth*, brass or copper, in the general sense of money or metal, as there are no other passages to support this use of the word. At the same time, the objection raised to this, namely, that *nēchōsheth* cannot signify money, because the Hebrews had no copper coin, is an assertion without proof, since all that can be affirmed with certainty is, that the use of copper or brass as money is not mentioned anywhere in the Old Testament, with the exception of

the passage before us. But we cannot infer with certainty from this that it was not then in use. As soon as the Hebrews began to stamp coins, bronze or copper coins were stamped as well as the silver shekels, and specimens of these are still in existence from the time of the Maccabees, with the inscription "Simon, prince of Israel" (cf. Cavedoni, *Bibl. Numismatik*, transl. by Werlhof, p. 20 sqq.). Judging from their size, these coins were in all probability worth a whole, a half, and a quarter *gerah* (Caved. pp. 50, 51). If, then, the silver shekel of the value of 21 grains contained twenty *gerahs* in Moses' time, and they had already silver pieces of the weight of a shekel and half shekel, whilst quarter shekels are also mentioned in the time of Samuel, there would certainly be metal coins in use of the value of a *gerah* for the purposes of trade and commerce, and these would in all probability be made of brass, copper, or bronze, as silver coins of the value of a penny would have been found too small. Consequently it cannot be positively denied that brass or copper may have been used as coin for the payment of a *gerah*, and therefore that the word *n'chōsheth* may have been applied to money. We therefore adhere to the explanation that brass stands for money, which has been already adopted by the LXX. and Jerome; and we do so all the more, because every attempt that has been made to fasten another meaning upon *n'chōsheth*, whether by allegorical interpretation (Rabb.), or from the Arabic, or by altering the text, is not only arbitrary, but does not even yield a meaning that suits the context. נִשְׁפָּת, to be poured out = squandered or lavished. To the squandering of the possessions bestowed by the Lord upon His congregation, there was added the exposure of its shame, *i.e.* the disgraceful sacrifice of the honour and dignity of the people of God, of which Israel had made itself guilty by its whoredom with idols, *i.e.* by falling into idolatry, and adopting heathen ways. עַל־מִצְרַיִם, *to* (towards), *i.e.* with thy lovers (עַל standing for אֵל, according to later usage: *vid.* Ewald, § 217i, p. 561), is to be explained after the analogy of

וְנָתַתְּ אֵלָיו, as signifying to commit adultery towards a person, *i.e.* with him. But it was not enough to sacrifice the gifts of the Lord, *i.e.* His possessions and His glory, to the heathen and their idols; Israel also made for itself תַּעֲבוֹבוֹת וְגִלְגָּלִים, all kinds of logs of abominations, *i.e.* of idols, upon which it hung its ornaments, and before which it set oil and incense, meal and honey (vers. 18 and 19). And it was not even satisfied with this, but gave to its idols the blood of its sons, by slaying its children to Moloch (ver. 20). Therefore (vers. 37 sqq.) the Lord will uncover the shame of His people before all the nations. He will gather them together, both friend and foe, against Jerusalem, and let them execute the judgment. The punishment will correspond to the sin. Because Israel has cultivated friendship with the heathen, it shall now be given up altogether into their power. On the uncovering of the nakedness as a punishment, compare Hos. ii. 12. The explanation of the figure follows in ver. 38. The heathen nations shall inflict upon Jerusalem the punishment due to adultery and bloodshed. Jerusalem (*i.e.* Israel) had committed this twofold crime. It had committed adultery, by falling away from Jehovah into idolatry; and bloodshed, by the sacrifices offered to Moloch. The punishment for adultery was death by stoning (see the comm. on ver. 40); and blood demanded blood (Gen. ix. 6; Ex. xxi. 12). וְנָתַתְּ בָּהֶם דָּם וְגו' does not mean, "I will put blood in thee" (Ros.), or "I will cause thy blood to be shed in anger" (De Wette, Maurer, etc.); but I make thee into blood; which we must not soften down, as Hitzig proposes, into cause thee to bleed. The thought is rather the following: thou shalt be turned into blood, so that nothing but blood may be left of thee, and that the blood of fury and jealousy, as the working of the wrath and jealousy of God (compare ver. 42). To this end the heathen will destroy all the objects of idolatry (בְּגָדִים and רְמוֹת, ver. 39, as in vers. 24, 25), then take from the harlot both clothes and jewellery, and leave her naked, *i.e.* plunder Jerusalem and lay it waste, and, lastly, execute upon her the

punishment of death by stoning and by sword ; in other words, destroy both city and kingdom. The words 'הָעֵלִי וְגו' they bring (up) against thee an assembly, may be explained from the ancient mode of administering justice, according to which the popular assembly (*qâhâl*, cf. Prov. v. 14) sat in judgment on cases of adultery and capital crimes, and executed the sentence, as the law for stoning expressly enjoins (Lev. xx. 2 ; Num. xv. 36 ; Deut. xxii. 21 ; compare my *Bibl. Archäol.* II. p. 257). But they are also applicable to the foes, who would march against Jerusalem (for *qâhâl* in this sense, compare ch. xvii. 17). The punishment of adultery (according to Lev. xx. 10) was death by stoning, as we may see from Lev. xx. 2-27 and Deut. xx. 24 compared with John viii. 5. This was the usual mode of capital punishment under the Mosaic law, when judicial sentence of death was pronounced upon individuals (see my *Archäol.* II. p. 264). The other form of punishment, slaying by the sword, was adopted when there were many criminals to be put to death, and was not decapitation, but cutting down or stabbing (*bâthaq*, to hew in pieces) with the sword (see my *Archäol.* l.c.). The punishment of death was rendered more severe by the burning of the corpse (Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9). Consequently the burning of the houses in ver. 41 is also to be regarded as intensifying the punishment ; and it is in the same light that the threat is to be regarded, that the judgment would be executed "before the eyes of many women." The many women are the many heathen nations, according to the description of Jerusalem or Israel as an unfaithful wife. "As it is the greatest punishment to an adulterous woman to be exposed in her sin before the eyes of other women ; so will the severest portion of Israel's punishment be, that it will stand exposed in its sin before the eyes of all other nations" (Kliefoth). This is the way in which God will put an end to the fornication, and appease His wrath and jealousy upon the harlot (vers. 41b and 42). הִשְׁבִּיתָ, with מִן, to cause a person to cease to be or do anything. For ver. 42, compare ch. v. 13.

By the execution of the judgment the jealousy (נִסְיָן) of the injured husband is appeased.

Vers. 43-52. This judgment is perfectly just; for Israel has not only forgotten the grace of its God manifested towards it in its election, but has even surpassed both Samaria and Sodom in its abominations.—Ver. 43. *Because thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth, and hast raged against me in all this; behold, I also give thy way upon thy head, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, that I may not do that which is wrong above all thine abominations.* Ver. 44. *Behold, every one that useth proverbs will use this proverb concerning thee: as the mother, so the daughter.* Ver. 45. *Thou art the daughter of thy mother, who casteth off her husband and her children; and thou art the sister of thy sisters, who cast off their husbands and their children. Your mother is a Hittite, and your father an Amorite.* Ver. 46. *And thy great sister is Samaria with her daughters, who dwelleth at thy left; and thy sister, who is smaller than thou, who dwelleth at thy right, is Sodom with her daughters.* Ver. 47. *But thou hast not walked in their ways and done according to their abominations a little only; thou didst act more corruptly than they in all thy ways.* Ver. 48. *As I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, Sodom thy sister, she with her daughters hath not done as thou hast done with thy daughters.* Ver. 49. *Behold, this was the sin of Sodom, thy sister: pride, superabundance of food, and rest undisturbed had she with her daughters, and the hand of the poor and needy she did not hold.* Ver. 50. *They were haughty, and did abominations before me; and I swept them away when I saw it.* Ver. 51. *And Samaria, she hath not sinned to the half of thy sins; thou hast increased thine abominations more than they, and hast made thy sisters righteous by all thine abominations which thou hast done.* Ver. 52. *Bear, then, also thy shame, which thou hast adjudged to thy sisters. Through thy sins, which thou hast committed more abominably than they, they become more righteous than thou. Be thou, then, also put to shame, and bear thy disgrace,*

as thou hast justified thy sisters.—יָעַן אֲשֶׁר, which corresponds to יָעַן in ver. 36, introduces a new train of thought. Most of the commentators take ver. 43 in connection with what precedes, and place the pause at ver. 44. But the perfect נִתְּתִי shows that this is wrong. If ver. 43 simply contained a recapitulation, or a concluding summary, of the threat of judgment in vers. 35-42, the punishment would be announced in the future tense, as it is in ver. 37. By the perfect נִתְּתִי, on the contrary, the punishment is exhibited as a completed fact, and further reasons are then assigned in vindication of the justice of the divine procedure, which we find in vers. 44 sqq. To this end the guilt of Jerusalem is mentioned once more: "thou didst not remember the days of thy youth," i.e. what thou didst experience in thy youth; the misery in which thou didst find thyself, and out of which I rescued thee and exalted thee to glory (vers. 4-14). To this there was added rage against Jehovah, which manifested itself in idolatrous acts. לִי, to be excited upon or against any person, to rage; thus in *Hithpael* with אָל in 2 Kings xix. 27, 28. For נָתַן דֶּרֶךְ בְּרֹאשׁ, compare ch. ix. 10. The last clause of ver. 43, וְלֹא עָשִׂיתִי גו', has been misinterpreted in many ways. According to the Masoretic pointing, עָשִׂיתִי is the second person; but this does not yield a suitable meaning. For עָשָׂה וְפָה is not used in the sense adopted by the Targum, upon which the Masoretic pointing is undoubtedly based, and which Raschi, Kimchi, and Rosenmüller retain, viz. *cogitationem facere*: "thou hast not taken any thought concerning all thy abominations," i.e. hast not felt any remorse. The true meaning is to commit a crime, a wrong, and is used for the most part of unnatural offences (cf. Judg. xx. 6; Hos. vi. 9). There is all the more reason for retaining this meaning, that וְפָה (apart from the plural וְפֹה = כְּמוֹת) only occurs *sensu malo*, and for the most part in the sense of an immoral action (*vid.* Job xxxi. 11). Consequently we should have to adopt the rendering: and thou no longer committest this immorality above all thine abominations.

But in that case not only would עִיר have to be supplied, but a distinction would be drawn between the abominations committed by Israel and the sin of lewdness, *i.e.* adultery, which is quite foreign to the connection and to the contents of the entire chapter; for, according to these, the abominations of Israel consisted in adultery or the sin of lewdness. We must therefore take עִשְׂתִּי as the first person, as Symm. and Jerome have done, and explain the words from Lev. xix. 29, where the toleration by a father of the whoredom of a daughter is designated as *zimmāh*. If we adopt this interpretation, Jehovah says that He has punished the spiritual whoredom of Israel, in order that He may not add another act of wrong to the abominations of Israel by allowing such immorality to go on unpunished. If He did not punish, He would commit a *zimmāh* Himself,—in other words, would make Himself accessory to the sins of Israel. The concluding characteristic of the moral degradation of Israel fits in very appropriately here in vers. 44 sqq., in which Jerusalem is compared to Samaria and Sodom, both of which had been punished long ago with destruction on account of their sins. This characteristic is expressed in the form of proverbial sayings. Every one who speaks in proverbs (*mōshēl*, as in Num. xxi. 27) will then say over thee: as the mother, so her daughter. Her abominable life is so conspicuous, that it strikes every one, and furnishes occasion for proverbial sayings. אִמִּי may be a feminine form of אִם, as לִבָּהּ is of לֵב (ver. 30); or it may also be a *Raphe* form for אִמִּי: as her (the daughter's) mother, so her (the mother's) daughter (cf. Ewald, § 174e, note, with § 21, 22³). The daughter is of course Jerusalem, as the representative of Israel. The mother is the Canaanitish race of Hittites and Amorites, whose immoral nature had been adopted by Israel (cf. vers. 3 and 45b). In ver. 45 the sisterly relation is added to the maternal, to carry out the thought still further. Some difficulty arises here from the statement, that the mothers and the sisters despise their husbands and their children, or put them away. For it is unquestionable that the

participle *נִעְלָתָהּ* belongs to *אִמָּהּ*, and not to *בָּתָּהּ*, from the parallel relative clause *אֲשֶׁר נִעְלָתָהּ*, which applies to the sisters. The husband of the wife Jerusalem is Jehovah, as the matrimonial head of the covenant nation or congregation of Israel. The children of the wives, viz. the mother, her daughter, and her sisters, are the children offered in sacrifice to Moloch. The worship of Moloch was found among the early Canaanites, and is here attributed to Samaria and Sodom also, though we have no other proofs of its existence there than the references made to it in the Old Testament. The husband, whom the mother and sisters have put away, cannot therefore be any other than Jehovah; from which it is evident that Ezekiel regarded idolatry generally as apostasy from Jehovah, and Jehovah as the God not only of the Israelites, but of the heathen also.¹ *אֲחֻתָּיָהּ* (ver. 45) is a plural noun, as the relative clause which follows and ver. 46 clearly show, and therefore is a contracted form of *אֲחֻתָּיהָ* (ver. 51) or *אֲחֻתָּיהֶן* (ver. 52; *vid.* Ewald, § 212b, p. 538). Samaria and Sodom are called sisters of Jerusalem, not because both cities belonged to the same mother-land of Canaan, for the origin of the cities does not come into consideration here at all, and the cities represent the kingdoms, as the additional words "her daughters," that is to say, the cities of a land or kingdom dependent upon the capital, clearly prove. Samaria and Sodom, with the daughter cities belonging to them, are sisters of Jerusalem in a spiritual sense, as animated by the same spirit of idolatry. Samaria is called the great (greater) sister of Jerusalem, and Sodom the smaller sister. This is not equivalent to the older and the younger, for Samaria was not more deeply sunk in idolatry than Sodom, nor was her idolatry more ancient than that of Sodom (Theodoret and Grotius); and Hävernicks explanation, that "the finer form

¹ Theodoret has explained it correctly in this way: "He shows by this, that He is not the God of Jews only, but of Gentiles also; for God once gave oracles to them, before they chose the abomination of idolatry. Therefore he says that they also put away both the husband and the children by denying God, and slaying the children to demons."

of idolatry, the mixture of the worship of Jehovah with that of nature, as represented by Samaria, was the first to find an entrance into Judah, and this was afterwards followed by the coarser abominations of heathenism," is unsatisfactory, for the simple reason that, according to the historical books of the Old Testament, the coarser forms of idolatry forced their way into Judah at quite as early a period as the more refined. The idolatry of the time of Rehoboam and Abijam was not merely a mixture of Jehovah-worship with the worship of nature, but the introduction of heathen idols into Judah, along with which there is no doubt that the syncretistic worship of the high places was also practised. זָרֹל and קָטָן do not generally mean old and young, but great and small. The transferred meaning old and young can only apply to men and animals, when greatness and littleness are really signs of a difference in age; but it is altogether inapplicable to kingdoms or cities, the size of which is by no means dependent upon their age. Consequently the expressions great and small simply refer to the extent of the kingdoms or states here named, and correspond to the description given of their situation: "at the left hand," *i.e.* to the north, and "at the right hand," *i.e.* to the south of Jerusalem and Judah.

Jerusalem had not only equalled these sisters in sins and abominations, but had acted more corruptly than they (ver. 47). The first hemistich of this verse, "thou walkest not in their ways," etc., is more precisely defined by וַתִּשְׁהִי כִמְנָה in the second half. The link of connection between the two statements is formed by בְּקִצֵּט קָטָן. This is generally rendered, "soon was there disgust," *i.e.* thou didst soon feel disgust at walking in their ways, and didst act still worse. But apart from the fact that while disgust at the way of the sisters might very well constitute a motive for forsaking those ways, *i.e.* relinquishing their abominations, it could not furnish a motive for surpassing those abominations. This explanation is exposed to the philological difficulty, that קָטָן by itself cannot signify *taeduit te*, and

the impersonal use of נָדָר would at all events require נֶדָר , which could not be omitted, even if נָדָר were intended for a substantive. These difficulties fall away if we interpret נָדָר from the Arabic نَدَر , *omnino, tantum*, as Alb. Schultens has done, and connect the definition "a little only" with the preceding clause. We then obtain this very appropriate thought: thou didst walk in the ways of thy sisters; and that not a little only, but thou didst act still more corruptly than they. This is proved in vers. 48 sqq. by an enumeration of the sins of Sodom. They were pride, satiety,—*i.e.* superabundance of bread (*vid.* Prov. xxx. 9),—and careless rest or security, which produce haughtiness and harshness, or uncharitableness, towards the poor and wretched. In this way Sodom and her daughters (Gomorrhah, Admah, and Zeboim) became proud and haughty, and committed abominations לְפָנַי , *i.e.* before Jehovah (alluding to Gen. xviii. 21); and God destroyed them when He saw this. The sins of Samaria (ver. 51) are not specially mentioned, because the principal sin of this kingdom, namely, image-worship, was well known. It is simply stated, therefore, that she did not sin half so much as Jerusalem; and in fact, if we except the times of Ahab and his dynasty, pure heathenish idolatry did not exist in the kingdom of the ten tribes, so that Samaria seemed really a righteous city in comparison with the idolatry of Jerusalem and Judah, more especially from the time of Ahaz onward (*vid.* Jer. iii. 11). The punishment of Samaria by the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes is also passed over as being well known to every Israelite; and in ver. 52 the application is directly made to Jerusalem, *i.e.* to Judah: "Thou also, bear thy shame, thou who hast adjudged to thy sisters,"—*sc.* by pronouncing an uncharitable judgment upon them, thinking thyself better than they, whereas thou hast sinned more abominably, so that they appear more righteous than thou. לְצַדִּיק , to be righteous, and לְצַדִּיקָא , to justify, are used in a comparative sense. In comparison with the abomi-

nations of Jerusalem, the sins of Sodom and Samaria appeared perfectly trivial. After אַחֲרָיוּ, the announcement of punishment is repeated for the sake of emphasis, and that in the form of a consequence resulting from the sentence with regard to the nature of the sin: therefore be thou also put to shame, and bear thy disgrace.

Vers. 53-63. But this disgrace will not be the conclusion. Because of the covenant which the Lord concluded with Israel, Jerusalem will not continue in misery, but will attain to the glory promised to the people of God;—and that in such a way that all boasting will be excluded, and Judah, with the deepest shame, will attain to a knowledge of the true compassion of God.—Yet, in order that all false confidence in the gracious promises of God may be prevented, and the sinful nation be thoroughly humbled, this last section of our word of God announces the restoration of Sodom and Samaria as well as that of Jerusalem, so that all boasting on the part of Israel is precluded.—Ver. 53. *And I will turn their captivity, the captivity of Sodom and her daughters, and the captivity of Samaria and her daughters, and the captivity of thy captivity in the midst of them:* Ver. 54. *That thou mayest bear thy shame, and be ashamed of all that thou hast done, in comforting them.* Ver. 55. *And thy sisters, Sodom and her daughters, will return to their first estate; and Samaria and her daughters will return to their first estate; and thou and thy daughters will return to your first estate.* Ver. 56. *And Sodom thy sister was not a discourse in thy mouth in the day of thy haughtinesses,* Ver. 57. *Before thy wickedness was disclosed, as at the time of the disgrace of the daughters of Aram and all its surroundings, the daughters of the Philistines, who despised thee round about.* Ver. 58. *Thy wrongdoing and all thy abominations, thou bearest them, is the saying of Jehovah.* Ver. 59. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, And I do with thee as thou hast done, who hast despised oath to break covenant.* Ver. 60. *And I shall remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and shall establish an everlasting*

covenant with thee. Ver. 61. *And thou wilt remember thy ways, and be ashamed, when thou receivest thy sisters, those greater than thou to those smaller than thou; and I give them to thee for daughters, although they are not of thy covenant.* Ver. 62. *And I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou wilt perceive that I am Jehovah;* Ver. 63. *That thou mayest remember, and be ashamed, and there may no longer remain to thee an opening of the mouth because of thy disgrace, when I forgive thee all that thou hast done, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—The promise commences with an announcement of the restoration, not of Jerusalem, but of Sodom and Samaria. The two kingdoms, or peoples, upon which judgment first fell, shall also be the first to receive mercy; and it will not be till after then that Jerusalem, with the other cities of Judah, will also be restored to favour, in order that she may bear her disgrace, and be ashamed of her sins (ver. 54); that is to say, not because Sodom and Samaria have borne their punishment for a longer time, but to the deeper shaming, the more complete humiliation of Jerusalem. שָׁבוּ, to turn the captivity, not “to bring back the captives” (see the comm. on Deut. xxx. 3), is here used in a figurative sense for *restitutio in statum integritatis*, according to the explanation given of the expression in ver. 55. No carrying away, or captivity, took place in the case of Sodom. The form שְׁבִית, which the *Chetib* has adopted several times here, has just the same meaning as שְׁבוּת. שְׁבִית שְׁבִיתֶךָ does not mean the captives of thy captivity, since the same word cannot be used first as a concrete and then as an abstract noun; nor does the combination serve to give greater emphasis, in the sense of a superlative,—viz. “the captivity of thy captivities, equivalent to thy severest or most fearful captivity,”—as Stark and Hävernicks suppose. The genitive must be taken as explanatory, as already proposed by Hengstenberg and Kliefoth: “captivity, which is thy captivity;” and the pleonastic mode of expression is chosen to give greater prominence to the thought, “thine own captivity,” than would have been given to

it by a suffix attached to the simple noun. בְּתוֹכָהֶֽנָּה, in their midst, does not imply, that just as Judah was situated now in the very midst between Sodom and Samaria, so its captives would return home occupying the centre between those two (Hitzig); the reference is rather to fellowship in captivity, to the fact that Jerusalem would share the same fate, and endure the same punishment, as Samaria and Sodom (Hengst., Klief.). The concluding words of ver. 54, "in that thou comfortest them," do not refer to the sins already committed by Israel (as Kliefoth, who adopts the rendering, "didst comfort them," imagines), but to the bearing of such disgrace as makes Jerusalem ashamed of its sins. By bearing disgrace, *i.e.* by its endurance of well-merited and disgraceful punishment, Jerusalem consoles her sisters Samaria and Sodom; and that not merely by fellowship in misfortune, — *solamen miseris*, etc. (Calvin, Hitzig, etc.), — but by the fact that from the punishment endured by Jerusalem, both Samaria and Sodom can discern the righteousness of the ways of God, and find therein a foundation for their hope, that the righteous God will bring to an end the merited punishment as soon as its object has been attained (see the comm. on ch. xiv. 22, 23). The turning of the captivity, according to ver. 55, will consist in the fact that Sodom, Samaria, and Jerusalem return לְקִרְבָּתָן, to their original state. לְקִרְבָּתָן does not mean the former or earlier state, but the original state (ὡς ἦσαν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, LXX.), as in Isa. xxiii. 7. Kliefoth is wrong, however, in explaining this as meaning: "as they were, when they came in Adam from the creative hand of God." The original state is the *status integritatis*, not as a state of sinlessness or original righteousness and holiness, — for neither Jerusalem on the one hand, nor Samaria and Sodom on the other, had ever been in such a state as this, — but as an original state of glory, in which they were before they had fallen and sunk into ungodly ways.

But how could a restoration of Sodom and her daughters (Gomorrhah, etc.) be predicted, when the destruction of these

cities was accompanied by the sweeping away of all their inhabitants from off the face of the earth? Many of the commentators have attempted to remove the difficulty by assuming that Sodom here stands for the Moabites and Ammonites, who were descendants of Lot, who escaped from Sodom. But the untenableness of such an explanation is obvious, from the simple fact that the Ammonites and Moabites were no more Sodomites than Lot himself. And the view expressed by Origen and Jerome, and lately revived by Hävernicks, that Sodom is a typical name denoting heathenism generally, is also unsatisfactory. The way in which Sodom is classed with Samaria and Jerusalem, and the special reference to the judgment that fell upon Sodom (vers. 49, 50), point undeniably to the real Sodom. The heathen world comes into consideration only so far as this, that the pardon of a heathen city, so deeply degraded as Sodom, carries with it the assurance that mercy will be extended to all heathen nations. We must therefore take the words as referring to the literal Sodom. Yet we certainly cannot for a moment think of any earthly restoration of Sodom. For even if we could conceive of a restoration of the cities that were destroyed by fire, and sunk into the depths of the Dead Sea, it is impossible to form any conception of an earthly and corporeal restoration of the inhabitants of those cities, who were destroyed at the same time; and in this connection it is chiefly to them that the words refer. This does not by any means prove that the thing itself is impossible, but simply that the realization of the prophecy must be sought for beyond the present order of things, in one that extends into the life everlasting.

As ver. 55 elucidates the contents of ver. 53, so the thought of ver. 54 is explained and still further expanded in vers. 56 and 57. The meaning of ver. 56a is a subject of dispute; but so much is indisputable, that the attempt of Kliefoth to explain vers. 56 and 57 as referring to the future, and signifying that in the coming day of its glory Israel will no longer carry

Sodom as a legend in its mouth as it does now, does violence to the grammar, and is quite a mistake. It is no more allowable to take **וְלֹא הָיְתָה** as a future, in the sense of “and will not be,” than to render **כְּמוֹ עַתְּ הַרְפֵּת** (ver. 57), “it will be like the time of scorn.” Moreover, the application of **בְּיוֹם הַאֲוִנֶיהָ** to the day of future glory is precluded by the fact that in ver. 49 the word **נִפְאָר** is used to denote the pride which was the chief sin of Sodom; and the reference to this verse very naturally suggests itself. The meaning of ver. 56 depends upon the rendering to be given to **לֹא שָׁמָעָה**. The explanation given by Rosenmüller and Maurer, after Jerome,—viz. *non erat in auditione*, i.e. *non audiebatur*, thou didst not think at all of Sodom, didst not take its name into thy mouth,—is by no means satisfactory. **שְׁמָעָה** means proclamation, discourse, and also report. If we adopt the last, we must take the sentence as interrogatory (**לֹא** for **הֲלֹא**), as Hengstenberg and Hitzig have done. Although this is certainly admissible, there are no clear indexes here to warrant our assumption of an interrogation, which is only hinted at by the tone. We therefore prefer the meaning “discourse:” thy sister Sodom was not a discourse in thy mouth in the day of thy haughtinesses, that thou didst talk of the fate of Sodom and lay it to heart when thou wast in prosperity. The plural **הַאֲוִנֶיהָ** is more emphatic than the singular. The day of the haughtinesses is defined in ver. 57 as the period before the wickedness of Judah had been disclosed. This was effected by means of the judgment, which burst upon Jerusalem on the part of Babylon. Through this judgment Jerusalem is said to have been covered with disgrace, as at the time when the daughters of Aram, i.e. the cities of Syria, and those of the Philistines (Aram on the east, and the Philistines on the west, Isa. ix. 11), scorned and maltreated it round about. This refers primarily to the times of Ahaz, when the Syrians and Philistines pressed hard upon Judah (2 Kings xv. 37, xvi. 6; and 2 Chron. xxviii. 18, 19). It must not be restricted to this, however; but was repeated in the reign of

Jehoiachin, when Jehovah sent troops of the Chaldaeans, *Aramaeans*, Ammonites, and Moabites against him, to destroy Judah (2 Kings xxiv. 2). It is true, the Philistines are not mentioned here; but from the threat in Ezek. xxv. 15, we may infer that they also attempted at the same time to bring disgrace upon Judah. שׁוֹמֵם = שׁוֹמֵם, according to Aramaean usage, to treat contemptuously, or with repudiation (cf. ch. xxviii. 24, 26). Jerusalem will have to atone for this pride, and to bear its wrong-doing and its abominations (ver. 58). For *zimmâh*, see the comm. on ver. 43. The perfect נִשְׁאַתִּים indicates that the certainty of the punishment is just as great as if it had already commenced. The reason assigned for this thought in ver. 59 forms a transition to the further expansion of the promise in vers. 60 sqq. וַעֲשִׂית (ver. 59) has been correctly pointed by the Masoretes as the 1st person. The ו is copulative, and shows that what follows forms the concluding summary of all that precedes. אֶת־אִישׁ for אֶת־אִישׁ, as in vers. 60, etc., to deal with any one. The construction of עָשָׂה, with an accusative of the person, to treat any one, cannot be sustained either from ch. xvii. 17 and xxiii. 25, or from Jer. xxxiii. 9; and Gesenius is wrong in assuming that we meet with it in Isa. xlii. 16.—Despising the oath (אָלָה) points back to Deut. xxix. 11, 12, where the renewal of the covenant concluded at Sinai is described as an entrance into the covenant and oath which the Lord then made with His people.—But even if Israel has faithlessly broken the covenant, and must bear the consequent punishment, the unfaithfulness of man can never alter the faithfulness of God. This is the link of connection between the resumption and further expansion of the promise in ver. 60 and the closing words of ver. 59. The remembrance of His covenant is mentioned in Lev. xxvi. 42 and 45 as the only motive that will induce God to restore Israel to favour again, when the humiliation effected by the endurance of punishment has brought it to a confession of its sins. The covenant which God concluded with Israel in the day of its

youth, *i.e.* when He led it out of Egypt, He will establish as an everlasting covenant. Consequently it is not an entirely new covenant, but simply the perfecting of the old one for everlasting duration. For the fact itself, compare Isa. lv. 3, where the making of the everlasting covenant is described as granting the steadfast mercies of David, *i.e.* as the fulfilment of the promise given to David (2 Sam. vii.). This promise is called by David himself an everlasting covenant which God had made with him (2 Sam. xxiii. 5). And the assurance of its everlasting duration was to be found in the fact that this covenant did not rest upon the fulfilment of the law, but simply upon the forgiving grace of God (compare ver. 63 with Jer. xxxi. 31-34).—The bestowal of this grace will put Israel in remembrance of its ways, and fill it with shame. In this sense זָכַרְתִּי (and thou shalt remember), in ver. 61, is placed side by side with זָכַרְתִּי (I will remember) in ver. 60. This shame will seize upon Israel when the establishment of an everlasting covenant is followed by the greater and smaller nations being associated with it in glory, and incorporated into it as children, though they are not of its covenant. The greater and smaller sisters are the greater and smaller nations, as members of the universal family of man, who are to be exalted to the glory of one large family of God. The restoration, which is promised in vers. 53 and 55 to Sodom and Samaria alone, is expanded here into a prophecy of the reception of all the greater and smaller nations into fellowship in the glory of the people of God. We may see from this that Sodom and Samaria represent the heathen nations generally, as standing outside the Old Testament dispensation: Sodom representing those that were sunk in the deepest moral degradation, and Samaria those that had fallen from the state of grace. The attitude in which these nations stand towards Israel in the everlasting covenant of grace, is defined as the relation of daughters to a mother. If, therefore, Israel, which has been thrust out among the heathen on account of its deep fall, is not to return to its first estate till after the

return of Sodom, which has been destroyed, and Samaria, which has been condemned, the election of Israel before all the nations of the earth to be the first-born son of Jehovah will continue unchanged, and Israel will form the stem of the new kingdom of God, into which the heathen nations will be incorporated. The words, "and not of thy covenant," have been taken by most of the commentators in the sense of, "not because thou hast kept the covenant;" but this is certainly incorrect. For even if "thy covenant" really formed an antithesis to "my covenant" (vers. 60 and 62), "thy covenant" could not possibly signify the fulfilment of thy covenant obligations. The words belong to *bânōth* (daughters), who are thereby designated as extra-testamental,—i.e. as not included in the covenant which God made with Israel, and consequently as having no claim by virtue of that covenant to participate in the glory of the everlasting covenant which is hereafter to be established.—When this covenant has been established, Israel will know that God is Jehovah, the unchangeably true (for the meaning of the name *Jehovah*, see the commentary on Gen. ii. 4); that it may call to mind, *sc.* both its sinful abominations and the compassionate grace of God, and be so filled with shame and penitence that it will no more venture to open its mouth, either for the purpose of finding excuses for its previous fall, or to murmur against God and His judgments,—namely, when the Lord forgives all its sins by establishing the everlasting covenant, the kernel and essence of which consists in the forgiveness of sins (cf. Jer. xxxi. 34). Thus will the experience of forgiving grace complete what judgment has already begun, viz. the transformation of proud and haughty sinners into meek and humble children of God, for whom the kingdom has been prepared from the beginning.

This thought brings the entire prophecy to a close,—a prophecy which embraces the whole of the world's history and the New Testament, the parallel to which is contained in the apostle's words, "God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that He

might have mercy upon all" (Rom. xi. 32).—As the punishment threatened to the adulteress, *i.e.* to the nation of Israel that had despised its God and King, had been fulfilled upon Jerusalem and the Jews, and is in process of fulfilment still, so has the promise also been already fulfilled, so far as its commencement is concerned, though the complete and ultimate fulfilment is only to be expected in time to come. The turning of the captivity, both of Jerusalem and her daughters, and of Samaria and her daughters, commenced with the establishment of the everlasting covenant, *i.e.* of the covenant made through Christ, and with the reception of the believing portion of Israel in Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee (Acts viii. 5 sqq., 25, ix. 31). And the turning of the captivity of Sodom commenced with the spread of the gospel among the heathen, and their entrance into the kingdom of Christ, inasmuch as Sodom with her daughters represents the morally degraded heathen world. Their reception into the kingdom of heaven, founded by Christ on earth, forms the commencement of the return of the forgiven to their first estate on the "restitution of all things," *i.e.* the restoration of all moral relations to their original normal constitution (compare Acts iii. 21 and Meyer's comm. thereon with Matt. xvii. 11), which will attain its perfection in the *παλιγγενεσία*, the general restoration of the world to its original glory (compare Matt. xix. 28 with Rom. viii. 18 sqq. and 2 Pet. iii. 13). The prophecy before us in ver. 55 clearly points to this final goal. It is true that one might understand the return of Jerusalem and Samaria to their original state, which is predicted here as simply relating to the pardon of the covenant nation, whose apostasy had led to the rejection of both its parts; and this pardon might be sought in its reception into the kingdom of Christ and its restoration as the people of God. In that case the complete fulfilment of our prophecy would take place during the present aeon in the spread of the gospel among all nations, and the conversion of that portion of Israel which still remained hardened after the entrance of the

full number of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God. But this limitation would be out of harmony with the equality of position assigned to Sodom and her daughters on the one hand, and Samaria and Jerusalem on the other. Though Sodom is not merely a type of the heathen world, the restoration of Sodom and her daughters cannot consist in the reception of the descendants of the cities on which the judgment fell into the kingdom of God or the Christian Church, since the peculiar manner in which those cities were destroyed prevented the possibility of any of the inhabitants remaining alive whose descendants could be converted to Christ and blessed in Him during the present period of the world. On the other hand, the opinion expressed by C. a Lapide, that the restoration of Sodom is to be referred and restricted to the conversion of the descendants of the inhabitants of Zoar, which was spared for Lot's sake, when the other cities of the plain were destroyed, is too much at variance with the words of the passage to allow of our accepting such a solution as this. The turning of the captivity of Sodom and her daughters, *i.e.* the forgiveness of the inhabitants of Sodom and the other cities of the plain, points beyond the present aeon, and the realization can only take place on the great day of the resurrection of the dead in the persons of the former inhabitants of Sodom and the neighbouring cities. And in the same way the restoration of Samaria and Jerusalem will not be completely fulfilled till after the perfecting of the kingdom of Christ in glory at the last day.

Consequently the prophecy before us goes beyond Rom. xi. 25 sqq., inasmuch as it presents, not to the covenant nation only, but, in Samaria and Sodom, to all the larger and smaller heathen nations also, the prospect of being eventually received into the everlasting kingdom of God; although, in accordance with the main purpose of this prophetic word, namely, to bring the pride of Israel completely down, this is simply hinted at, and no precise intimation is given of the manner in which the predicted *apokatastasis* will occur. But notwithstanding this

indefiniteness, we must not explain away the fact itself by arbitrary expositions, since it is placed beyond all possible doubt by other passages of the Scriptures. The words of our Lord in Matt. x. 15 and xi. 24, to the effect that it will be more tolerable in the day of judgment for Sodom than for Capernaum and every other city that shall have rejected the preaching of the gospel, teach most indisputably that the way of mercy stands open still even for Sodom itself, and that the judgment which has fallen upon it does not carry with it the final decision with regard to its inhabitants. For Sodom did not put away the perfect revelation of mercy and salvation. If the mighty works which were done in Capernaum had been done in Sodom, it would have stood to the present day (Matt. xi. 23). And from this it clearly follows that all the judgments which fell before the time of Christ, instead of carrying with them the final decision, and involving eternal damnation, leave the possibility of eventual pardon open still. The last judgment, which is decisive for eternity, does not take place till after the full revelation of grace and truth in Christ. Not only will the gospel be preached to all nations before the end comes (Matt. xxiv. 14), but even to the dead; to the spirits in prison, who did not believe at the time of Noah, it has been already preached, at the time when Christ went to them in spirit, in order that, although judged according to man's way in the flesh, they might live according to God's way in the spirit (1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6). What the apostle teaches in the first of these passages concerning the unbelievers before the flood, and affirms in the second concerning the dead in general, is equally applicable according to our prophecy to the Sodomites who were judged after man's way in the flesh, and indeed generally to all heathen nations who either lived before Christ or departed from this earthly life without having heard the gospel preached.—It is according to these distinct utterances of the New Testament that the prophecy before us respecting the *apokatastasis* of Sodom, Samaria, and Jerusalem is to be interpreted; and this

is not to be confounded with the heretical doctrine of the restoration, *i.e.* the ultimate salvation of all the ungodly, and even of the devil himself. If the preaching of the gospel precedes the last judgment, the final sentence in the judgment will be regulated by the attitude assumed towards the gospel by both the living and the dead. All souls that obstinately reject it and harden themselves in unbelief, will be given up to everlasting damnation. The reason why the conversion of Sodom and Samaria is not expressly mentioned, is to be found in the general tendency of the promise, in which the simple fact is announced without the intermediate circumstances, for the purpose of humbling Jerusalem. The conversion of Jerusalem also is not definitely stated to be the condition of pardon, but this is assumed as well known from the words of Lev. xxvi., and is simply implied in the repeated assertion that Jerusalem will be seized with the deepest shame on account of the pardon which she receives.

CHAP. XVII. HUMILIATION AND EXALTATION OF THE DAVIDIC FAMILY.

The contents of this chapter are introduced as a riddle and a parable, and are divided into three sections. Vers. 1-10 contain the parable; vers. 11-21, the interpretation and application of it to King Zedekiah; and vers. 22-24, the promise of the Messianic kingdom.

Vers. 1-10. The Parable.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, give a riddle, and relate a parable to the house of Israel;* Ver. 3. *And say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, A great eagle, with great wings and long pinions, full of feathers of variegated colours, came to Lebanon and took the top of the cedar :* Ver. 4. *He plucked off the topmost of its shoots, and brought it into Canaan's land ; in a merchant-city he set it.* Ver. 5. *And he took of the seed of the land, and put it into seed-land ; took it away to many waters, set it as a willow.*

Ver. 6. *And it grew, and became an overhanging vine of low stature, that its branches might turn towards him, and its roots might be under him; and it became a vine, and produced shoots, and sent out foliage.* Ver. 7. *There was another great eagle with great wings and many feathers; and, behold, this vine stretched its roots languishingly towards him, and extended its branches towards him, that he might water it from the beds of its planting.* Ver. 8. *It was planted in a good field by many waters, to send out roots and bear fruit, to become a glorious vine.* Ver. 9. *Say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Will it thrive? will they not pull up its roots, and cut off its fruit, so that it withereth? all the fresh leaves of its sprouting will wither, and not with strong arm and with much people will it be possible to raise it up from its roots.* Ver. 10. *And, behold, although it is planted, will it thrive? will it not wither when the east wind touches it? upon the beds in which it grew it will wither.*

The parable (*māshāl*, corresponding exactly to the New Testament *παραβολή*) is called *chīdhāh*, a riddle, because of the deeper meaning lying beneath the parabolic shell. The symbolism of this parable has been traced by many commentators to Babylonian influences working upon the prophet's mind; but without any tenable ground. The figure of the eagle, or bird of prey, applied to a conqueror making a rapid descent upon a country, has as little in it of a specifically Babylonian character as the comparison of the royal family to a cedar or a vine. Not only is Nebuchadnezzar compared to an eagle in Jer. xlviii. 40, xlix. 22, as Cyrus is to a bird of prey in Isa. xli. 11; but even Moses has described the paternal watchfulness of God over His own people as bearing them upon eagle's wings (Ex. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11). The cedar of Lebanon and the vine are genuine Israelitish figures. The great eagle in ver. 3 is the great King Nebuchadnezzar (compare ver. 12). The article is simply used to indicate the species, for which *we* should use the indefinite article. In ver. 7, instead of the article, we have *אֲנֹכַח* in the sense of "another." This first

eagle has large wings and long pinions; he has already flown victoriously over wide-spread countries. **אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ הָרָקָמָה**, literally, which is to him the variegated ornament, *i.e.* which he has as such an ornament. The feathers of variegated ornamental colours point to the many peoples, differing in language, manners, and customs, which were united under the sceptre of Nebuchadnezzar (Hitzig, etc.); not to the wealth and splendour of the conqueror, as such an allusion is altogether remote from the tendency of the parable. He came to Lebanon. This is not a symbol of the Israelitish land, or of the kingdom of Judah; but, as in Jer. xxii. 23, of Jerusalem, or Mount Zion, with its royal palace so rich in cedar wood (see the comm. on Hab. ii. 17 and Zech. xi. 1), as being the place where the cedar was planted (compare the remarks on ver. 12). The cedar is the royal house of David, and the top of it is King Jehoiachin. The word *tzammereth* is only met with in Ezekiel, and there only for the top of a cedar (compare ch. xxxi. 3 sqq.). The primary meaning is doubtful. Some derive it from the curly, or, as it were, woolly top of the older cedars, in which the small twigs that constitute their foliage are only found at the top of the tree. Others suppose it to be connected with the Arabic **ضم**, to conceal, and understand it as an epithet applied to the foliage, as the veil or covering of the tree. In ver. 4, *tzammereth* is explained to be **רֹאשׁ רִנְיֹתָיו**, the topmost of its shoots. This the eagle plucked off and carried **אֶל-אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן**, an epithet applied to Babylonia here and in ch. xvi. 29, as being a land whose trading spirit had turned it into a Canaan. This is evident from the parallel **עִיר רִבְלִים**, city of traders, *i.e.* Babylon (compare ver. 12). The seed of the land, according to ver. 13, is King Zedekiah, because he was of the land, the native king, in contrast to a foreign, Babylonian governor. **קָה**, for **לָקַח**, after the analogy of **קָהָם** in Hos. xi. 3, and pointed with Kametz to distinguish it from the imperative. **לָקַח אֵל** is used as in Num. xxiii. 27. The *ἀπ. λεγ.* **צַפְצָפָה** signifies, in Arabic and the Talmud, the willow, probably so called because it grows in well-

watered places; according to Gesenius, it is derived from צִף, to overflow, literally, the inundated tree. This meaning is perfectly appropriate here. "He set it as a willow" means he treated it as one, inasmuch as he took it to many waters, set it in a well-watered soil, *i.e.* in a suitable place. The cutting grew into an overhanging vine, *i.e.* to a vine spreading out its branches in all directions, though not growing very high, as the following expression שִׁפְלָתָהּ קִוְמָה more clearly shows. The object of this growth was, that its branches might turn to him (the eagle), and its roots might be under him (the eagle). The suffixes attached to אֵלָיו and תַּחְתָּיו refer to נִשְׂרָא. This allusion is required not only by the explanation in ver. 14 (? vers. 14, 15), but also by ver. 7, where the roots and branches of the vine stretch to the (other) eagle. In ver. 6b, what has already been affirmed concerning the growth is briefly summed up again. The form פֶּאֶרֶה is peculiar to Ezekiel. Isaiah has פֶּאֶרֶה = פֶּאֶרֶה in ch. x. 33. The word signifies branch and foliage, or a branch covered with foliage, as the ornament of a tree.—The other eagle mentioned in ver. 7 is the king of Egypt, according to ver. 15. He had also large wings and many feathers, *i.e.* a widely spread and powerful kingdom; but there is nothing said about pinions and variegated colours, for Pharaoh had not spread out his kingdom over many countries and peoples, or subjugated a variegated medley of peoples and tribes. בָּפֶן, as a verb ἀπ. λεγ., signifies to yearn or pine after a thing; in Chaldee, to hunger. לְהִשְׁקוֹת, that he (the eagle-Pharaoh) might give it to drink, or water it. The words מִמְּעֻגוֹת מִמְּעֻגָה are not connected with לְהִשְׁקוֹת, but with שִׁלְהָה and בְּנִפְתָּה, from the beds of its planting, *i.e.* in which it was planted; it stretched out roots and branches to the other eagle, that he might give it to drink. The interpretation is given in ver. 15. The words לְהִשְׁקוֹת אוֹתָהּ, which are added by way of explanation, do not interrupt the train of thought; nor are they superfluous, as Hitzig supposes, because the vine had water enough already (vers. 5 and 8). For this is precisely what the

passage is intended to show, namely, that there was no occasion for this pining and stretching out of the branches towards the other eagle, inasmuch as it could thrive very well in the place where it was planted. The latter is expressly stated once more in ver. 8, the meaning of which is perfectly clear,—namely, that if Zedekiah had remained quiet under Nebuchadnezzar, as a hanging vine, his government might have continued and prospered. But, asks Ezekiel in the name of the Lord, will it prosper? הֲיִצְלֵחַ is a question, and the third person, neuter gender. This question is answered in the negative by the following question, which is introduced with an affirmative הֲלֹא. The subject to יִצְלַח and יִקְוֶה is not the first eagle (Nebuchadnezzar), but the indefinite “one” (*man*, they). In the last clause of ver. 9 מִשְׁאוֹתָא is a substantive formation, used instead of the simple form of the infinitive, after the form מִשְׁעָא in 2 Chron. xix. 7, with the termination וֹת, borrowed from the verb הָלַךְ (compare Ewald, § 160*b* and 239*a*), and the construction is the same as in Amos vi. 10: it will not be to raise up—it will not be possible to raise it up (compare Ges. § 132, 3, Anm. 1). To raise it up from its root does not mean to tear it up by the root (Hävernicks), but to rear the withered vine from its roots again, to cause it to sprout again. This rendering of the words corresponds to the interpretation given in ver. 17.—In ver. 10 the leading thought is repeated with emphasis, and rounded off. The east wind is peculiarly dangerous to plants on account of its dryness (compare Gen. xli. 6, and Wetstein on Job xxvii. 21 in Delitzsch’s *Commentary*); and it is used very appropriately here, as the Chaldeans came from the east.

Vers. 11–21. Interpretation of the riddle.—Ver. 11. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 12. *Say to the refractory race: Do ye not know what this is? Say, Behold, the king of Babel came to Jerusalem, and took its king and its princes, and brought them to himself to Babel.* Ver. 13. *And he took of the royal seed, and made a covenant with him, and caused him to enter into an oath; and he took the strong ones*

of the land: Ver. 14. *That it might be a lowly kingdom, not to lift itself up, that he might keep his covenant, that it might stand.* Ver. 15. *But he rebelled against him by sending his messengers to Egypt, that it might give him horses and much people. Will he prosper? will he that hath done this escape? He has broken the covenant, and should he escape?* Ver. 16. *As I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, surely in the place of the king, who made him king, whose oath he despised, and whose covenant he broke with him, in Babel he will die.* Ver. 17. *And not with great army and much people will Pharaoh act with him in the war, when they cast up a rampart and build siege-towers, to cut off many souls.* Ver. 18. *He has despised an oath to break the covenant, and, behold, he has given his hand and done all this; he will not escape.* Ver. 19. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, As I live, surely my oath which he has despised, and my covenant which he has broken, I will give upon his head.* Ver. 20. *I will spread out my net over him, so that he will be taken in my snare, and will bring him to Babel, and contend with him there on account of his treachery which he has been guilty of towards me.* Ver. 21. *And all his fugitives in all his regiments, by the sword will they fall, and those who remain will be scattered to all winds; and ye shall see that I Jehovah have spoken it.*

In vers. 12-17 the parable in vers. 2-10 is interpreted; and in vers. 19-21 the threat contained in the parable is confirmed and still further expanded. We have an account of the carrying away of the king, *i.e.* Jehoiachin, and his princes to Babel in 2 Kings xxiv. 11 sqq., Jer. xxiv. 1, and xxix. 2. The king's seed (זֶרַע הַמְּלִיכָה, ver. 13, as in Jer. xli. 1 = זֶרַע הַמְּלָכָה, 1 Kings xi. 14) is Jehoiachin's uncle Mattaniah, whom Nebuchadnezzar made king under the name of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiv. 17), and from whom he took an oath of fealty (2 Chron. xxxvi. 13). The strong of the land (אֲזִלֵּי = אֲזִלֵּי, 2 Kings xxiv. 15), whom Nebuchadnezzar took (לָקַח), *i.e.* took away to Babel, are not the heads of tribes and families (2 Kings xxiv. 15); but the expression is used in a wide sense for the several classes of

men of wealth, who are grouped together in 2 Kings xxiv. 14 under the one term **בְּלִיַּיִם חֵיל** (אֲנָשֵׁי חֵיל, 2 Kings xxiv. 16), including masons, smiths, and carpenters (2 Kings xxiv. 14 and 16), whereas the heads of tribes and families are classed with the court officials (**סָרִיסִים**, 2 Kings xxiv. 15) under the title **שָׂרִיָּה** (princes) in ver. 12. The design of these measures was to make a lowly kingdom, which could not raise itself, *i.e.* could not revolt, and to deprive the vassal king of the means of breaking the covenant. The suffix attached to **לְעִמְדָהּ** is probably to be taken as referring to **מַמְלָכָהּ** rather than **בְּרִיתָהּ**, although both are admissible, and would yield precisely the same sense, inasmuch as the stability of the kingdom was dependent upon the stability of the covenant. But Zedekiah rebelled (2 Kings xxiv. 20). The Egyptian king who was to give Zedekiah horses and much people, in other words, to come to his assistance with a powerful army of cavalry and fighting men, was Hophrah, the Apries of the Greeks, according to Jer. xlv. 30 (see the comm. on 2 Kings xxiv. 19, 20). **הַיִּצְלָח** points back to **תִּצְלַח** in ver. 9; but here it is applied to the rebellious king, and is explained in the clause **הַיִּצְלַח וְהָיָה**. The answer is given in ver. 16 as a word of God confirmed by a solemn oath: he shall die in Babel, the capital of the king, who placed him on the throne, and Pharaoh will not render him any effectual help (ver. 17). **עֲשֵׂה אִתּוֹ**, as in ch. xv. 59, to act with him, that is to say, assist him, come to his help. **אִתּוֹ** refers to Zedekiah, not to Pharaoh, as Ewald assumes in an inexplicable manner. For **שָׂפָף סִלְלָהּ וְהָיָה**, compare ch. iv. 2; and for the fact itself, Jer. xxxiv. 21, 22, and xxxvii. 5, according to which, although an Egyptian army came to the rescue of Jerusalem at the time when it was besieged by the Chaldeans, it was repulsed by the Chaldeans who marched to meet it, without having rendered any permanent assistance to the besieged.—In ver. 18, the main thought that breach of faith can bring no deliverance is repeated for the sake of appending the further expansion contained in vers. 19–21. **נָתַן יְדוֹ**, he

gave his hand, *i.e.* as a pledge of fidelity. The oath which Zedekiah swore to the king of Babel is designated in ver. 19 as Jehovah's oath (אֱלֹהֵי), and the covenant made with him as Jehovah's covenant, because the oath had been sworn by Jehovah, and the covenant of fidelity towards Nebuchadnezzar had thereby been made *implicite* with Jehovah Himself; so that the breaking of the oath and covenant became a breach of faith towards Jehovah. Consequently the very same expressions are used in vers. 16, 18, and 19, to designate this breach of oath, which are applied in ch. xvi. 59 to the treacherous apostasy of Jerusalem (Israel) from Jehovah, the covenant God. And the same expressions are used to describe the punishment as in ch. xii. 13, 14. נִשְׁפָּט אִתּוֹ is construed with the accusative of the thing respecting which he was to be judged, as in 1 Sam. xii. 7. Jehovah regards the treacherous revolt from Nebuchadnezzar as treachery against Himself (מַעַל בִּי); not only because Zedekiah had sworn the oath of fidelity by Jehovah, but also from the fact that Jehovah had delivered up His people and kingdom into the power of Nebuchadnezzar, so that revolt from him really became rebellion against God. אֵת before כָּל־מְבַרְחָיו is *nota accus.*, and is used in the sense of *quod adinet ad*, as, for example, in 2 Kings vi. 5. מְבַרְחָיו, his fugitives, is rendered both by the Chaldee and Syriac "his brave men," or "heroes," and is therefore identified with מְבַרְחָיו (his chosen ones), which is the reading in some manuscripts. But neither these renderings nor the parallel passage in ch. xii. 14, where כְּבִיבוֹתָיו apparently corresponds to it, will warrant our adopting this explanation, or making any alteration in the text. The Greek versions have *πάσας φυγαδείας αὐτοῦ*; Theodoret: *ἐν πάσαις ταῖς φυγαδείαις αὐτοῦ*; the Vulgate: *omnes profugi ejus*; and therefore they all had the reading מְבַרְחוֹ, which also yields a very suitable meaning. The mention of some who remain, and who are to be scattered toward all the winds, is not at variance with the statement that all the fugitives in the wings of the army are to fall by the sword.

The latter threat simply declares that no one will escape death by flight. But there is no necessity to take those who remain as being simply fighting men; and the word "all" must not be taken too literally.

Vers. 22-24. The planting of the true twig of the stem of David.—Ver. 22. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, And I will take from the top of the high cedar, and will set it; from the topmost of its shoots will I pluck off a tender one, and will plant it upon a high and exalted mountain.* Ver. 23. *On the high mountain of Israel will I plant it, and it will put forth branches, and bear fruit, and become a splendid cedar, so that all the birds of every plumage will dwell under it. In the shade of its branches will they dwell.* Ver. 24. *And all the trees of the field will learn that I Jehovah have lowered the lofty tree, lifted up the low tree, made the green tree wither, and the withered tree become green. I Jehovah have said it, and have done it.*—Although the sprout of David, whom Nebuchadnezzar had made king, would lose the sovereignty because of his breach of faith, and bring about the destruction of the kingdom of Judah, the Lord would not let His kingdom be destroyed, but would fulfil the promise which He had given to the seed of David. The announcement of this fulfilment takes its form from the preceding parable. As Nebuchadnezzar broke off a twig from the top of the cedar and brought it to Babel (ver. 13), so will Jehovah Himself also pluck off a shoot from the top of the high cedar, and plant it upon a high mountain. The *Vav* before וַיִּקַּח is the *Vav consec.*, and וַיִּסַּח is appended to the verb for the sake of emphasis; but in antithesis to the acting of the eagle, as described in ver. 3, it is placed after it. The cedar, which it designated by the epithet *rāmāh*, as rising above the other trees, is the royal house of David, and the tender shoot which Jehovah breaks off and plants is not the Messianic kingdom or sovereignty, so that Zerubbabel could be included, but the Messiah Himself as "a distinct historical personage" (Hävernicks). The predicate רַךְ, tender, refers to

Him; also the word צִיִּי, a sprout (Isa. liii. 2), which indicates not so much the youthful age of the Messiah (Hitzig) as the lowliness of His origin (compare Isa. xi. 1, liii. 2); and even when applied to David and Solomon, in 2 Sam. iii. 39, 1 Chron. xxii. 5, xxix. 1, expresses not their youthfulness, but their want of strength for the proper administration of such a government. The high mountain, described in ver. 23 as the high mountain of Israel, is Zion, regarded as the seat and centre of the kingdom of God, which is to be exalted by the Messiah above all the mountains of the earth (Isa. ii. 2, etc.). The twig planted by the Lord will grow there into a glorious cedar, under which all birds will dwell. The Messiah grows into a cedar in the kingdom founded by Him, in which all the inhabitants of the earth will find both food (from the fruits of the tree) and protection (under its shadow). For this figure, compare Dan. iv. 8, 9. צִפּוֹר כָּל-בְּנֵי, birds of every kind of plumage (cf. ch. xxxix. 4, 17), is derived from Gen. vii. 14, where birds of every kind find shelter in Noah's ark. The allusion is to men from every kind of people and tribe. By this will all the trees of the field learn that God lowers the lofty and lifts up the lowly. As the cedar represents the royal house of David, the trees of the field can only be the other kings or royal families of the earth, not the nations outside the limits of the covenant. At the same time, the nations are not to be entirely excluded because the figure of the cedars embraces the idea of the kingdom, so that the trees of the field denote the kingdoms of the earth together with their kings. The clauses, "I bring down the high tree," contain a purely general thought, as in 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8, and the perfects are not to be taken as preterites, but as statements of practical truths. It is true that the thought of the royal house of David in its previous greatness naturally suggests itself in connection with the high and green tree, and that of Jehoiachin in connection with the dry tree (compare Jer. xxii. 30); and these are not to be absolutely set aside. At the same time, the omission of the

article from עֵץ זַבַּח and the objects which follow, is sufficient to show that the words are not to be restricted to these particular persons, but are applicable to every high and green, or withered and lowly tree; *i.e.* not merely to kings alone, but to all men in common, and furnish a parallel to 1 Sam. ii. 4-9, "The bows of the mighty men are broken; and they that stumbled are girded with strength," etc.

CHAP. XVIII. THE RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE OF GOD.

In the word of God contained in this chapter, the delusion that God visits the sins of fathers upon innocent children is overthrown, and the truth is clearly set forth that every man bears the guilt and punishment of his own sins (vers. 1-4). The righteous lives through his righteousness (vers. 5-9), but cannot save his wicked son thereby (vers. 10-13); whilst the son who avoids the sins and wickedness of his father, will live through his own righteousness (vers. 14-20). The man who repents and avoids sin is not even charged with his own sin; and, on the other hand, the man who forsakes the way of righteousness, and gives himself up to unrighteousness, will not be protected from death even by his own former righteousness (vers. 21-29). Thus will God judge every man according to his way; and it is only by repentance that Israel itself can live (vers. 30-32). The exposition of these truths is closely connected with the substance and design of the preceding and following prophecies. In the earlier words of God, Ezekiel had taken from rebellious Israel every support of false confidence in the preservation of the kingdom from destruction. But as an impenitent sinner, even when he can no longer evade the punishment of his sins, endeavours as much as possible to transfer the guilt from himself to others, and comforts himself with the thought that he has to suffer for sins that others have committed, and hardens himself against the chastisement of God through such false consolation as this; so even

among the people of Israel, when the divine judgments burst upon them, the delusion arose that the existing generation had to suffer for the fathers' sins. If, then, the judgment were ever to bear the fruit of Israel's conversion and renovation, which God designed, the impenitent generation must be deprived even of this pretext for covering over its sins and quieting its conscience, by the demonstration of the justice which characterized the government of God in His kingdom.

Vers. 1-4. The proverb and the word of God.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Why do you use this proverb in the land of Israel, saying, Fathers eat sour grapes, and the sons' teeth are set on edge.* Ver. 3. *As I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, this proverb shall not be used any more in Israel.* Ver. 4. *Behold, all souls are mine; as the father's soul, so also the soul of the son,—they are mine; the soul which sinneth, it shall die.*—On ver. 2a compare ch. xii. 22. מַה־לָּכֶם, what is to you, what are you thinking of, that . . . ? is a question of amazement. עַל־אֶרֶץ, in the land of Israel (ch. xii. 22), not “concerning the land of Israel,” as Hävernicks assumes. The proverb was not, “The fathers have eaten sour grapes,” for we have not אָכְלוּ, as in Jer. xxxi. 29, but יֹאכְלוּ, they eat, are accustomed to eat, and אֹכְלוֹ has no article, because it applies to all who eat sour grapes. *Bôsēr*, unripe, sour grapes, like *bēsēr* in Job xvi. 33 (see the comm. *in loc.*). The meaning of the proverb is self-evident. The sour grapes which the fathers eat are the sins which they commit; the setting of the children's teeth on edge is the consequence thereof, *i.e.* the suffering which the children have to endure. The same proverb is quoted in Jer. xxxi. 29, 30, and there also it is condemned as an error. The origin of such a proverb is easily to be accounted for from the inclination of the natural man to transfer to others the guilt which has brought suffering upon himself, more especially as the law teaches that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children (Ex. xx. 5), and the prophets announce that the Lord would put away

Judah from before His face on account of the sins of Manasseh (2 Kings xxiv. 3; Jer. xv. 4), while Jeremiah complains in Lam. v. 7 that the people are bearing the fathers' sins. Nevertheless the proverb contained a most dangerous and fatal error, for which the teaching of the law concerning the visitation of the sins of the fathers, etc., was not accountable, and which Jeremiah, who expressly mentions the doctrine of the law (Jer. xxxii. 18), condemns as strongly as Ezekiel. God will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children who hate Him, and who also walk in the footsteps of their fathers' sins; but to those who love Him, and keep His commandments, He will show mercy to the thousandth generation. The proverb, on the other hand, teaches that the children would have to atone for their fathers' sins without any culpability of their own. How remote such a perversion of the truth as to the transmission of sins and their consequences, viz. their punishment, was from the law of Moses, is evident from the express command in Deut. xxiv. 16, that the children were not to be put to death with the fathers for the sins which the latter had committed, but that every one was to die for his own sin. What God here enjoins upon the judicial authorities must apply to the infliction of His own judgments. Consequently what Ezekiel says in the following verses in opposition to the delusion, which this proverb helped to spread abroad, is simply a commentary upon the words, "every one shall die for his own sin," and not a correction of the law, which is the interpretation that many have put upon these prophetic utterances of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In ver. 3, the Lord declares with an oath that this proverb shall not be used any more. The apodosis to *אִם יִהְיֶה וְנִי*, which is not expressed, would be an imprecation, so that the oath contains a solemn prohibition. God will take care that this proverb shall not be used any more in Israel, not so much by the fact that He will not give them any further occasion to make use of it, as by the way in which He will convince them, through the judgments which He sends, of the

justice of His ways. The following is Calvin's admirable paraphrase: "I will soon deprive you of this boasting of yours; for your iniquity shall be made manifest, so that all the world may see that you are but enduring just punishment, which you yourselves have deserved, and that you cannot cast it upon your fathers, as you have hitherto attempted to do." At the same time, this only gives one side; we must also add the other, which is brought out so prominently in Jer. xxxi. 29 sqq., namely, that after the judgment God will manifest His grace so gloriously in the forgiveness of sins, that those who are forgiven will fully recognise the justice of the judgments inflicted. Experience of the love and compassion of the Lord, manifesting itself in the forgiveness of sin, bows down the heart so deeply that the pardoned sinner has no longer any doubt of the justice of the judgments of God. "*In Israel*" is added, to show that such a proverb is opposed to the dignity of Israel. In ver. 4, the reason assigned for the declaration thus solemnly confirmed by an oath commences with a general thought which contains the thesis for further discussion. All souls are mine, the soul of the father as well as that of the son, saith the Lord. In these words, as Calvin has well said, "God does not merely vindicate His government or His authority, but shows that He is moved with paternal affection toward the whole of the human race which He created and formed." There is no necessity for God to punish the one for the other, the son for the father, say because of the possibility that the guilty person might evade Him; and as the Father of all, He cannot treat the one in a different manner from the other, but can only punish the one by whom punishment has been deserved. The soul that sinneth shall die. *הַנֶּפֶשׁ* is used here, as in many other passages, for "man," and *מוֹת* is equivalent to suffering death as a punishment. "Death" is used to denote the complete destruction with which transgressors are threatened by the law, as in Deut. xxx. 15 (compare Jer. xxi. 8; Prov. xi. 10). This sentence is explained in the verses which follow (vers. 5-20).

Vers. 5-9. The righteous man shall not die.—Ver. 5. *If a man is righteous, and doeth right and righteousness*, Ver. 6. *And doth not eat upon the mountains, and doth not lift up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, and doth not defile his neighbour's wife, and doth not approach his wife in her uncleanness*, Ver. 7. *Oppresseth no one, restoreth his security* (lit. debt-pledge), *committeth no robbery, giveth his bread to the hungry, and covereth the naked with clothes*, Ver. 8. *Doth not give upon usury, and taketh not interest, withholdeth his hand from wrong, executeth judgment of truth between one and another*, Ver. 9. *Walketh in my statutes, and keepeth my rights to execute truth; he is righteous, he shall live, is the saying of the Lord "Jehovah."*—The exposition of the assertion, that God only punishes the sinner, not the innocent, commences with a picture of the righteousness which has the promise of life. The righteousness consists in the fulfilment of the commandments of the law: viz. (1) those relating to religious duties, such as the avoidance of idolatry, whether of the grosser kind, such as eating upon the mountains, *i.e.* observing sacrificial festivals, and therefore sacrificing to idols (cf. Deut. xii. 2 sqq.), or of a more refined description, *e.g.* lifting up the eyes to idols, to look to them, or make them the object of trust, and offer supplication to them (cf. Ps. cxxi. 1; Deut. iv. 19), as Israel had done, and was doing still (cf. ch. vi. 13); and (2) those relating to moral obligations, such as the avoidance of adultery (compare Ex. xx. 14; Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; and for כַּנְּסָה, Gen. xxxiv. 5), and of conjugal intercourse with a wife during menstruation, which was a defilement of the marriage relation (cf. Lev. xviii. 19, xx. 18). All these sins were forbidden in the law on pain of death. To these there are appended duties to a neighbour (vers. 7 sqq.), viz. to abstain from oppressing any one (Ex. xxii. 28; Lev. xxv. 14, 17), to restore the pledge to a debtor (Ex. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiv. 6, 10 sqq.). חֲבֹל is hardly to be taken in any other sense than as in apposition to חֲבֹלָתוֹ, "his pledge, which is debt," equivalent to his debt-pledge

or security, like *וְרֵכָה וְנָמָה* in ch. xvi. 27. The supposition of Hitzig, that *חֹב* is a participle, like *קִים* in 2 Kings xvi. 7, in the sense of debtor, is a far less natural one, and has no valid support in the free rendering of the LXX., *ἐνεχυσασμὸν ὀφειλοντος*. The further duties are to avoid taking unlawful possession of the property of another (cf. Lev. v. 23); to feed the hungry, clothe the naked (cf. Isa. lviii. 5; Matt. xxv. 26; Jas. ii. 15, 16); to abstain from practising usury (Deut. xxiii. 20; cf. Ex. xxii. 24) and taking interest (Lev. xxv. 36, 37); in judicial sentences, to draw back the hand from wrong, and promote judgment of truth,—a sentence in accordance with the true nature of the case (see the comm. on Zech. vii. 9); and, lastly, to walk in the statutes and rights of the Lord,—an expression which embraces, in conclusion, all that is essential to the righteousness required by the law.—This definition of the idea of true righteousness, which preserves from death and destruction, and ensures life to the possessor, is followed in vers. 10 sqq. by a discussion of the attitude which God sustains towards the sons.

Vers. 10-13. The righteousness of the father does not protect the wicked, unrighteous son from death.—Ver. 10. *If, however, he begetteth a violent son, who sheddeth blood, and doeth only one of these things*, Ver. 11. *But he himself hath not done all this,—if he even eateth upon the mountains, and defileth his neighbour's wife*, Ver. 12. *Oppresseth the suffering and poor, committeth robbery, doth not restore a pledge, lifteth up his eyes to idols, committeth abomination*, Ver. 13. *Giveth upon usury, and taketh interest: should he live? He shall not live! He hath done all these abominations; he shall be put to death; his blood shall be upon him*.—The subject to *וְהוֹלִיר* in ver. 10, is the righteous man described in the preceding verses. *פָּרַץ*, violent, literally, breaking in or through, is rendered more emphatic by the words “shedding blood” (cf. Hos. iv. 2). We regard *אִם* in the next clause as simply a dialectically different form of writing and pronouncing, for *אִם*, “only,” and he doeth only

one of these, the sins previously mentioned (vers. 6 sqq.). מֵאַחֶר, with a partitive מֵן, as in Lev. iv. 2, where it is used in a similar connection; the form מֵאַחֶר is also met with in Dent. xv. 7. The explanation given by the Targum, "and doeth one of these to his brother," is neither warranted by the language nor commended by the sense. עָשָׂה is never construed with the accusative of the person to whom anything is done; and the limitation of the words to sins against a brother is unsuitable in this connection. The next clause, וְהוּא . . . לֹא עָשָׂה, which has also been variously rendered, we regard as an adversative circumstantial clause, and agree with Kliefoth in referring it to the begetter (father): "and he (the father) has not committed any of these sins." For it yields no intelligible sense to refer this clause also to the son, since בֶּן-אָלֶה cannot possibly refer to different things from the preceding מֵאַחֶה, and a man cannot at the same time both do and not do the same thing. The וְ which follows signifies "if," as is frequently the case in the enumeration of particular precepts or cases; compare, for example, Ex. xxi. 1, 7, 17, etc., where it is construed with the imperfect, because the allusion is to things that may occur. Here, on the contrary, it is followed by the perfect, because the sins enumerated are regarded as committed. The emphatic אֲנִי (even) forms an antithesis to אִם מֵאַחֶר (אִם), or rather an *epanorthosis* of it, inasmuch as אֲנִי resumes and carries out still further the description of the conduct of the wicked son, which was interrupted by the circumstantial clause; and that not only in a different form, but with a gradation in the thought. The thought, for instance, is as follows: the violent son of a righteous father, even if he has committed only one of the sins which the father has not committed, shall die. And if he has committed even the gross sins named, viz. idolatry, adultery, violent oppression of the poor, robbery, etc., should he then continue to live? The וְ in וְהִי introduces the apodosis, which contains a question, that is simply indicated by the tone, and is immediately denied. The antique form הִי for הִיא, 3d pers.

perf., is taken from the Pentateuch (cf. Gen. iii. 22 and Num. xxi. 8). The formulae מוֹת יָמָיו and דָּמְיוֹ בּוֹ are also derived from the language of the law (cf. Lev. xx. 9, 11, 13, etc.).

Vers. 14-20. The son who avoids his father's sin will live; but the father will die for his own sins.—Ver. 14. *And behold, he begetteth a son, who seeth all his father's sins which he doeth; he seeth them, and doeth not such things.* Ver. 15. *He eateth not upon the mountains, and lifteth not up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel; he defileth not his neighbour's wife,* Ver. 16. *And oppresseth no one; he doth not withhold a pledge, and committeth not robbery; giveth his bread to the hungry, and covereth the naked with clothes.* Ver. 17. *He holdeth back his hand from the distressed one, taketh not usury and interest, doeth my rights, walketh in my statutes; he will not die for the sin of his father; he shall live.* Ver. 18. *His father, because he hath practised oppression, committed robbery upon his brother, and hath done that which is not good in the midst of his people; behold, he shall die for his sin.* Ver. 19. *And do ye say, Why doth the son not help to bear the father's sin? But the son hath done right and righteousness, hath kept all my statutes, and done them; he shall live.* Ver. 20. *The soul that sinneth, it shall die. A son shall not help to bear the father's sin, and a father shall not help to bear the sin of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.*—The case supposed in these verses forms the antithesis to the preceding one; the father is the transgressor in this instance, and the son a keeper of the law. The subject to הוֹלִיד in ver. 14 is not the righteous man described in ver. 15, but a man who is described immediately afterwards as a transgressor of the commandments of God. The *Chetib* וַיֵּרָא in the last clause of ver. 14 is not to be read וַיֵּרָא, καὶ φοβηθήν, *et timuerit*, as it has been by the translators of the Septuagint and Vulgate; nor is it to be altered into וַיִּרְאֵה, as it has been by the Masoretes, to make it accord with ver. 28; but it is the apocopated form וַיֵּרָא, as in the preceding

clause, and the object is to be repeated from what precedes, as in the similar case which we find in Ex. xx. 15 (18). Ewald and Hitzig propose to alter מַעֲנִי in ver. 17 into מַעֲנֵל after ver. 8, but without the slightest necessity. The LXX. are not to be taken as an authority for this, since the Chaldee and Syriac have both read and rendered עָנִי; and Ezekiel, when repeating the same sentences, is accustomed to make variations in particular words. Holding back the hand from the distressed, is equivalent to abstaining from seizing upon him for the purpose of crushing him (compare ver. 12); בְּתוֹךְ עַמִּי, in the midst of his countrymen = בְּתוֹךְ עַמּוֹ, is adopted from the language of the Pentateuch. מֵת after הִנֵּה is a participle. The question, "Why does the son not help to bear?" is not a direct objection on the part of the people, but is to be taken as a pretext, which the people might offer on the ground of the law, that God would visit the sin of the fathers upon the sons in justification of their proverb. Ezekiel cites this pretext for the purpose of meeting it by stating the reason why this does not occur. נִשָּׂא בָּ, to carry, near or with, to join in carrying, or help to carry (cf. Num. xi. 17). This proved the proverb to be false, and confirmed the assertion made in ver. 4b, to which the address therefore returns (ver. 20). The righteousness of the righteous man will come upon him, *i.e.* upon the righteous man, namely, in its consequences. The righteous man will receive the blessing of righteousness, but the unrighteous man the curse of his wickedness. There is no necessity for the article, which the *Keri* proposes to insert before נִשָּׂא.

Vers. 21–26. Turning to good leads to life; turning to evil is followed by death.—Ver. 21. *But if the wicked man turneth from all his sins which he hath committed, and keepeth all my statutes, and doeth right and righteousness, he shall live, and not die.* Ver. 22. *All his transgressions which he hath committed, shall not be remembered to him: for the sake of the righteousness which he hath done he will live.* Ver. 23. *Have I then pleasure in the death of the wicked? is the saying of Jehovah: and not*

rather that he turn from his ways, and live? Ver. 24. But if the righteous man turn from his righteousness, and doeth wickedness, and acteth according to all the abominations which the ungodly man hath done, should he live? All the righteousness that he hath done shall not be remembered: for his unfaithfulness that he hath committed, and for his sin that he hath sinned, for these he shall die. Ver. 25. And ye say, "The way of the Lord is not right." Hear now, O house of Israel: Is my way not right? Is it not your ways that are not right? Ver. 26. If a righteous man turneth from his righteousness, and doeth wickedness, and dieth in consequence, he dieth for his wickedness that he hath done.

—The proof that every one must bear his sin did not contain an exhaustive reply to the question, in what relation the righteousness of God stood to the sin of men? For the cases supposed in vers. 5-20 took for granted that there was a constant persistence in the course once taken, and overlooked the instances, which are by no means rare, when a man's course of life is entirely changed. It still remained, therefore, to take notice of such cases as these, and they are handled in vers. 21-26. The ungodly man, who repents and turns, shall live; and the righteous man, who turns to the way of sin, shall die. "As the righteous man, who was formerly a sinner, is not crushed down by his past sins; so the sinner, who was once a righteous man, is not supported by his early righteousness. Every one will be judged in that state in which he is found" (Jerome). The motive for the pardon of the repenting sinner is given in ver. 23, in the declaration that God has no pleasure in the death of the wicked man, but desires his conversion, that he may live. God is therefore not only just, but merciful and gracious, and punishes none with death but those who either will not desist from evil, or will not persevere in the way of His commandments. Consequently the complaint, that the way of the Lord, *i.e.* His conduct toward men, is not weighed (יִשָּׁקָל, see comm. on 1 Sam. ii. 3), *i.e.* not just and right, is altogether unfounded, and recoils upon those who make it. It

is not God's ways, but the sinner's, that are wrong (ver. 25). The proof of this, which Hitzig overlooks, is contained in the declarations made in vers. 23 and 26,—viz. in the fact that God does not desire the death of the sinner, and in His mercy forgives the penitent all his former sins, and does not lay them to his charge; and also in the fact that He punishes the man who turns from the way of righteousness and gives himself up to wickedness, on account of the sin which he commits; so that He simply judges him according to his deeds.—In ver. 24, וְעַתָּה is the continuation of the infinitive שָׁב, and וְהִנֵּה is interrogatory, as in ver. 13.

Vers. 27–32. The vindication of the ways of God might have formed a fitting close to this divine oracle. But as the prophet was not merely concerned with the correction of the error contained in the proverb which was current among the people, but still more with the rescue of the people themselves from destruction, he follows up the refutation with another earnest call to repentance.—Ver. 27. *If a wicked man turneth from his wickedness which he hath done, and doeth right and righteousness, he will keep his soul alive.* Ver. 28. *If he seeth and turneth from all his transgressions which he hath committed, he shall live and not die.* Ver. 29. *And the house of Israel saith, The way of the Lord is not right. Are my ways not right, O house of Israel? Is it not rather your ways that are not right?* Ver. 30. *Therefore, every one according to his ways, will I judge you, O house of Israel, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Turn and repent of all your transgressions, that it may not become to you a stumbling-block to guilt.* Ver. 31. *Cast from you all your transgressions which ye have committed, and make yourselves a new heart and a new spirit! And why will ye die, O house of Israel?* Ver. 32. *For I have no pleasure in the death of the dying, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Therefore repent, that ye may live.*—For the purpose of securing an entrance into their hearts for the call to repentance, the prophet not only repeats, in vers. 27

and 28, the truth declared in vers. 21 and 22, that he who turns from his sin finds life, but refutes once more in ver. 29, as he has already done in ver. 25, the charge that God's ways are not right. The fact that the singular יְהִי is connected with the plural דְּרִבְכֶם, does not warrant our altering the plural into דְּרִבְכֶם, but may be explained in a very simple manner, by assuming that the ways of the people are all summed up in one, and that the meaning is this: what you say of my way applies to your own ways,—namely, “it is not right; there is just measure therein.” לָכֵן, “therefore, etc. ;” because my way, and not yours, is right, I will judge you, every one according to his way. Repent, therefore, if ye would escape from death and destruction. שׁוּבוּ is rendered more emphatic by הָשִׁיבוּ, *sc.* פְּנִיכֶם, as in ch. xiv. 6. In the last clause of ver. 30, עֵץ is not to be taken as the subject of the sentence according to the accents, but is a genitive dependent upon מִכְשׁוֹל, as in ch. vii. 19 and xiv. 3; and the subject is to be found in the preceding clause: that it (the sinning) may not become to you a stumbling-block of iniquity, *i.e.* a stumbling-block through which ye fall into guilt and punishment.—The appeal in ver. 31 points back to the promise in ch. xi. 18, 19. הַשְׁלִיךְ, to cast away. The application of this word to transgressions may be explained from the fact that they consisted for the most part of idols and idolatrous images, which they had made.—“*Make yourselves* a new heart and a new spirit:” a man cannot, indeed, create either of these by his own power; God alone can give them (ch. xi. 19). But a man both can and should come to God to receive them: in other words, he can turn to God, and let both heart and spirit be renewed by the Spirit of God. And this God is willing to do; for He has no pleasure בְּמוֹת הַמֵּת, in the death of the dying one. In the repetition of the assurance given in ver. 23, הַמֵּת is very appropriately substituted for רָשָׁע, to indicate to the people that while in sin they are lying in death, and that it is only by conversion and renewal that they can recover life again.

CHAP. XIX. LAMENTATION FOR THE PRINCES OF ISRAEL.

Israel, the lioness, brought up young lions in the midst of lions. But when they showed their leonine nature, they were taken captive by the nations and led away, one to Egypt, the other to Babylon (vers. 1-9). The mother herself, once a vine planted by the water with vigorous branches, is torn from the soil, so that her strong tendrils wither, and is transplanted into a dry land. Fire, emanating from a rod of the branches, has devoured the fruit of the vine, so that not a cane is left to form a ruler's sceptre (vers. 10-14).—This lamentation, which bewails the overthrow of the royal house and the banishment of Israel into exile, forms a finale to the preceding prophecies of the overthrow of Judah, and was well adapted to annihilate every hope that things might not come to the worst after all.

Vers. 1-9. CAPTURE AND EXILE OF THE PRINCES.—

Ver. 1. *And do thou raise a lamentation for the princes of Israel,*
 Ver. 2. *And say, Why did thy mother, a lioness, lie down among lionesses; bring up her whelps among young lions?* Ver. 3. *And she brought up one of her whelps: it became a young lion, and he learned to take prey; he devoured man.* Ver. 4. *And nations heard of him; he was caught in their pit, and they brought him with nose-rings into the land of Egypt.* Ver. 5. *And when she saw that her hope was exhausted, overthrown, she took one of her whelps, made it a young lion.* Ver. 6. *And he walked among lionesses, he became a young lion, and learned to take prey. He devoured man.* Ver. 7. *He knew its widows, and laid waste their cities; and the land and its fulness became waste, at the voice of his roaring.* Ver. 8. *Then nations round about from the provinces set up against him, and spread over him their net: he was caught in their pit.* Ver. 9. *And they put him in the cage with nose-rings, and brought him to the king of Babylon: brought him into a fortress, that his voice might not be heard any more on the mountains of Israel.*

The princes of Israel, to whom the lamentation applies, are the kings (מְלָכָיו, as in ch. xii. 10), two of whom are so clearly pointed out in vers. 4 and 9, that there is no mistaking Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin. This fact alone is sufficient to protect the plural מְלָכָיו against the arbitrary alteration into the singular מֶלֶךְ, proposed by Houbigant and Hitzig, after the reading of the LXX. The lamentation is not addressed to one particular prince, either Zedekiah (Hitzig) or Jehoiachin (Ros., Maurer), but to Israel as a nation; and the mother (ver. 2) is the national community, the theocracy, out of which the kings were born, as is indisputably evident from ver. 10. The words from מָה אִמִּי to רִבְצָה form one sentence. It yields no good sense to separate מָה אִמִּי from רִבְצָה, whether we adopt the rendering, "what is thy mother?" or take מָה with לִבְיָא and render it, "how is thy mother a lioness?" unless, indeed, we supply the arbitrary clause "now, in comparison with what she was before," or change the interrogative into a preterite: "how has thy mother become a lioness?" The lionesses, among which Israel lay down, are the other kingdoms, the Gentile nations. The words have no connection with Gen. xlix. 9, where Judah is depicted as a warlike lion. The figure is a different one here. It is not so much the strength and courage of the lion as its wildness and ferocity that are the points of resemblance in the passage before us. The mother brings up her young ones among young lions, so that they learn to take prey and devour men. נִוִּר is the lion's whelp, *catulus*; בֶּפִּיר, the young lion, which is old enough to go out in search of prey. הִחַל is a *Hiphil*, in the tropical sense, to cause to spring up, or grow up, *i.e.* to bring up. The thought is the following: Why has Israel entered into fellowship with the heathen nations? Why, then, has it put itself upon a level with the heathen nations, and adopted the rapacious and tyrannical nature of the powers of the world? The question "why then?" when taken with what follows, involves the reproof that Israel has struck out a course opposed to its divine calling,

and will now have to taste the bitter fruits of this assumption of heathen ways. The heathen nations have taken captive its king, and led him away into heathen lands. יִשְׁמְעוּ אֵלָיו, they heard of him (עָלָיו for אֵלָיו). The fate of Jehoahaz, to which ver. 4 refers, is related in 2 Kings xxiii. 31 sqq.—Vers. 5–7 refer to Jehoiachin, the son of Jehoiakim, and not to Zedekiah, as Hitzig imagines. For the fact that Jehoiachin went out of his own accord to the king of Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 12), is not at variance with the figure contained in ver. 8, according to which he was taken (as a lion) in a net. He simply gave himself up to the king of Babylon because he was unable to escape from the besieged city. Moreover, Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin are simply mentioned as examples, because they both fell into the hands of the world-powers, and their fate showed clearly enough “what the end must inevitably be, when Israelitish kings became ambitious of being lions, like the kings of the nations of the world” (Kliefoth). Jehoiakim was not so suitable an example as the others, because he died in Jerusalem. נִוְחָלָה, which has been explained in different ways, we agree with Ewald in regarding as the *Niphal* of חָל = חָלַל, in the sense of feeling vexed, being exhausted or deceived, like the Syriac ܠܚܝܬܐ, *viribus defecit, desperavit*. For even in Gen.

viii. 12, נִוְחָל simply means to wait; and this is inapplicable here, as waiting is not equivalent to waiting in vain. The change from חָל to יָחַל is established by Judg. iii. 25, where חָל or יָחַל occurs in the sense of יָחַל. In ver. 7, the figurative language passes into a literal description of the ungodly course pursued by the king. He knew, *i.e.* dishonoured, its (Israel's, the nation's) widows. The Targum reads יָרַע here instead of יָרַע, and renders it accordingly, “he destroyed its palaces;” and Ewald has adopted the same rendering. But רָעַע, to break, or smash in pieces, *e.g.* a vessel (Ps. ii. 9), is never used for the destruction of buildings; and אֶלְמָנוֹת does not mean palaces (אַרְמָנוֹת), but windows. There is nothing in the use of the

word in Isa. xiii. 22 to support the meaning "palaces," because the palaces are simply called *'almânōth* (widows) there, with a sarcastic side glance at their desolate and widowed condition. Other conjectures are still more inadmissible. The thought is as follows: Jehoiachin went much further than Jehoahaz. He not only devoured men, but laid hands on defenceless widows, and laid the cities waste to such an extent that the land with its inhabitants became perfectly desolate through his rapacity. The description is no doubt equally applicable to his father Jehoiakim, in whose footsteps Jehoiachin walked, since Jehoiakim is described in Jer. xxii. 13 sqq. as a grievous despot and tyrant. In ver. 8 the object רְשָׁתָם also belongs to יָמֵי: they set up and spread out their net. The plural מְצֻדֹת is used in a general and indefinite manner: in lofty castles, mountain-fortresses, i.e. in one of them (cf. Judg. xii. 7).

Vers. 10-14. DESTRUCTION OF THE KINGDOM, AND BANISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE.—Ver. 10. *Thy mother was like a vine, planted by the water in thy repose; it became fruitful and rich in tendrils from many waters.* Ver. 11. *And it had strong shoots for rulers' sceptres; and its growth ascended among the clouds, and was visible in its height in the multitude of its branches.* Ver. 12. *Then it was torn up in fury, cast to the ground, and the east wind dried up its fruit; its strong shoots were broken off, and withered; fire devoured them.* Ver. 13. *And now it is planted in the desert, in a dry and thirsty land.* Ver. 14. *There goeth out fire from the shoot of its branches, devoureth its fruit, so that there is no more a strong shoot upon it, a sceptre for ruling.*—A lamentation it is, and it will be for lamentation.—From the lamentable fate of the princes transported to Egypt and Babylon, the ode passes to a description of the fate, which the lion-like rapacity of the princes is preparing for the kingdom and people. Israel resembled a vine planted by the water. The difficult word פְּרִמָּה we agree with Hävernicks and Kliefoth in tracing to the

verb *רָמַח*, to rest (Jer. xiv. 17), and regard it as synonymous with *בְּרָמִי* in Isa. xxxviii. 10: "in thy repose," i.e. in the time of peaceful, undisturbed prosperity. For neither of the other renderings, "in thy blood" and "in thy likeness," yields a suitable meaning. The latter explanation, which originated with Raschi and Kimchi, is precluded by the fact that Ezekiel always uses the word *רִמּוֹחַ* to express the idea of resemblance. —For the figure of the vine, compare Ps. lxxx. 9 sqq. This vine sent out strong shoots for rulers' sceptres; that is to say, it brought forth powerful kings, and grew up to a great height, even into the clouds. *עֲבֹתִים* signifies "clouds," lit. thicket of clouds, not only here, but in ch. xxxi. 3, 10, 14. The rendering "branches" or "thicket of foliage" is not suitable in any of these passages. The form of the word is not to be taken as that of a new plural of *עֹבֹת*, the plural of *עָב*, which occurs in 2 Sam. xxiii. 4 and Ps. lxxvii. 18; but is the plural of *עֲבוֹת*, an interlacing or thicket of foliage, and is simply transferred to the interlacing or piling up of the clouds. The clause *וַיֵּרָא וְגו'*, and it appeared, was seen, or became visible, simply serves to depict still further the glorious and vigorous growth, and needs no such alteration as Hitzig proposes. This picture is followed in ver. 12 sqq., without any particle of transition, by a description of the destruction of this vine. It was torn up in fury by the wrath of God, cast down to the ground, so that its fruit withered (compare the similar figures in ch. xvii. 10). *כִּמְטֵה עֵצָה* is used collectively, as equivalent to *כִּמְטֹת עֵץ* (ver. 11); and the suffix in *אֶבְלָתָהּ* is written in the singular on account of this collective use of *כִּמְטֵה*. The uprooting ends in the transplanting of the vine into a waste, dry, unwatered land,—in other words, in the transplanting of the people, Israel, into exile. The dry land is Babylon, so described as being a barren soil in which the kingdom of God could not flourish. According to ver. 14, this catastrophe is occasioned by the princes. The fire, which devours the fruit of the vine so that it cannot send out any more branches, emanates *בְּרִיָּה מִמְטֵה*, from the shoot of its

branches, *i.e.* from its branches, which are so prolific in shoots. **קִנְיָה** is the shoot which grew into rulers' sceptres, *i.e.* the royal family of the nation. The reference is to Zedekiah, whose treacherous breach of covenant (ch. xvii. 15) led to the overthrow of the kingdom and of the earthly monarchy. The picture from ver. 12 onwards is prophetic. The tearing up of the vine, and its transplantation into a dry land, had already commenced with the carrying away of Jeconiah; but it was not completed till the destruction of Jerusalem and the carrying away of Zedekiah, which were still in the future at the time when these words were uttered.—The clause **קִנְיָה הִיא וְגו'** does not contain a concluding historical notice, as Hävernicks supposes, but simply the *finale* of the lamentation, indicating the credibility of the prediction which it contains. **וְתִתִּי** is prophetic, like the perfects from **וְתִתִּי** in ver. 12 onwards; and the meaning is this: A lamentation forms the substance of the whole chapter; and it will lead to lamentation, when it is fulfilled.

CHAP. XX. THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF ISRAEL.

The date given in ch. xx. 1 applies not only to ch. xx., but also to ch. xx.-xxiii. (compare ch. xxiv. 1); the prophetic utterances in these four chapters being bound together into a group of connected words of God, both by their contents and by the threefold repetition of the expression, "wilt thou judge?" (*vid.* ch. xx. 4, xxii. 2, and xxiii. 36). The formula **הֲתִשְׁפּוֹט**, which is only omitted from the threat of punishment contained in ch. xxi., indicates at the same time both the nature and design of these words of God. The prophet is to judge, *i.e.* to hold up before the people once more their sinful abominations, and to predict the consequent punishment. The circumstance which occasioned this is narrated in ch. xx. 1-3. Men of the elders of Israel came to the prophet to inquire of the Lord. The occasion is therefore a similar one to that described in the

previous group; for we have already been informed, in ch. xiv. 1, that elders had come to the prophet to hear God's word from him; but they had not gone so far as to inquire. Here, however (ch. xx.), they evidently address a question to the prophet, and through him to the Lord; though the nature of their inquiry is not given, and can only be gathered from the answer, which was given to them by the Lord through the prophet. The ground for the following words of God is therefore essentially the same as for those contained in ch. xiv.—xix.; and this serves to explain the relation in which the two groups stand to each other, namely, that ch. xx.—xxiv. simply contain a further expansion of the reproachful and threatening addresses of ch. xiv.—xix.

In ch. xx. the prophet points out to the elders, in the form of a historical survey, how rebellious Israel had been towards the Lord from the very first, even in Egypt (vers. 5–9) and the desert (vers. 10–17 and 18–26), both the older and later generations, how they had sinned against the Lord their God through their idolatry, and how it was only for His own name's sake that the Lord had not destroyed them in His anger (vers. 27–31). And as Israel hath not given up idolatry even in Canaan, the Lord would not suffer Himself to be inquired of by the idolatrous generation, but would refine it by severe judgments among the nations (vers. 32–38), and sanctify it thereby into a people well-pleasing to Him, and would then gather it again out of the dispersion, and bring it into the land promised to the fathers, where it would serve Him with sacrifices and gifts upon His holy mountain (vers. 39–44). This word of God is therefore a more literal repetition of the allegorical description contained in ch. xvi.

Vers. 1–4. Date, occasion, and theme of the discourse which follows.—Ver. 1. *And it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth (moon), on the tenth of the moon, there came men of the elders of Israel, to inquire of Jehovah, and sat down before me.* Ver. 2. *Then the word of Jehovah came to me,*

saying, Ver. 3. *Son of man, speak to the elders of Israel, and say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Have ye come to inquire of me? As I live, if I suffer myself to be inquired of by you, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 4. *Wilt thou judge them? Wilt thou judge, O son of man? Make known the abominations of their fathers to them.*—If we compare the date given in ver. 1 with ch. viii. 1, we shall find that this word of God was uttered only eleven months and five days after the one in chap. viii.; two years, one month, and five days after the call of Ezekiel to be a prophet (ch. i. 2); and two years and five months before the blockading of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (ch. xxiv. 1). Consequently it falls almost in the middle of the first section of Ezekiel's prophetic work. *יִהְיֶה אֵת יְהוָה*, to seek Jehovah, *i.e.* to ask a revelation from Him. The Lord's answer in ver. 3 is similar to that in ch. xiv. 3. Instead of giving a revelation concerning the future, especially with regard to the speedy termination of the penal sufferings, which the elders had, no doubt, come to solicit, the prophet is to judge them, *i.e.* as the following clause explains, not only in the passage before us, but also in ch. xxii. 3 and xxiii. 36, to hold up before them the sins and abominations of Israel. It is in anticipation of the following picture of the apostasy of the nation from time immemorial that the sins of the fathers are mentioned here. "No reply is given to the sinners, but chiding for their sins; and He adds the oath, 'as I live,' that the sentence of refusal may be all the stronger" (Jerome). The question *הֲתֵשׁבוּ*, which is repeated with emotion, "gives expression to an impatient wish, that the thing could have been done already" (Hitzig). The interrogative form of address is therefore adopted simply as a more earnest mode of giving expression to the command to go and do the thing. Hence the literal explanation of the word *הֲתֵשׁבוּ* is also appended in the form of an imperative (*הוֹדִיעֵם*).—The prophet is to revert to the sins of the fathers, not merely for the purpose of exhibiting the magnitude of the people's guilt,

but also to hold up before the sinners themselves, the patience and long-suffering which have hitherto been displayed by the Lord.

Vers. 5-9. Election of Israel in Egypt. Its resistance to the commandments of God.—Ver. 5. *And say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, In the day that I chose Israel, and lifted my hand to the seed of Jacob, and made myself known to them in the land of Egypt, and lifted my hand to them, saying, I am Jehovah, your God:* Ver. 6. *In that day I lifted my hand to them, to bring them out of the land of Egypt into the land which I sought out for them, which floweth with milk and honey—it is an ornament of all lands:* Ver. 7. *And said to them, Cast away every man the abominations of his eyes, and do not defile yourselves with the idols of Egypt. I am Jehovah, your God.* Ver. 8. *But they were rebellious against me, and would not hearken to me. Not one of them threw away the abominations of his eyes, and they did not forsake the idols of Egypt. Then I thought to pour out my wrath upon them, to accomplish my anger upon them in the midst of the land of Egypt.* Ver. 9. *But I did it for my name's sake, that it might not be profaned before the eyes of the nations, in the midst of which they were, before whose eyes I had made myself known to them, to bring them out of the land of Egypt.*—Vers. 5 and 6 form one period. *בְּיוֹם הַהוּא* (ver. 5) is resumed in *בְּיוֹם הַהוּא* (ver. 6), and the sentence continued. With *וַאֲנִי* the construction with the infinitive passes over into the finite verb. Lifting the hand, *sc.* to heaven, is a gesture employed in taking an oath (see the comm. on Ex. vi. 8). The substance of the oath is introduced by the word *לֵאמֹר* at the close of ver. 5; but the clause *וַאֲנִי עָרַע וְגו'* (and made myself known) is previously inserted, and then the lifting of the hand mentioned again to indicate the importance of this act of divine grace. The contents of vers. 5 and 6 rest upon Ex. vi. 2 sqq., where the Lord makes Himself known to Moses, and through him to the children of Israel, according to the nature involved in the name Jehovah,

in which He had not yet revealed Himself to the patriarchs (Ex. vi. 3). Both *נִשְׁאַרְתִּי יָדִי* (I lifted my hand) and *אֲנִי יְהוָה* are taken from Ex. vi. 8. The word *תַּרְחִי*, from *תָּרַח*, to seek out, explore, also belongs to the Pentateuch (compare Deut. i. 33), and the same may be said of the description given of Canaan as "a land flowing with milk and honey" (*vid.* Ex. iii. 8, etc.). But *צִבִּי*, ornament, as an epithet applied to the land of Israel, is first employed by the prophets of the time of the captivity—namely, in vers. 6 and 15 of this chapter, in Jer. iii. 19, and in Dan. viii. 9, xi. 16, 41. The election of the Israelites to be the people of Jehovah, contained *eo ipso* the command to give up the idols of Egypt, although it was at Sinai that the worship of other gods was for the first time expressly prohibited (Ex. xx. 3), and Egyptian idolatry is only mentioned in Lev. xvii. 7 (cf. Josh. xxiv. 14). Ezekiel calls the idols "abominations of their eyes," because, "although they were abominable and execrable things, they were looked upon with delight by them" (Rosenmüller). It is true that there is nothing expressly stated in the Pentateuch as to the refusal of the Israelites to obey the command of God, or their unwillingness to give up idolatry in Egypt; but it may be inferred from the statements contained in Ex. vi. 9 and 12, to the effect that the Israelites did not hearken to Moses when he communicated to them the determination of God to lead them out of Egypt, and still more plainly from their relapse into Egyptian idolatry, from the worship of the golden calf at Sinai (Ex. xxxii.), and from their repeated desire to return to Egypt while wandering in the desert.¹ Nor is there anything said in the Pentateuch concerning the determination of God to pour out His wrath

¹ The remarks of Calvin upon this point are very good. "We do not learn directly from Moses," he says, "that they had been rebels against God, because they would not throw away their idols and superstitions; but the conjecture is a very probable one, that they had always been so firmly fixed in their abominations as to prevent in a certain way the hand of God from bringing them relief. And assuredly, if they had embraced what Moses promised them in the name of God with promptness of mind, the

upon the idolatrous people in Egypt. We need not indeed assume on this account that Ezekiel derived his information from some special traditional source, as Vitranga has done (*Observv. ss.* I. 263), or regard the statement as a revelation made by God to Ezekiel, and through him to us. The words do not disclose to us either a particular fact or a definite decree of God; they simply contain a description of the attitude which God, from His inmost nature, assumes towards sinners who rebel against His holy commandments, and which He displayed both in the declaration made concerning Himself as a zealous, or jealous God, who visits iniquities (Ex. xx. 5), and also in the words addressed to Moses when the people fell into idolatry at Sinai, "Let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them" (Ex. xxxii. 10). All that God expresses here, His heart must have felt in Egypt towards the people who would not desist from idolatry. For the words themselves, compare ch. vii. 8, vi. 12, v. 13. וְאֵינִי עוֹשֶׂה (ver. 9), "but I did it for my name's sake." The missing object explaining what He did, namely, abstain from pouring out His wrath, is to be gathered from what follows: "that I might not profane my name." This would have taken place if God had destroyed Israel by pouring out His wrath; in other words, have allowed them to be destroyed by the Egyptians. The heathen might then have said that Jehovah had been unable to liberate His people from their hand and power (cf. Num. xiv. 16 and Ex. xxxii. 12). הִחַל is an *infin. Niphal* of חָלַל for הִחַל (cf. Lev. xxi. 4).

Vers. 10-17. Behaviour of Israel in the desert.—Ver. 10. *And I led them out of the land of Egypt, and brought them*

execution of the promise would have been more prompt and swift. But we may learn that it was their own obtuseness which hindered God from stretching out His hand forthwith and actually fulfilling all that He had promised. It was necessary, indeed, that God should contend with Pharaoh, that His power might be more conspicuously displayed; but the people would not have been so tyrannically afflicted if they had not closed the door of divine mercy."

into the desert ; Ver. 11. And gave them my statutes, and my rights I made known to them, which man is to do that he may live through them. Ver. 12. I also gave them my Sabbaths, that they might be for a sign between me and them, that they might know that I Jehovah sanctify them. Ver. 13. But the house of Israel was rebellious against me in the desert : they did not walk in my statutes, and my rights they rejected, which man is to do, that he may live through them, and my Sabbaths they greatly profaned : Then I thought to pour out my wrath upon them in the desert to destroy them. Ver. 14. But I did it for my name's sake, that it might not be profaned before the eyes of the nations, before whose eyes I had led them out. Ver. 15. I also lifted my hand to them in the desert, not to bring them into the land which I had given (them), which floweth with milk and honey ; it is an ornament of all lands, Ver. 16. Because they rejected my rights, did not walk in my statutes, and profaned my Sabbaths, for their heart went after their idols. Ver. 17. But my eye looked with pity upon them, so that I did not destroy them, and make an end of them in the desert.—God gave laws at Sinai to the people whom He had brought out of Egypt, through which they were to be sanctified as His own people, that they might live before God. On ver. 11 compare Deut. xxx. 16 and 19. Ver. 12 is taken almost word for word from Ex. xxxi. 13, where God concludes the directions for His worship by urging upon the people in the most solemn manner the observance of His Sabbaths, and thereby pronounces the keeping of the Sabbath the kernel of all divine worship. And as in that passage we are to understand by the Sabbaths the actual weekly Sabbaths, and not the institutions of worship as a whole, so here we must retain the literal signification of the word. It is only of the Sabbath recurring every week, and not of all the fasts, that it could be said it was a sign between Jehovah and Israel. It was a sign, not as a token, that they who observed it were Israelites, as Hitzig supposes, but to know (that they might know) that Jehovah was sanctifying them, namely, by the

Sabbath rest—as a refreshing and elevation of the mind, in which Israel was to have a foretaste of that blessed resting from all works to which the people of God was ultimately to attain (see the comm. on Ex. xx. 11). It is from this deeper signification of the Sabbath that the prominence given to the Sabbaths here is to be explained, and not from the outward circumstance that in exile, when the sacrificial worship was necessarily suspended, the keeping of the Sabbath was the only bond which united the Israelites, so far as the worship of God was concerned (Hitzig). Historical examples of the rebellion of Israel against the commandments of God in the desert are given in Ex. xxxii. 1–6 and Num. xxv. 1–3; and of the desecration of the Sabbath, in Ex. xvi. 27 and Num. xv. 32. For the threat referred to in ver. 13*b*, compare Ex. xxxii. 10; Num. xiv. 11, 12.—Vers. 15 and 16 are not a repetition of ver. 13 (Hitzig); nor do they introduce a limitation of ver. 14 (Kliefoth). They simply relate what else God did to put bounds to the rebellion after He had revoked the decree to cut Israel off, at the intercession of Moses (Num. xiv. 11–19). He lifted His hand to the oath (Num. xiv. 21 sqq.), that the generation which had come out of Egypt should not come into the land of Canaan, but should die in the wilderness. Therewith He looked with pity upon the people, so that He did not make an end of them by following up the threat with a promise that the children should enter the land. עָשָׂה כָּלֵה, as in ch. xi. 13.

Vers. 18–26. The generation that grew up in the desert.—Ver. 18. *And I spake to their sons in the desert, Walk not in the statutes of your fathers, and keep not their rights, and do not defile yourselves with their idols.* Ver. 19. *I am Jehovah your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my rights, and do them,* Ver. 20. *And sanctify my Sabbaths, that they may be for a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am Jehovah your God.* Ver. 21. *But the sons were rebellious against me; they walked not in my statutes, and did not keep my rights, to do them, which man should do that he may live through them; they pro-*

faned my Sabbaths. Then I thought to pour out my wrath upon them, to accomplish my anger upon them in the desert. Ver. 22. But I turned back my hand and did it for my name's sake, that it might not be profaned before the eyes of the nations, before whose eyes I had them out. Ver. 23. I also lifted my hand to them in the desert, to scatter them among the nations, and to disperse them in the lands; Ver. 24. Because they did not my rights, and despised my statutes, profaned my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after the idols of their fathers. Ver. 25. And I also gave them statutes, which were not good, and rights, through which they did not live; Ver. 26. And defiled them in their sacrificial gifts, in that they caused all that openeth the womb to pass through, that I might fill them with horror, that they might know that I am Jehovah.—

The sons acted like their fathers in the wilderness. Historical proofs of this are furnished by the accounts of the Sabbath-breaker (Num xv. 32 sqq.), of the rebellion of the company of Korah, and of the murmuring of the whole congregation against Moses and Aaron after the destruction of Korah's company (Num. xvi. and xvii.). In the last two cases God threatened that He would destroy the whole congregation (cf. Num. xvi. 21 and xvii. 9, 10); and on both occasions the Lord drew back His hand at the intercession of Moses, and his actual intervention (Num. xvi. 22 and xvii. 11 sqq.), and did not destroy the whole nation for His name's sake. The statements in vers. 21b and 22 rest upon these facts. The words of ver. 23 concerning the oath of God, that He would scatter the transgressors among the heathen, are also founded upon the Pentateuch, and not upon an independent tradition, or any special revelation from God. Dispersion among the heathen is threatened in Lev. xxvi. 33 and Deut. xxviii. 64, and there is no force in Kliefoth's argument that "these threats do not refer to the generation in the wilderness, but to a later age." For in both chapters the blessings and curses of the law are set before the people who were then in the desert; and there is not a single word to intimate that either

blessing or curse would only be fulfilled upon the generations of later times. On the contrary, when Moses addressed to the people assembled before him his last discourse concerning the renewal of the covenant (Deut. xxix. and xxx.), he called upon them to enter into the covenant, "which Jehovah maketh with thee *this day*" (Deut. xxix. 12), and to keep all the words of this covenant and do them. It is upon this same discourse, in which Moses calls the threatenings of the law אִלָּה, an oath (Deut. xxix. 13), that "the lifting of the hand of God to swear," mentioned in ver. 23 of this chapter, is also founded. Moreover, it is not stated in this verse that God lifted His hand to scatter among the heathen the generation which had grown up in the wilderness, and to disperse them in the lands before their entrance into the land promised to the fathers; but simply that He had lifted His hand in the wilderness to threaten the people with dispersion among the heathen, without in any way defining the period of dispersion. In the blessings and threatenings of the law contained in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii.-xxx., the nation is regarded as a united whole; so that no distinction is made between the successive generations, for the purpose of announcing this particular blessing or punishment to either one or the other. And Ezekiel acts in precisely the same way. It is true that he distinguishes the generation which came out of Egypt and was sentenced by God to die in the wilderness from the sons, *i.e.* the generation which grew up in the wilderness; but the latter, or the sons of those who had fallen, the generation which was brought into the land of Canaan, he regards as one with all the successive generations, and embraces the whole under the common name of "fathers" to the generation living in his day ("your fathers" ver. 27), as we may clearly see from the turn given to the sentence which describes the apostasy of those who came into the land of Canaan (עִיר זָאֵת וְגו'). In thus embracing the generation which grew up in the wilderness and was led into Canaan, along with the generations which followed and lived in

Canaan, Ezekiel adheres very closely to the view prevailing in the Pentateuch, where the nation in all its successive generations is regarded as one united whole. The threat of dispersion among the heathen, which the Lord uttered in the wilderness to the sons of those who were not to see the land, is also not mentioned by Ezekiel as one which God designed to execute upon the people who were wandering in the desert at the time. For if he had understood it in this sense, he would have mentioned its non-fulfilment also, and would have added a *וְאָעַשׂ לְמַעַן שְׁמִי וְהוּא*, as he has done in the case of the previous threats (cf. vers. 22, 14, and 9). But we do not find this either in ver. 24 or ver. 26. The omission of this turn clearly shows that ver. 23 does not refer to a punishment which God designed to inflict, but did not execute for His name's sake; but that the dispersion among the heathen, with which the transgressors of His commandments were threatened by God when in the wilderness, is simply mentioned as a proof that even in the wilderness the people, whom God had determined to lead into Canaan, were threatened with that very punishment which had now actually commenced, because rebellious Israel had obstinately resisted the commandments and rights of its God.

These remarks are equally applicable to vers. 25 and 26. These verses are not to be restricted to the generation which was born in the wilderness and gathered to its fathers not long after its entrance into Canaan, but refer to their descendants also, that is to say, to the fathers of our prophet's contemporaries, who were born and had died in Canaan. God gave them statutes which were not good, and rights which did not bring them life. It is perfectly self-evident that we are not to understand by these statutes and rights, which were not good, either the Mosaic commandments of the ceremonial law, as some of the Fathers and earlier Protestant commentators supposed, or the threatenings contained in the law; so that this needs no elaborate proof. The ceremonial commandments

given by God were good, and had the promise attached to them, that obedience to them would give life; whilst the threats of punishment contained in the law are never called חֲקִים and מִשְׁפָּטִים. Those statutes only are called "not good" the fulfilment of which did not bring life or blessing and salvation. The second clause serves as an explanation of the first. The examples quoted in ver. 26 show what the words really mean. The defiling in their sacrificial gifts (ver. 26), for example, consisted in their causing that which opened the womb to pass through, *i.e.* in the sacrifice of the first-born. הָעֵבִיר כָּל-פֶּטֶר רַחֵם points back to Ex. xiii. 12; only לַיהוָה, which occurs in that passage, is omitted, because the allusion is not to the commandment given there, but to its perversion into idolatry. This formula is used in the book of Exodus (*l.c.*) to denote the dedication of the first-born to Jehovah; but in ver. 13 this limitation is introduced, that the first-born of man is to be redeemed. הָעֵבִיר signifies a dedication through fire (= הָעֵבִיר בְּאֵשׁ, ver. 31), and is adopted in the book of Exodus, where it is joined to לַיהוָה, in marked opposition to the Canaanitish custom of dedicating children to Moloch by februation in fire (see the comm. on Ex. xiii. 12). The prophet refers to this Canaanitish custom, and cites it as a striking example of the defilement of the Israelites in their sacrificial gifts (טָמֵא, to make unclean, not to declare unclean, or treat as unclean). That this custom also made its way among the Israelites, is evident from the repeated prohibition against offering children through the fire to Moloch (Lev. xviii. 21 and Deut. xviii. 10). When, therefore, it is affirmed with regard to a statute so sternly prohibited in the law of God, that Jehovah gave it to the Israelites in the wilderness, the word נָתַן (give) can only be used in the sense of a judicial sentence, and must not be taken merely as indicating divine permission; in other words, it is to be understood, like 2 Thess. ii. 11 ("God sends them strong delusion") and Acts vii. 42 ("God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven"), in the sense of hardening, whereby whoever

will not renounce idolatry is so given up to its power, that it draws him deeper and deeper in. This is in perfect keeping with the statement in ver. 26 as the design of God in doing this: "that I might fill them with horror;" *i.e.* might excite such horror and amazement in their minds, that if possible they might be brought to reflect and to return to Jehovah their God.

Vers. 27-31. Israel committed these sins in Canaan also, and to this day has not given them up; therefore God will not allow the idolatrous generation to inquire of Him.—Ver. 27. *Therefore speak to the house of Israel, O son of man, and say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Still further have your fathers blasphemed me in this, with the faithlessness which they have shown toward me.* Ver. 28. *When I had brought them into the land, which I had lifted my hand to give them, then they looked out every high hill and every thickly covered tree, and offered their sacrifices there, and gave their irritating gifts there, and presented the fragrance of their pleasant odour there, and poured out their drink-offerings there.* Ver. 29. *And I said to them, What height is that to which ye go? And its name is called Height to this day.* Ver. 30. *Therefore say to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, What? Do ye defile yourselves in the way of your fathers; and go whoring after their abominations; Ver. 31. And defile yourselves in all your idols to this day, by lifting up your gifts, and causing your sons to pass through the fire; and should I let myself be inquired of by you? As I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, I will not let myself be inquired of by you.*—The לִנְחָה in ver. 27 is resumed in ver. 30; and there the answer given by God to the elders, who had come to inquire of Him, is first communicated, after an express declaration of the fact that Israel had continued its idolatry in the most daring manner, even after its entrance into Canaan. But the form in which this is done—עוֹר זֶה, "still further in this"—is to be understood as intimating that the conduct of the fathers of the existing generation, and therefore not merely of those who

grew up in the wilderness, but also of those who had lived in Canaan, has already been described in general terms in the preceding verses, and that what follows simply adds another novel feature. But this can only be the case if vers. 23-26 are taken in the sense given above. זֹאת is an accusative; and נִירָה is construed with the accusative both of the person and thing. The more precise definition of זֹאת is not given in כִּי בְמַעֲלָם at the end of the verse, but in the idolatry depicted in ver. 28. מַעַל refers to the faithlessness involved in the breach of the covenant and in idolatry. This is the general description; whilst the idolatry mentioned in ver. 28b constituted one particular feature, in which the faithlessness appeared in the form of blasphemy. For the fact itself, namely, the worship on high places, which was practised on every hand, see ch. vi. 13, xvii. 24, 25; 1 Kings xiv. 23; 2 Kings xvii. 10. In the enumeration of the offerings, there is something striking in the position in which כָּרְבֵּנִים stands, namely, between the slaughtered sacrifices (זִבְחִים) and the increase- and drink-offerings; and this is no doubt the reason why the clause וְנִתְּנוּ שָׁם וְנוֹ is omitted from the *Cod. Vat.* and *Alex.* of the LXX.; and even Hitzig proposes to strike it out. But Theodoret found this reading in the *Alex. Version*; and Hitzig is wrong in affirming that כָּרְבֵּנִים is used in connection with sacrifices, meat-offerings, and drink-offerings. The meat-offerings are not expressly named, for יִיָּה נִחוּחַ does not signify meat-offerings, but is used in the law for the odour of all the offerings, both slaughtered sacrifices and meat-offerings, even though in Ezek. xvi. 19 it is applied to the odour of the bloodless offerings alone. And in the same way does כָּרְבֵּנִים embrace all the offerings, even the slain offerings, in Ezek. xl. 43, in harmony with Lev. i. 2, ii. 1, and other passages. That it is used in this general signification here, is evident from the introduction of the word בָּעֵם, irritation or provocation of their gifts, *i.e.* their gifts which provoked irritation on the part of God, because they were offered to idols. As this sentence

applies to all the sacrifices (bloody and bloodless), so also does the clause which follows, 'וַיִּשְׂמוּ שָׁם וְגו', refer to all the offerings which were burned upon the altar, without regard to the material employed. Consequently Ezekiel mentions only slain offerings and drink-offerings, and, by the two clauses inserted between, describes the offering of the slaughtered sacrifices as a gift of irritation to God, and of pleasant fragrance to the idolatrous worshippers who presented them. He does not mention the meat-offerings separately, because they generally formed an accompaniment to the slain offerings, and therefore were included in these. But although God had called the people to account for this worship on high places, they had not relinquished it even "to this day." This is no doubt the meaning of ver. 29, which has been interpreted in very different ways. The context shows, in the most conclusive manner, that הַבָּמָה is to be taken collectively, and that the use of the singular is to be explained from the antithesis to the one divinely appointed Holy Place in the temple, and not, as Kimchi and Hävernicks suppose, from any allusion to one particular *bāmāh* of peculiar distinction, viz. "the great high place at Gibeon." The question מָה הַבָּמָה is not expressive of contempt (Hitzig), but "is founded upon the assumption that they would have to give an account of their doings; and merely asks, What kind of heights are those to which you are going? Who has directed you to go thither with your worship?" (Kliefoth). There is no need to refute the trivial fancy of J. D. Michaelis, which has been repeated by Hitzig, namely, that Ezekiel has taken הַבָּמָה as a derivative from בָּא and מָה. Again, the question does not presuppose a word addressed by God to Israel, which Ezekiel only has handed down to us; but is simply a rhetorical mode of presenting the condemnation by God of the worship of the high places, to which both the law and the earlier prophets had given utterance. The next clause, "and their name was called Height" (high place), is not to be regarded as containing merely a historical notice of the name

given to these idolatrous places of worship ; but the giving of the name is a proof of the continued existence of the thing ; so that the words affirm, that notwithstanding the condemnation on the part of God, Israel had retained these high places,—had not abolished them to this day.—Vers. 30 and 31 facilitate the transition from the first part of this word of God to the second. What has already been said in vers. 5-29 concerning the idolatry of the people, from the time of its election onwards, is here expressly applied to the existing generation, and carries with it the declaration to them, that inasmuch as they are defiling themselves by idolatry, as their fathers did, Jehovah cannot permit Himself to be inquired of by them. The thought is couched in the form of a question, to express astonishment that those who denied the Lord, and dishonoured Him by their idolatry, should nevertheless imagine that they could obtain revelations from Him. The lifting up (הִנֵּי, from נָסַף) of gifts signifies the offering of sacrifices upon the altars of the high places. For ver. 31b, compare ver. 3.—With this declaration God assigns the reason for the refusal to listen to idolaters, which had already been given in ver. 3. But it does not rest with this refusal. God now proceeds to disclose to them the thoughts of their own hearts, and announces to them that He will refine them by severe judgments, and bring them thereby to repentance of their sins, that He may then gather them out of the dispersion, and make them partakers of the promised salvation as a people willingly serving Him.—In this way do vers. 32-44 cast a prophetic glance over the whole of the future history of Israel.

Vers. 32-38. The judgment awaiting Israel of purification among the heathen.—Ver. 32. *And that which riseth up in your mind shall not come to pass, in that ye say, We will be like the heathen, like the families of the lands, to serve wood and stone.* Ver. 33. *As I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, with strong hand and with outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, will I rule over you.* Ver. 34. *And I will bring you out of the*

nations, and gather you out of the lands in which ye have been scattered, with strong hand and with outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, Ver. 35. And will bring you into the desert of the nations, and contend with you there face to face. Ver. 36. As I contended with your fathers in the desert of the land of Egypt, so will I contend with you, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 37. And I will cause you to pass through under the rod, and bring you into the bond of the covenant. Ver. 38. And I will separate from you the rebellious, and those who are apostates from me; out of the land of their sojourning will I lead them out, but into the land of Israel shall they not come; that ye may know that I am Jehovah.—הָעֵלָה עַל רֹחַ, that which rises up in the spirit, is the thought that springs up in the mind. What this thought was is shown in ver. 32*b*, viz. we will be like the heathen in the lands of the earth, to serve wood and stone; that is to say, we will become idolaters like the heathen, pass into heathenism. This shall not take place; on the contrary, God will rule over them as King with strong arm and fury. The words, “with strong hand and stretched-out arm,” are a standing expression in the Pentateuch for the mighty acts by which Jehovah liberated His people from the power of the Egyptians, and led them out of Egypt (cf. Ex. vi. 1, 6; Deut. iv. 34, v. 15, vii. 19, etc.), and are connected in Ex. vi. 6 with וּבְמִשְׁפָּטִים וּבְרוּלִים. Here, on the contrary, they are connected with בְּחֵמָה שְׂפוּכָה, and are used in ver. 33 with reference to the government of God over Israel, whilst in ver. 34 they are applied to the bringing out of Israel from the midst of the heathen. By the introduction of the clause “with fury poured out,” the manifestation of the omnipotence of God which Israel experienced in its dispersion, and which it was still to experience among the heathen, is described as an emanation of the divine wrath, a severe and wrathful judgment. The leading and gathering of Israel out of the nations (ver. 34) is neither their restoration from the existing captivity in Babylon, nor their future restoration to Canaan on the con-

version of the people who were still hardened, and therefore rejected by God. The former assumption would be decidedly at variance with both *בְּכָל הָעַמִּים* and *בְּכָל הָאֲרָצוֹת*, since Israel was dispersed only throughout one land and among one people at the time of the Babylonian captivity. Moreover, neither of the assumptions is reconcilable with the context, more especially with ver. 35. According to the context, this leading out is an act of divine anger, which Israel is to feel in connection therewith; and this cannot be affirmed of either the redemption of the people out of the captivity in Babylon, or the future gathering of Israel from its dispersion. According to ver. 35, God will conduct those who are brought out from the nations and gathered together out of the lands into the desert of the nations, and contend with them there. The "desert of the nations" is not the desert lying between Babylonia and Palestine, on the coast-lands of the Mediterranean, through which the Israelites would have to pass on their way home from Babylon (Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and others). For there is no imaginable reason why this should be called the desert of the nations in distinction from the desert of Arabia, which also touched the borders of several nations. The expression is doubtless a typical one, the future guidance of Israel being depicted as a repetition of the earlier guidance of the people from Egypt to Canaan; as it also is in Hos. ii. 16. All the separate features in the description indicate this, more especially vers. 36 and 37, where it is impossible to overlook the allusion to the guidance of Israel in the time of Moses. The more precise explanation of the words must depend, however, upon the sense in which we are to understand the expression, "desert of the land of Egypt." Here also the supposition that the Arabian desert is referred to, because it touched the border of Egypt, does not furnish a sufficient explanation. It touched the border of Canaan as well. Why then did not Ezekiel name it after the land of Canaan? Evidently for no other reason than that the time spent by the Israelites in the Arabian desert resembled their

sojourn in Egypt much more closely than their settlement in Canaan, because, while there, they were still receiving their training for their entrance into Canaan, and their possession and enjoyment of its benefits, just as much as in the land of Egypt. And in a manner corresponding to this, the "desert of the nations" is a figurative expression applied to the world of nations, from whom they were indeed spiritually distinct, whilst outwardly they were still in the midst of them, and had to suffer from their oppression. Consequently the leading of Israel out of the nations (ver. 34) is not a local and corporeal deliverance out of heathen lands, but a spiritual severance from the heathen world, in order that they might not be absorbed into it or become inseparably blended with the heathen. God will accomplish this by means of severe chastisements, by contending with them as He formerly contended with their fathers in the Arabian desert. God contends with His people when He charges them with their sin and guilt, not merely in words, but also with deeds, *i.e.* through chastening and punishments. The words "face to face" point back to Dent. v. 4: "Jehovah talked with you face to face in the mount, out of the midst of the fire." Just as at Sinai the Lord talked directly with Israel, and made known to it the devouring fire of His own holy nature, in so terrible a manner that all the people trembled and entreated Moses to act the part of a mediator between them, promising at the same time obedience to him (Ex. xx. 19); so will the Lord make Himself known to Israel in the desert of the world of nations with the burning zeal of His anger, that it may learn to fear Him. This contending is more precisely defined in vers. 37 and 38. I will cause you to pass through under the (shepherd's) rod. A shepherd lets his sheep pass through under his rod for the purpose of counting them, and seeing whether they are in good condition or not (*vid.* Jer. xxxiii. 13). The figure is here applied to God. Like a shepherd, He will cause His flock, the Israelites, to pass through under His rod, *i.e.* take them into His special care, and bring them

“into the bond of the covenant” (מִסְכָּרָה, not from מִסַּר [Raschi], but from מִסַּר, for מִמְסָרָה, a fetter); that is to say, not “I will bind myself to you and you to me by a new covenant” (Bochart, *Hieroz.* I. p. 508), for this is opposed to the context, but, as the Syriac version has rendered it, כְּסִימָה (in *disciplina*), “the discipline of the covenant.” By this we are not merely to understand the covenant punishments, with which transgressors of the law are threatened, as Hävernick does, but the covenant promises must also be included. For not only the threats of the covenant, but the promises of the covenant, are *bonds* by which God trains His people; and מִסַּר is not only applied to burdensome and crushing fetters, but to the bonds of love as well (*vid.* Song of Sol. vii. 6). Kliefoth understands by the fetter of the covenant the Mosaic law, as being the means employed by God to preserve the Israelites from mixing with the nations while placed in the midst of them, and to keep them to Himself, and adds the following explanation,—“this law, through which they should have been able to live, they have now to wear as a fetter, and to feel the chastisement thereof.” But however correct the latter thought may be in itself, it is hardly contained in the words, “lead them into the fetter (band) of the law.” Moreover, although the law did indeed preserve Israel from becoming absorbed into the world of nations, the fact that the Jews were bound to the law did not bring them to the knowledge of the truth, or bring to pass the purging of the rebellious from among the people, to which ver. 38 refers. All that the law accomplished in this respect in the case of those who lived among the heathen was effected by its threatenings and its promises, and not by its statutes and their faithful observance. This discipline will secure the purification of the people, by severing from the nation the rebellious and apostate. God will bring them forth out of the land of their pilgrimage, but will not bring them into the land of Israel. אֶרֶץ מְגֻרִים is the standing epithet applied in the Pentateuch to the land of

Canaan, in which the patriarchs lived as pilgrims, without coming into actual possession of the land (cf. Gen. xvii. 8, xxviii. 4, xxxvi. 7; Ex. vi. 4). This epithet Ezekiel has transferred to the lands of Israel's exile, in which it was to lead a pilgrim-life until it was ripe for entering Canaan. הוציא, to lead out, is used here for clearing out by extermination, as the following clause, "into the land of Israel shall they not come," plainly shows. The singular יבוא is used distributively: not one of the rebels will enter.

Vers. 39-44. The ultimate gathering of Israel, and its conversion to the Lord.—Ver. 39. *Ye then, O house of Israel, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Go ye, serve every one his idols! but afterwards—truly ye will hearken to me, and no longer desecrate my holy name with your sacrificial gifts and your idols,* Ver. 40. *But upon my holy mountain, upon the high mountain of Israel, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, there will all the house of Israel serve me, the whole of it in the land; there will I accept them gladly; there will I ask for your heave-offerings and the first-fruits of your gifts in all that ye make holy.* Ver. 41. *As a pleasant odour will I accept you gladly, when I bring you out from the nations, and gather you out of the lands, in which you have been scattered, and sanctify myself in you before the eyes of the heathen nations.* Ver. 42. *And ye shall know that I am Jehovah, when I bring you into the land of Israel, into the land which I lifted up my hand to give to your fathers;* Ver. 43. *And there ye will think of your ways and your deeds, with which ye have defiled yourselves, and will loathe yourselves (lit. experience loathing before yourselves) on account of all your evil deeds which ye have performed;* Ver. 44. *And ye will know that I am Jehovah, when I deal with you for my name's sake, not according to your evil ways and according to your corrupt deeds, O house of Israel, is the saying of Jehovah.*—After the Lord has declared to the people that He will prevent its being absorbed into the heathen world, and will exterminate the ungodly by severe judgments, the address passes on, with the direction henceforth to serve idols

only, to a prediction of the eventual conversion, and the restoration to Canaan of the purified nation. The direction, "Go ye, serve every one his idols," contains, after what precedes it, a powerful appeal to repent. God thereby gives up the impenitent to do whatever they will, having first of all told them that not one of them will come into the land of Canaan. Their opposition will not frustrate His plan of salvation. The words which follow from **וְאַחֲרַיִם** onwards have been interpreted in different ways. It is opposed to the usage of the language to connect **וְאַחֲרַיִם** with **וְעַבְדֵי**, serve ye hereafter also (De Wette, etc.), for **ו** has not the force of the Latin *et = etiam*, and still less does it signify "afterwards just as before." Nor is it allowable to connect **וְאַחֲרַיִם** closely with what follows, in the sense of "and hereafter also, if ye will hearken to me, profane ye my name no more" (Rosenmüller, Maurer). For if **וְאַחֲרַיִם** were used as an imperative, either it would have to stand at the beginning of the sentence, or it would be preceded by **אַל** instead of **לֹא**. Moreover, the antithesis between not being willing to hear and not profaning the name of God, is imported arbitrarily into the text. The name of the Lord is profaned not only by sacrifices offered in external form to Jehovah and in the heart to idols, but also by disobedience to the word and commandments of God. It is much better to take **וְאַחֲרַיִם** by itself, and to render the following particle, **אִם**, as the ordinary sign of an oath: "but afterwards (*i.e.* in the future) . . . verily, ye will hearken to me;" that is to say, ye will have been converted from your idolatry through the severe judgments that have fallen upon you. The ground for this thought is introduced in ver. 40 by a reference to the fact that all Israel will then serve the Lord upon His holy mountain. **כִּי** is not "used emphatically before a direct address" (Hitzig), but has a causal signification. For **הָרַם מְרוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל**, see the comm. on ch. xvii. 23. In the expression "all Israel," which is rendered more emphatic by the addition of **כָּל־בְּנֵי**, there is an allusion to the eventual termination of the severance of the people of God (compare

ch. xxxvii. 22). Then will the Lord accept with delight both them and their sacrificial gifts. תְּרוּמוֹת, heave-offerings (see the comm. on Ex. xxv. 2 and Lev. ii. 9), used here in the broader sense of all the sacrificial gifts, along with which the gifts of first-fruits are specially named. מִשְׁאֹת, as applied to holy offerings in the sense of ἀναθήματα, belongs to the later usage of the language. בְּכָל־קִדְשֵׁיכֶם, consisting of all your consecrated gifts. קִדְשִׁים, as in Lev. xxii. 15. This promise includes *implicite* the bringing back of Israel from its banishment. This is expressly mentioned in ver. 41; but even there it is only introduced as self-evident in the subordinate clause, whereas the cheerful acceptance of Israel on the part of God constitutes the leading thought. בְּרִיחַ נִיחֹחַ, as an odour of delight (ב, the so-called *Beth essentialis*), will God accept His people. רִיחַ נִיחֹחַ, odour of satisfaction, is the technical expression for the cheerful (well-pleased) acceptance of the sacrifice, or rather of the feelings of the worshipper presenting the sacrifice, which ascend to God in the sacrificial odour (see the comm. on Gen. viii. 21). The thought therefore is the following: When God shall eventually gather His people out of their dispersion, He will accept them as a sacrifice well-pleasing to Him, and direct all His good pleasure towards them. וְנִקְדַּשְׁתִּי does not mean, I shall be sanctified through you, and is not to be explained in the same sense as Lev. xxii. 32 (Rosenmüller), for ב is not equivalent to בְּתוֹךְ; but it signifies "I will sanctify myself on you," as in Num. xx. 13, Lev. x. 3, and other passages, where נִקְדַּשׁ is construed with ב *pers.* (cf. Ezek. xxviii. 25, xxxvi. 23, xxxviii. 16, xxxix. 27), in the sense of proving oneself holy, mostly by judgment, but here through having made Israel into a holy nation by the refining judgment, and one to which He can therefore grant the promised inheritance.—Vers. 42 sqq. Then will Israel also recognise its God in His grace, and be ashamed of its former sins. For ver. 43, compare ch. vi. 9 and xvi. 61.—With regard to the fulfilment, as Kliefoth has correctly observed, "in the predic-

tion contained in vers. 32-38, the whole of the searching judgments, by which God would lead Israel to conversion, are summed up in one, which includes not only the Babylonian captivity, the nearest and the first, but the still more remote judgment, namely, the present dispersion; for it is only in the present dispersion of Israel that God has really taken it into the wilderness of the nations, just as it was only in the rejection of Christ that its rebellious attitude was fully manifested. And as the prophecy of the state of punishment combines in this way both the nearer and more remote; so are both the nearer and more distant combined in what vers. 40 to 44 affirm with regard to the ultimate fate of Israel." The gathering of Israel from among the heathen will be fulfilled in its conversion to Christ, and hitherto it has only taken place in very small beginnings. The principal fulfilment is still to come, when Israel, as a nation, shall be converted to Christ. With regard to the bringing back of the people into "the land of Israel," see the comm. on ch. xxxvii., where this promise is more fully expanded.

CHAP. XX. 45 TO CHAP. XXI. 32 (HEB. CHAP. XXI.¹). PRO-
PHECY OF THE BURNING FOREST AND THE SWORD OF
THE LORD.

A fire kindled by the Lord will burn the forest of the south (ch. xx. 45-48). This figurative announcement is explained in what follows, in order that the divine threat may make an impression upon the people (ver. 49). The Lord will draw His sword from its scabbard, and cut off from Jerusalem and the land of Israel both righteous and wicked (ch. xxi. 1-17); that is to say, the king of Babylon will draw his sword against

¹ In the Hebrew Bible the previous chapter closes at ver. 44, and ch. xxi. commences there. Keil has adhered to this division of chapters; but for the sake of convenience we have followed the arrangement adopted in the English authorized version.—Tr.

Jerusalem and the sons of Ammon, and will, first of all, put an end to the kingdom of Judah, and then destroy the Ammonites (vers. 18-32). The prophecy divides itself accordingly into three parts: viz. (1) the prediction of the destruction of the kingdom of Judah; (2) the explanation of this prediction by the threat that the sword of the Lord will smite all the inhabitants of Judah, which threat is divisible into three sections, ch. xxi. 1-7, 8-13, and 14-17; (3) the application of what is said with regard to the sword to Nebuchadnezzar's expedition against Jerusalem and the Ammonites, which may also be divided into three sections,—viz. (a) the general announcement of Nebuchadnezzar's design (vers. 18-23) and its execution; (b) by his expedition against Jerusalem, to destroy the kingdom of Judah (vers. 24-27); and (c) by his expedition against the Ammonites (vers. 28-32).—The first four or five verses are taken by many in connection with chap. xx.; and Kliefoth still maintains that they should be separated from what follows, and attached to that chapter as a second word of God. But neither ch. xx. 49 nor the formula in ch. xxi. 1, "the word of Jehovah came to me," warrants our separating the parabolic prediction in ch. xx. 45-48 from the interpretation in vers. 1-17. And the third part is also connected with what precedes, so as to form one single discourse, by the allusion to the sword in vers. 19 and 28, and by the fact that the figure of the fire is resumed in vers. 31 and 32. And there is all the less ground for taking the formula, "and the word of Jehovah came to me," as determining the division of the several portions in this particular instance, from the circumstance that the section (vers. 1-17) in which it occurs both at the commencement and in the middle (vers. 1 and 8), is obviously divided into the minor sections or turns by the threefold occurrence of the verb *וַיִּבְרַח* ("and prophesy: vers. 2, 9, and 14).

Chap. xx. 45-49. The burning forest.—Ver. 45. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 46. *Son of man, direct thy face toward the south, and trickle down towards the south,*

and prophesy concerning the forest of the field in the south land ; Ver. 47. And say to the forest of the south land, Hear the word of Jehovah ; Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I kindle a fire in thee, which will consume in thee every green tree, and every dry tree : the blazing flame will not be extinguished, and all faces from the south to the north will be burned thereby. Ver. 48. And all flesh shall see that I, Jehovah, have kindled it : it shall not be extinguished. Ver. 49. And I said, Ah, Lord Jehovah ! they say of me, Does he not speak in parables ?—The prophet is to turn his face toward the south, and prophesy concerning the forest of the field there. הַטִּיף is used for prophesying, as in Amos vii. 16 and Mic. ii. 6, 11. The distinction between the three epithets applied to the south is the following: תִּימָן is literally that which lies on the right hand, hence the south is a particular quarter of the heavens; דְּרוֹם, which only occurs in Ezekiel and Ecclesiastes, with the exception of Deut. xxxiii. 23 and Job xxxvii. 17, is derived from דָּרַר, to shine or emit streams of light, and probably signifies the brilliant quarter ; נֶגֶב, the dry, parched land, is a standing epithet for the southern district of Palestine and the land of Judah (see the comm. on Josh. xv. 21).—The forest of the field in the south is a figure denoting the kingdom of Judah (נֶגֶב is in apposition to הַשָּׂדֶה, and is appended to it as a more precise definition). שָׂדֶה is not used here for a field, as distinguished from a city or a garden ; but for the fields in the sense of country or territory, as in Gen. xiv. 7 and xxxii. 3. In ver. 47, יַעַר הַנֶּגֶב, forest of the south land, is the expression applied to the same object (הַנֶּגֶב, with the article, is a geographical term for the southern portion of Palestine). The forest is a figure signifying the population, or the mass of people. Individual men are trees. The green tree is a figurative representation of the righteous man, and the dry tree of the ungodly (ver. 3, compare Luke xxiii. 31). The fire which Jehovah kindles is the fire of war. The combination of the synonyms לִהְיוֹת שֶׁלִּהְיוֹת, flame of the flaming brightness, serves to strengthen the expression, and is equiva-

lent to the strongest possible flame, the blazing fire. כָּל-פָּנִים, all faces are not human faces or persons, in which case the prophet would have dropped the figure; but *pānim* denotes generally the outside of things, which is the first to feel the force of the flame. "All the faces" of the forest are every single thing in the forest, which is caught at once by the flame. In ver. 4, *kōl-pānim* (all faces) is interpreted by *kōl-bāsar* (all flesh). From south to north, *i.e.* through the whole length of the land. From the terrible fierceness of the fire, which cannot be extinguished, every one will know that God has kindled it, that it has been sent in judgment. The words of the prophet himself, in ch. xx. 49, presuppose that he has uttered these parabolic words in the hearing of the people, and that they have ridiculed them as obscure (*māshāl* is used here in the sense of obscure language, words difficult to understand, as παραβολή also is in Matt. xiii. 10). At the same time, it contains within itself a request that they may be explained. This request is granted; and the simile is first of all interpreted in ch. xxi. 1-7, and then still further expanded in vers. 8 sqq.

Chap. xxi. 1-7. The sword of the Lord and its disastrous effects.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, set thy face toward Jerusalem, and trickle over the holy places, and prophesy over the land of Israel,* Ver. 3. *And say to the land of Israel, Thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with thee, and will draw my sword out of its scabbard, and cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked.* Ver. 4. *Because I will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked, therefore shall my sword go forth from its scabbard against all flesh from south to north.* Ver. 5. *And all flesh shall know that I, Jehovah, have drawn my sword out of its scabbard: it shall not return again.* Ver. 6. *And thou, son of man, sigh! so that the hips break; and with bitter pain sigh before their eyes!* Ver. 7. *And when they say to thee, Wherefore dost thou sigh? say, Because of a report that it is coming; and every heart will sink, and all hands become powerless, and every*

spirit will become dull, and all knees turn into water: Behold, it cometh, and will happen, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—In the preceding parable, the expression “forest of the field in the south,” or “forest of the south-land,” was enigmatical. This is explained to signify Jerusalem with its holy places (מִקְדָּשִׁים, see comm. on ch. vii. 24), and the land of Israel, *i.e.* the kingdom of Judah. In accordance with this, the fire kindled by the Lord is interpreted as being the sword of the Lord. It is true that this is a figurative expression; but it is commonly used for war, which brings with it devastation and death, and would be generally intelligible. The sword will cut off both righteous and wicked. This applies to the outer side of the judgment, inasmuch as both good and bad fall in war. This is the only aspect brought into prominence here, since the great purpose was to alarm the sinners, who were boasting of their security; but the distinction between the two, as described in ch. ix. 4 sqq., is not therefore to be regarded as no longer existing. This sword will not return, *sc.* into the scabbard, till it has accomplished the result predicted in ver. 3 (cf. 2 Sam. i. 22; Isa. lv. 11). As Tremellius has aptly observed upon this passage, “the last slaughter is contrasted with the former ones, in which, after the people had been chastened for a time, the sword was returned to its scabbard again.” In order to depict the terrors of this judgment before the eyes of the people, the prophet is commanded to groan before their eyes in the most painful way possible (vers. 6 sqq.). בְּשִׁבְרוֹן מְתִינִים, with breaking of the hips, *i.e.* with pain sufficient to break the hips, the seat of strength in man (compare Nah. ii. 11; Isa. xxi. 3). מְרִירוֹת, bitterness, *i.e.* bitter anguish. The reason which he is to assign to the questioners for this sighing is “on account of the report that is coming,”—an *antiptosis* for “on account of the coming report” (cf. Gen. i. 4, etc.). The report comes when the substance of it is realized. The reference is to the report of the sword of the Lord,—that is to say, of the approach of the Chaldeans to destroy Jerusalem and the kingdom of

Judah. The impression which this disclosure will make upon the hearers will be perfectly paralyzing (ver. 7b). All courage and strength for offering resistance will be crippled and broken. בְּהִתָּה קְלִירָתָהּ נִמָּס כָּל־לֵב (cf. Nah. ii. 11) is strengthened by רָפוּ כָּל־יָדָיו (cf. ch. vii. 17). The threat is strengthened by the words, "behold, it cometh, and will take place." The subject is שְׂמוּעָה, the report, *i.e.* the substance of the report.—This threat is more fully expanded in vers. 8-17; vers. 8-13 corresponding to vers. 1-5, and vers. 14-17 to vers. 6, 7.

Vers. 8-17. The sword is sharpened for slaying.—Ver. 8. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 9. *Son of man, prophesy, and say, Thus saith Jehovah, A sword, a sword sharpened and also polished:* Ver. 10. *That it may effect a slaughter is it sharpened; that it may flash is it polished: or shall we rejoice (saying), the sceptre of my son despiseth all wood?* Ver. 11. *But it has been given to be polished, to take it in the hand; it is sharpened, the sword, and it is polished, to give it into the hand of the slayer.* Ver. 12. *Cry and howl, son of man, for it goeth over my people, it goeth over all the princes of Israel: they have fallen by the sword along with my people: therefore smite upon the thigh.* Ver. 13. *For the trial is made, and what if the despising sceptre shall not come? is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 14. *And thou, son of man, prophesy and smite the hands together, and the sword shall double itself into threefold, the sword of the pierced: it is the sword of a pierced one, of the great one, which encircles them.* Ver. 15. *That the heart may be dissolved, and stumbling-blocks may be multiplied, I have set the drawing of the sword against all their gates: Alas! it is made into flashing, drawn for slaying.* Ver. 16. *Gather thyself up to the right hand, turn to the left, whithersoever thine edge is intended.* Ver. 17. *And I also will smite my hands together, and quiet my wrath: I, Jehovah, have spoken it.*—The description of the sword is thrown into a lyrical

form (vers. 8-13),—a kind of sword-song, commemorating the terrible devastation to be effected by the sword of the Lord. The repetition of *הָרַב* in ver. 9 is emphatic. *הוֹדָרָהּ* is the perfect *Hophal* of *הָרַד*, to sharpen. *מְרוֹטָהּ* is the passive participle of *מָרַט*, to polish; *מְרֻטָהּ* (ver. 10), the participle *Pual*, with *ט* dropped, and *Dagesh euphon.* *הִיָּה*, a rare form of the infinitive *הָיָה*. The polishing gives to the sword a flashing brilliancy, which renders the sharpness of its edge still more terrible. The very obscure words, *אֲנִי נִשְׁיֵשׁ וְגו'*, I agree with Schmieder and Kliefoth in regarding as a protest, interposed by the propbet in the name of the people against the divine threat of the sword of vengeance, on the ground of the promises which had been given to the tribe of Judah. *אֲנִי*, or perhaps; introducing an opposite case, or an exception to what has been said. The words *שֶׁבֶט בְּנֵי וְגו'* are to be taken as an objection, so that *לֹא־מִן* is to be supplied in thought. The objection is taken from the promise given in Jacob's blessing to the tribe of Judah: "the sceptre will not depart from Judah" (Gen. xlix. 10). *שֶׁבֶט בְּנֵי* points unquestionably to this. *בְּנֵי* is taken from ver. 9, where the patriarch addresses Judah, whom he compares to a young lion, as *בְּנֵי*. Consequently the sceptre of my son is the command which the patriarch holds out to view before the tribe of Judah. This sceptre despises all wood, *i.e.* every other ruler's staff, as bad wood. This view is not rendered a doubtful one by the fact that *שֶׁבֶט* is construed as a feminine here, whereas it is construed as a masculine in every other case; for this construction is unquestionable in ver. 7 (12), and has many analogies in its favour. All the other explanations that have been proposed are hardly worth mentioning, to say nothing of refuting, as they amount to nothing more than arbitrary conjectures; whereas the assumption that the words are to be explained from Gen. xlix. 10 is naturally suggested by the unquestionable allusion to the prophecy in that passage, which we find in ver. 27 of the present chapter. *יָיָן* in ver. 11 is to be taken adversatively, "but he gave it (the sword) to be

sharpened." The subject to **יִהְיֶה** is not Jehovah, but is indefinite, "one" (*man*, *Angl.* they), although it is actually God who has prepared the sword for the slaughter of Israel. The train of thought is the following: Do not think we have no reason to fear the sharply-ground sword of Jehovah, because Judah has received the promise that the sceptre shall not depart from it; and this promise will certainly be fulfilled, and Judah be victorious over every hostile power. The promise will not help you in this instance. The sword is given to be ground, not that it may be put into the scabbard, but that it may be taken in the hand by a slayer, and smite all the people and all its princes. In the phrase **הִיא הַחֶרֶב הָרֶבֶב**, **הִיא** is in apposition to the subject **הִיא**, and is introduced to give emphasis to the words. It is not till ver. 19 that it is stated who the slayer is; but the hearers of the prophecy could be in no doubt. Consequently—this is the connection with ver. 12—there is no ground for rejoicing from a feeling of security and pride, but rather an occasion for painful lamentation. This is the meaning contained in the command to the prophet to cry and howl. For the sword will come upon the nation and its princes. It is the simplest rendering to take **הִיא** as referring to **הִיא**, **הִיא**, to be at a person, to fasten to him, to come upon him, as in 1 Sam. xxiv. 14; 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. **מִגִּנְיָ**, not from **גִּנְיָ**, but the passive participle of **גִּנַּ** in the *Pual*, to overthrow, cast down (Ps. lxxxix. 45): "fallen by the sword have they (the princes) become, along with my people." The perfects are prophetic, representing that which will speedily take place as having already occurred.—Smiting upon the thigh is a sign of alarm and horror (Jer. xxxi. 19). **בָּחַן**, perfect *Pual*, is used impersonally: the trial is made. The words allude to the victories gained already by Nebuchadnezzar, which have furnished tests of the sharpness of his sword. The question which follows **וְיָמָה** contains an *aposiopesis*: and what? Even if the despising sceptre shall not come, what will be the case then? **שֶׁבֶט מִצָּחָת**, according to ver. 10, is the sceptre of

Judah, which despises all other sceptres as bad wood. **יְהִיָּה**, in this instance, is not "to be," in the sense of to remain, but to become, to happen, to come (come to pass), to enter. The meaning is, if the sceptre of Judah shall not display, or prove itself to possess, the strength expected of it.—With ver. 14 the address takes a new start, for the purpose of depicting still further the operations of the sword. Smiting the hands together (smiting hand in hand) is a gesture expressive of violent emotion (cf. ch. vi. 11; Num. xxiv. 10). The sword is to double, *i.e.* multiply itself, into threefold (**שְׁלֹשָׁתָּהּ**, adverbial), namely, in its strength, or its edge. Of course this is not to be taken arithmetically, as it has been by Hitzig, but is a bold paradoxical statement concerning the terrible effect produced by the sword. It is not even to be understood as referring to three attacks made at different times by the Chaldeans upon Jerusalem, as many of the commentators suppose. The sword is called **הַחֶרֶב הַלְלֵים**, sword of pierced ones, because it produces the pierced or slain. The following words are rendered by Hitzig and Kliefoth: the great sword of the slain. But apart from the tautology which this occasions, the rendering can hardly be defended on grammatical grounds. For, in the first place, we cannot see why the singular **חֶרֶב** should have been chosen, when the expression was repeated, instead of the plural **חֶרֶבִּים**; and secondly, **הַגִּבּוֹר** cannot be an adjective agreeing with **הַחֶרֶב**, for **חֶרֶב** is a noun of the feminine gender, and is construed here as a feminine, as **הַחֶרֶבֶת** clearly shows. **הַגִּבּוֹר** is in apposition to **חֶרֶב**, "sword of a pierced man, the great one;" and the great man pierced is the king, as Ewald admits, in agreement with Hengstenberg and Hävernick. The words therefore affirm that the sword will not only slay the mass of the people, but pierce the king himself. (See also the comm. on ver. 25).—Ver. 15a is not dependent upon what precedes, but introduces a new thought, viz. for what purpose the sword is sharpened. God has placed the flashing sword before all the gates of the Israelites, in order that (**לְמַעַן**, pleonastic for **לְמַעַן**) the heart

may dissolve, the inhabitants may lose all their courage for defence, and to multiply *offendicula*, i.e. occasions to fall by the sword. The *אפ. לע. אבךח* signifies the rapid motion or turning about of the sword (cf. Gen. iii. 24); *אבך*, related to *הפך*, in the *Mishna* *אפך*. The *אפ. לע. מעטף*, fem. of *מעטף*, does not mean smooth, i.e. sharpened, synonymous with *קרט*, but, according to the Arabic *عذب*, *eduxit e vagina gladium*, drawn (from the scabbard). In ver. 16 the sword is addressed, and commanded to smite right and left. *התאחרי*, gather thyself up, i.e. turn with all thy might toward the right (Tanchum). To the verb *השימו* it is easy to supply *פניך*, from the context, “direct thine edge toward the left.” *אנה*, whither, without an interrogative, as in Josh. ii. 5 and Neh. ii. 16. *מערוך*, from *ערוך*, intended, ordered; not, directed, turned. The feminine form may be accounted for from a construction *ad sensum*, the gender regulating itself according to the *הרב* addressed in *פניך*. The command to the sword is strengthened by the explanation given by Jehovah in ver. 17, that He also (like the prophet, ver. 14) will smite His hands together and cool His wrath upon them (cf. ch. v. 13).

Vers. 18–22. The sword of the king of Babylon will smite Jerusalem, and then the Ammonites also.—Ver. 18. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 19. *And thou, son of man, make to thyself two ways, that the sword of the king of Babylon may come by them; out of one land shall they both come forth, and draw a hand, at the cross road of the city do thou draw it.* Ver. 20. *Make a way that the sword may come to Rabbah of the sons of Ammon, and to Judah into fortified Jerusalem.* Ver. 21. *For the king of Babylon is stopping at the cross road, at the parting of the two ways, to practise divination. He is shaking the arrows, inquiring of the teraphim, looking at the liver.* Ver. 22. *The divination falls to his right: Jerusalem, to set battering-rams, to open the mouth with a death-cry, to lift up the voice with a war-cry, to set battering-rams at the gates, to heap up a rampart, to build siege towers.*—After the picture of the terrible devas-

tation which the sword of the Lord will produce, the last word of God in this prophecy answers the questions, in whose hand Jehovah will place His sword, and whom it will smite. The slayer into whose hand the sharpened sword is given (ver. 11) is the king of Babylon, and it will smite not only Judah, but the Ammonites also. Jerusalem and Judah will be the first to fall, and then the arch-enemy of the covenant nation, namely Ammon, will succumb to the strokes of the sword of Jehovah, in order that the embittered enemies of the Lord and His people may learn that the fall of Jerusalem is not, as they fancy, a proof of the impotence, but rather of the omnipotence, of its God. In this way does our prophecy expand into a prediction of the judgment which will fall upon the whole of the world in hostility to God. For it is only as the arch-enemies of the kingdom of God that the Ammonites come into consideration here. The parallel between Israel and the sons of Ammon is carried out in such a way as to give constant prominence to the distinction between them. Jerusalem will fall, the ancient theocracy will be destroyed till he shall come who will restore the right (vers. 26 and 27). Ammon, on the other hand, will perish, and not a trace be left (vers. 31, 32).—This prediction is exhibited to the eye by means of a sign. The prophet is to make two ways, *i.e.* to prepare a sketch representing a road leading from a country, *viz.* Babylon, and dividing at a certain spot into two roads, one of which leads to Rabbath-Ammon, the capital of the kingdom of the Ammonites, the other to Judah, into Jerusalem. He is to draw the ways for the coming (לְבֹאֵי) of the sword of the king of Babylon. At the fork of the road he is to engrave a hand, יָד, *i.e.* an index. כָּרַת signifies in the *Piel* to cut away (Josh. xvii. 15, 18), to dig or hew (Ezek. xxiii. 47), here to engrave written characters in hard material. The selection of this word shows that Ezekiel was to sketch the ways upon some hard material, probably a brick or tile (cf. ch. iv. 1). יָד does not mean *locus spatium*, but a hand, *i.e.* an index. רֹאשׁ הַדֶּרֶךְ, the beginning of the road, *i.e.*

the fork of the road (ch. xvi. 25), is explained in ver. 21, where it is called **אִם הַדֶּרֶךְ**, mother of the road, inasmuch as the roads start from the point of separation, and **רֹאשׁ שְׁנֵי הַדֶּרֶכִּים**, beginning of the two roads. **דֶּרֶךְ עִיר**, the road to a city. For *Rab-bath-Ammon*, which is preserved in the ruins of *Ammân*, on the Upper Jabbok (*Nahr Ammân*), see the comm. on Deut. iii. 11. The road to Judah is still more precisely defined by **בְּיְרוּשָׁלַם**, into fortified Jerusalem, because the conquest of Jerusalem was the purpose of Nebuchadnezzar's expedition. The omission of the article before **בְּעִצְרָה** may be explained from the nature of the participle, in which, even in prose, the article may be left out after a definite noun (cf. Ewald, § 335a). The drawing is explained in vers. 21 and 22. The king of Babylon is halting (**עָמַד**, to stand still, stop) to consult his oracles, and inquire which of the two roads he is to take. **קָחָם קָחָם**, to take in hand, or practise divination. In order that he may proceed safely, he avails himself of all the means of divination at his command. He shakes the arrows (more strictly, the quiver with the arrows). On the practice itself Jerome writes as follows: "He consults the oracle according to the custom of his nation, putting his arrows into a quiver, and mixing them together, with the names of individuals inscribed or stamped upon them, to see whose arrow will come out, and which state shall be first attacked."¹ He consults the *Teraphim*, or Penates, worshipped as oracular deities and gods of good fortune (see the comm. on Gen. xxxi. 19 and my *Biblical Archaeology*, § 90). Nothing is known concerning the way in which these deities were consulted and gave their oracles. He examines the liver. The practice of *ῥπατο-*

¹ The arrow-lot (*Belomantie*) of the ancient Greeks (Homer, *Il.* iii. 324, vii. 182, 183) was similar to this; also that of the ancient Arabs (*vid.* Pococke, *Specim. hist. Arab.* pp. 327 sqq., and the passages from Nuweiri quoted by Reiske, *Samml. einiger Arab. Sprichwörter von den Stecken oder Stäben*, p. 21). Another kind, in which the lot was obtained by shooting off the arrows, was common according to the *Fihrist el Ulum* of En-Nedim among the Hananian Ssabians (see Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, ii. pp. 26 and 119, 200).

σκοπία, *extispicium*, in which signs of good or bad luck, of the success or failure of any enterprise, were obtained from the peculiar condition of the liver of the sacrificial animals, was a species of divination to which great importance was attached by both the Babylonians (*vid.* Diod. Sic. ii. 29) and the Romans (Cicero, *de divin.* vi. 13), and of which traces were found, according to *Barhebr. Chron.* p. 125, as late as the eighth century of the Christian era among the Ssabians of Haran.—The divination resulted in a decision for Jerusalem. הָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ הָיָה is not to be translated “in his right hand was,” but “into his right hand there came.” הָיָה: ἐγένετο (LXX.), נָפִיל (Chald.), קָסָם, does not mean lot (Ges.), but soothsaying, divination. יְרֻשָּׁלַם is connected with this in the form of a noun in apposition: the divination which indicated Jerusalem. The right hand is the more important of the two. The meaning of the words cannot be more precisely defined, because we are not acquainted with the kind of divination referred to; even if we were to take the words as simply relating to the arrow in this sense, that an arrow with the inscription “Jerusalem” came into his right hand, and thus furnished the decision, which was afterwards confirmed by consulting the Teraphim and examining the liver. But the circumstance itself, that is to say, the fact that the divination coincided with the purpose of God, must not be taken, as Hävernicks supposes, as suggesting a point of contact between Hebraism and the soothsaying of heathenism, which was peculiar to Ezekiel or to the time of the captivity. All that is proved by this fact is, that even heathenism is subject to the rule and guidance of Almighty God, and is made subservient to the accomplishment of the plans of both His kingdom and His salvation. In the words, to set battering rams, etc., the substance of the oracle obtained by Nebuchadnezzar is more minutely given. It is a double one, showing what he is to do: viz. (1) to set battering rams, *i.e.* to proceed to the siege of Jerusalem, as still further described in the last portion of the verse (ch. iv. 2); and (2) to raise the war-cry for storming the

city, that is to say, to take it by storm. The two clauses 'לְפָתוֹת וּגְו' and 'לְהָרִים וּגְו' are synonymous; they are not "pure tautology," however, as Hitzig affirms, but are chosen for the purpose of giving greater emphasis to the thought. The expression בְּרִצָּה creates some difficulty, inasmuch as the phrase "*ut aperiat os in caede*" (Vulg.), to open the mouth in murder or ruin, *i.e.* to put to death or lay in ruins, is a very striking one, and could hardly be justified as an "energetic expression for the battle-cry" (Hävernicks). ב does not mean "to," and cannot indicate the intention, all the less because בְּרִצָּה is parallel to בְּתִרְעָה, where תִּרְעָה is that in which the raising of the voice expresses itself. There is nothing left then but to take רִצָּה in the sense of field- or war-cry, and to derive this meaning either from רִצָּה or, *per metathesis*, from צָרַח.

Vers. 23-27. This announcement will appear to the Judaeans, indeed, to be a deceptive divination, but nevertheless it will be verified.—Ver. 23. *And it is like deceptive divination in their eyes; sacred oaths are theirs (lit. to them); but he brings the iniquity to remembrance, that they may be taken.* Ver. 24. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because ye bring your iniquity to remembrance, in that your offences are made manifest, so that your sins appear in all your deeds, because ye are remembered ye shall be taken with the hand.* Ver. 25. *And thou pierced one, sinner, prince of Israel, whose day is come at the time of the final transgression,* Ver. 26. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, The turban will be removed, the crown taken off. This is not this; the low will be lifted up, and the lofty lowered.* Ver. 27. *Overthrown, overthrown, overthrown will I make it; even this shall not be, till He cometh, to whom is the right, to Him do I give it.*—In ver. 23 (28), לָהֶם, which is more precisely defined by בְּעֵינֵיהֶם, refers to the Israelites, *i.e.* the Judaeans. This also applies to the following לָהֶם, which cannot possibly be taken as referring to a different subject, say, for example, the Chaldeans. It is evident, therefore, that it is impossible to sustain the rendering given in Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (s.v.) to the obscure words שְׂבָעִי שְׂבָעוֹת, viz. *qui juramenta*

jurarunt eis (*sc.* Chaldaeis), which Maurer has modified and expounded thus: "they will not fear these auguries; they will swear oaths to them (the Chaldeans), that is to say, according to their usual custom, these truce-breakers will take fresh oaths, hoping that the Chaldeans will be conciliated thereby." Moreover, the thought itself is an unsuitable one, inasmuch as "the defiant attitude of confidence with which they looked such awfully threatening danger in the face must have had some other ground than a reliance upon false oaths and Chaldean credulity" (Hävernicks). The common explanation, which Rosenmüller and Kliefoth uphold, is, "because the Chaldeans are sworn allies, sworn confederates of theirs;" or as Kliefoth explains it, "on account of the oath of fealty or vassalage sworn by Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar, they have sworn confederates in the Chaldeans, and relying upon this, they are confident that they have no hostile attack to fear from them." But this is altogether untenable, not only because it is perfectly arbitrary to supply "the Chaldeans," but still more for the reason adduced by Maurer. "How," he justly asks, "could the Judaeans despise these auguries *because* the Chaldeans were bound to them by an oath when they themselves had broken faith? When a treaty has been violated by one party, is not the other released from his oath?" We therefore adopt the same explanation as Hävernicks: "oaths of oaths are theirs (to them), *i.e.* the most sacred oaths are (made) to them, namely, by God." They rely upon that which God has solemnly sworn to them, without considering upon what this promise was conditional, namely, upon a faithful observance on their part of the commandments of God. For the fact itself, compare ch. xx. 42, and such passages as Ps. cv. 9 sqq., etc. The form שָׁבַעַי by the side of שְׁבַעוֹת may be explained in a very simple way from the relation of the construct state, *i.e.* from the endeavour to secure an obvious form for the construct state, and cannot in any case furnish a well-founded argument against the correctness of our explanation. As Ezekiel uses נִפְשֵׁי for נִפְשֹׁת in ch.

xiii. 20, he may also have formed שְׁבָעִים (שְׁבַע) by the side of שְׁבַעֲנוֹת.—As they rely upon the promises of God without reflecting upon their own breach of covenant, God will bring their sin to remembrance through His judgment. יְהוָה is Jehovah, upon whose oaths they rely. עֵן must not be restricted to Zedekiah's breach of covenant, since ver. 24 clearly shows that it is the wrong-doing of Judah generally. לְהַתְּפִישׁ in ver. 24 (29) is also to be understood of the whole nation, which is to be taken and punished by the king of Babylon. For ver. 24 (29) introduces the reason for the statement made in the last clause of ver. 23 (28). God must put the people in remembrance of their iniquity by inflicting punishment, because they have called it to remembrance by sins committed without any shame, and thereby have, so to speak, compelled God to remember them, and to cause the sinners to be grasped by the hand of the slayer. הַקִּיֵּר עֵן is used in ver. 24 (29) in a different sense from ver. 23 (28), and is therefore explained by בְּהַזְלֹת וְגו' בַּבֶּרֶךְ, which is indefinite in itself, points back to יָד הוֹרֵג in ver. 11 (16), and receives from that its more exact definition.

With ver. 25 the address turns to the chief sinner, the godless King Zedekiah, who was bringing the judgment of destruction upon the kingdom by his faithless breach of oath. The words חָלַל, רָשַׁע, and נִשְׂיָא יֵשׁ are *asyndeta*, co-ordinate to one another. חָלַל does not mean profane or infamous (βέβηλες, LXX.), but simply pierced, slain. This meaning is to be retained here. This is demanded not only by the fixed usage of the language, but also by the relation in which חָלַל stands both to ver. 14 and to חָלַלִי רָשָׁעִים in ver. 29 (34). It is true that Zedekiah was not pierced by the sword either at that time or afterwards, but was simply blinded and led in captivity to Babylon, where he died. But all that follows from this is, that חָלַל is used here in a figurative sense, given up to the sword, *i.e.* to death; and Zedekiah is so designated for the purpose of announcing in a more energetic manner the certainty of his fate. The selection of the term חָלַל is the more natural, because

throughout the whole prophecy the description of the judgment takes its character from the figure of the sword of Jehovah. As God does not literally wield a sword, so לחב is no proof of actual slaying with the sword. ימי, his day, is the day of his destruction (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 10), or of the judgment upon him. The time of the final transgression is not the time when the transgression reaches its end, *i.e.* its completion, but the time when the wickedness brings the end, *i.e.* destruction (cf. ch. xxxv. 5, and for יָד in this sense, ch. vii. 2, 3). The fact that the end, the destruction, is come, *i.e.* is close at hand, is announced in ver. 26 to the prince, and in his person to the whole nation. If we understand the connection in this way, which is naturally suggested by ver. 25*b*, we get rid of the objection, which led Kliefoth to question the fact that it is the king who is addressed in ver. 25*a*, and to take the words as collective, "ye slaughtered sinners, princes of Israel," and to understand them as referring to the entire body of rulers, including the priests,—an explanation that is completely upset by the words אַתָּה . . . הַמֶּלֶךְ (thou . . . prince), which are so entirely opposed to the collective view. Again, the remark that "what follows in ver. 26, viz. the statement to be made to the אַתָּה, has really nothing to do with him, since the sweeping away of the priesthood did not affect Zedekiah personally" (Kliefoth), is neither correct nor conclusive. For ver. 26 contains an announcement not only of the abrogation of the priesthood, but also of the destruction of the kingdom, which did affect Zedekiah both directly and personally. Moreover, we must not isolate the king addressed, even as an individual, from the position which he occupied, or, at any rate, which he ought to have occupied as a theocratic monarch, so as to be able to say that the abrogation of the priesthood did not affect him. The priesthood was one of the fundamental pillars of the theocracy, the removal of which would necessarily be followed by the collapse of the divine state, and therefore by the destruction of the monarchy. Hence it is that the abolition of the priesthood is mentioned

first. The infinitives absolute (not imperatives) הָסִיר and הָרִים are selected for the purpose of expressing the truth in the most emphatic manner; and the verbs are synonymous. הָרִים, to lift up, *i.e.* not to elevate, but to take away, to abolish, as in Isa. lvii. 14; Dan. viii. 11. מְצַנֶּפֶת does not mean the royal diadem, like צִנִּיף in Isa. lxii. 3, but the tiara of the high priest, as it does in every instance in the Pentateuch, from which Ezekiel has taken the word. הַעֲטָרָה, the king's crown. The diadem of the priest and the regal crown are the insignia of the offices of high priest and king; and consequently their removal is the abolition of both high-priesthood and monarchy. These words contain the sentence of death upon the theocracy, of which the Aaronic priesthood and the Davidic monarchy constituted the foundations.—They predict not merely a temporary, but a complete abolition of both offices and dignities; and their fulfilment took place when the kingdom of Judah was destroyed by the king of Babylon. The earthly sovereignty of the house of David was not restored again after the captivity; and the high-priesthood of the restoration, like the second temple, was only a shadowy outline of the glory and essential features of the high-priesthood of Aaron. As the ark with the Shechinah, or the gracious presence of God, was wanting in the temple of Zerubbabel; so were the Urim and Thummim wanting to the high-priesthood, and these were the only means by which the high priest could really carry out the mediation between the Lord and the people. זֶה לֹא זֶה (this is not this) does not refer to the tiara (mitre) and crown. זֶה is neuter, and therefore construed with the masculine הִזֶּה. This (mitre and crown) will not be this (הִזֶּה is prophetic), *i.e.* it will not continue, it will be all over with it (Hävernicks, Maurer, and Kliefoth). To this there is appended the further thought, that a general inversion of things will take place. This is the meaning of the words—the low will be lifted up, and the lofty lowered. הִנָּבֵל and הִשְׁפִּיל are infinitives, and are chosen in the same sense as in the first hemistich. The form הִשְׁפִּילָה, with ה

without the tone, is masculine; the הָ־ probably serving merely to give greater fulness to the form, and to make it correspond more nearly to הִנְבִּיחַ.¹—This general thought is expressed still more definitely in ver. 27a. עֲנֶה, which is repeated twice to give greater emphasis to the thought, is a noun derived from עָנָה, inversion, overthrow; and the suffix in אֲשִׁימֹנָה points back to נֹאחַ in ver. 26 (31). This, the existing state, the high-priesthood and the monarchy, will I make into destruction, or utterly overthrow. But the following נֹאחַ cannot also refer to the tiara and crown, as Kliefoth supposes, on account of the נֹאחַ which precedes it. This shows that נֹאחַ relates to the thing last mentioned. Even this, the overthrow, shall have no durability; or, as Tanch. has correctly expressed it, *neque haec conditio erit durabilis*. The following עֲרִיבָא attaches itself not so much to this last clause as to the main thought: overthrow upon overthrow will ensue. The thought is this: “nowhere is there rest, nowhere security; all things are in a state of flux till the coming of the great Restorer and Prince of peace” (Hengstenberg). It is generally acknowledged that the words עֲרִיבָא עַרְבֵי אֲשֶׁר־לֹו הַמִּשְׁפָּט עַרְבֵי יְבוּא, Gen. xlix. 10, שִׁילָה; and it is only by a false interpretation of the preceding clauses, wrung from the words by an arbitrary alteration of the text, that Hitzig is able to set this connection aside. At

¹ Hitzig has given a most preposterous exposition of this verse. Taking the words הָקִיר and הָרִים as antithetical, in the sense of removing and exalting or sustaining in an exalted position, and regarding the clauses as questions signifying, “Shall the high-priesthood be abolished, and the real dignity, on the contrary, remain untouched?” he finds the answer to these questions in the words זֹאת לֹא זֹאת (this, not this). They contain, in his opinion, an affirmation of the former and a negation of the latter. But he does not tell us how זֹאת לֹא זֹאת without a verb can possibly mean, “the former (the abrogation of the high-priesthood) will take place, but the latter (the exaltation of the monarchy) will not occur.” And, finally, the last clause, “the low shall be lifted up,” etc., is said to contain simply a watchword, which is not for the time being to be followed by any result. Such trifling needs no refutation. We simply observe, therefore, that there is no ground for the assertion, that הָרִים without כֵּן cannot possibly signify to abolish.

the same time, **אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט** is of course not to be taken as a philological explanation of the word **שִׁלָּה**, but is simply a theological interpretation of the patriarchal prophecy, with direct reference to the predicted destruction of the existing relations in consequence of the ungodliness and unrighteousness of the leaders of the theocracy up to that time. **הַמִּשְׁפָּט** is not the rightful claim to the mitre and crown, but right in an objective sense, as belonging to God (Deut. i. 17), and entrusted by God to the earthly government as His representative. He then, to whom this right belongs, and to whom God will give it, is the Messiah, of whom the prophets from the times of David onwards have prophesied as the founder and restorer of perfect right on earth (cf. Ps. lxxii. ; Isa. ix. 6, xlii. 1 ; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 17). The suffix attached to **נִתְּנָיו** is not a dative, but an accusative, referring to **מִשְׁפָּט** (cf. Ps. lxxii. 1). There was no necessity to mention the person again to whom God would give the right, as He had already been designated in the previous expression **אֲשֶׁר לוֹ**.

Vers. 28-32. Overthrow of the Ammonites.—Ver. 28. *And thou, son of man, prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, concerning the sons of Ammon, and concerning their scorn, sword, sword, drawn to slay, polished, that it may devour, that it may flash !* Ver. 29. *While they prophesy deceit to thee, while they divine lying to thee, it shall lay thee by the necks of the sinners slain, whose day cometh at the time of the final transgression.* Ver. 30. *Put it in its scabbard again. At the place where thou wast created, in the land of thy birth will I judge thee,* Ver. 31. *And pour out my anger upon thee, kindle the fire of my wrath against thee, and give thee into the hand of foolish men, of smiths of destruction.* Ver. 32. *Thou shalt be for the fire to devour ; thy blood shall remain in the midst of the land ; thou shalt be remembered no more ; for I Jehovah have spoken it.*—As Judah in Jerusalem will fall by the sword of the king of Babylon, contrary to all expectation ; so will the Ammonites be punished for their scorn with utter extermination. **הָרָפָה** is

scorn at the overthrow of Israel (cf. ch. xxv. 3, 6, and Zeph. ii. 8). The sword is already drawn against them. פְּתוּחָהּ, taken out of the scabbard, as in Ps. xxxvii. 14. לְטֶבֶחַ is to be connected with פְּתוּחָהּ, notwithstanding the accents, and לְהַכִּיל with מְרוֹצָהּ. This is required by the correspondence of the clauses. הָכִיל is regarded as a derivative of כּוּל by Ewald and others, in the sense of *ad sustinendum*, according to capacity, i.e. as much as possible. But the adverbial rendering is opposed to the context, and cannot be sustained from ch. xxxiii. 32. Moreover, כּוּל, to contain, is applicable enough to goblets and other vessels, but not to a sword. Hitzig therefore explains it from the Arabic كَلَّ, to blunt (*sc.* the eyes), i.e. to blind. But this is open to the objection that the form הָכִיל points to the verb כּוּל rather than כָּלַל; and also to a still greater one,—namely, that there is nothing in the Hebrew usage to suggest the use of כָּלַל in such a sense as this, and even if it were used in the sense of blunting, it would be perfectly arbitrary to supply עֵינַיִם; and lastly, that even the flashing of the sword does not suggest the idea of blinding, but is intended to heighten the terror occasioned by the sharpness of the sword. We therefore adhere to the derivation of הָכִיל from אָכַל, and regard it as a defective form for הֶאֱכִיל, like הֶאֱמָרוּ for הֶאֱמָרוּ in 2 Sam. xix. 14, יָהֵל as syncopated form for יִאֱהֵל (Isa. xiii. 20), and יִתְחַזֵּק for יִתְאָחֶזֶק in 2 Sam. xx. 9; literally, to cause it to eat or devour, i.e. to make it fit for the work of devouring. לְמַעַן בָּרַק, literally, for the sake of the lightning (flash) that shall issue therefrom (cf. ver. 10).—In ver. 29 (34), לָתֵת (to lay, or place) is also dependent upon הֶרַב פְּתוּחָהּ, drawn to lay thee; so that the first half of the verse is inserted as a parenthesis, either to indicate the occasion for bringing the sword into the land (Hitzig), or to introduce an attendant circumstance, according to the sense in which the כּ in בְּחֻזּוֹת is taken. The parenthetical clause is understood by most of the commentators as referring to deceptive oracles of Ammonitish

soothsayers, which either determined the policy of Ammon, as Hitzig supposes (cf. Jer. xxvii. 9, 10), or inspired the Ammonites with confidence, that they had nothing to fear from the Chaldeans. Kliefoth, on the other hand, refers the words to the oracles consulted by Nebuchadnezzar, according to ver. 23. "These oracles, which directed the king not to march against the Ammonites, but against Jerusalem, proved themselves, according to ver. 29, to be deceptive prophesying to the Ammonites, inasmuch as they also afterwards fell by the sword; just as, according to ver. 23, they proved themselves to be genuine so far as the Israelites were concerned, inasmuch as they were really the first to be smitten." This view is a very plausible one, if it only answered in any degree to the words. But it is hard to believe that the words, "while it (one) prophesies falsehood to thee," are meant to be equivalent to "while its prophecy proves itself to be false to thee." Moreover, Nebuchadnezzar did not give the Ammonites any oracle, either false or true, by the circumstance that his divination at the cross-road led him to decide in favour of the march to Jerusalem; for all that he did in consequence was to postpone his designs upon the Ammonites, but not to relinquish them. We cannot understand the words in any other sense, therefore, than as relating to oracles, which the Ammonites received from soothsayers of their own.—Hitzig takes offence at the expression, "that it (the sword) may lay thee by (to) the necks of the sinners slain," because *colla* cannot stand for *corpora decollata*, and consequently proposes to alter אֹתָהּ into אֹתָהֶם, to put it (the sword) to the necks. But by this conjecture he gets the not less striking thought, that the sword was to be put to the necks of those already slain; a thing which would be perfectly unmeaning, and is therefore not generally done. The sinners slain are the Judaeans who have fallen. The words point back to ver. 25, the second half of which is repeated here, and predict the same fate to the Ammonites. It is easy to supply הָרֶבֶץ to הִשָּׁב אֶל-תַּעֲרָהּ: put the sword into its scabbard

again. These words can only be addressed to the Ammonites ; not to the Chaldeans, as Kliefoth imagines, for the latter does not harmonize in any way with what follows, viz. in the place of thy birth will I judge thee. God does not execute the judgment independently of the Chaldeans, but through the medium of their sword. The difficulties occasioned by taking the words as referring to the Ammonites are not so great as to necessitate an alteration of the text (Hitzig), or to call for the arbitrary explanation : put it now or for the present into the scabbard (Kliefoth). The use of the masculine *הַשֵּׁב* (with *Patach* for *הַשֵּׁב*, as in Isa. xlii. 22), if Ammon is addressed by the side of the feminine *אִתְּךָ*, may be explained in a very simple way, from the fact that the sword is carried by men, so that here the thought of the people, the warriors, is predominant, and the representation of the kingdom of the Ammonites as a woman falls into the background. The objection that the suffix in *הַשֵּׁב* can only refer to the sword (of the Chaldean) mentioned in ver. 28, is more plausible than conclusive. For inasmuch as the scabbard presupposes a sword, and every sword has a scabbard, the suffix may be fully accounted for from the thing itself, as the words, “ put the sword into its scabbard,” would lead any hearer to think at once of the sword of the person addressed, without considering whether that particular sword had been mentioned before or not. The meaning of the words is this: every attempt to defend thyself with the sword and avert destruction will be in vain. In thine own land will God judge thee. For *מִבְּרִיתְךָ*, see the comm. on ch. xvi. 3. This judgment is still further explained in ver. 31, where the figure of the sword is dropped, and that of the fire of the wrath of God introduced in its place. *אֶפְיֹתִי . . . בָּאֵשׁ*, we render : “ the fire of my wrath I blow (kindle) against thee,” after Isa. liv. 16, and not “ with the fire . . . do I blow, or snort, against thee,” as others have done ; because blowing with the fire is an unnatural figure, and the interpretation of the words in accordance with Isa. *l.c.* is all the more natural, that in the closing words of

the verse, *הָרָשִׁי מִשְׁהֵיט*, the allusion to that passage is indisputable, and it is only from this that the combination of the two words can be accounted for.—Different explanations have been given of *בָּעֲרִים*. Some render it *ardentes*, and in accordance with Isa. xxx. 27: burning with wrath. But *בָּעַר* is never used in this sense. Nor can the rendering “scorching men” (Kliefoth) be sustained, for *בָּעַר*, to burn, only occurs in connection with things which are combustible, *e.g.* fire, pitch, coals, etc. The word must be explained from Ps. xcii. 7, “brutish,” foolish, always bearing in mind that the Hebrew associated the idea of godlessness with folly, and that cruelty naturally follows in its train.—Ver. 32. Thus will Ammon perish through fire and sword, and even the memory of it be obliterated. For ver. 32*a* compare ch. xv. 4. The words, “thy blood will be *בְּתוֹךְ הָאָרֶץ* in the midst of the land,” can hardly be understood in any other sense than “thy blood will flow over all the land.” For the rendering proposed by Ewald, “remain in the midst of the earth, without thy being mentioned,” like that given by Kliefoth, “thy blood will the earth drink,” does not harmonize with ch. xxiv. 7, where *דָּמָה בְּתוֹכָהּ הָיָה* is affirmed of blood, which cannot penetrate into the earth, or be covered with dust. For *הַנִּזְכָּר*, see ch. xxv. 10. Ammon as the enemy of the kingdom of God will utterly perish, leaving no trace behind, and without any such hope of restoration as that held out in ver. 27 to the kingdom of Judah or the people of Israel.

CHAP. XXII. THE SINS OF JERUSALEM AND ISRAEL.

To the prediction of the judgment in ch. xxi. there is appended another description of the sins of Jerusalem and Israel, by which this judgment is occasioned. The chapter contains three words of God, which are connected together both in substance and design, viz. (1) The blood-guiltiness and idolatry of Jerusalem accelerate the coming of the days when the city will be an object of scorn to all the world (vers. 1–16);

(2) The house of Israel has become dross, and is to be melted in the fire of tribulation (vers. 17–22); (3) All ranks of the kingdom—prophets, priests, princes, and people—are thoroughly corrupt, therefore has the judgment burst upon them (vers. 23–31).

Vers. 1–16. Blood-guiltiness of Jerusalem and the burden of its sins. Vers. 1–5 contain the principal accusation relating to bloodshed and idolatry; and vers. 6–16 a further account of the sins of the people and their rulers, with a brief threatening of punishment.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *And thou, son of man, wilt thou judge? wilt thou judge the city of blood-guiltiness? then show it all its abominations,* Ver. 3. *And say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, City, which sheddeth blood in the midst of it, that her time may come, and maketh idols within itself for defilement.* Ver. 4. *Through thy blood which thou hast shed hast thou made thyself guilty, and through thine idols which thou hast made hast thou defiled thyself, and hast drawn thy days near, and hast come to thy years; therefore I make thee a scorn to the nations, and ridicule to all lands.* Ver. 5. *Those near and those far off from thee shall ridicule thee as defiled in name, rich in confusion.*—The expression *וְהָיְתָה שָׁפְכַת דָּם* proves this address to be a continuation of the reproof of Israel's sins, which commenced in ch. xx. 4. The epithet city of blood-guiltiness, as in ch. xxiv. 6, 9 (compare Nah. iii. 1), is explained in ver. 3. The apodosis commences with *וְהָיְתָה עֵתָהּ*, and is continued in ver. 3 (*וְאָמַרְתָּ*). *לָבוֹא עֵתָהּ*, that her time, *i.e.* her time of punishment, may come: *עֵתָהּ*, like *יוֹמָהּ* in ch. xxi. 30. *וְעֵתָתָהּ* is not a continuation of the infinitive *לָבוֹא*, but of the participle *שֹׁפְכַת*. *עָלֶיהָ*, of which different renderings have been given, does not mean “over itself,” *i.e.* as a burden with which it has laden itself (Hävernick); still less “for itself” (Hitzig), a meaning which *עַל* never has, but literally “upon,” *i.e.* in itself, covering the city with it, as it were. *וַתִּקְרַבִּי*, thou hast brought near, brought on thy days, that is to say, the days of judgment, and hast come to, arrived at thy years, *sc.* the years of visitation and punish-

ment (cf. Jer. xi. 23). This meaning is readily supplied by the context. **טָמְאָתָהּ הָשֵׁם**, defiled, unclean with regard to the name, *i.e.* having forfeited the name of a holy city through capital crimes and other sinful abominations. **מְהוּמָהּ** is internal confusion, both moral and religious, as in Amos iii. 9 (cf. Ps. lv. 10-12).

In vers. 6-12 there follows an enumeration of a multitude of sins which had been committed in Jerusalem.—Ver. 6. *Behold, the princes of Israel are every one, according to his arm, in thee to shed blood.* Ver. 7. *Father and mother they despise in thee; toward the foreigner they act violently in the midst of thee; orphans and widows they oppress in thee.* Ver. 8. *Thou despisest my holy things, and desecrest my Sabbaths.* Ver. 9. *Slanderers are in thee to shed blood, and they eat upon the mountains in thee; they practise lewdness in thee.* Ver. 10. *They uncover the father's nakedness in thee; they ravish the defiled in her uncleanness in thee.* Ver. 11. *And one committeth abomination with his neighbour's wife, and another defileth his daughter-in-law by incest, and the third ravisheth his sister, his father's daughter in thee.* Ver. 12. *They take gifts in thee to shed blood; interest and usury thou takest, and overreaches thy neighbours with violence, and thou forgettest me, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—By the repetition of the refrain, to shed blood (vers. 6, 9, and 12), the enumeration is divided into three groups of sins, which are placed in the category of blood-guiltiness by the fact that they are preceded by this sentence and the repetition of it after the form of a refrain. The first group (vers. 6-8) embraces sins which are committed in daring opposition to all the laws of morality. By the princes of Israel we are to understand primarily the profligate kings, who caused innocent persons to be put to death, such, for example, as Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 4), Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 16), and others. The words **אִישׁ לְרֵעֵוֹ הָיָה** are rendered by Hitzig and Kliefoth, they were ready to help one another; and in support of the rendering they appeal to Ps. lxxxiii. 9. But in that case **אִישׁ לְרֵעֵוֹ**

would stand for *לְאִישׁ אֶחָד*, or rather for *לְאִישׁ זָרֹעַ*,—a substitution which cannot be sustained. Nor can they be taken in the sense proposed by Hävernicks, every one relying upon his arm, *i.e.* looking to physical force alone, but simply every one according to his arm, *i.e.* according to his strength or violence, are they in thee. In this case *הָיָה* does not require anything to be supplied, any more than in the similar combination in ver. 9. Followed by *לַמַּעַן* with an infinitive, it means to be there with the intention of doing anything, or making an attempt, *i.e.* to direct his efforts to a certain end. In ver. 7 it is not the princes who are the subject, but the ungodly in general. *הַקָּלִי* is the opposite of *בְּיָד* (Ex. xx. 12). In the reproofs which follow, compare Ex. xxii. 20 sqq.; Lev. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 14 sqq. With insolence and violence toward men there is associated contempt of all that is holy. For ver. 8b, see ch. xx. 13.—In the second group, vers. 9–11, in addition to slander and idolatry, the crimes of lewdness and incest are the principal sins for which the people are reproved; and here the allusion to Lev. xviii. and xix. is very obvious. The reproof of slander also points back to the prohibition in Lev. xix. 16. Slander to shed blood, refers to malicious charges and false testimony in a court of justice (*vid.* 1 Kings xxi. 10, 11). For eating upon the mountains, see ch. xviii. 6. The practice of *zimmâh* is more specifically described in vers. 10 and 11. For the thing itself, compare Lev. xviii. 7, 8, xix. 15 and 9. The threefold *אִישׁ* in ver. 11 does not mean every one, but one, another, and the third, as the correlative *וְאֶחָד* shows.—The third group, ver. 12, is composed of sins of covetousness. For the first clause, compare the prohibition in Ex. xxiii. 2; for the second, ch. xviii. 8, 13. The reproof finishes with forgetfulness of God, which is closely allied to covetousness.

Vers. 13–16. The Lord is enraged at such abominable doings. He will interfere, and put an end to them by scattering Judah among the heathen.—Ver. 13. *And, behold, I smite my hand because of thy gain which thou hast made, and over thy blood-*

guiltiness which is in the midst of thee. Ver. 14. Will thy heart indeed stand firm, or will thy hands be strong for the day when I shall deal with thee? I Jehovah have spoken it, and also do it. Ver. 15. I will scatter thee among the nations, and disperse thee in the lands, and will utterly remove thine uncleanness from thee. Ver. 16. And thou wilt be desecrated through thyself before the eyes of the nations, and know that I am Jehovah.—Ver. 13 is closely connected with the preceding verse. This serves to explain the fact that the only sins mentioned as exciting the wrath of God are covetousness and blood-guiltiness. הָבָה כָּף, as 2 Kings xi. 12 clearly shows, is a contracted expression for הָבָה כָּף אֶל כָּף (ch. xxi. 19), and the smiting of the hands together is a gesture indicative of wrathful indignation. For the form הָבָה, contracted from הָבָה, see the comm. on ch. xvi. 45.—As ver. 13 leads on to the threatening of judgment, so does ver. 14 point in anticipation to the terrible nature of the judgment itself. The question, “will thy heart stand firm?” involves a warning against security. עָמַד is the opposite of נָמַס (cf. ch. xxi. 12), as standing forms the antithesis to passing away (cf. Ps. cii. 27). עָשָׂה אוֹתָהֶם, as in ch. xvi. 59 and vii. 27. The Lord will scatter them (cf. ch. xii. 15, xx. 23), and remove the uncleanness of sin, namely, by purifying the people in exile (cf. Isa. iv. 4). הָהֵם, from הָמָס, to cause to cease, with מִן, to take completely away. נִחַלְתָּ, *Niphal* of הָלַל, connected with לְעֵינֵי גוֹיִם, as in ch. xx. 9, not from נָחַל, as many of the commentators who follow the Septuagint and Vulgate suppose. בָּךְ, not *in te*, in thyself, but through thee, *i.e.* through thy sinful conduct and its consequences.

Vers. 17-22. Refining of Israel in the furnace of besieged Jerusalem.—Ver. 17. And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying, Ver. 18. Son of man, the house of Israel has become to me as dross; they are all brass, and tin, and iron, and lead in the furnace; dross of silver have they become. Ver. 19. Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because ye have all become dross, therefore, behold, I gather you together in Jerusalem. Ver. 20. As men gather together silver, and brass, and iron, and lead, and tin

into the furnace, to blow the fire upon it for melting, so will I gather (you) together in my anger and my wrath, and put you in and melt you. Ver. 21. And I will collect you together, and blow the fire of my wrath upon you, that ye may be melted therein. Ver. 22. As silver is melted in the furnace, so shall ye be melted therein (viz. in Jerusalem), and shall learn that I Jehovah have poured out my wrath upon you.—This second word of God rests no doubt upon the figure in ver. 15*b*, of the uncleanness or dirt of sin; but it is not an exposition of the removal of the dirt, as predicted there. For that was to be effected through the dispersion of Israel among the nations, whereas the word of God, from ver. 17 onwards, represents the siege awaiting Jerusalem as a melting process, through which God will separate the silver ore contained in Israel from the baser metals mingled with it. In ver. 18 it commences with a description of the existing condition of Israel. It has turned to dross. הָיָה is clearly a perfect, and is not to be taken as a prophetic future, as Kliefoth proposes. Such a rendering is not only precluded by the clause יָשַׁן הָיָה וְנִי in ver. 19, but could only be made to yield an admissible sense by taking the middle clause of the verse, “all of them brass and tin,” etc., as a statement of what Israel had become, or as a preterite in opposition to all the rules of Hebrew syntax, inasmuch as this clause merely furnishes an explanation of הָיָה לְסִיג. סִיג, which only occurs here, for סִיג signifies dross, not smelting-ore (Kliefoth), literally, *recedanea*, the baser ingredients which are mixed with the silver, and separated from it by smelting. This is the meaning here, where it is directly afterwards interpreted as consisting of brass, tin, iron, and lead, and then still further defined as סִיגִים בְּסִיג, dross of silver, i.e. brass, tin, iron, and lead, with a mixture of silver. Because Israel had turned into silver-dross of this kind, the Lord would gather it together in Jerusalem, to smelt it there as in a smelting furnace; just as men gather together brass, iron, lead, and tin in a furnace to smelt them, or rather to separate the silver contained therein. קִבְּצָהּ בְּסִיג, literally, a

collection of silver, etc., for “like a collection.” The כ *simil.* is probably omitted for the sake of euphony, to avoid the discord occasioned by prefixing it to קִבְצָת. Ezekiel mentions the silver as well, because there is some silver contained in the brass, iron, etc., or the dross is silver-dross. הִתִּיךְ, *nomen verbale*, from נָתַךְ in the *Hiphil*, smelting; literally, as the smelting of silver takes place in the furnace. The smelting is treated here simply as a figurative representation of punishment, and consequently the result of the smelting, namely, the refining of the silver by the removal of the baser ingredients, is not referred to any further, as is the case in Isa. i. 22, 25; Jer. vi. 27-30; Mal. iii. 2, 3. This smelting process was experienced by Israel in the last siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

Vers. 23-31. The corrupt state of all classes in the kingdom is the immediate cause of its destruction.—Ver. 23. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 24. *Son of man, say to it, Thou art a land which is not shined upon, nor rained upon in the day of anger.* Ver. 25. *Conspiracy of its prophets is within it; like a roaring lion, which rends in pieces the prey, they devour souls, take possessions and money; they multiply its widows within it.* Ver. 26. *Its priests violate my law and profane my holy things; they make no distinction between holy and unholy, and do not teach the difference between clean and unclean, and they hide their eyes from my Sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.* Ver. 27. *Its princes in the midst of it are like wolves, which rend prey in pieces, that they may shed blood, destroy souls, to acquire gain.* Ver. 28. *And its prophets plaster it with cement, seeing what is worthless, and divining lies for them, saying, “Thus saith the Lord Jehovah,” when Jehovah hath not spoken.* Ver. 29. *The common people offer violence and commit theft; they crush the wretched and the poor, and oppress the foreigner against right.* Ver. 30. *I seek among them for a man who might build a wall and step into the breach before me on behalf of the land, that I might not destroy it, but I find none.* Ver. 31. *Therefore I pour out my anger upon them; I destroy*

them in the fire of my wrath, I give their way upon their head, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. — To show the necessity for the predicted judgment still more clearly, in the third word of God contained in this chapter a description is given of the spread of deep corruption among all classes of the people, and the impossibility of saving the kingdom is plainly shown. The words אָמַרְתָּ לָּהּ, “say unto her,” are taken by most of the commentators as referring to Jerusalem, the abominations of which the prophet is commanded to declare. But although the clause, “thou art a land,” etc. (ver. 24), could unquestionably be made to harmonize with this, yet the words of ver. 30, “I sought for a man who might stand in the gap before Jehovah for the land,” indicate most unquestionably that this word of God is directed against the land of Judah, and consequently לָּהּ must be taken as referring to אֶרֶץ which follows, the pronoun in this case being placed before the noun to which it refers, as in Num. xxiv. 17. Any allusion to the city of Jerusalem would therefore be somewhat out of place, inasmuch as in the preceding word of God the object referred to was not the city, but the house of Israel, or the nation generally, from which a transition is here made to the land, or the kingdom of Judah. The meaning of ver. 24 is a disputed question. לֹא מְטַהֶרֶה הִיא, which is rendered *ἡ οὐ βρεχομένη* in the Sept., is taken by most of the expositors to mean, “it is not cleansed,” the form מְטַהֶרֶה being correctly rendered as a participle *Pual* of טָהַר. But this rendering does not furnish any appropriate sense, unless the following words לֹא נִשְׁמָה are taken as a threat: there shall not be rain, or it shall not be rained upon in the day of wrath. But this view is hardly reconcilable with the form of the word. נִשְׁמָה, according to the Masoretic pointing with *Mappik* in the ה, is evidently meant to be taken as a noun נִשְׁמָה = נִשְׁמָה. In that case, if the words were intended to contain a threat, וַיְהִי ought not to be omitted. But without a verb the words contain a statement in harmony with what precedes. We regard the *Chetib* גִּשְׁמָה as the perfect *Pual*

נִשְׁמָה. And let it not be objected to this that the *Pual* of this verb is not met with elsewhere, for the form of the noun נִשְׁמָה with the *u* sound does not occur anywhere else. As a perfect *Pual*, לֹא נִשְׁמָה is a simple continuation of the participial clause לֹא מְטַהֵרָה הִיא, containing like this an affirmation, and cannot possibly be taken as a threat or prediction. But “not cleansed” and “not rained upon” do not agree together, as rain is not a means of purification according to the Hebrew idea. It is true that in the law the withdrawal or suspension of rain is threatened as a punishment from God, and the pouring out of rain is promised as a theocratical blessing. But even if the words are taken in a tropical sense, as denoting a withdrawal of the blessings of divine grace, they will not harmonize with the other clause, “not cleansed.” We therefore take מְטַהֵרָה in the sense of “shined upon by the light,” or provided with brightness; a meaning which is sustained by Ex. xxiv. 10, where *tohar* occurs in the sense of splendour, and by the kindred word *tzohar*, light. In this way we obtain the suitable thought, land which has neither sunlight nor rain in the day of wrath, *i.e.* does not enjoy a single trace of the divine blessing, but is given up to the curse of barrenness. The reason for this threat is given in vers. 25 sqq., where a picture is drawn of the moral corruption of all ranks; viz. of the prophets (ver. 25), the priests (ver. 26), the princes (ver. 27), and the common people (ver. 29). There is something very striking in the allusion to the prophets in ver. 25, not so much because they are mentioned again in ver. 28,—for this may be accounted for on the ground that in the latter passage they are simply introduced as false advisers of the princes,—as on account of the statement made concerning them in ver. 25, namely, that, like lions tearing their prey, they devour souls, etc.; a description which is not given either in chap. xiii. or elsewhere. Hitzig therefore proposes to alter נִבְיֵאִיהֶם into נִשְׁמֵאִיהֶם, after the rendering ἀφηγούμενοι given by the LXX. This alteration of the text, which confines itself to a single letter, is rendered very

plausible by the fact that almost the same is affirmed of the persons mentioned in ver. 25 as of the princes in ver. 27, and that in the passage in Zephaniah (iii. 3, 4), which is so similar to the one before us, that Ezekiel appears to have had it in his mind, the princes (שָׂרִיָּה) and the judges (שֹׁפְטֵיָּה) are called the prophets and the priests. The נְשִׂאִים here would correspond to the שָׂרִים of Zephaniah, and the שָׂרִים to the שֹׁפְטִים. According to ver. 6, the נְשִׂאִים would indicate primarily the members of the royal family, possibly including the chief officers of the crown; and the שָׂרִים (ver. 27) would be the heads of tribes, of families, and of fathers' houses, in whose hands the national administration of justice principally lay (cf. Ex. xviii. 19 sqq.; Deut. i. 13-18; and my *Bibl. Archæol.* ii. § 149). I therefore prefer this conjecture, or correction, to the Masoretic reading, although the latter is supported by ancient witnesses, such as the Chaldee with its rendering סְפָרָהָא, scribes, and the version of Jerome. For the statement which the verse contains is not applicable to prophets, and the best explanation given of the Masoretic text—namely, that by Michaelis, “they have made a compact with one another as to what kind of teaching they would or would not give; and in order that their authority may continue undisturbed, they persecute even to blood those who do not act with them, or obey them, but rather contradict”—does not do justice to the words, but weakens their sense. קִשְׁר is not a predicate to נִבִּי, “they are (*i.e.* form) a conspiracy;” but נִבִּי is a genitive. At the same time, there is no necessity to take קִשְׁר in the sense of “company,” a rendering which cannot be sustained. The fact that in what follows, where the comparison to lions is introduced, the נְשִׂאִים (נְשִׂאִים) are the subject, simply proves that in the first clause also these men actually form the prominent idea. There is no ground for supplying הֵמָּה יוֹנִי כִּי־אֵינִי (they are like, etc.); but the simile is to be linked on to the following clause. נֶפֶשׁ אֱכָלִי is to be explained from the comparison to a lion, which devours the prey that it has captured in its blood, in which is the soul, or *nephesh* (Gen.

ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 11 sqq.). The thought is this: in their insatiable greed for riches they sacrifice men and put them to death, and thereby multiply the number of victims (for the fact, see chap. xix. 5, 7). What is stated in ver. 26 concerning the priests is simply a further expansion of Zeph. iii. 4, where the first two clauses occur word for word; for שְׁפָרָה in Zephaniah is really equivalent to שְׁפָרָה, holy things and deeds. The desecration of the holy things consisted in the fact that they made no distinction between sacred and profane, clean and unclean. For the fact, compare Lev. x. 10, 11. Their covering their eyes from the Sabbaths showed itself in their permitting the Sabbaths to be desecrated by the people, without offering any opposition (cf. Jer. xvii. 27).—The comparison of the rulers (*sārīm*) to ravening wolves is taken from Zeph. iii. 3. For the following clause, compare ver. 12 and ch. xiii. 10. Destroying souls to acquire gain is perfectly applicable to unjust judges, inasmuch as, according to Ex. xviii. 21, the judges were to hate בָּצָר. All that is affirmed in ver. 28 of the conduct of the false prophets is repeated for the most part *verbatim* from ch. xiii. 10, 9, and 7. By לְהָם, which points back to the three classes of men already mentioned, and not merely to the *sārīm*, the prophets are represented as helpers of those who support the ungodly in their wicked ways, by oracles which assured them of prosperity. עַם הָאָרֶץ (ver. 29), as distinguished from the spiritual and secular rulers of the nation, signifies the common people. With reference to their sins and wickedness, see ch. xviii. 7, 12, 18; and for the command against oppressing the poor and foreigners, compare Ex. xxii. 20, 21; Deut. xxiv. 17.—The corruption is so universal, that not a man is to be found who could enter into the gap as a righteous man, or avert the judgment of destruction by his intercession. קָהָם refers not merely to the prophets, who did not enter into the gap according to ch. xiii. 5, but to all the classes previously mentioned. At the same time, it does not follow from this, that entering into the gap by means of intercession cannot be the

thing intended, as Hitzig supposes. The expression לִפְנֵי בָּעַר clearly refers to intercession. This is apparent from the simple fact that, as Hitzig himself observes, the intercession of Abraham for Sodom (Gen. xviii. 13 sqq.) was floating before the mind of Ezekiel, since the concluding words of the verse contain an obvious allusion to Gen. xviii. 28. Because the Lord does not find a single righteous man, who might intercede for the land, He pours out His anger upon it, to destroy the inhabitants thereof. With reference to the fact and the separate words employed, compare ch. xxi. 36, vii. 4, ix. 10, xi. 21, and xvi. 43. It does not follow from the word וְאִשְׁפָּח, that Ezekiel "is speaking after the catastrophe" (Hitzig). For although וְאִשְׁפָּח expresses the consequence of Jehovah's seeking a righteous man and not finding one, it by no means follows from the occurrence of the preterite וְלֹא מָצָאתִי that וְאִשְׁפָּח is also a preterite. וְאִשְׁפָּח is simply connected with וְאִבְכֶּה as a consequence; and in both verbs the *Vav consec.* expresses the sequence of thought, and not of time. The seeking, therefore, with the result of not having found, cannot be understood in a chronological sense, i.e. as an event belonging to the past, for the simple reason that the preceding words do not record the chronological order of events. It merely depicts the existing moral condition of the people, and ver. 30 sums up the result of the description in the thought that there was no one to be found who could enter in the gap before God. Consequently we cannot determine from the imperfect with *Vav consec.* either the time of the seeking and not finding, or that of the pouring out of the wrath.

CHAP. XXIII. OHOLAH AND OHOLIBAH, THE HARLOTS
SAMARIA AND JERUSALEM.

Samaria and Jerusalem, as the capitals and representatives of the two kingdoms Israel and Judah, are two sisters, who have practised whoredom from the days of Egypt onwards

(vers. 2-4). Samaria has carried on this whoredom with Assyria and Egypt, and has been given up by God into the power of the Assyrians as a consequent punishment (vers. 5-10). But Jerusalem, instead of allowing this to serve as a warning, committed fornication still more grievously with Assyria and the Chaldeans, and, last of all, with Egypt again (vers. 11-21). In consequence of this, the Lord will permit the Chaldeans to make war upon them, and to plunder and put them to shame, so that, as a punishment for their whoredom and their forgetfulness of God, they may, in the fullest measure, experience Samaria's fate (vers. 22-35). In conclusion, both kingdoms are shown once more, and in still severer terms, the guilt of their idolatry (vers. 36-44), whilst the infliction of the punishment for both adultery and murder is foretold (vers. 45-49).

In its general character, therefore, this word of God is co-ordinate with the two preceding ones in ch. xxi. and xxii., setting forth once more in a comprehensive way the sins and the punishment of Israel. But this is done in the form of an allegory, which closely resembles in its general features the allegorical description in ch. xvi.; though, in the particular details, it possesses a character peculiarly its own, not only in certain original turns and figures, but still more in the arrangement and execution of the whole. The allegory in ch. xvi. depicts the attitude of Israel towards the Lord in the past, the present, and the future; but in the chapter before us, the guilt and punishment of Israel stand in the foreground of the picture throughout, so that a parallel is drawn between Jerusalem and Samaria, to show that the punishment of destruction, which Samaria has brought upon itself through its adulterous intercourse with the heathen, will inevitably fall upon Jerusalem and Judah also.

Vers. 1-4. The sisters Oholah and Oholibah.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, two women, daughters of one mother were they,* Ver. 3. *They committed whoredom in Egypt, in their youth they committed*

whoredom; there were their breasts pressed, and there men handled their virgin bosom. Ver. 4. Their names are Oholah, the greater, and Oholibah her sister; and they became mine, and bare sons and daughters. But their names are: Samaria is Oholah, and Jerusalem is Oholibah.—The name אֹהֵל־בָּהּ is formed from אֹהֶל בָּהּ, “my tent in her;” and, accordingly, אֹהֵל־בָּהּ is to be derived from אֹהֶל־בָּהּ, “her tent,” and not to be regarded as an abbreviation of אֹהֶל־בָּהּ, “her tent in her,” as Hitzig and Kliefoth maintain. There is no ground for this assumption, as “her tent,” in contrast with “my tent in her,” expresses the thought with sufficient clearness, that she had a tent of her own, and the place where her tent was does not come into consideration. The “tent” is the sanctuary: both tabernacle and temple. These names characterize the two kingdoms according to their attitude toward the Lord. Jerusalem had the sanctuary of Jehovah; Samaria, on the other hand, had her own sanctuary, *i.e.* one invented by herself. Samaria and Jerusalem, as the historical names of the two kingdoms, represent Israel of the ten tribes and Judah. Oholah and Oholibah are daughters of one mother, because they were the two halves of the one Israel; and they are called women, because Jehovah had married them (ver. 4). Oholah is called הַגְּדֹלָה, the great, *i.e.* greater sister (not the elder, see the comm. on ch. xvi. 46); because ten tribes, the greater portion of Israel, belonged to Samaria, whereas Judah had only two tribes. They committed whoredom even in Egypt in their youth, for even in Egypt the Israelites defiled themselves with Egyptian idolatry (see the comm. on ch. xx. 7). כָּרְסָה, to press, to crush: the *Pual* is used here to denote lewd handling. In a similar manner the *Piel* נָסַח is used to signify *tractare, contrectare mammas*, in an obscene sense.

Vers. 5–10. Samaria's whoredom and punishment.—Ver. 5. *And Oholibah played the harlot under me, and burned towards her lovers, even as far as Assyria, standing near; Ver. 6. Clothed in purple, governors and officers, all of them choice men*

of good deportment, horsemen riding upon horses. Ver. 7. And she directed her whoredom toward them, to the choice of the sons of Assyria all of them, and with all towards whom she burned, with all their idols she defiled herself. Ver. 8. Also her whoredom from Egypt she did not give up; for they had lain with her in her youth, and they had handled her virgin bosom, and had poured out their lust upon her. Ver. 9. Therefore I have given her into the hand of her lovers, into the hand of the sons of Assyria, towards whom she was inflamed. Ver. 10. They uncovered her nakedness, took away her sons and her daughters, and slew her with the sword, so that she became a legend among the women, and executed judgments upon her.—Coquetting and whoring with Assyria and Egypt denote religious and political leaning towards and connection with these nations and kingdoms, including idolatry and the formation of alliances with them, as in chap. xvi. תַּחֲתִי is to be interpreted in accordance with תַּחַת אִישָׁה (ch. xvi. 32). עִנֵּב, which only occurs in Ezekiel and once in Jeremiah, denotes the eager desire kindled by passionate love towards any one. By the words אֶל-אֲשֹׁר the lovers are more precisely defined. קְרוֹבִים without an article is not an adjective, belonging to קְרוֹבָהּ, but in apposition, which is continued in the next verse. In these appositions the particular features, which excited the ardent passion towards the lovers, are pointed out. קְרוֹב is not to be taken in an outward or local sense, but as signifying inward or spiritual nearness: standing near, equivalent to inwardly related, as in Ps. xxxviii. 12; Job xix. 14. The description given of the Assyrians in ver. 6 contains the thought that Israel, dazzled by Assyria's splendour, and overpowered by the might of that kingdom, had been drawn into intercourse with the Assyrians, which led her astray into idolatry. The predicate, clothed in purple, points to the splendour and glory of this imperial power; the other predicates, to the magnitude of its military force. פְּחוֹת וְסֻגִּים are rulers of higher and lower grades (cf. Jer. li. 57). "Here the expression is a general one, signifying the different classes of office-bearers in the

kingdom" (Hävernicks). With regard to פָּהָה, see my comm. on Hag. i. 1; and for סָנָן, see Delitzsch on Isa. xli. 25. "Riding upon horses" is added to פָּרָשִׁים to denote the noblest horsemen, in contrast to riders upon asses and camels (cf. Isa. xxi. 7). In ver. 7b בְּכָל-גִּלְיָהֶם is in apposition to בְּכָל-אֲשֶׁר-עֲנָהָ, and defines more precisely the instigation to pollution: with all towards whom she burned in love, namely, with all their (the lovers') idols. The thought is as follows: it was not merely through her intercourse with the Assyrians that Israel defiled herself, but also through their idols. At the same time, Samaria did not give up the idolatry which it had derived from Egypt. It was from Egypt that the worship of God under the image of the golden calves had been imported. The words are much too strong for us to understand them as relating simply to political intercourse, as Hitzig has done. We have already observed at ch. xx. 7, that even in Egypt itself the Israelites had defiled themselves with Egyptian idolatry, as is also stated in ver. 8b.—Vers. 9, 10. As a punishment for this, God gave Samaria into the power of the Assyrians, so that they executed judgment upon the harlot. In ver. 10b the prophecy passes from the figure to the fact. The uncovering of the nakedness consisted in the transportation of the sons and daughters, i.e. the population of Samaria, into exile by the Assyrians, who slew the woman herself with the sword; in other words, destroyed the kingdom of Samaria. Thus did Samaria become a name for women; that is to say, her name was circulated among the nations, her fate became an object of conversation and ridicule to the nations, not "a nickname for the nations," as Hävernicks supposes (*vid.* ch. xxxvi. 3). שְׁפֹטִים, a later form for שָׁפֹטִים (cf. ch. xvi. 41).

Vers. 11–21. Whoredom of Judah.—Ver. 11. *And her sister Oholibah saw it, and carried on her coquetry still more wantonly than she had done, and her whoredom more than the whoredom of her sister.* Ver. 12. *She was inflamed with lust towards the sons of Asshur, governors and officers, standing near, clothed in*

perfect beauty, horsemen riding upon horses, choice men of good deportment. Ver. 13. And I saw that she had defiled herself; they both went one way. Ver. 14. And she carried her whoredom still further; she saw men engraved upon the wall, figures of Chaldeans engraved with red ochre, Ver. 15. Girded about the hips with girdles, with overhanging caps upon their heads, all of them knights in appearance, resembling the sons of Babel, the land of whose birth is Chaldea: Ver. 16. And she was inflamed with lust toward them, when her eyes saw them, and sent messengers to them to Chaldea. Ver. 17. Then the sons of Babylon came to her to the bed of love, and defiled her with their whoredom; and when she had defiled herself with them, her soul tore itself away from them. Ver. 18. And when she uncovered her whoredom, and uncovered her nakedness, my soul tore itself away from her, as my soul had torn itself away from her sister. Ver. 19. And she increased her whoredom, so that she remembered the days of her youth, when she played the harlot in the land of Egypt. Ver. 20. And she burned toward their paramours, who have members like asses and heat like horses. Ver. 21. Thou lookest after the lewdness of thy youth, when they of Egypt handled thy bosom because of thy virgin breasts.—

The train of thought in these verses is the following:—Judah went much further than Samaria. It not only indulged in sinful intercourse with Assyria, which led on to idolatry as the latter had done, but it also allowed itself to be led astray by the splendour of Chaldea, to form alliances with that imperial power, and to defile itself with her idolatry. And when it became tired of the Chaldeans, it formed impure connections with the Egyptians, as it had done once before during its sojourn in Egypt. The description of the Assyrians in ver. 12 coincides with that in vers. 5 and 6, except that some of the predicates are placed in a different order, and לְבָשִׁי מְכֻלֹּל is substituted for לְבָשִׁי תְּכֵלֶת. The former expression, which occurs again in ch. xxxviii. 4, must really mean the same as לְבָ' תְּכֵלֶת. But it does not follow from this that מְכֻלֹּל signifies purple, as

Hitzig maintains. The true meaning is perfection; and when used of the clothing, it signifies perfect beauty. The Septuagint rendering, *εὐπάρυφα*, with a beautiful border,—more especially a variegated one,—merely expresses the sense, but not the actual meaning of מְכֻלֵּל. The Chaldee rendering is לְבָשִׁי גִמְרִי, *perfecte induti*.—There is great obscurity in the statement in ver. 14 as to the way in which Judah was seduced to cultivate intercourse with the Chaldeans. She saw men engraved or drawn upon the wall (מִחֲקֵיהֶם, a participle *Pual* of חָקַק, engraved work, or sculpture). These figures were pictures of Chaldeans, engraved (drawn) with שֵׁשֶׁר, red ochre, a bright-red colour. חֲגוּרִי, an adjective form חֲגוּר, wearing a girdle. מְבִיגִים, coloured cloth, from מָבַל, to colour; here, according to the context, variegated head-bands or turbans. קְרוֹיָה, the overhanging, used here of the cap. The reference is to the *tiaræ tinctæ* (Vulgate), the lofty turbans or caps, as they are to be seen upon the monuments of ancient Nineveh. שְׁלִישִׁים, not chariot-warriors, but knights: “*tristatæ*, the name of the second grade after the regal dignity” (Jerome. See the comm. on Ex. xiv. 7 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8). The description of these engravings answers perfectly to the sculptures upon the inner walls of the Assyrian palaces in the monuments of Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik (see Layard’s *Nineveh and its Remains*, and Vaux, *Nineveh and Persepolis*). The pictures of the Chaldeans are not mythological figures (Hävernicks), but sculptures depicting war-scenes, triumphal processions of Chaldean rulers and warriors, with which the Assyrian palaces were adorned. We have not to look for these sculptures in Jerusalem or Palestine. This cannot be inferred from ch. viii. 10, as Hävernicks supposes; nor established by Hitzig’s argument, that the woman must have been in circumstances to see such pictures. The intercourse between Palestine and Nineveh, which was carried on even in Jonah’s time, was quite sufficient to render it possible for the pictures to be seen. When Israelites travelled to Nineveh, and saw the palaces there, they could easily make

the people acquainted with the glory of Nineveh by the accounts they would give on their return. It is no reply to this, to state that the woman does not send ambassadors till afterwards (ver. 16), as Hitzig argues; for Judah sent ambassadors to Chaldea not to view the glories of Assyria, but to form alliances with the Chaldeans, or to sue for their favour. Such an embassy, for example, was sent to Babylon by Zedekiah (Jer. xxix. 3); and there is no doubt that in ver. 16b Ezekiel has this in his mind. Others may have preceded this, concerning which the books of Kings and Chronicles are just as silent as they are concerning that of Zedekiah. The thought in these verses is therefore the following:—The acquaintance made by Israel (Judah) with the imperial splendour of the Chaldeans, as exhibited in the sculptures of their palaces, incited Judah to cultivate political and mercantile intercourse with this imperial power, which led to its becoming entangled in the heathen ways and idolatry of the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans themselves came and laid the foundation for an intercourse which led to the pollution of Judah with heathenism, and afterwards filled it with disgust, because it was brought thereby into dependence upon the Chaldeans. The consequence of all this was, that the Lord became tired of Judah (vers. 17, 18). For instead of returning to the Lord, Judah turned to the other power of the world, namely, to Egypt; and in the time of Zedekiah renewed its ancient coquetry with that nation (vers. 19–21 compared with ver. 8). The form וַתַּעֲנֶבֶה in ver. 20, which the *Keri* also gives in ver. 18, has taken *ah* as a feminine termination (not the cohortative *ah*), like תִּרְנֶה in Prov. i. 20, viii. 1 (*vid.* Delitzsch, *On Job*, pp. 117 and 268). פְּלִשְׁתִּים are *scorta mascula* here (Kimchi),—a drastically sarcastic epithet applied to the *sârisim*, the eunuchs, or courtiers. The figurative epithet answers to the licentious character of the Egyptian idolatry. The sexual heat both of horses and asses is referred to by Aristotle, *Hist. anim.* vi. 22, and Columella, *de re rust.* vi. 27; and that of the horse has already been

applied to the idolatry of the people by Jeremiah (*vid.* Jer. v. 8). בִּשְׁזָר, as in ch. xvi. 26. פָּקַד (ver. 21), to look about for anything, *i.e.* to search for it; not to miss it, as Hävernicks imagines.

Vers. 22–35. Punishment of the harlot Jerusalem.—Ver. 22. *Therefore, Oholibah, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I raise up thy lovers against thee, from whom thy soul has torn itself away, and cause them to come upon thee from every side; Ver. 23. The sons of Babel, and all the Chaldeans, rulers, lords, and nobles, all the sons of Assyria with them: chosen men of graceful deportment, governors and officers together, knights and counsellors, all riding upon horses. Ver. 24. And they will come upon thee with weapons, chariots, and wheels, and with a host of peoples; target and shield and helmet will they direct against thee round about: and I commit to them the judgment, that they may judge thee according to their rights. Ver. 25. And I direct my jealousy against thee, so that they shall deal with thee in wrath: nose and ears will they cut off from thee; and thy last one shall fall by the sword: they will take thy sons and thy daughters; and thy last one will be consumed by fire. Ver. 26. They will strip off thy clothes from thee, and take thy splendid jewellery. Ver. 27. I will abolish thy lewdness from thee, and thy whoredom from the land of Egypt: that thou mayest no more lift thine eyes to them, and no longer remember Egypt. Ver. 28. For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I give thee into the hand of those whom thou hatest, into the hand of those from whom thy soul has torn itself away: Ver. 29. And they shall deal with thee in hatred, and take all thy gain, and leave thee naked and bare; that thy whorish shame may be uncovered, and thy lewdness and thy whoredom. Ver. 30. This shall happen to thee, because thou goest whoring after the nations, and on account of thy defiling thyself with their idols. Ver. 31. In the way of thy sister hast thou walked; therefore I give her cup into thy hand. Ver. 32. Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, The cup of thy sister thou shalt drink, the deep and broad one; it will*

be for laughter and for derision, because it contains so much.
 Ver. 33. *Thou wilt become full of drunkenness and misery: a cup of desolation and devastation is the cup of thy sister Samaria.*
 Ver. 34. *Thou wilt drink it up and drain it, and gnaw its fragments, and tear thy breasts (therewith); for I have spoken it, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 35. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because thou hast forgotten me, and hast cast me behind thy back, thou shalt also bear thy lewdness and thy whoredom.*—As Jerusalem has given herself up to whoredom, like her sister Samaria, she shall also share her sister's fate. The paramours, of whom she has become tired, God will bring against her as enemies. The Chaldeans will come with all their might, and execute the judgment of destruction upon her.—For the purpose of depicting their great and powerful forces, Ezekiel enumerates in vers. 23 and 24 the peoples and their military equipment: viz. the sons of Babel, *i.e.* the inhabitants of Babylonia, the Chaldeans,—the ruling people of the empire at that time,—and all the sons of Asshur, *i.e.* the inhabitants of the eastern portions of the empire, the former rulers of the world. There is some obscurity in the words פָּקִיד וְשָׂרִים וְקָזִי, which the older theologians have almost unanimously taken to be the names of different tribes in the Chaldean empire. Ewald also adopts this view, but it is certainly incorrect; for the words are in apposition to וְכָל-בְּשָׂדִים, as the omission of the copula ו before פָּקִיד is sufficient to show. This is confirmed by the fact that שָׂרִי is used, in Isa. xxxii. 5 and Job xxxiv. 19, in the sense of the man of high rank, distinguished for his prosperity, which is quite in harmony with the passage before us. Consequently פָּקִיד is not to be taken in the sense of visitation or punishment, after Jer. l. 21; but the meaning is to be sought in the verb פָּקַד, to exercise supervision, or lead; and the abstract oversight is used for overseer, or ruler, as an equivalent to מִשְׁפָּט. Lastly, according to Rabbins, the Vulgate, and others, קָזִי signifies princes, or nobles. The predicates in ver. 23b are repeated from vers. 6

and 12, and קְרוֹיִים alone is added. This is a word taken from the Pentateuch, where the heads of the tribes and families, as being members of the council of the whole congregation of Israel, are called קְרוֹיִי מוֹעֵד or קְרוֹיִי הָעֵדָה, persons called or summoned to the meeting (Num. i. 16, xvi. 2). As Michaelis has aptly observed, “he describes them sarcastically in the very same way in which he had previously described those upon whom she doted.”—There is a difficulty in explaining the ἀπ. λεγ. הָצֶן,—for which many mss. read הָצֶן,—as regards not only its meaning, but its position in the sentence. The fact that it is associated with רֶכֶב וְנִלְגַל would seem to indicate that הָצֶן is also either an implement of war or some kind of weapon. At the same time, the words cannot be the subject to וּבָאוּ; but as the expression וּבִקְהָל עַמִּים, which follows, clearly shows, they simply contain a subordinate definition of the manner in which, or the things with which, the peoples mentioned in vers. 23, 24 will come, while they are governed by the verb in the freest way. The attempts which Ewald and Hitzig have made to remove the difficulty, by means of conjectures, are forced and extremely improbable. נָתַתִּי לְבָנֵיהֶם, I give up to them (not, I place before them); נָתַן לְפָנַי, as in 1 Kings viii. 46, to deliver up, or give a thing into a person’s hand or power. לְפָנַי is used in this sense in Gen. xiii. 9 and xxiv. 51.—In vers. 25, 26, the execution of the judgment is depicted in detail. The words, “they take away thy nose and ears,” are not to be interpreted, as the earlier expositors suppose, from the custom prevalent among the Egyptians and other nations of cutting off the nose of an adulteress; but depict, by one particular example, the mutilation of prisoners captured by their enemies. אֲחֵרֵית: not posterity, which by no means suits the last clause of the verse, and cannot be defended from the usage of the language (see the comm. on Amos iv. 2); but the last, according to the figure employed in the first clause, the trunk; or, following the second clause, the last thing remaining in Jerusalem, after the taking away of the sons and daughters, i.e. after the slaying

and the deportation of the inhabitants,—viz. the empty houses. For ver. 26, compare ch. xvi. 39.—In ver. 27, “from the land of Egypt” is not equivalent to “dating from Egypt;” for according to the parallel כִּי־מִן, from thee, this definition does not belong to וְנִתְּנָה, “thy whoredom,” but to וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי, “I cause thy whoredom to cease from Egypt” (Hitzig).—For ver. 28a, compare ch. xvi. 37; for ver. 28b, *vid.* ver. 17 above; and for ver. 29, see vers. 25 and 26, and ch. xvi. 39.—Ver. 31 looks back to ver. 13; and ver. 31b is still further expanded in vers. 32-34. Judah shall drink the cup of the wrathful judgment of God, as Samaria has done. For the figure of the cup, compare Isa. li. 17 and Jer. xxv. 15. This cup is described in ver. 32 as deep and wide, *i.e.* very capacious, so that whoever exhausts all its contents must be thoroughly intoxicated. תְּהִיָּה is the third person; but the subject is מִרְבָּה, and not כּוֹס. The greatness or breadth of the cup will be a subject of laughter and ridicule. It is very arbitrary to supply “to thee,” so as to read: will be for laughter and ridicule to thee, which does not even yield a suitable meaning, since it is not Judah but the nations who laugh at the cup. Others regard תְּהִיָּה as the second person, thou wilt become; but apart from the anomaly in the gender, as the masculine would stand for the feminine, Hitzig has adduced the forcible objection, that according to this view the words would not only anticipate the explanation given of the figure in the next verse, but would announce the consequences of the שְׁכָרוֹן וְיָגוֹן mentioned there. Hitzig therefore proposes to erase the words from תְּהִיָּה to וְלִלְעַג as a gloss, and to alter מִרְבָּה into מְרִבָּה: which contains much, is very capacious. But there is not sufficient reason to warrant such critical violence as this. Although the form מְרִבָּה is ἀπ. λεγ., it is not to be rejected as a *nomen subst.*; and if we take מְרִבָּה לְהַכִּיל, the magnitude to hold, as the subject of the sentence, it contains a still further description of the cup, which does not anticipate what follows, even though the cup will be an object of laughter and ridicule, not so much for its

size, as because of its being destined to be drunk completely empty. In ver. 33 the figure and the fact are combined,—*יָנִין*, lamentation, misery, being added to *שִׁכָּרוֹן*, drunkenness, and the cup being designated a cup of devastation. The figure of drinking is expanded in the boldest manner in ver. 34 into the gnawing of the fragments of the cup, and the tearing of the breasts with the fragments.—In ver. 35 the picture of the judgment is closed with a repetition of the description of the nation's guilt. For ver. 35*b*, compare ch. xvi. 52 and 58.

Vers. 36–49. Another summary of the sins and punishment of the two women.—Ver. 36. *And Jehovah said to me, Son of man, wilt thou judge Oholah and Oholibah, then show them their abominations; Ver. 37. For they have committed adultery, and blood is in their hands; and they have committed adultery with their idols; and their sons also whom they bare to me they have caused to pass through to them to be devoured. Ver. 38. Yea more, they have done this to me; they have defiled my sanctuary the same day, and have desecrated my Sabbaths. Ver. 39. When they slaughtered their sons to their idols, they came into my sanctuary the same day to desecrate it; and, behold, they have acted thus in the midst of my house. Ver. 40. Yea, they have even sent to men coming from afar; to them was a message sent, and, behold, they came, for whom thou didst bathe thyself, paint thine eyes, and put on ornaments, Ver. 41. And didst seat thyself upon a splendid cushion, and a table was spread before them, thou didst lay thereon my incense and my oil. Ver. 42. And the loud noise became still thereat, and to the men out of the multitude there were brought topers out of the desert, and they put armlets upon their hands, and glorious crowns upon their heads. Ver. 43. Then I said to her who was debilitated for adultery, Now will her whoredom itself go whoring, Ver. 44. And they will go in to her as they go in to a whore; so did they go in to Oholah and Oholibah, the lewd women. Ver. 45. But righteous men, these shall judge them according to the judgment of adulteresses and according to the judgment of murderesses; for they are adulter-*

esses, and there is blood in their hands. Ver. 46. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I will bring up against them an assembly, and deliver* them up for maltreating and for booty.* Ver. 47. *And the assembly shall stone them, and cut them in pieces with their swords; their sons and their daughters shall they kill, and burn their houses with fire.* Ver. 48. *Thus will I eradicate lewdness from the land, that all women may take warning and not practise lewdness like you.* Ver. 49. *And they shall bring your lewdness upon you, and ye shall bear the sins of your idols, and shall learn that I am the Lord Jehovah.*—The introductory words 'הַשְׁפּוֹט וְגו' point back not only to ch. xxii. 2, but also to ch. xx. 4, and show that this section is really a summary of the contents of the whole group (ch. xx. 23). The actual subject-matter of these verses is closely connected with ver. 16, more especially in the designation of the sins as adultery and bloodshed (compare vers. 37 and 45 with ch. xvi. 38). נָאֵף אֶת-גִּל, to commit adultery with the idols, whereby the idols are placed on a par with Jehovah as the husband of Israel (compare Jer. iii. 8 and ii. 27). For the Moloch-worship in ver. 37b, compare ch. xvi. 20, 21, and ch. xx. 31. The desecration of the sanctuary (ver. 38a) is more minutely defined in ver. 39. בְּיָוֶם הַהוּא in ver. 38, which has so offended the LXX. and Hitzig that it is omitted by the former, while the latter proposes to strike it out as a gloss, is added for the purpose of designating the profanation of the sanctuary as contemporaneous with the Moloch-worship of ver. 37b, as is evident from ver. 39. For the fact itself, compare 2 Kings xxi. 4, 5, 7. The desecration of the Sabbaths, as in ch. xx. 13, 16. For ver. 39a, compare ch. xvi. 21. The words are not to be understood as signifying that they sacrificed children to Moloch in the temple, but simply that immediately after they had sacrificed children to Moloch, they went into the temple of Jehovah, that there they might worship Jehovah also, and thus placed Jehovah upon a par with Moloch. This was a profanation (הִלָּל) of His sanctuary.

In vers. 40-44 the allusion is not to actual idolatry, but to

the ungodly alliance into which Judah had entered with Chaldea. Judah sent ambassadors to Chaldea, and for the purpose of receiving the Chaldeans, adorned herself as a woman would do for the reception of her paramours. She seated herself upon a splendid divan, and in front of this there was a table spread, upon which stood the incense and the oil that she ought to have offered to Jehovah. This is the explanation which Kliefoth has correctly given of vers. 40 and 41. The emphatic **וְהָיָה** in ver. 40 is sufficient to show that the reference is to a new crime deserving of punishment. This cannot be idolatry, because the worship of Moloch has already been mentioned in vers. 38 and 39 as the worst of all the idolatrous abominations. Moreover, sending for (or to) men who come from afar does not apply to idolatry in the literal sense of the word; for men to whom the harlot sent messengers to invite them to come to her could not be idols for which she sent to a distant land. The allusion is rather to Assyrians or Chaldeans, and, according to ver. 42, it is the former who are referred to here (compare Isa. xxxix. 3). There is no force in Hitzig's objection, namely, that the one woman sent to these, and that their being sent for and coming have already been disposed of in ver. 16. For the singulars in the last clause of ver. 40 show that even here only one woman is said to have sent for the men. Again, **הַשְׁלַחְנָהּ** might even be the third person singular, as this form does sometimes take the termination **נָה** (*vid.* Ewald, § 191c, and Ges. § 47, Anm. 3). At the same time, there is nothing in the fact that the sending to Chaldea has already been mentioned in ver. 16 to preclude another allusion to the same circumstance from a different point of view. The woman adorned herself that she might secure the favour of the men for whom she had sent. **כְּהָל** is the Arabic **كحل**, to paint the eyes with stibium (*kohol*). For the fact itself, see the remarks on 2 Kings ix. 30. She then seated herself upon a cushion (not lay down upon a bed; for **יָשַׁב** does not mean to lie down), and in front of this there was a table, spread with different

kinds of food, upon which she placed incense and oil. The suffix to עָלֶיהָ refers to שֶׁלָּהֶן, and is to be taken as a neuter, which suits the table as a thing, whilst שֶׁלָּהֶן generally takes the termination מִ in the plural. In ver. 41, Ewald and Hävernicks detect a description of the *lectisternia* and of the licentious worship of the Babylonian Mylitta. But neither the sitting (שָׁבָה) upon a cushion (divan), nor the position taken by the woman behind the table, harmonizes with this. As Hitzig has correctly observed, "if she has taken her seat upon a cushion, and has a table spread before her, she evidently intends to dine, and that with the men for whom she has adorned herself. The oil is meant for anointing at meal-time (Amos vi. 6; Prov. xxi. 17; cf. Ps. xxiii. 5), and the incense for burning." "My incense and my oil" are the incense and oil given to her by God, which she ought to have devoted to His service, but had squandered upon herself and her foreign friends (cf. ch. xvi. 18; Hos. ii. 10). The oil, as the produce of the land of Palestine, was the gift of Jehovah; and although incense was not a production of Palestine, yet as the money with which Judah purchased it, or the goods bartered for it, were the gifts of God, Jehovah could also call it His incense. Ver. 42 is very obscure. Such renderings of the first clause as *et vox multitudinis exultantis in ea* (Vulg.), and "the voice of a careless multitude within her" (Hävernicks), can hardly be sustained. In every other passage in which קוֹל הָמוֹן occurs, it does not signify the voice of a multitude, but a loud tumult; compare Isa. xiii. 4, xxxiii. 3, Dan. x. 6, and 1 Sam. iv. 14, where קוֹל הָהָמוֹן is used as synonymous with קוֹל הַצִּעֲקָה. Even in cases where הָמוֹן is used for a multitude, it denotes a noisy, boisterous, tumultuous crowd. Consequently שָׁלוֹ cannot be taken as an adjective connected with הָמוֹן, because a quiet tumult is a contradiction, and שָׁלוֹ does not mean either *exultans* or recklessly breaking loose (Hävernicks), but simply living in quiet, peaceful and contented. שָׁלוֹ must therefore be the predicate to קוֹל הָמוֹן; the sound of the tumult or the loud noise was (or

became) quiet, still. **בָּה**, thereat (neuter, like **בָּה**, thereby, Gen. xxiv. 14). The words which follow, **וְאֵל אֲנָשִׁים וְגו'**, are not to be taken with the preceding clause, as the connection would yield no sense. They belong to what follows. **אֲנָשִׁים מִרֵּב אָדָם** can only be the men who came from afar (ver. 40). In addition to these, there were brought, *i.e.* induced to come, toppers from the desert. The *Chetib* **סוֹבָאִים** is no doubt a participle of **סָבָא**, drinkers, toppers; and the *Hophal* **מוֹבָאִים** is chosen instead of the *Kal* **בָּאִים**, for the sake of the paronomasia, with **סוֹבָאִים**. The former, therefore, can only be the Assyrians (**בְּנֵי אַשּׁוּר**, vers. 5 and 7), the latter (the toppers) the Chaldeans (**בְּנֵי בָבֶל**, ver. 15). The epithet drinkers is a very appropriate one for the sons of Babylon; as Curtius (ver. 1) describes the Babylonians as *maxime in vinum et quae ebrietatem sequuntur effusi*. The phrase "from the desert" cannot indicate the home of these men, although **מִמֶּדְבָּר** corresponds to **מִמְדָּרָק** in ver. 40, but simply the place from which they came to Judah, namely, from the desert of Syria and Arabia, which separated Palestine from Babylon. These peoples decorated the arms of the harlots with clasps, and their heads with splendid wreaths (crowns). The plural suffixes indicate that the words apply to both women, and this is confirmed by the fact that they are both named in ver. 44. The subject to **וַיִּתְּנִי** is not merely the **סוֹבָאִים**, but also the **אֲנָשִׁים מִמְדָּרָק** in ver. 40. The thought is simply that Samaria and Judah had attained to wealth and earthly glory through their intercourse with these nations; the very gifts with which, according to ch. xvi. 11 sqq., Jehovah Himself had adorned His people. The meaning of the verse, therefore, when taken in its connection, appears to be the following:—When the Assyrians began to form alliances with Israel, quiet was the immediate result. The Chaldeans were afterwards added to these, so that through their adulterous intercourse with both these nations Israel and Judah acquired both wealth and glory. The sentence which God pronounced upon this conduct was, that Judah had sunk so deeply into adultery that it would be

impossible for it ever to desist from the sin. This is the way in which we understand ver. 43, connecting לְבָלָה נֶאֱפִים with וַאֲמַר: "I said concerning her who was debilitated with whoredom." בָּלָה, feminine of בָּלָה, used up, worn out; see, for example, Josh. ix. 4, 5, where it is applied to clothes; here it is transferred to persons decayed, debilitated, in which sense the verb occurs in Gen. xviii. 12. נֶאֱפִים, which is co-ordinated with בָּלָה, does not indicate the means by which the strength has been exhausted, but is an accusative of direction or reference, debilitated with regard to adultery, so as no longer to be capable of practising it.¹ In the next clause עַתָּה יִזְנֶה וּגְרָמָהּ is the subject to יִזְנֶה, and the *Chetib* is correct, the *Keri* being erroneous, and the result of false exposition. If תִּזְנֶה were the object to יִזְנֶה, so that the woman would be the subject, we should have the feminine תִּזְנֶה. But if, on the other hand, תִּזְנֶה is the subject, there is no necessity for this, whether we regard the word as a plural, from תִּזְנֶה, or take it as a singular, as Ewald (§ 259a) has done, inasmuch as in either case it is still an abstract, which might easily be preceded by the verb in the masculine form. וְהִיא gives greater force, not only to the suffix, but also to the noun—and that even she (her whoredom). The sin of whoredom is personified, or regarded as רִיחַ זִנְיָה (Hos. iv. 12), as a propensity to whoredom, which continues in all its force after the capacity of the woman herself is gone.—Ver. 44 contains the result of the foregoing description of the adulterous conduct of the two women, and this is followed in vers. 45 sqq. by an account of the attitude assumed by God, and the punishment of the sinful women. וַיֵּבֹאוּ, with an indefinite subject, they (*man*, one) went to her. אִלֶּיהָ, the one woman,

¹ The proposal of Ewald to take נֶאֱפִים לְבָלָה as an independent clause, "adultery to the devil," cannot be defended by the usage of the language; and that of Hitzig, "the withered hag practises adultery," is an unnatural invention, inasmuch as לְ, if taken as *nota dativi*, would give this meaning: the hag has (possesses) adultery as her property—and there is nothing to indicate that it should be taken as a question.

Oholibah. It is only in the apodosis that what has to be said is extended to both women. This is the only interpretation of ver. 44 which does justice both to the verb **יִבֹּא** (imperfect with *Vav consec.* as the historical tense) and the perfect **בָּא**. The plural **אֲשֶׁת** does not occur anywhere else. Hitzig would therefore alter it into the singular, as “unheard of,” and confine the attribute to Oholibah, who is the only one mentioned in the first clause of the verse, and also in vers. 43, 40, and 41. The judgment upon the two sisters is to be executed by righteous men (ver. 45). The Chaldeans are not designated as righteous in contrast to the Israelites, but as the instruments of the punitive righteousness of God in this particular instance, executing just judgment upon the sinners for adultery and bloodshed (*vid.* ch. xvi. 38). The infinitives **הָעֵלָה** and **נָתַן** in ver. 46 stand for the third person future. For other points, compare the commentary on ch. xvi. 40 and 41. The formula **נָתַן לְעֵצָה** is derived from Deut. xxviii. 25, and has been explained in the exposition of that passage. **יִבְרָא** is the *inf. abs. Piel*. For the meaning of the word, see the comm. on ch. xxi. 24. From this judgment all women, *i.e.* all nations, are to take warning to desist from idolatry. **נִזְכָּר** is a mixed form, compounded of the *Niphal* and *Hithpael*, for **הִתְנַזְּרָה**, like **נִכְפָּר** in Deut. xxi. 8 (see the comm. *in loc.*).—For ver. 49, *vid.* ch. xvi. 58.—The punishment is announced to both the women, Israel and Judah, as still in the future, although Oholah (Samaria) had been overtaken by the judgment a considerable time before. The explanation of this is to be found in the allegory itself, in which both kingdoms are represented as being sisters of one mother; and it may also be defended on the ground that the approaching destruction of Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah affected the remnants of the kingdom of the ten tribes, which were still to be found in Palestine; whilst, on the other hand, the judgment was not restricted to the destruction of the two kingdoms, but also embraced the later judgments which fell upon the entire nation.

CHAP. XXIV. PREDICTION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF
JERUSALEM BOTH IN PARABLE AND BY SIGN.

On the day on which the king of Babylon commenced the siege and blockade of Jerusalem, this event was revealed by God to Ezekiel on the Chaboras (vers. 1 and 2); and he was commanded to predict to the people through the medium of a parable the fate of the city and its inhabitants (vers. 3-14). God then foretold to him the death of his own wife, and commanded him to show no sign of mourning on account of it. His wife died the following evening, and he did as he was commanded. When he was asked by the people the reason of this, he explained to them, that what he was doing was symbolical of the way in which they were to act when Jerusalem fell (vers. 15-24). The fall would be announced to the prophet by a fugitive, and then he would no longer remain mute, but would speak to the people again (vers. 25-27).—Apart, therefore, from the last three verses, this chapter contains two words of God, the first of which unfolds in a parable the approaching calamities, and the result of the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (vers. 1-14); whilst the second typifies by means of a sign the pain and mourning of Israel, namely, of the exiles at the destruction of the city with its sanctuary and its inhabitants. These two words of God, being connected together by their contents, were addressed to the prophet on the same day, and that, as the introduction (vers. 1 and 2) expressly observes, the day on which the siege of Jerusalem by the king of Babylon began.

Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me in the ninth year, in the tenth month, on the tenth of the month, saying,*
Ver. 2. *Son of man, write for thyself the name of the day, this same day! The king of Babylon has fallen upon Jerusalem this same day.*—The date given, namely, the tenth day of the tenth month of the ninth year after the carrying away of Jehoiachin (ch. i. 2), or what is the same thing, of the

reign of Zedekiah, who was appointed king in his stead, is mentioned in Jer. lii. 4, xxxix. 1, and 2 Kings xxv. 1, as the day on which Nebuchadnezzar blockaded the city of Jerusalem by throwing up a rampart; and after the captivity this day was still kept as a fast-day in consequence (Zech. viii. 19). What was thus taking place at Jerusalem was revealed to Ezekiel on the Chaboras the very same day; and he was instructed to announce it to the exiles, "that they and the besieged might learn both from the time and the result, that the destruction of the city was not to be ascribed to chance or to the power of the Babylonians, but to the will of Him who had long ago foretold that, on account of the wickedness of the inhabitants, the city would be burned with fire; and that Ezekiel was a true prophet, because even when in Babylon, which was at so great a distance, he had known and had publicly announced the state of Jerusalem." The definite character of this prediction cannot be changed into a *vaticinium post eventum*, either by arbitrary explanations of the words, or by the unfounded hypothesis proposed by Hitzig, that the day was not set down in this definite form till after the event.—Writing the name of the day is equivalent to making a note of the day. The reason for this is given in ver. 2*b*, namely, because Nebuchadnezzar had fallen upon Jerusalem on that very day. יָמַד signifies to support, hold up (his hand); and hence both here and in Ps. lxxxviii. 8 the meaning to press violently upon anything. The rendering "to draw near," which has been forced upon the word from the Syriac (Ges., Winer, and others), cannot be sustained.

Vers. 3–14. PARABLE OF THE POT WITH THE BOILING PIECES.—Ver. 3. *And relate a parable to the rebellious house, and say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Set on the pot, set on and also pour water into it. Ver. 4. Gather its pieces of flesh into it, all the good pieces, haunch and shoulder, fill it with choice bones. Ver. 5. Take the choice of the flock, and also a pile of wood underneath for the bones; make it boil well, also*

cook its bones therein. Ver. 6. Therefore, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Woe! O city of murders! O pot in which is rust, and whose rust doth not depart from it; piece by piece fetch it out, the lot hath not fallen upon it. Ver. 7. For her blood is in the midst of her; she hath placed it upon the naked rock; she hath not poured it upon the ground, that they might cover it with dust. Ver. 8. To bring up fury, to take vengeance, I have made her blood come upon the naked rock, that it might not be covered. Ver. 9. Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Woe to the city of murders! I also will make the pile of wood great. Ver. 10. Heap up the wood, stir the fire, do the flesh thoroughly, make the broth boil, that the bones may also be cooked away. Ver. 11. And set it empty upon the coals thereof, that its brass may become hot and glowing, that the uncleanness thereof may melt within it, its rust pass away. Ver. 12. He hath exhausted the pains, and her great rust doth not go from her; into the fire with her rust! Ver. 13. In thine uncleanness is abomination; because I have cleansed thee, and thou hast not become clean, thou wilt no more become clean from thy uncleanness, till I quiet my fury upon thee. Ver. 14. I Jehovah have spoken it; it cometh, and I will do it; I will not cease, nor spare, nor let it repent me. According to thy ways, and according to thy deeds, shall they judge thee, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.

The contents of these verses are called *לִּפְתָּיָהוּ*, a proverb or parable; and Ezekiel is to communicate them to the refractory generation. It follows from this that the ensuing act, which the prophet is commanded to perform, is not to be regarded as a symbolical act which he really carried out, but that the act forms the substance of the *māshāl*, in other words, belongs to the parable itself. Consequently the interpretation of the parable in vers. 10 sqq. is clothed in the form of a thing actually done. The pot with the pieces of flesh and the bones, which are to be boiled in it and boiled away, represents Jerusalem with its inhabitants. The fire, with which they are boiled, is the fire of war, and the setting of the pot upon the

fire is the commencement of the siege, by which the population of the city is to be boiled away like the flesh and bones in a pot. שָׁפַת is used, as in 2 Kings iv. 38, to signify the setting of a pot by or upon the fire. אָסַף וְגו': put in its pieces all together. נִתְחַיָּה, its pieces of flesh, *i.e.* the pieces belonging to the cooking-pot. These are defined still more minutely as the best of the pieces of flesh, and of these the thigh (haunch) and shoulder are mentioned as the most important pieces, to which the choicest of the bones are to be added. This is rendered still more emphatic by the further instruction to take the choice of the flock in addition to these. The choicest pieces of flesh and the pieces of bone denote the strongest and ablest portion of the population of the city. To boil these pieces away, more especially the bones, a large fire is requisite. This is indicated by the words, "and also a pile of wood underneath for the bones." דָּוָר in ver. 5, for which מְרִוּרָה is substituted in ver. 9, signifies a pile of wood, and occurs in this sense in Isa. xxx. 33, from דָּוָר, to lay round, to arrange, pile up. הָעֵצִים דָּוָר cannot mean a heap of bones, on account of the article, but simply a pile of wood for the (previously mentioned) bones, namely, for the purpose of boiling them away. If we pay attention to the article, we shall see that the supposition that Ezekiel was to place a heap of bones under the pot, and the alteration proposed by Böttcher, Ewald, and Hitzig of הָעֵצִים into עֵצִים, are alike untenable. Even if דָּוָר in itself does not mean a pile of wood, but simply *strues*, an irregular heap, the fact that it is wood which is piled up is apparent enough from the context. If הָעֵצִים had grown out of עֵצִים through a corruption of the text, under the influence of the preceding עֲצָמִים, it would not have had an article prefixed. Hitzig also proposes to alter רִתְחִיָּה into נִתְחַיָּה, though without any necessity. The fact that רִתְחִיָּה does not occur again proves nothing at all. The noun is added to the verb to intensify its force, and is *plurale tant.* in the sense of boiling. נִם-בְּשָׁלֵנוּ is dependent upon the previous clause נִם taking the place of the copula-

tive ו. On בָּשָׁל, to be cooked, thoroughly done, see the comm. on Ex. xii. 9.

In vers. 6-8 the interpretation of the parable is given, and that in two trains of thought introduced by לָכֵן (vers. 6 and 9). The reason for commencing with לָכֵן, therefore, may be found in the fact that in the parable contained in vers. 3 sqq., or more correctly in the blockade of Jerusalem, which furnished the occasion for the parable, the judgment about to burst upon Jerusalem is plainly indicated. The train of thought is the following:—Because the judgment upon Jerusalem is now about to commence, therefore woe to her, for her blood-guiltiness is so great that she must be destroyed. But the punishment answering to the magnitude of the guilt is so distributed in the two strophes, vers. 6-8 and vers. 9-13, that the first strophe treats of the punishment of the inhabitants of Jerusalem; the second, of the punishment of the city itself. To account for the latter feature, there is a circumstance introduced which is not mentioned in the parable itself, namely, the rust upon the pot, and the figure of the pot is thereby appropriately extended. Moreover, in the explanation of the parable the figure and the fact pass repeatedly the one into the other. Because Jerusalem is a city of murders, it resembles a pot on which there are spots of rust that cannot be removed. Ver. 6b is difficult, and has been expounded in various ways. The ל before the twofold בְּחִצֵּיהָ is, no doubt, to be taken distributively: according to its several pieces, i.e. piece by piece, bring it out. But the suffix attached to הוֹצִיאָהּ cannot be taken as referring to פִּי, as Kliefoth proposes, for this does not yield a suitable meaning. One would not say: bring out the pot by its pieces of flesh, when nothing more is meant than the bringing of the pieces of flesh out of the pot. And this difficulty is not removed by giving to הוֹצִיאָהּ the meaning to reach hither. For, apart from the fact that there is nothing in the usage of the language to sustain the meaning, reach it hither for the purpose of setting it upon the fire, one would not say: reach hither

the pot according to its several pieces of flesh, piece by piece, when all that was meant was, bring hither the pot filled with pieces of flesh. The suffix to *הַפֶּסֶחַ* refers to the city (*עִיר*), *i.e.* to its population, “to which the blood-guiltiness really adhered, and not to its collection of houses” (Hitzig). It is only in appearance also that the suffix to *יְהוּדָה* refers to the pot; actually it refers to the city, *i.e.* to the whole of its population, the different individuals in which are the separate pieces of flesh. The meaning of the instructions therefore is by no means doubtful: the whole of the population to be found in Jerusalem is to be brought out, and that without any exception, inasmuch as the lot, which would fall upon one and not upon another, will not be cast upon her. There is no necessity to seek for any causal connection between the reference to the rust upon the pot and the bringing out of the pieces of flesh that are cooking within it, and to take the words as signifying that all the pieces, which had been rendered useless by the rust upon the pot, were to be taken out and thrown away (Hävernick); but through the allusion to the rust the interpretation already passes beyond the limits of the figure. The pieces of flesh are to be brought out, after they have been thoroughly boiled, to empty the pot, that it may then be set upon the fire again, to burn out the rust adhering to it (ver. 11). There is no force in Kliefoth’s objection, that this exposition does not agree with the context, inasmuch as, “according to the last clause of ver. 5 and vers. 10 and 11, the pieces of flesh and even the bones are not to be taken out, but to be boiled away by a strong fire; and the pot is to become empty not by the fact that the pieces of flesh are taken out and thrown away, but by the pieces being thoroughly boiled away, first to broth and then to nothing.” For “boiling away to nothing” is not found in the text, but simply that even the bones are to be thoroughly done, so as to turn into the softness of jelly.—So far as the fact is concerned, we cannot follow the majority of commentators, who suppose that the reference is simply to the

carrying away of the inhabitants into exile. Bringing the pieces of flesh out of the pot, denotes the sweeping away of the inhabitants from the city, whether by death (*vid.* ch. xi. 7) or by their being carried away captive. The city is to be emptied of men in consequence of its being blockaded by the king of Babylon. The reason of this is given in vers. 7 and 8, where the guilt of Jerusalem is depicted. The city has shed blood, which is not covered with earth, but has been left uncovered, like blood poured out upon a hard rock, which the stone cannot absorb, and which cries to God for vengeance, because it is uncovered (cf. Gen. iv. 10; Job xvi. 18; and Isa. xxvi. 21). The thought is this: she has sinned in an insolent and shameless manner, and has done nothing to cover her sin, has shown no sign of repentance or atonement, by which she might have got rid of her sin. This has all been ordered by God. He has caused the blood that was shed to fall upon a bare rock, that it might lie uncovered, and He might be able to execute vengeance for the crime.

The second turn in the address (ver. 9) commences in just the same manner as the first in ver. 6, and proceeds with a further picture of the execution of punishment. To avenge the guilt, God will make the pile of wood large, and stir up a fierce fire. The development of this thought is given in ver. 10 in the form of a command addressed to the prophet, to put much wood underneath, and to kindle a fire, so that both flesh and bones may boil away. הָמָם, from הָמַם, to finish, complete; with בָּשָׂר, to cook thoroughly. There are differences of opinion as to the true meaning of הַרְקַח הַמִּרְקָח; but the rendering sometimes given to רָקַח, namely, to spice, is at all events unsuitable, and cannot be sustained by the usage of the language. It is true that in Ex. xxx. 25 sqq. the verb רָקַח is used for the preparation of the anointing oil, but it is not the mixing of the different ingredients that is referred to, but in all probability the thorough boiling of the spices, for the purpose of extracting their essence, so that "thorough boiling" is no doubt the true

meaning of the word. In Job xli. 23 (31), מִרְקָחָהּ is the boiling unguent-pot. יִהְיֶה is a cohortative *Hiphil*, from הָרַר, to become red-hot, to be consumed.—Ver. 11. When the flesh and bones have thus been thoroughly boiled, the pot is to be placed upon the coals empty, that the rust upon it may be burned away by the heat. The emptying of the pot or kettle by pouring out the flesh, which has been boiled to broth, is passed over as self-evident. The uncleanness of the pot is the rust upon it. הָתָם is an Aramaean form for הָתָם = הָתָם. Michaelis has given the true explanation of the words: “*civibus caesis etiam urbs consumetur*” (when the inhabitants are slain, the city itself will be destroyed).¹—In vers. 12 sqq. the reason is given, which rendered it necessary to inflict this exterminating judgment. In ver. 12 the address still keeps to the figure, but in ver. 13 it passes over to the actual fact. It (the pot) has exhausted the pains (הָאֵנִים, ἀπ. λεγ.), namely, as ver. 13 clearly shows, the pains, or wearisome exertions, to make it clean by milder means, and not (as Hitzig erroneously infers from the following clause) to eat away the rust by such extreme heat. הִלָּאָה, third pers. *Hiphil* of הָלָאָה, is the earlier form, which fell into almost entire disuse in later times (*vid.*

¹ Hitzig discovers a *Hysteronproteron* in this description, because the cleaning of the pot ought to have preceded the cooking of the flesh in it, and not to have come afterwards, and also because, so far as the actual fact is concerned, the rust of sin adhered to the people of the city, and not to the city itself as a collection of houses. But neither of these objections is sufficient to prove what Hitzig wants to establish, namely, that the untenable character of the description shows that it is not really a prophecy; nor is there any force in them. It is true that if one intended to boil flesh in a pot for the purpose of eating, the first thing to be done would be to clean the pot itself. But this is not the object in the present instance. The flesh was simply to be thoroughly boiled, that it might be destroyed and thrown away, and there was no necessity to clean the pot for this purpose. And so far as the second objection is concerned, the defilement of sin does no doubt adhere to man, though not, as Hitzig assumes, to man alone. According to the Old Testament view, it extends to things as well (*vid.* Lev. xviii. 25, xxvii. 28). Thus leprosy, for example, did not pollute men only, but clothes and houses also. And for the same reason judgments were not restricted to men, but also fell upon cities and lands.

Ges. § 75, Anm. 1). The last words of ver. 11, I agree with Hitzig, Hävernick, and others, in taking as an exclamation. Because the pot has exhausted all the efforts made to cleanse it, its rust is to go into the fire. In ver. 13 Jerusalem is addressed, and וְיָמָה is not a genitive belonging to בְּטִמְאַתָּהּ, “on account of thy licentious uncleanness” (Ewald and Hitzig), but a predicate, “in thine uncleanness is (there lies) וְיָמָה, i.e. an abomination deserving of death” (see Lev. xviii. 17 and xx. 14, where the fleshly sins, which are designated as *zimmâh*, are ordered to be punished with death). The cleansings which God had attempted, but without Jerusalem becoming clean, consisted in the endeavour, which preceded the Chaldean judgment of destruction, to convert the people from their sinful ways, partly by threats and promises communicated through the prophets (*vid.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15), and partly by means of chastisements. For וְהָיָה חֶסֶד, see ch. v. 13. In ver. 14 there is a summary of the whole, which brings the threat to a close.

Vers. 15-24. THE SIGN OF SILENT SORROW CONCERNING THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.—Ver. 15. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 16. *Son of man, behold, I take from thee thine eyes' delight by a stroke, and thou shalt not mourn nor weep, and no tear shall come from thee.* Ver. 17. *Sigh in silence; lamentation for the dead thou shalt not make; bind thy head-attire upon thee, and put thy shoes upon thy feet, and do not cover thy beard, and eat not the bread of men.* Ver. 18. *And I spake to the people in the morning, and in the evening my wife died, and I did in the morning as I was commanded.* Ver. 19. *Then the people said to me, Wilt thou not show us what this signifies to us that thou doest so?* Ver. 20. *And I said to them, The word of Jehovah has come to me, saying,* Ver. 21. *Say to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will profane my sanctuary, the pride of your strength, the delight of your eyes, and the desire of your soul; and your*

sons and your daughters, whom ye have left, will fall by the sword. Ver. 22. Then will ye do as I have done, ye will not cover the beard, nor eat the bread of men; Ver. 23. And ye will have your head-attire upon your heads, and your shoes upon your feet; ye will not mourn nor weep, but will pine away in your iniquity, and sigh one toward another. Ver. 24. Thus will Ezekiel be a sign to you; as he hath done will ye do; when it cometh, ye will know that I the Lord am Jehovah.—From the statements in ver. 18, to the effect that the prophet spoke to the people in the morning, and then in the evening his wife died, and then again in the (following) morning, according to the command of God, he manifested no grief, and in answer to the inquiry of the people explained to them the meaning of what he did, it is evident that the word of God contained in this section came to him on the same day as the preceding one, namely, on the day of the blockade of Jerusalem; for what he said to the people on the morning of this day (ver. 18) is the prophecy contained in vers. 3–14. Immediately after He had made this revelation to him, God also announced to him the approaching death of his wife, together with the significance which this event would have to the people generally. The delight of the eyes (ver. 16) is his wife (ver. 18) בְּמִנְפָּה by a stroke, *i.e.* by a sudden death inflicted by God (*vid.* Num. xiv. 37, xvii. 13). On the occurrence of her death, he is neither to allow of any loud lamentings, nor to manifest any sign of grief, but simply to sigh in silence. מֵתִים אֵבֶל does not stand for מֵתִים אֵבֶל, but the words are both accusatives. The literal rendering would be: the dead shalt thou not make an object of mourning, *i.e.* thou shalt not have any mourning for the dead, as Storr (*Observv.* p. 19) has correctly explained the words. On occasions of mourning it was customary to uncover the head and strew ashes upon it (Isa. lxi. 3), to go barefoot (2 Sam. xv. 30; Isa. xx. 2), and to cover the beard, that is to say, the lower part of the face as far as the nose (Mic. iii. 7). Ezekiel is not to do any of these things, but

to arrange his head-attire (פִּאָר, the head-attire generally, or turban, *vid.* ver. 23 and Isa. lxi. 3, and not specially that of the priests, which is called פִּאָרִי הַכֹּהֲנִים in Ex. xxxix. 28), and to put on his shoes, and also to eat no mourning bread. לֶחֶם אֲנָשִׁים does not mean *panis miserorum, cibus lugentium*, in which case אֲנָשִׁים would be equivalent to אֲנָשִׁים, but bread of men, *i.e.* of the people, that is to say, according to the context, bread which the people were accustomed to send to the house of mourning in cases of death, to manifest their sympathy and to console and refresh the mourners,—a custom which gave rise in the course of time to that of formal funeral meals. These are not mentioned in the Old Testament; but the sending of bread or food to the house of mourning is clearly referred to in Deut. xxvi. 14, Hos. ix. 4, and Jer. xvi. 7 (see also 2 Sam. iii. 35).—When Ezekiel thus abstained from all lamentation and outward sign of mourning on the death of his dearest one, the people conjectured that such striking conduct must have some significance, and asked him what it was that he intended to show thereby. He then announced to them the word of God (vers. 20-24). As his dearest one, his wife, had been taken from him, so should its dearest object, the holy temple, be taken from the nation by destruction, and their children by the sword. When this occurred, then would they act as he was doing now; they would not mourn and weep, but simply in their gloomy sorrow sigh in silence on account of their sins, and groan one toward another. The profanation (חִלּוּל) of the sanctuary is effected through its destruction (*cf.* ch. vii. 24). To show the magnitude of the loss, the worth of the temple in the eyes of the nation is dwelt upon in the following clauses. נִאֲזַן עֲזֻבָּה is taken from Lev. xxvi. 19. The temple is called the pride of your strength, because Israel based its might and strength upon it as the scene of the gracious presence of God, living in the hope that the Lord would not give up His sanctuary to the heathen to be destroyed, but would defend the temple, and therewith Jerusalem and its inhabitants also (*cf.* Jer. vii. 4). מִחֲמַל נַפְשָׁם,

the desire or longing of the soul (from רָמַל, in Arabic, *desiderio ferri ad aliquam rem*). The sons and daughters of the people are the relatives and countrymen whom the exiles had been obliged to leave behind in Canaan.—The explanation of this lamentation and mourning on account of the destruction of the sanctuary and death of their relations, is to be found in the antithesis: וְיִמְקָחֶם בְּעַ', ye will pine or languish away in your iniquities (compare ch. iv. 17 and Lev. xxvi. 39). Consequently we have not to imagine either "stolid indifference" (Eichhorn and Hitzig), or "stolid impenitence" (Ewald), but overwhelming grief, for which there were no tears, no lamentation, but only deep inward sighing on account of the sins which had occasioned so terrible a calamity. מַגֵּן, lit. to utter a deep growl, like the bears (Isa. lix. 11); here to sigh or utter a deep groan. "One toward another," i.e. manifesting the grief to one another by deep sighs; not "full of murmuring and seeking the sin which occasioned the calamity in others rather than in themselves," as Hitzig supposes. The latter exposition is entirely at variance with the context. This grief, which consumes the bodily strength, leads to a clear perception of the sin, and also to true repentance, and through penitence and atonement to regeneration and newness of life. And thus will they attain to a knowledge of the Lord through the catastrophe which bursts upon them (cf. Lev. xxvi. 40 sqq.). For מִנִּיחָה, a sign, see the comm. on Ex. iv. 21.

Vers. 25–27. SEQUEL OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO THE PROPHET HIMSELF.—Ver. 25. *And thou, son of man, behold, in the day when I take from them their might, their glorious joy, the delight of their eyes and the desire of their soul, their sons and their daughters,* Ver. 26. *In that day will a fugitive come to thee, to tell it to thine ears.* Ver. 27. *In that day will thy mouth be opened with the fugitive, and thou wilt speak, and no longer be mute; and thus shalt thou be a sign to them that they may know that I am Jehovah.*—As

the destruction of Jerusalem would exert a powerful influence upon the future history of the exiles on the Chaboras, and be followed by most important results, so was it also to be a turning-point for the prophet himself in the execution of his calling. Hävernick has thus correctly explained the connection between these closing verses and what precedes, as indicated by **וְאָנֹכִי** in ver. 25. As Ezekiel up to this time was to speak to the people only when the Lord gave him a word for them, and at other times was to remain silent and dumb (ch. iii. 26 and 27); from the day on which a messenger should come to bring him the tidings of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, he was to open his mouth, and not continue dumb any longer. The execution of this word of God is related in ch. xxxiii. 21, 22. The words, "when I take from them their strength," etc., are to be understood in accordance with ver. 21. Consequently **מִזְבֵּחַ** is the sanctuary, which was taken from the Israelites through the destruction of Jerusalem. The predicates which follow down to **מִשָּׁא נֶפֶשׁ** refer to the temple (cf. ver. 21). **מִשָּׁא נֶפֶשׁ**, an object toward which the soul lifts itself up (**נִשְׂאָה**), *i.e.* for which it cherishes a desire or longing; hence synonymous with **מִחְמַל נֶפֶשׁ** in ver. 21. The sons and daughters are attached *ἀσυνδετῶς*. **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** (in that day), in ver. 26, which resumes the words **בַּיּוֹם קָחְתִּי וְגו'** (in the day when I take, etc.) in ver. 25, is not the day of the destruction of the temple, but generally the time of this event, or more precisely, the day on which the tidings would reach the prophet. **הַפִּלִּיט**, with the generic article, a fugitive (*vid.* Gen. xiv. 13). **לְהִשְׁמָעוֹת אָזְנוֹתַי**, to cause the ears to hear (it), *i.e.* to relate it, namely to the bodily ears of the prophet, whereas he had already heard it in spirit from God. **הַשְּׁמָעוֹת**, a verbal noun, used instead of the infinitive *Hiphil*. **אֶת־הַפִּלִּיט**, with the escaped one, *i.e.* at the same time "with the mouth of the fugitive" (Hitzig). **אֵת** expresses association, or so far as the fact is concerned, simultaneousness. The words, "then wilt thou speak, and no longer be dumb," do not imply that it was only from that time forward that Ezekiel

was to keep silence, but point back to ch. iii. 26 and 27, where silence is imposed upon him, with the exceptions mentioned there, from the very commencement of his ministry; and in comparison with that passage, simply involve *implicite* the thought that the silence imposed upon him then was to be observed in the strictest manner from the present time until the receipt of the intelligence of the fall of Jerusalem, when his mouth would be opened once more. Through the "words of God" that were given to His prophet (ch. iv.—xxiv.), the Lord had now said to the people of Israel all that He had to say concerning the approaching catastrophe for them to consider and lay to heart, that they might be brought to acknowledge their sin, and turn with sorrow and repentance to their God. Therefore was Ezekiel from this time forward to keep perfect silence toward Israel, and to let God the Lord speak by His acts and the execution of His threatening words. It was not till after the judgment had commenced that his mouth was to be opened again for still further announcements (*vid.* ch. xxxiii. 22).—Ezekiel was thereby to become a sign to the Israelites. These words have a somewhat different meaning in ver. 27 from that which they have in ver. 24. There, Ezekiel, by the way in which he behaved at the death of his wife, was to be a sign to the people of the manner in which they were to act when the judgment should fall upon Jerusalem; whereas here (ver. 27), לְמִנִּיחָה refers to the whole of the ministry of the prophet, his silence hitherto, and that which he was still to observe, as well as his future words. Through both of these he was to exhibit himself to his countrymen as a man whose silence, speech, and action were alike marvellous and full of meaning to them, and all designed to lead them to the knowledge of the Lord, the God of their salvation.

CHAP. XXV.—XXXII.—PREDICTIONS OF JUDGMENT
UPON THE HEATHEN NATIONS.

While the prophet's mouth was to be mute to Israel, the Lord directed him to speak against the heathen nations, and to foretell to them the judgment of destruction, that they might not be lifted up by the fall of the people and kingdom of God, but might recognise in the judgment upon Israel a work of the omnipotence and righteousness of the Lord, the Judge of the whole earth. There are seven heathen nations whose destruction Ezekiel foretells in this section of his book, viz. (1) Ammon; (2) Moab; (3) Edom; (4) the Philistines (ch. xxv.); (5) Tyre, (6) Sidon (ch. xxvi.—xxviii.); and (7) Egypt (ch. xxix.—xxxii.). These prophecies are divided into thirteen words of God by the introductory formula, "The word of Jehovah came to me," the utterances against Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines, being all comprehended in one word of God; whereas there are four separate words of God directed against Tyre, one against Sidon, and seven against Egypt. In the seven nations and the seven words of God directed against Egypt we cannot fail to discover an allusion to the symbolical significance of the number. Sidon, which had lost its commanding position and become dependent upon Tyre long before the time of Ezekiel, is evidently selected for a special word of God only for the purpose of making up the number seven. And in order to make it the more apparent that the number has been chosen on account of its significance, Ezekiel divides his announcement of the judgment upon the seventh people into seven words of God. On the basis of Gen. i., seven is the number denoting the completion of the works of God. When, therefore, Ezekiel selects seven nations and utters seven words of God concerning the principal nation, namely Egypt, he evidently intends to indicate thereby that the judgment predicted will be executed and completed upon the heathen world and its peoples through

the word and acts of God.—The predictions of judgment upon these seven heathen nations are divisible, accordingly, into two groups. Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, Tyre, and Sidon form one group, while the second treats of Egypt alone. This is certainly the way in which the cycle of these prophecies is to be divided rather than the plan ordinarily adopted, according to which the nations included in ch. xxv., as representatives of the one phase of the world-power, are placed in contrast with the other phase of heathenism represented by Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt. The latter is the opinion entertained by Hävernicks, for example, with regard to the “beautiful and symmetrical arrangement” of these prophecies. “First of all,” says he, “the prophet shows in one series of nations how the idea of the judgment of God was realized in the case of those nations which rose up in direct and open hostility to the theocracy, and thereby represented the might of heathenism as turned away from God and engaged in downright rebellion against Him (ch. xxv.). The prophecies concerning Tyre and Sidon contemplate heathenism in a second aspect (ch. xxvi.–xxviii.). In Tyre we have an exhibition of pride or carnal security, which looks away from God, and plunges deeper and deeper into the sin and worthlessness of the natural life. Both aspects are then finally combined in Egypt, that ancient foe of the covenant nation, which had grown into a world-power, and while displaying in this capacity unbending arrogance and pride, was now, like all the rest, about to be hurled down from the summit of its ancient glory into a bottomless deep.” But this interpretation is, in more than one respect, manifestly at variance with the substance of the prophecies. This applies, in the first place, to the antithesis which is said to exist between the nations threatened in ch. xxv. on the one hand, and Tyre and Sidon on the other. In the case of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines, for example, the sins mentioned as those for which they would be overthrown by the judgment are their malicious delight at the fall of Israel, and their revengeful, hostile beha-

viour towards the covenant nation (ch. xxv. 3, 8, 12, 15). And in the same way, according to ch. xxvi. 2, Tyre had involved itself in guilt by giving utterance to its delight at the destruction of Jerusalem, which inspired the hope that everything would now flow into its own store. On the other hand, nothing is said in the case of Pharaoh and Egypt about malicious pleasure, or hostility, or enmity towards Israel or the kingdom of God; but Pharaoh has rendered himself guilty by saying: the Nile is mine, I have made it for myself; and by the fact that Egypt had become a staff of reed to the house of Israel, which broke when they sought to lean upon it (ch. xxix. 3, 6, 7). According to these obvious explanations, Ezekiel reckoned Tyre and Sidon among the nations that were inimically disposed towards Israel, even though the hostile attitude of the Phoenicians was dictated by different motives from those of Edom and the other nations mentioned in ch. xxv.; and the heathen nations are arranged in two groups, and not in three. This is established beyond all doubt, when we observe that each of these two groups terminates with a promise for Israel. To the threat of judgment uttered against Sidon there is appended the promise: and there shall be no more for Israel a malicious briar and smarting thorn from all that are round about them who despise them; and when the Lord shall gather Israel from its dispersion, then will He cause it to dwell safely and prosperously in His land, inasmuch as He will execute judgment upon all round about them who despise them (ch. xxviii. 24–26). And the prediction of judgment upon Egypt in the last prophecy uttered concerning this land, in the twenty-seventh year of the captivity (ch. xxix. 17), closes in a similar manner, with the promise that at the time when the Lord gives Egypt as spoil to the king of Babylon, He will cause a horn to grow to the house of Israel (ch. xxix. 21). The fact that these two prophecies correspond to each other would not have been overlooked by the commentators if the prophecy concerning Egypt, which was really the last in order of time, had been placed in

its proper chronological position in the book of Ezekiel, namely, at the close of the words of God directed against that land.

The date of the great mass of these prophecies falls within the period of the last siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, that is to say, in the interval between ch. xxiv. and ch. xxxiii., as the chronological data in the headings plainly affirm. The first word concerning Tyre is from the eleventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin (ch. xxvi. 1). Of the prophecies against Egypt, the one in ch. xxix. 1-16 dates from the tenth month of the tenth year; that in ch. xxx. 20-26, from the first month of the eleventh year; that in ch. xxxi., from the third month of the same year; the two in ch. xxxii. 1 sqq. and 17 sqq., from the twelfth month of the twelfth year; and lastly, the brief utterance in ch. xxix. 17-21, from the twenty-seventh year of the captivity. There are no chronological data attached to the others. But the short, threatening words against the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and Philistines in ch. xxv. belong to the time immediately succeeding the fall of Jerusalem, since they presuppose its having occurred. The second and third utterances concerning Tyre in ch. xxvii. and ch. xxviii. 1-19, as well as that concerning Sidon in ch. xxviii. 20 sqq., are closely connected, so far as their contents are concerned, with the first word of God against Tyre belonging to the eleventh year of the captivity. And lastly, the threatening word concerning Egypt in ch. xxx. 1-19, to which no definite chronological data are attached, appears to stand nearer in point of time to ch. xxix. 1-16 than to ch. xxix. 17-21.—Consequently the arrangement is based upon the subject-matter of the prophecies, and the chronological sequence is kept subordinate to this, or rather to the comparative importance of the several nations in relation to the theocracy.

These prophecies evidently rest upon the predictions of the earlier prophets against the same nations, so far as their contents are concerned; and in the threats directed against Tyre and Egypt, more especially, many of the thoughts con-

tained in the prophecies of Isaiah (Isa. xxiii. and xix.) are reproduced and expanded. But notwithstanding this resting upon the utterances of earlier prophets, Ezekiel's prophecy against the heathen nations is distinguished in a characteristic manner from that of the other prophets, by the fact that he does not say a word about the prospect of these nations being ultimately pardoned, or of the remnant of them being converted to the Lord, but stops with the announcement of the utter destruction of the earthly and temporal condition of all these kingdoms and nations. The prophecy concerning Egypt in ch. xxix. 13–16, to the effect that after forty years of chastisement God will turn its captivity, and gather it together again, is only an apparent and not a real exception to this; for this turning of the judgment is not to bring about a restoration of Egypt to its former might and greatness or its glorification in the future; but, according to vers. 14 sqq., is simply to restore a lowly and impotent kingdom, which will offer no inducement to Israel to rely upon its strength. Through this promise, therefore, the threat of complete destruction is only somewhat modified, but by no means withdrawn. The only thing which Ezekiel positively holds out to view before the seven heathen nations is, that in consequence of the judgment falling upon them, they will learn that God is Jehovah, or the Lord. This formula regularly returns in the case of all the nations (*vid.* ch. xxv. 5, 7, 11, 17, xxvi. 6, xxviii. 22, 23, xxix. 6, 9, xxx. 8, 19, 25, 26, xxxii. 15); and we might take it to mean, that through the judgment of their destruction in a temporal respect, these nations will come to the knowledge of the God of salvation. And with this interpretation it would contain a slight allusion to the salvation, which will flourish in consequence of and after the judgment, in the case of those who have escaped destruction. If, however, we consider, on the one hand, that in the case of Edom (ch. xxv. 14) the formula takes a harsher form, namely, not that they shall know Jehovah, but that they shall experience His vengeance; and, on the other hand, that the

mighty Tyre is repeatedly threatened with destruction, even eternal extinction (ch. xxvi. 20, 21, xxvii. 36, xxviii. 19), and that the whole cycle of these prophecies closes with a funeral-dirge on the descent of all the heathen nations into Sheol (ch. xxxii. 17-32),—we shall see that the formula in question cannot be taken in the sense indicated above, as Kliefoth maintains, but must be understood as signifying that these nations will discern in their destruction the punitive righteousness of God, so that it presents no prospect of future salvation, but simply increases the force of the threat. There is nothing in this distinction, however, to establish a discrepancy between Ezekiel and the earlier prophets; for Ezekiel simply fixes his eye upon the judgment, which will fall upon the heathen nations, partly on account of their hostile attitude towards the kingdom of God, and partly on account of their deification of their own might, and is silent as to the salvation which will accrue even to them out of the judgment itself, but without in the least degree denying it. The reason for his doing this is not that the contemplation of the particular features, which form the details of the immediate fulfilment, has led him to avert his eye from the more comprehensive survey of the entire future;¹ but that the proclamation of the spread of salvation among the heathen lay outside the limits of the calling which he had received from the Spirit of God. The prophetic mission of Ezekiel was restricted to the remnant of the covenant nation, which was carried into exile, and scattered among the heathen. To this remnant he was to foretell the destruction

¹ Drechsler (in his commentary on Isa. xxiii.) has given the following explanation of the distinction to be observed between the prophecies of Isaiah and those of Ezekiel concerning Tyre,—namely, that in the case of Isaiah the spirit of prophecy invests its utterances with the character of totality, in accordance with the position assigned to this prophet at the entrance upon a new era of the world, embracing the entire future even to the remotest times, and sketching with grand simplicity the ground-plan and outline of the whole; whereas in the case of the later prophets, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who were living in the midst of the historical execution, the survey of the whole gives place to the contemplation of

of the kingdom of Judah, and after the occurrence of that catastrophe the preservation and eventual restoration of the kingdom of God in a renewed and glorified form. With this commission, which he had received from the Lord, there was associated, it is true, the announcement of judgment upon the heathen, inasmuch as such an announcement was well fitted to preserve from despair the Israelites, who were pining under the oppression of the heathen, and to revive the hope of the fulfilment of the promise held out before the penitent of their future redemption from their state of misery and restoration to the position of the people of God. But this would not apply to the prophecies of the reception of the heathen into the renovated kingdom of God, as they contained no special element of consolation to the covenant people in their depression.

In connection with this we have the equally striking circumstance, that Ezekiel does not mention Babylon among the heathen nations. This may also be explained, not merely from the predominance of the idea of the judgment upon Israel and Jerusalem, which the Chaldeans were to execute as "righteous men" (ch. xxiii. 45), so that they only came before him as such righteous men, and not as a world-power also (Kliefoth), but chiefly from the fact that, for the reason described above, Ezekiel's prophecy of the judgment upon the heathen is restricted to those nations which had hitherto cherished and displayed either enmity or false friendship toward Israel, and the Chaldeans were not then reckoned among the number.—For the further development of the prophecy concerning the future of the whole heathen world, the Lord had called the particular features belonging to the details of the immediate fulfilment. But this explanation is not satisfactory, inasmuch as Jeremiah, notwithstanding the fact that he lived in the midst of the execution of the judgment, foretold the turning of judgment into salvation at least in the case of some of the heathen nations. For example, in ch. xlviii. 47 he prophesies to the Moabites, and in ch. xlix. 6 to the Ammonites, that in the future time Jehovah will turn their captivity; and in ch. xlv. 26 he says, concerning Egypt, that after the judgment it will be inhabited as in the days of old.

prophet Daniel at the same time as Ezekiel, and assigned him his post at the seat of the existing heathen imperial power.

CHAP. XXV. AGAINST AMMON, MOAB, EDM, AND THE
PHILISTINES.

The prophecies, comprehended in the heading (ver. 1) in one "word of the Lord," against Ammon (vers. 1-7), Moab (vers. 8-11), Edom (vers. 12-14), and the Philistines (vers. 15-17), those four border-nations of Israel, are very concise, the judgment of destruction being foretold to them, in a few forcible lines, partly on account of their scorn at the fall of the people and kingdom of God, and partly because of actual hostility manifested toward them. The date of these utterances is not given in the heading; but in vers. 3, 6, and 8 the destruction of Jerusalem is presupposed as having already occurred, so that they cannot have been delivered till after this catastrophe.

Vers. 1-7. AGAINST THE AMMONITES.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, direct thy face towards the sons of Ammon, and prophesy against them,* Ver. 3. *And say to the sons of Ammon, Hear ye the word of the Lord Jehovah! Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because thou sayest, Aha! concerning my sanctuary, that it is profaned; and concerning the land of Israel, that it is laid waste; and concerning the house of Judah, that they have gone into captivity;* Ver. 4. *Therefore, behold, I will give thee to the sons of the east for a possession, that they may pitch their tent-villages in thee, and erect their dwellings in thee; they shall eat thy fruits, and they shall drink thy milk.* Ver. 5. *And Rabbah will I make a camel-ground, and the sons of Ammon a resting-place for flocks; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah.* Ver. 6. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because thou hast clapped thy hand, and stamped with thy foot, and hast rejoiced in soul with all thy contempt concerning the house of Israel,* Ver. 7. *Therefore, behold, I*

will stretch out my hand against thee, and give thee to the nations for booty, and cut thee off from the peoples, and exterminate thee from the lands; I will destroy thee, that thou mayst learn that I am Jehovah.

—In ch. xxi. 28 sqq., when predicting the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem, Ezekiel had already foretold the destruction of the Ammonites, so that these verses are simply a resumption and confirmation of the earlier prophecy. In the passage referred to, Ezekiel, like Zephaniah before him (Zeph. ii. 8, 10), mentions their reviling of the people of God as the sin for which they are to be punished with destruction. This reviling, in which their hatred of the divine calling of Israel found vent, was the radical sin of Ammon. On the occasion of Judah's fall, it rose even to contemptuous and malicious joy at the profanation of the sanctuary of Jehovah by the destruction of the temple (a comparison with ch. xxiv. 21 will show that this is the sense in which נָחַל is to be understood), at the devastation of the land of Israel, and at the captivity of Judah, —in other words, at the destruction of the religious and political existence of Israel as the people of God. The profanation of the sanctuary is mentioned first, to intimate that the hostility to Israel, manifested by the Ammonites on every occasion that presented itself (for proofs, see the comm. on Zeph. ii. 8), had its roots not so much in national antipathies, as in antagonism to the sacred calling of Israel. As a punishment for this, they are not only to lose their land (vers. 4 and 5), but to be cut off from the number of the nations (vers. 6 and 7). The Lord will give up their land, with its productions, for a possession to the sons of the east, *i.e.*, according to Gen. xxv. 13-18, to the Arabs, the Bedouins (for בְּנֵי קָרָם, see the comm. on Judg. vi. 3 and Job i. 3). The *Piel* יִשָּׁב, although only occurring here, is not to be rejected as critically suspicious, and to be changed into *Kal*, as Hitzig proposes. The *Kal* would be unsuitable, because the subject of the sentence can only be בְּנֵי קָרָם, and not טִירוֹתֵיהֶם; and יִשָּׁב in the *Kal* has an intransitive sense. For טִירוֹת, tent-villages of nomads, see the comm. on Gen.

prophet Daniel at the same time as Ezekiel, and assigned him his post at the seat of the existing heathen imperial power.

CHAP. XXV. AGAINST AMMON, MOAB, EDOM, AND THE
PHILISTINES.

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xxv. 16. מִשְׁכָּנֵיהֶם, dwellings, are the separate tents of the shepherds. In the last clauses of ver. 4, הָאֶרֶץ is repeated for the sake of emphasis; and Hitzig's opinion, that the first הָאֶרֶץ corresponds to the subject in the clause וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ וּנָוּ, the second to that in וַיִּנְהָגוּ, is to be rejected as a marvellous flight of imagination, which approaches absurdity in the assertion that פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ signifies the folds, *i.e.* the animals, of the land. Along with the fruit of the land, *i.e.* the produce of the soil, milk is also mentioned as a production of pastoral life, and the principal food of nomads. On the wealth of the Ammonites in flocks and herds, see Judg. vi. 5. The words are addressed to Ammon, as a land or kingdom, and hence the feminine suffix. The capital will also share the fate of the land. *Rabbah* (see the comm. on Deut. iii. 11) will become a camel-ground, a waste spot where camels lie down and feed. This has been almost literally fulfilled. The ruins of *Ammân* are deserted by men, and Seetzen found Arabs with their camels not far off (*vid.* von Raumer, *Palestine*, p. 268). In the parallel clause, the sons of Ammon, *i.e.* the Ammonites, are mentioned instead of their land.—In vers. 6 and 7, the Lord announces to the nation of the Ammonites the destruction that awaits them, and reiterates with still stronger emphasis the sin which occasioned it, namely, the malicious delight they had manifested at Israel's fall. בְּכָל-שִׂשְׁמֹתָךְ is strengthened by בְּנִפְשׁ: with all thy contempt in the soul, *i.e.* with all the contempt which thy soul could cherish. In ver. 7 the ἀπ. λεγ. לְבָנִי occasions some difficulty. The *Keri* has substituted לְבָנִי, for booty to the nations (*cf.* ch. xxvi. 5); and all the ancient versions have adopted this. Consequently בָּנִי might be a copyist's error for בָּנִי; and in support of this the circumstance might be adduced, that in ch. xlvii. 13, where יָהּ stands for יְהוָה, we have unquestionably a substitution of נ for י. But if the *Chetib* בִּנִי be correct, the word is to be explained—as it has been by Benfey (*Die Montasnamen*, p. 194) and Gildemeister (in Lassen's *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iv. 1, p. 213 sqq.)—from the Sanscrit *bhāga*,

pars, portio, and has passed into the Semitic languages from the Aryan, like the Syriac ܡܫܚܐ , *esca*, which P. Boetticher (*Horae aram.* p. 21) has correctly traced to the Sanscrit *bhāj, coquere*.—The executors of the judgment are not named; for the threat that God will give up the land of the Ammonites to the Bedouins for their possession, does not imply that they are to exterminate the Ammonites. On the contrary, a comparison of this passage with Amos i. 13-15 and Jer. xlix. 1-5, where the Ammonites are threatened not only with the devastation of their land, but also with transportation into exile, will show that the Chaldeans are to be thought of as executing the judgment. (See the comm. on ver. 11.)

Vers. 8-11. AGAINST THE MOABITES.—Ver. 8. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because Moab, like Seir, saith, Behold, like all other nations is the house of Judah:* Ver. 9. *Therefore, behold, I will open the shoulder of Moab from the cities, from its cities even to the last, the ornament of the land, Beth-hayeshimoth, Baal-meon, and as far as Kiryathaim,* Ver. 10. *To the sons of the east, together with the sons of Ammon, and will give it for a possession, that the sons of Ammon may no more be remembered among the nations.* Ver. 11. *Upon Moab will I execute judgments; and they shall learn that I am Jehovah.*—Moab has become guilty of the same sin against Judah, the people of God, as Ammon, namely, of misunderstanding and despising the divine election of Israel. Ammon gave expression to this, when Judah was overthrown, in the malicious assertion that the house of Judah was like all the heathen nations,—that is to say, had no pre-eminence over them, and shared the same fate as they. There is something remarkable in the allusion to Seir, *i.e.* Edom, in connection with Moab, inasmuch as no reference is made to it in the threat contained in vers. 9-11; and in vers. 12, 13, there follows a separate prediction concerning Edom. Hitzig therefore proposes to follow the example

of the LXX., and erase it from the text as a gloss, but without being able in the smallest degree to show in what way it is probable that such a gloss could have found admission into an obviously unsuitable place. Seir is mentioned along with Moab to mark the feeling expressed in the words of Moab as springing, like the enmity of Edom towards Israel, from hatred and envy of the spiritual birthright of Israel, *i.e.* of its peculiar prerogatives in sacred history. As a punishment for this, Moab was to be given up, like Ammon, to the Bedouins for their possession, and the people of the Moabites were to disappear from the number of the nations. Vers. 9 and 10 form one period, לְבָנֵי קָדָם in ver. 10 being governed by פָּתַח in ver. 9. The shoulder of Moab is the side of the Moabitish land. In the application of the word פָּתַח to lands or provinces, regard is had to the position of the shoulder in relation to the whole body, but without reference to the elevation of the district. We find an analogy to this in the use of פָּתַח in connection with the sides of a building. In מַהֲעָרִים וְגו' the מֵן cannot be taken, in a privative sense, for מֵהָיִית׃; for neither the article הָעָרִים, nor the more emphatic מֵעָרָיו מִקְצֵהוּ, allows this; but מֵן indicates the direction, “from the cities onwards,” “from its cities onwards, reckoning to the very last,”—that is to say, in its whole extent. מִקְצֵהוּ, as in Isa. lvi. 11, Gen. xix. 4, etc. This tract of land is first of all designated as a glorious land, with reference to its worth as a possession on account of the excellence of its soil for the rearing of cattle (see the comm. on Num. xxxii. 4), and then defined with geographical minuteness by the introduction of the names of some of its cities. *Beth-Hayeshimoth*, *i.e.* house of wastes (see the comm. on Num. xxii. 1), has probably been preserved in the ruins of *Suaimé*, which F. de Saulcy discovered on the north-eastern border of the Dead Sea, a little farther inland (*vid. Voyage en terre sainte*, Paris 1865, t. i. p. 315). *Baal-Meon*,—when written fully, *Beth-Baal-Meon* (Josh. xiii. 17),—contracted into *Beth-Meon* in Jer. xlviii. 23, is to be sought for to the south-east of this, in the ruins of

Myun, three-quarters of an hour's journey to the south of Heshbon (see the comm. on Num. xxxii. 38). *Kiryathaim* was still farther south, probably on the site of the ruins of *El Teym* (see the comm. on Gen. xiv. 5 and Num. xxxii. 37). The *Chetib* קְרִיתִיב is based upon the form קְרִיתָם, a secondary form of קְרִיתִים, like יִתֵּן, a secondary form of יָתַן, in 2 Kings vi. 13. The cities named were situated to the north of the Arnon, in that portion of the Moabitish land which had been taken from the Moabites by the Amorites before the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan (Num. xxi. 13, 26), and was given to the tribe of Reuben for its inheritance after the defeat of the Amoritish kings by the Israelites; and then, still later, when the tribes beyond the Jordan were carried into captivity by the Assyrians, came into the possession of the Moabites again, as is evident from Isa. xv. and xvi., and Jer. xlviii. 1, 23, where these cities are mentioned once more among the cities of the Moabites. This will explain not only the naming of this particular district of the Moabitish country, but the definition, "from its cities." For the fact upon which the stress is laid in the passage before us is, that the land in question rightfully belonged to the Israelites, according to Num. xxxii. 37, 38, xxxiii. 49, Josh. xii. 2, 3, xiii. 20, 21, and that it was therefore unlawfully usurped by the Moabites after the deportation of the trans-Jordanic tribes; and the thought is this, that the judgment would burst upon Moab from this land and these cities, and they would thereby be destroyed (Hävernicks and Kliefoth). עַל בְּנֵי-עַמּוֹן, not "over the sons of Ammon," but "in addition to the sons of Ammon." They, that is to say, their land, had already been promised to the sons of the east (ver. 4). In addition to this, they are now to receive Moab for their possession (Hitzig and Kliefoth). Thus will the Lord execute judgments upon Moab. Ver. 11 sums up what is affirmed concerning Moab in vers. 9 and 10, in the one idea of the judgments of God upon this people.—The execution of these judgments commenced with the subjugation of the Ammonites

and Moabites by Nebuchadnezzar, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem (*vid.* Josephus, *Antt.* x. 9. 7, and M. von Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs*, etc., p. 215). Nevertheless the Ammonites continued to exist as a nation for a long time after the captivity, so that Judas the Maccabaeon waged war against them (1 Macc. v. 6, 30–43); and even Justin Martyr speaks of Ἀμμωνιτῶν νῦν πολὺ πλῆθος (*Dial. Tryph.* p. 272).—But Origen includes their land in the general name of Arabia (*lib. i. in Job*). The name of the Moabites appears to have become extinct at a much earlier period. After the captivity, it is only in Ezra ix. 1, Neh. xiii. 1, and Dan. xi. 41, that we find any notice of them as a people. Their land is mentioned by Josephus in the *Antiq.* xiii. 14. 2, and xv. 4, and in the *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 3.—A further fulfilment by the Messianic judgment, which is referred to in Zeph. ii. 10, is not indicated in these words of Ezekiel; but judging from the prophecy concerning the Edomites (see the comm. on ver. 14), it is not to be excluded.

Vers. 12–14. AGAINST THE EDMITES.—Ver. 12. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because Edom acteth revengefully towards the house of Judah, and hath been very guilty in avenging itself upon them,* Ver. 13. *Therefore, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I will stretch out my hand over Edom, and cut off man and beast from it, and make it a desert from Teman, and unto Dedan they shall fall by the sword.* Ver. 14. *And I will inflict my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel, that they may do to Edom according to my anger and my wrath; and they shall experience my vengeance, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—Whilst the Ammonites and the Moabites are charged with nothing more than malicious pleasure at the fall of Israel, and disregard of its divine calling, the Edomites are reproached with revengeful acts of hostility towards the house of Judah, and threatened with extermination in consequence. The *נִשְׁכָּן*, doing or acting of Edom, is more pre-

cisely defined as בְּנִקְוֹם וְגו', *i.e.* as consisting in the taking of vengeance, and designated as very guilty, יְאִשְׁמוּ אֶשׁוּם, עָשָׂה, followed by אַ with an infinitive, as in ch. xvii. 17. Edom had sought every opportunity of acting thus revengefully towards Israel (*vid.* Obad. vers. 11 sqq.; Amos i. 11), so that in ch. xxxv. 5 Ezekiel speaks of the "eternal enmity" of Edom against Israel. For this reason we must not restrict the reproach in ver. 12 to particular outbreaks of this revenge at the time of the devastation and destruction of Judah by the Chaldeans, of which the Psalmist complains in Ps. cxxxvii., and for which he invokes the vengeance of God upon Edom. Man and beast are to be cut off from Edom in consequence, and the land to become a desert from Teman to Dedan. These names denote not cities, but districts. *Teman* is the southern portion of Idumaea (see the comm. on Amos i. 12); and *Dedan* is therefore the northern district. *Dedan* is probably not the Cushite tribe mentioned in Gen. x. 7, but the tribe of the same name which sprang from the sons of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3), and which is also mentioned in Jer. xlix. 8 in connection with Edom. דְּדָנָה has ה local with *Seghol* instead of *Kametz*, probably on account of the preceding *a* (*vid.* Ewald, § 216c). There is no necessity to connect מִתֵּימָן with the following clause, as Hitzig and Kliefoth have done, in opposition to the accents. The two geographical names, which are used as a periphrasis for Idumaea as a whole, are distributed equally through the *parallelismus membrorum* between the two clauses of the sentence, so that they belong to both clauses, so far as the sense is concerned. Edom is to become a desert from Teman to Dedan, and its inhabitants from Teman to Dedan are to fall by the sword. This judgment of vengeance will be executed by God through His people Israel. The fulfilment of this threat, no doubt, commenced with the subjugation of the Edomites by the Maccabees; but it is not to be limited to that event, as Rosenmüller, Kliefoth, and others suppose, although the foundation was thereby laid for the disappearance

of the national existence of Edom. For it is impossible with this limitation to do justice to the emphatic expression, "*my people Israel.*" On the ground, therefore, of the prophecies in Amos ix. 12 and Obad. vers. 17 sqq., that the people of God are to take possession of Edom, when the fallen tabernacle of David is raised up again, *i.e.* in the Messianic times, which prophecies point back to that of Balaam in Num. xxiv. 18, and have their roots, as this also has, in the promise of God concerning the twin sons of Isaac, "the elder shall serve the younger" (Gen. xxv. 23), we must seek for the complete fulfilment in the victories of the people of God over all their foes, among whom Edom from time immemorial had taken the leading place, at the time when the kingdom of God is perfected. For even here Edom is not introduced merely as a single nation that was peculiarly hostile to Judah, but also as a type of the implacable enmity of the heathen world towards the people and kingdom of God, as in ch. xxxv., Isa. xxxiv. 63, etc. The vengeance, answering to the anger and wrath of Jehovah, which Israel, as the people of God, is to execute upon Edom, consists not merely in the annihilation of the national existence of Edom, which John Hyrcanus carried into effect by compelling the subjugated Edomites to adopt circumcision (see the comm. on Num. xxiv. 18), but chiefly in the wrathful judgment which Israel will execute in the person of Christ upon the arch-enemy of the kingdom of God by its complete extinction.

Vers. 15-17. AGAINST THE PHILISTINES.—Ver. 15. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because the Philistines act with revenge, and avenge themselves with contempt in the soul to destroy in everlasting enmity, Ver. 16. Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will stretch out my hand over the Philistines, and cut off the Cretans, and destroy the remnant by the sea-shore. Ver. 17. And I will execute great vengeance upon them through chastisements of wrath, and they shall know that*

I am Jehovah, when I bring my vengeance upon them.—The Philistines resembled the Edomites and Ammonites in their disposition towards the covenant nation, the former in their thirst for revenge, the latter in their malicious rejoicing at Israel's fall. For this reason they had already been classed by Isaiah (xi. 14) with Edom, Moab, and Ammon as enemies, who would be successfully attacked and overcome by Israel, when the Lord had gathered it again from its dispersion. In the description of its sin towards Israel we have a combination of elements taken from the conduct of Edom and Ammon (vers. 12 and 6). They execute revenge with contempt in the soul (שָׂאֵם בְּנֶפֶשׁ, as in ver. 6), with the intention to destroy (לְמִשְׁחִית) Israel; and this revenge springs from eternal, never-ending hostility. The Lord will cut off the whole of the people of the Philistines for this. כְּרִתִּים, Cretans, originally a branch of the Philistian people, settled in the south-west of Canaan. The name is used by Ezekiel for the people, as it had already been by Zephaniah (ii. 5), for the sake of the *paronomasia* with הַכְרִיתִי. The origin of the name is involved in obscurity, as the current derivation from *Creta* rests upon a very doubtful combination (cf. Stark, *Gaza*, pp. 66 and 99 sqq.). By the "remnant of the sea-coast," i.e. the remnant of the inhabitants of the coast of the Mediterranean, in other words, of the Philistines, the destruction of which had already been predicted by Amos (i. 8), Isaiah (xiv. 30), and Jeremiah (xlvii. 4), we are to understand the whole nation to the very last man, all that was still left of the Philistines (see the comm. on Amos i. 8).—The execution of the vengeance threatened by God began in the Chaldean period, in which Gaza was attacked by Pharaoh, and, judging from Jer. xlvii., the whole of Philistia was laid waste by the Chaldeans (see the fuller comments on this in the exposition of Jer. xlvii.). But the ultimate fulfilment will take place in the case of Philistia also, through the Messianic judgment, in the manner described in the commentary on Zeph. ii. 10.

CHAP. XXVI.-XXVIII.—AGAINST TYRE AND SIDON.

The greater portion of these three chapters is occupied with the prophecy concerning Tyre, which extends from ch. xxvi. 1 to ch. xxviii. 19. The prophecy against Sidon is limited to ch. xxviii. 20-26. The reason for this is, that the grandeur and importance of Phœnicia were concentrated at that time in the power and rule of Tyre, to which Sidon had been obliged to relinquish the hegemony, which it had formerly possessed over Phœnicia. The prophecy against Tyre consists of four words of God, of which the first (ch. xxvi.) contains the threat of destruction to the city and state of Tyre; the second (ch. xxvii.), a lamentation over this destruction; the third (ch. xxviii. 1-10), the threat against the king of Tyre; the fourth (ch. xxviii. 11-19), a lamentation over his fall.

CHAP. XXVI. THE FALL OF TYRE.

In four sections, commencing with the formula, "thus saith the Lord," Tyre, the mistress of the sea, is threatened with destruction. In the first strophe (vers. 2-6) there is a general threat of its destruction by a host of nations. In the second (vers. 7-14), the enemy is mentioned by name, and designated as a powerful one; and the conquest and destruction emanating from him are circumstantially described. In the third (vers. 15-18), the impression which this event would produce upon the inhabitants of the islands and coast-lands is depicted. And in the fourth (vers. 19-21), the threat is repeated in an energetic manner, and the prophecy is thereby rounded off.

This word of God bears in the introduction the date of its delivery to the prophet and enunciation by him.—Ver. 1. *It came to pass in the eleventh year, on the first of the month, that the word of Jehovah came to me, saying.*—The eleventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin was the year of the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. lii. 6, 12), the occurrence of which

is presupposed in ver. 2 also. There is something striking in the omission of the number of the month both here and in ch. xxxii. 17, as the day of the month is given. The attempt to discover in the words בְּאַחֶרֶץ לַחֹדֶשׁ an indication of the number of the month, by understanding לַחֹדֶשׁ as signifying the first month of the year: "on the first as regards the month," equivalent to, "in the first month, on the first day of it" (LXX., Luther, Kliefoth, and others), is as forced and untenable as the notion that that particular month is intended which had peculiar significance for Ezekiel, namely, the month in which Jerusalem was conquered and destroyed. The first explanation is proved to be erroneous by ver. 2, where the destruction of Jerusalem, which occurred in the fifth month of the year named, is assumed to have already happened. The second view is open to the objection that the conquest of Jerusalem happened in the fourth month, and the destruction in the fifth (Jer. lii. 6 and 12); and it cannot be affirmed that the conquest was of less importance to Ezekiel than the destruction. We cannot escape the conclusion, therefore, that the number of the month has been dropped through a corruption of the text, which has occurred in copying; but in that case we must give up all hope of being able to determine what the month really was. The conjecture offered by Ewald and Hitzig, that one of the last months of the year is intended, because Ezekiel could not have known before then what impression the conquest of Jerusalem had made upon Tyre, stands or falls with the naturalistic view entertained by these writers with regard to prophecy.

Vers. 2-6. Tyre shall be broken and utterly destroyed.—
 Ver. 2. *Son of man, because Tyre saith concerning Jerusalem, "Aha, the door of the nations is broken; it turneth to me; I shall become full; she is laid waste;"* Ver. 3. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will come upon thee, O Tyre, and will bring up against thee many nations, as the sea bringing up its waves.* Ver. 4. *They will destroy the walls of Tyre, and throw down her towers; and I will sweep away*

her dust from her, and make her a bare rock. Ver. 5. She shall become a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea, for I have spoken it, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah; and she shall become booty for the nations. Ver. 6. And her daughters which are in the land shall be slain with the sword; and they shall learn that I am Jehovah.—TYRE, as in the prophecy of Isaiah (ch. xxiii.), is not the city of that name upon the mainland, ἡ πάλαι Τύρος or Παλαιτύρος, Old Tyre, which was taken by Shalmaneser and destroyed by Alexander (as Perizon., Marsh, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, and Eichhorn supposed), but Insular Tyre, which was three-quarters of a mile farther north, and only 1200 paces from the land, being built upon a small island, and separated from the mainland by a strait of no great depth (*vid.* Movers, *Phoenizier*, II. p. 288 sqq.). This Insular Tyre had successfully resisted the Assyrians (Josephus, *Antt.* ix. 14. 2), and was at that time the market of the nations; and in Ezekiel's day it had reached the summit of its greatness as mistress of the sea and the centre of the commerce of the world. That it is against this Tyre that our prophecy is chiefly directed, is evident from vers. 5 and 14, according to which Tyre is to become a bare rock in the midst of the sea, and from the allusion to the daughter cities, תִּצְבֹּת, in the field, *i.e.* on the mainland (in ver. 6), as contrasted with the position occupied by Tyre upon a rocky island in the sea; and, lastly, from the description given in ch. xxvii. of the maritime trade of Tyre with all nations, to which Old Tyre never attained, inasmuch as it possessed no harbour (*vid.* Movers, *l.c.* p. 176). This may easily be reconciled with such passages as vers. 6, 8, and ch. xxvii., xxviii., in which reference is also made to the continental Tyre, and the conquest of Tyre is depicted as the conquest of a land-city (see the exposition of these verses).—The threat against Tyre commences, as in the case of the nations threatened in ch. xxv., with a brief description of its sin. Tyre gave expression to its joy at the fall of Jerusalem, because it hoped to derive profit therefrom through

the extension of its commerce and increase of its wealth. Different explanations have been given of the meaning of the words put into the mouth of Tyre. "The door of the nations is broken in pieces." The plural דלתות indicates the folding doors which formed the gate, and are mentioned in its stead. Jerusalem is the door of the nations, and is so called according to the current opinion of expositors, because it was the centre of the commerce of the nations, *i.e.* as a place of trade. But nothing is known to warrant the idea that Jerusalem was ever able to enter into rivalry with Tyre as a commercial city. The importance of Jerusalem with regard to other nations was to be found, not in its commerce, nor in the favourable situation which it occupied for trade, in support of which Hävernick refers to Herodotus, iii. 5, and Hitzig to Ezekiel xxiii. 40, 41, but in its sanctuary, or the sacred calling which it had received for the whole world of nations. Kliefoth has therefore decided in favour of the following view: That Jerusalem is called a gate of the nations, not because it had hitherto been open to the nations for free and manifold intercourse, but for the very opposite reason, namely, because the gate of Jerusalem had hitherto been closed and barred against the nations, but was now broken in pieces through the destruction of the city, and thereby opened to the nations. Consequently the nations, and notably Tyre, would be able to enter now; and from this fact the Tyrians hoped to derive advantage, so far as their commercial interests were concerned. But this view is not in harmony with the text. Although a gate is opened by being broken in pieces, and one may force an entrance into a house by breaking the door (Gen. xix. 9), yet the expression "door of the nations" cannot signify a door which bars all entrance on the part of the nations, inasmuch as doors and gates are not made to secure houses and cities against the forcible entrance of men and nations, but to render it possible for them to go out and in. Moreover, the supposition that "door of the nations" is equivalent to shutting against the nations, is not in harmony

with the words **נִסְבָּה אֵלַי** which follow. The expression "it has turned to me," or it is turned to me, has no meaning unless it signifies that through the breaking of the door the stream of the nations would turn away from Jerusalem to Tyre, and therefore that hitherto the nations had turned to Jerusalem. **נִסְבָּה** is the 3d pers. perf. *Niphal* of **סָבַב**, for **נִסְבָּה**, formed after the analogy of **נָסַב**, etc. The missing subject to **נִסְבָּה** is to be found *ad sensum* in **וְהָלְתוּ הָעַמִּים**. It is not the door itself, but the entrance and streaming in of the nations, which had previously been directed towards Jerusalem, and would now turn to Tyre. There is no necessity, therefore, for Hitzig's conjecture, that **אֶמְלֶאֱהָ** should be altered into **מְלֶאֱהָ**, and the latter taken as the subject. Consequently we must understand the words of the Tyrians as signifying that they had regarded the drawing of the nations to Jerusalem, *i.e.* the force of attraction which Jerusalem had hitherto exerted upon the nations, as the seat of the divine revelation of mercy, or of the law and judgment of the Lord, as interfering with their endeavour to draw all nations to themselves and gain them over to their purposes, and that they rejoiced at the destruction of Jerusalem, because they hoped that henceforth they would be able to attract the nations to themselves and enrich themselves with their possessions. This does not require that we should accredit the Tyrians with any such insight into the spiritual calling of Jerusalem as would lie beyond their heathen point of view. The simple circumstance, that the position occupied by Jerusalem in relation to the world apparently interfered with the mercantile interests of the Tyrians, would be quite sufficient to excite a malignant pleasure at the fall of the city of God, as the worship of God and the worship of Mammon are irreconcilably opposed. The source from which the envy and the enmity manifesting itself in this malicious pleasure took their rise, is indicated in the last words: "I shall fill myself, she (Jerusalem) is laid waste," which Jerome has correctly linked together thus: *quia illa deserta est, idcirco ego implebor*. **וְהִמְלֵא**, to be filled with mer-

chandise and wealth, as in ch. xxvii. 25. On account of this disposition toward the kingdom of God, which led Tyre to expect an increase of power and wealth from its destruction, the Lord God would smite it with ruin and annihilation. הִנְנִי עֹלֶיךָ, behold, I will come upon thee, as in ch. xiii. 8; Jer. l. 31, Nah. iii. 5. God will lead a powerful army against Tyre, which shall destroy its walls and towers. Instead of the army, "many nations" are mentioned, because Tyre is hoping to attract more nations to itself in consequence of the destruction of Jerusalem. This hope is to be fulfilled, though in a different sense from that which Tyre intended. The comparison of the advancing army to the advancing waves of the sea is very significant when the situation of Tyre is considered. הַיָּם is the subject to בָּהֲעֹלֹת, and the *Hiphil* is construed with לְ instead of the accusative (compare Ewald, § 292c with § 277e). According to Arrian, ii. 18. 3, and Curtius, iv. 2. 9, 12, and 3. 13, Insular Tyre was fortified all round with lofty walls and towers, which were certainly in existence as early as Nebuchadnezzar's time. Even the dust of the demolished buildings (עֲפָרָה) God would sweep away (סָחַתִּי, ἀπ. λεγ., with a play upon שָׁחַתִּי), so that the city, i.e. the site on which it had stood, would become a bare and barren rock (עָחִיחַ קָלָע, as in ch. xxiv. 7), a place where fishermen would spread out their nets to dry. "Her daughters" also, that is to say, the towns dependent upon Tyre, "on the field," i.e. the open country,—in other words, their inhabitants,—would be slain with the sword.

In vers. 7-14 the threat is carried still further.—Ver. 7. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will bring against Tyre Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, from the north, the king of kings, with horses, and chariots, and horsemen, and a multitude of much people.* Ver. 8. *Thy daughters in the field he will slay with the sword, and he will erect siege-towers against thee, and throw up a rampart against thee, and set up shields against thee,* Ver. 9. *And direct his battering-rams against thy walls, and throw down thy towers with his swords.* Ver. 10. *From the*

multitude of his horses their dust will cover thee; from the noise of the horsemen, wheels, and chariots, thy walls will shake when he shall enter into thy gates, as they enter a city broken open. Ver. 11. *With the hoofs of his horses he will tread down all thy streets; thy people he will slay with the sword, and thy glorious pillars will fall to the ground.* Ver. 12. *They will make booty of thy possessions, and plunder thy merchandise, destroy thy walls, and throw down thy splendid mansions, and sink thy stones, thy wood, and thy dust in the water.* Ver. 13. *I will put an end to the sound of thy songs, and the music of thy harps shall be heard no more.* Ver. 14. *I will make thee a bare rock; thou shalt be a place for the spreading of nets, and be built no more; for I Jehovah have spoken it, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—Nebuchadnezzar, the great king of Babylon, —this is the meaning of the rhetorical description in these verses,—will come with a powerful army (ver. 7), smite with the sword the inland cities dependent upon Tyre (ver. 8, compare ver. 6), then commence the siege of Tyre, destroy its walls and towers (vers. 8b and 9), enter with his army the city in which breaches have been made, put the inhabitants to death (vers. 10 and 11), plunder the treasures, destroy walls and buildings, and cast the ruins into the sea (ver. 12). *Nebuchadrezzar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar* (for the name see the comm. on 2 Kings xxiv. 1), is called king of kings, as the supreme ruler of the Babylonian empire, because the kings of conquered provinces and lands were subject to him as vassals (see the comm. on Isa. x. 8). His army consists of war-chariots, and cavalry, and a great multitude of infantry. קָהָל וְעַם-יָרֵב are co-ordinate, so far as the rhetorical style is concerned; but in reality עַם-יָרֵב is subordinate to קָהָל, as in ch. xxiii. 24, inasmuch as the קָהָל consisted of עַם-יָרֵב. On the siege-works mentioned in ver. 8b, see the comm. on ch. iv. 2. הֵקִים צָנֶה signifies the construction of a roof with shields, by which the besiegers were accustomed to defend themselves from the missiles of the defenders of the city wall while pursuing their labours. Herodotus repeatedly

mentions such shield-roofs as used by the Persians (ix. 61. 99, 102), though, according to Layard, they are not to be found upon the Assyrian monuments (see the comm. on Nah. ii. 6). There is no doubt that **מָחִי קִבְּלוֹ** signifies the battering-ram, called **כָּר** in ch. xxi. 27, though the meaning of the words is disputed. **מָחִי**, literally, thrusting or smiting. **קִבְּלוֹ**, from **קִבַּל**, to be pointed either **קִבְּלוֹ** or **קִבְּלוֹ** (the form **קִבְּלוֹ** adopted by v. d. Hooght and J. H. Michaelis is opposed to the grammatical rules), has been explained by Gesenius and others as signifying *res opposita*, that which is opposite; hence **מָחִי קִבְּלוֹ**, the thrusting or demolishing of that which stands opposite. In the opinion of others, **קִבַּל** is an instrument employed in besieging; but there is nothing in the usage of the language to sustain either this explanation or that adopted by Hävernicks, "destruction of his defence." **חֶרְבוֹתָיו**, his swords, used figuratively for his weapons or instruments of war, "his irons," as Ewald has very aptly rendered it. The description in ver. 10 is hyperbolic. The number of horses is so great, that on their entering the city they cover it with dust, and the walls shake with the noise of the horsemen and chariots. **בְּמַבְּאוֹי עִיר מָבֹ**, literally, as the marchings into a broken city, *i.e.* a city taken by storm, generally are. The simile may be explained from the peculiar situation of Insular Tyre. It means that the enemy will enter it as they march into a land-fortress into which a breach has been made by force. The words presuppose that the besieger has made a road to the city by throwing up an embankment or dam. **מִצִּבּוֹת עֶזְרָךְ**, the memorial pillars of thy might, and the pillars dedicated to Baal, two of which are mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 44) as standing in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, one of gold, the other of emerald; not images of gods, but pillars, as symbols of Baal. These sink or fall to the ground before the overwhelming might of the foe (compare Isa. xlvi. 1, xxi. 9, and 1 Sam. v. 3). After the slaughter of the inhabitants and the fall of the gods, the plundering of the treasures begins, and then follows the destruction of the city.

בֵּיתֵי הַמְּנוּחָה are not pleasure-houses ("pleasure-towers, or garden-houses of the wealthy merchants," as Ewald supposes), for there was not space enough upon the island for gardens (Strabo, xvi. 2. 23), but the lofty, magnificent houses of the city, the palaces mentioned in Isa. xxiii. 13. Yea, the whole city shall be destroyed, and that so completely that they will sweep stones, wood, and rubbish into the sea.—Thus will the Lord put an end to the exultation and rejoicing in Tyre (ver. 13; compare Isa. xiv. 11 and Amos v. 23).—The picture of the destruction of this powerful city closes with the repetition of the thought from ver. 5, that Tyre shall be turned into a bare rock, and shall never be built again.

Vers. 15–18. The tidings of the destruction of Tyre will produce great commotion in all her colonies and the islands connected with her.—Ver. 15. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah to Tyre, Will not the islands tremble at the noise of thy fall, at the groaning of the wounded, at the slaughter in the midst of thee?* Ver. 16. *And all the princes of the sea will come down from their thrones, and will lay aside their robes and take off their embroidered clothes, and dress themselves in terrors, sit upon the earth, and they will tremble every moment, and be astonished at thee.* Ver. 17. *They will raise a lamentation for thee, and say to thee: How hast thou perished, thou who wast inhabited from out of the sea, thou renowned city, she who was mighty upon the sea, she and her inhabitants, who inspired all her inhabitants with fear of her!* Ver. 18. *Now do the islands tremble on the day of thy fall, and the islands in the sea are confounded at thy departure.*—וְהָיָה, *nonne*, has the force of a direct affirmation. קוֹל מַפִּילָה, the noise of the fall, stands for the tidings of the noise, since the noise itself could not be heard upon the islands. The fall takes place, as is added for the purpose of depicting the terrible nature of the event, at or amidst the groaning of the wounded, and the slaughter in the midst of thee. בָּהֲרִיג is the infinitive *Niphal*, with the accent drawn back on account of the following *Milel*, and should be pointed בָּהֲרִיג. The word

יָם, islands, is frequently used so as to embrace the coast lands of the Mediterranean Sea ; we have therefore to understand it here as applied to the Phœnician colonies on the islands and coasts of that sea. The “princes of the sea” are not kings of the islands, but, according to Isa. xliii. 8, the merchants presiding over the colonies of Tyre, who resembled princes. כְּסִיאוֹת, not royal thrones, but chairs, as in 1 Sam. iv. 13, etc. The picture of their mourning recalls the description in Jonah iii. 6 ; it is not derived from that passage, however, but is an independent description of the mourning customs which commonly prevailed among princes. The antithesis introduced is a very striking one : clothing themselves in terrors, putting on terrors in the place of the robes of state which they have laid aside (see the similar trope in ch. vii. 27). The thought is rendered still more forcible by the closing sentences of the verse : they tremble לְרִנָּתָם, by moments, *i.e.* as the moments return,—actually, therefore, “every moment” (*vid.* Isa. xxvii. 3).—In the lamentation which they raise (ver. 17), they give prominence to the alarming revolution of all things, occasioned by the fact that the mistress of the seas, once so renowned, has now become an object of horror and alarm. נוֹשַׁבֶּת מִיָּם, inhabited from the seas. This is not to be taken as equivalent to “as far as the seas,” in the sense of, whose inhabitants spread over the seas and settle there, as Gesenius (*Thes.*) and Hävernicks suppose ; for being inhabited is the very opposite of sending the inhabitants abroad. If מִן were to be taken in the geographical sense of direction or locality, the meaning of the expression could only be, whose inhabitants spring from the seas, or have migrated thither from all seas ; but this would not apply to the population of Tyre, which did not consist of men of all nations under heaven. Hitzig has given the correct interpretation, namely, from the sea, or out of the seas, which had as it were ascended as an inhabited city out of the bosom of the sea. It is not easy to explain the last clause of ver. 17 : who inspired all her inhabitants with their terror, or with terror

of them (of themselves); for if the relative אֲשֶׁר is taken in connection with the preceding יִשְׁבְּיָהּ , the thought arises that the inhabitants of Tyre inspired her inhabitants, *i.e.* themselves, with their terror, or terror of themselves. Kimchi, Rosenmüller, Ewald, Kliefoth, and others, have therefore proposed to take the suffix in the second יִשְׁבְּיָהּ as referring to הָיָם , all the inhabitants of the sea, *i.e.* all her colonies. But this is open to the objection, that not only is יָם of the masculine gender, but it is extremely harsh to take the same suffix attached to the two יִשְׁבְּיָהּ as referring to different subjects. We must therefore take the relative אֲשֶׁר and the suffix in הָיָם as both referring to הָיָה : the city with its population inspired all its several inhabitants with fear of itself. This is not to be understood, however, as signifying that the inhabitants of Tyre kept one another in a state of terror and alarm; but that the city with its population, through its power upon the sea, inspired all the several inhabitants with fear of this its might, inasmuch as the distinction of the city and its population was reflected upon every individual citizen. This explanation of the words is confirmed by the parallel passages in ch. xxxii. 24 and 26.—This city had come to so appalling an end, that all the islands trembled thereat. The two hemistichs in ver. 18 are synonymous, and the thought returns by way of conclusion to ver. 15. יָמָיו has the Aramaean form of the plural, which is sometimes met with even in the earlier poetry (*vid.* Ewald, § 177a). צָאָה , departure, *i.e.* destruction.

Vers. 19–21. Thus will Tyre, covered by the waves of the sea, sink into the region of the dead, and vanish for ever from the earth.—Ver. 19. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, When I make thee a desolate city, like the cities which are no longer inhabited, when I cause the deep to rise over thee, so that the many waters cover thee,* Ver. 20. *I cast thee down to those who have gone into the grave, to the people of olden time, and cause thee to dwell in the land of the lower regions, in the ruins from the olden time, with those who have gone into the grave, that thou mayest be*

no longer inhabited, and I create that which is glorious in the land of the living. Ver. 21. I make thee a terror, and thou art no more; they will seek thee, and find thee no more for ever, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—Not only will ruin and desolation come upon Tyre, but it will sink for ever into the region of the dead. In this concluding thought the whole threat is summed up. The infinitive clauses of ver. 19 recapitulate the leading thoughts of the previous strophes, for the purpose of appending the closing thought of banishment to the under-world. By the rising of the deep we are to understand, according to ver. 12, that the city in its ruins will be sunk into the depths of the sea. יוֹרְרֵי בּוֹר, those who go down into the pit or grave, are the dead. They are described still further as עֹלָם, not “those who are sleeping the long sleep of death,” or the generation of old whom all must join; but the people of the “old world” before the flood (2 Pet. ii. 5), who were buried by the waters of the flood, in accordance with Job xxii. 15, where עֹלָם denotes the generations of the primeval world, and after the analogy of the use of עֹלָם in Isa. xlv. 7, to describe the human race as existing from time immemorial. In harmony with this, הַרְבּוֹת מֵעֹלָם are the ruins of the primeval world which perished in the flood. As עֹלָם adds emphasis to the idea of יוֹרְרֵי בּוֹר, so also does בְּהַרְבּוֹת מֵעֹלָם to that of אֶרֶץ תְּהֵמָיוֹת. Tyre shall not only descend to the dead in Sheol, but be thrust down to the people of the dead, who were sunk into the depths of the earth by the waters of the flood, and shall there receive its everlasting dwelling-place among the ruins of the primeval world which was destroyed by the flood, beside that godless race of the olden time. אֶרֶץ תְּהֵמָיוֹת, land of the lowest places (cf. ch. xxxii. 18, 24), is a periphrasis for Sheol, the region of the dead (compare Eph. iv. 9, “the lower parts of the earth”). On וְנִתְּתִי יָבֵי וגו' Hitzig has observed with perfect correctness: “If we retain the pointing as the first person, with which the place assigned to the *Athnach* (א) coincides, we must at any rate not regard the

clause as still dependent upon לְמַעַן, and the force of the לֹא as continued. We should then have to take the clause as independent and affirmative, as the accentuators and the Targum have done." But as this would give rise to a discrepancy between the two halves of the verse, Hitzig proposes to alter נִתְחַי into the second person וְנִתְחַי, so that the clause would still be governed by לְמַעַן לֹא. But the want of agreement between the two halves of the verse does not warrant an alteration of the text, especially if it lead to nothing better than the forced rendering adopted by Hitzig, "and thou no longer shinest with glory in the land of the living," which there is nothing in the language to justify. And even the explanation proposed by Hävernicks and Kliefoth, "that I no longer produce anything glorious from thee (Tyre) in the land of the living," is open to this objection, that "from thee" is arbitrarily interpolated into the text; and if this were what Ezekiel meant, he would either have added לָךְ or written נִתְחַיֶּךָ. Moreover, the change of person is a sufficient objection to our taking נִתְחַי as dependent upon לְמַעַן, and supplying לֹא. וְנִתְחַי is evidently a simple continuation of וְהִשְׁבַּחְתִּיךָ. And nothing but the weightiest objections should lead us to give up a view which so naturally suggests itself. But no such objections exist. Neither the want of harmony between the two halves of the verse, nor the context,—according to which Tyre and its destruction are referred to both before and immediately after,—forces us to the adoption of explanations at variance with the simple meaning of the words. We therefore adhere to the natural interpretation of the words, "and I set (establish) glory in the land of the living;" and understand by the land of the living, not the theocracy especially, but the earth, in contrast to the region of the dead. The words contain the general thought, that on and after the overthrow of the glory of the ungodly power of the world, He will create that which is glorious on the earth to endure for ever; and this He really does by the establishing of His kingdom.—Tyre, on the contrary, shall become, through

its fate, an object of terror, or an example of sudden destruction, and pass away with all its glory, not leaving a trace behind. For ver. 21*b*, compare Isa. xli. 12 and Ps. xxxvii. 36. *יִתְבַּשֵּׁי*, imperf. *Pual*, has *Chateph-patach* between the two *u*, to indicate emphatically that the syllable is only a very loosely closed one (*vid.* Ewald, § 31*b*, p. 95).

CHAP. XXVII. LAMENTATION OVER THE FALL OF TYRE.

The lamentation commences with a picture of the glory of the city of Tyre, its situation, its architectural beauty, its military strength and defences (vers. 3-11), and its wide-spread commercial relations (vers. 12-25); and then passes into mournful lamentation over the ruin of all this glory (vers. 26-36).

Vers. 1-11. Introduction and description of the glory and might of Tyre.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *And do thou, O son of man, raise a lamentation over Tyre,* Ver. 3. *And say to Tyre, Thou who dwellest at the approaches of the sea, merchant of the nations to many islands, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Tyre, thou sayest, I am perfect in beauty.* Ver. 4. *In the heart of the seas is thy territory; thy builders have made thy beauty perfect.* Ver. 5. *Out of cypresses of Senir they built all double-plank-work for thee; they took cedars of Lebanon to make a mast upon thee.* Ver. 6. *They made thine oars of oaks of Bashan, thy benches they made of ivory set in box from the islands of the Chittaeans.* Ver. 7. *Byssus in embroidery from Egypt was thy sail, to serve thee for a banner; blue and red purple from the islands of Elishah was thine awning.* Ver. 8. *The inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad were thy rowers; thy skilful men, O Tyre, were in thee, they were thy sailors.* Ver. 9. *The elders of Gebal and its skilful men were with thee to repair thy leaks; all the ships of the sea and their mariners were in thee to barter thy goods.* Ver. 10. *Persian and Lydian and Libyan were in thine army, thy men of war; shield and helmet they hung up in thee; they gave brilliancy to thee.* Ver. 11. *The sons*

of Arvad and thine army were upon thy walls round about, and brave men were upon thy towers ; they hung up their shields upon thy walls round about ; they have made thy beauty perfect.—

The lamentation commences with an address to Tyre, in which its favourable situation for purposes of trade, and the perfect beauty of which she was conscious, are placed in the foreground (ver. 3). Tyre is sitting, or dwelling, at the approaches of the sea. *מְבוֹאוֹת הַיָּם*, approaches or entrances of the sea, are harbours into which ships sail and from which they depart, just as *מְבוֹא הָעִיר*, the gate of the city, is both entrance and exit. This description does not point to the city on the mainland, or Old Tyre, but answers exactly to Insular Tyre with its two harbours.¹ *יִשְׁבְּתִי*, with the connecting *i*, which is apparently confounded here after the Aramaean fashion with the *i* of the feminine pronoun, and has therefore been marked by the Masora as superfluous (*vid.* Ewald, § 211*b*). The combination of *רָכַלְתְּ* with *אֶל אַיִּים ר'* may be accounted for from the primary meaning of *רָכַל*, to travel about as a merchant: thou who didst go to the nations on many shores to carry on thy trade. Tyre itself considers that she is perfect in her beauty, partly on account of her strong position in the sea, and partly because of her splendid edifices.² In the description which follows of this

¹ Insular Tyre possessed two harbours, a northeru one called the Sidonian, because it was on the Sidonian side, and one on the opposite or south-eastern side, which was called the Egyptian harbour from the direction in which it pointed. The Sidonian was the more celebrated of the two, and consisted of an inner harbour, situated within the wall of the city, and an outer one, formed by a row of rocks, which lay at a distance of about three hundred paces to the north-west of the island, and ran parallel to the opposite coast of the mainland, so as to form a roadstead in which ships could anchor (*vid.* Arrian, ii. 20 ; Strabo, xvi. 2. 23). This northern harbour is still held by the city of *Sur*, whereas the Egyptian harbour with the south-eastern portion of the island has been buried by the sand driven against the coasts by the south winds, so that even the writers of the Middle Ages make no allusion to it. (See Movers, *Phönizier*, II. 1, pp. 214 sqq.)

² Curtius, iv. 2 : *Tyrus et claritate et magnitudine ante omnes urbes Syriae Phoenicesque memorabilis.* (Cf. Strabo, xvi. 2. 22.)

beauty and glory, from ver. 4 onwards, Tyre is depicted allegorically as a beautiful ship, splendidly built and equipped throughout, and its destruction is afterwards represented as a shipwreck occasioned by the east wind (vers. 26 sqq.).¹ The words, "in the heart of the seas is thy territory" (ver. 4a), are equally applicable to the city of Tyre and to a ship, the building of which is described in what follows. The comparison of Tyre to a ship was very naturally suggested by the situation of the city in the midst of the sea, completely surrounded by water. As a ship, it must of necessity be built of wood. The shipbuilders selected the finest kinds of wood for the purpose; cypresses of Antilibanus for double planks, which formed the sides of the vessel, and cedar of Lebanon for the mast. *S^enir*, according to Deut. iii. 9, was the Amoritish name of *Hermon* or *Antilibanus*, whereas the Sidonians called it *Sirion*. On the other hand, *S^enir* occurs in 1 Chron. v. 23, and *Sh^enir* in Song of Sol. iv. 8, in connection with *Hermon*, where they are used to denote separate portions of Antilibanus. Ezekiel evidently uses *Senir* as a foreign name, which had been retained to his own time, whereas *Sirion* had possibly become obsolete, as the names had both the same meaning (see the comm. on Deut. iii. 9). The naming of the places from which the several materials were obtained for the fitting out of the ship, serve to heighten the glory of its construction and give an ideal character to the picture. All lands have contributed their productions to complete the glory and might of Tyre. Cypress-wood was frequently used by the ancients for buildings and (according to Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 443) also for ships, because it was

¹ Jerome recognised this allegory, and has explained it correctly as follows: "He (the prophet) speaks *τροπικῶς*, as though addressing a ship, and points out its beauty and the abundance of everything. Then, after having depicted all its supplies, he announces that a storm will rise, and the south wind (*auster*) will blow, by which great waves will be gathered up, and the vessel will be wrecked. In all this he is referring to the overthrow of the city by King Nabuchodonosor," etc. Raschi and others give the same explanation.

exempt from the attacks of worms, and was almost imperishable, and yet very light (Theophr. *Hist. plant.* v. 8 ; Plinii *Hist. nat.* xvi. 79). לְחִתִּים, a dual form, like חֲמֹתִים in 2 Kings xxv. 4, Isa. xxii. 11, double-planks, used for the two side-walls of the ship. For oars they chose oaks of Bashan (קִשּׁוּט as well as קִשּׁוּט in ver. 29 from קָשׁוּט, to row), and the rowing benches (or deck) were of ivory inlaid in box. קֶרֶשׁ is used in Ex. xxvi. 15 sqq. for the boards or planks of the wooden walls of the tabernacle ; here it is employed in a collective sense, either for the rowing benches, of which there were at least two, and sometimes three rows in a vessel, one above another, or more properly, for the deck of the vessel (Hitzig). This was made of *shēn*, or ivory, inlaid in wood. The ivory is mentioned first as the most valuable material of the קֶרֶשׁ, the object being to picture the ship as possessing all possible splendour. The expression בְּתֵּי־אֲשֻׁרִים occasions some difficulty, partly on account of the use of the word בֵּת, and partly in connection with the meaning of אֲשֻׁרִים, although so much may be inferred from the context, that the allusion is to some kind of wood inlaid with ivory, and the custom of inlaying wood with ivory for the purpose of decoration is attested by Virgil, *Aen.* x. 137 :

“ *Vel quale per artem*

Inclusum buxo, aut Oricia terebintho

Lucet ebur.”

But the use of בֵּת does not harmonize with the relation of the wood to the ivory inserted in wood ; nor can it be defended by the fact that in Lam. iii. 3 an arrow is designated “ the son of the quiver.” According to this analogy, the ivory ought to have been called the son of the Ashurim, because the ivory is inserted in the wood, and not the wood in the ivory.¹ We must therefore adopt the solution proposed by R. Salomo and others, —namely, that the Masoretic division of בְּתֵּי־אֲשֻׁרִים into two words is founded upon a mistake, and that it should be read as

¹ The Targum has paraphrased it in this way : רִפְּיָן דִּאֲשֻׁרֵּינָא מִבְּנִשֵּׁן : רִפְּיָן דִּבְנֵי־רִפְּיָן, i.e. planks of box or pine inlaid with ivory.

one word בְּתַשְׁרִים, ivory in תַּשְׁרִים, *i.e.* either sherbin-cedar (according to more recent expositors), or box-wood, for which Bochart (*Phal.* III. 5) has decided. The fact that in Isa. lx. 13 the תַּשְׁרִים is mentioned among the trees growing upon Lebanon, whereas here the תַּשְׁרִים are described as coming from the islands of the בְּתִים, does not furnish a decisive argument to the contrary. We cannot determine with certainty what species of tree is referred to, and therefore it cannot be affirmed that the tree grew upon Lebanon alone, and not upon the islands of the Mediterranean. בְּתִים are the *Κίτις*, the inhabitants of the port of *Κίτιον* in Cyprus; then the Cyprians generally; and here, as in Jer. ii. 10, where אֲנִים of the בְּתִים are mentioned, in a still broader sense, inhabitants of Cyprus and other islands and coast-lands of the Mediterranean. In 1 Macc. i. 1 and viii. 5, even Macedonia is reckoned as belonging to the γῆ Χερραινῶν or *Κιτρώων*. Consequently the place from which the תַּשְׁרִים were brought does not furnish any conclusive proof that the Cyprian pine is referred to, although this was frequently used for ship-building. There is just as much ground for thinking of the box, as Bochart does, and we may appeal in support of this to the fact that, according to Theophrastus, there is no place in which it grows more vigorously than on the island of Corsica. In any case, Ezekiel mentions it as a very valuable kind of wood; though we cannot determine with certainty to what wood he refers, either from the place where it grew or from the accounts of the ancients concerning the kinds of wood that ship-builders used. The reason for this, however, is a very simple one,—namely, that the whole description has an ideal character, and, as Hitzig has correctly observed, “the application of the several kinds of wood to the different parts of the ship is evidently only poetical.”

The same may be said of the materials of which, according to ver. 7, the sails and awning of the ship were made. *Byssus* in party-coloured work (רִקְמָה, see comm. on Ex. xxvi. 36), *i.e.*

woven in mixed colours, probably not merely in stripes, but woven with figures and flowers.¹ “From Egypt;” the byssus-weaving of Egypt was celebrated in antiquity, so that byssus-linen formed one of the principal articles of export (*vid.* Movers, *ut supra*, pp. 317 sqq.). מִפָּרֶשׁ, literally, spreading out, evidently signifies the sail, which we expect to find mentioned here, and with which the following clause, “to serve thee for a banner,” can be reconciled, inasmuch as it may be assumed either that the sails also served for a banner, because the ships had no actual flag, like those in Wilkinson’s engraving, or that the flag (יָס) being also extended is included under the term מִפָּרֶשׁ (Hitzig). The covering of the ship, *i.e.* the awning which was put up above the deck for protection from the heat of the sun, consisted of purple (אַרְגָּמָן and תְּכֵלֶת, see the comm. on Ex. xxv. 4) from the islands of *Elishah*, *i.e.* of the Grecian Peloponnesus, which naturally suggests the Laconian purple so highly valued in antiquity on account of its splendid colour (Plin. *Hist. nat.* ix. 36, xxi. 8). The account of the building of the ship is followed by the manning, and the attention paid to its condition. The words of ver. 8a may be taken as referring quite as much to the ship as to the city, which was in possession of ships, and is mentioned by name in ver. 8b. The reference to the *Sidonians* and *Arvad*, *i.e.* to the inhabitants of *Aradus*, a rocky island to the north of Tripolis, as rowers, is not at variance with the latter; since there is no need to understand by the rowers either slaves or servants employed to row, and the Tyrians certainly drew their rowers from the whole of the Phœnician population, whereas the chief men in command of

¹ See Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, III. Pl. xvi., where engravings are given of Egyptian state-ships with embroidered sails. On one ship a large square sail is displayed in purple-red and purple-blue checks, surrounded by a gold border. The vessel of Antony and Cleopatra in the battle of Actium had also purple sails; and in this case the purple sails were the sign of the admiral’s ship, just as in Ezekiel they serve as a mark of distinction (יָס). See Movers, II. 3, p. 165, where the accounts of ancient writers concerning such state-ships are collected together.

the ships, the captain and pilot (חֵלְלִים), were no doubt as a rule citizens of Tyre. The introduction of the inhabitants of *Gebal*, i.e. the *Byblos* of the Greeks, the present *Jebail*, between Tripolis and Berytus (see the comm. on Josh. xiii. 5), who were noted even in Solomon's time as skilful architects (1 Kings v. 32), as repairers of the leak, decidedly favours the supposition that the idea of the ship is still kept in the foreground; and by the naming of those who took charge of the piloting and condition of the vessel, the thought is expressed that all the cities of Phoenicia assisted to maintain the might and glory of Tyre, since Tyre was supreme in Phoenicia. It is not till ver. 9b that the allegory falls into the background. Tyre now appears no longer as a ship, but as a maritime city, into which all the ships of the sea sail, to carry on and improve her commerce.—Vers. 10, 11. Tyre had also made the best provision for its defence. It maintained an army of mercenary troops from foreign countries to protect its colonies and extend its settlements, and entrusted the guarding of the walls of the city to fighting men of Phoenicia. The hired troops specially named in ver. 10 are *Pharas*, *Lud*, and *Phut*. פִּיּוּט is no doubt an African tribe, in Coptic *Phaiat*, the Libyans of the ancients, who had spread themselves over the whole of North Africa as far as Mauretania (see the comm. on Gen. x. 6). לִיּוּד is not the Semitic people of that name, the Lydians (Gen. x. 22), but here, as in ch. xxx. 5, Isa. lxvi. 19, and Jer. xlv. 9, the Hamitic people of לִיּוּדִים (Gen. x. 13), probably a general name for the whole of the Moorish tribes, since לִיּוּד (ch. xxx. 5) and לִיּוּדִים (Jer. xlv. 9) are mentioned in connection with פִּיּוּט as auxiliaries in the Egyptian army. There is something striking in the reference to פָּרַס, the Persians. Hävernicks points to the early intercourse carried on by the Phoenicians with Persia through the Persian Gulf, through which the former would no doubt be able to obtain mercenary soldiers, for which it was a general rule to select tribes as remote as possible. Hitzig objects to this, on the ground that there is no

proof that this intercourse with Persia through the Persian Gulf was carried on in Ezekiel's time, and that even if it were, it does not follow that there were any Persian mercenaries. He therefore proposes to understand by פָּרִס, Persians who had settled in Africa in the olden time. But this settlement cannot be inferred with sufficient certainty either from Sallust, *Jug.* c. 18, or from the occurrence of the African *Mákai* of Herodotus, iv. 175, along with the Asiatic (Ptol. vi. 7. 14), to take it as an explanation of פָּרִס. If we compare ch. xxxviii. 5, where *Páras* is mentioned in connection with *Cush* and *Phut*, *Gomer* and *Togarmah*, as auxiliaries in the army of *Gog*, there can be no doubt that Asiatic Persians are intended there. And we have to take the word in the same sense here; for Hitzig's objections consist of pure conjectures which have no conclusive force. Ezekiel evidently intends to give the names of tribes from the far-off east, west, and south, who were enlisted as mercenaries in the military service of Tyre. Hanging the shields and helmets in the city, to ornament its walls, appears to have been a Phoenician custom, which Solomon also introduced into Judah (1 Kings x. 16, 17; Song of Sol. iv. 4), and which is mentioned again in the times of the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 57).—A distinction is drawn in ver. 11 between the mercenary troops on the one hand, and the Aradians, and הִילָה, thine army, the military corps consisting of Tyrians, on the other. The latter appear upon the walls of Tyre, because native troops were employed to watch and defend the city, whilst the mercenaries had to march into the field. The ἀπ. λεγ. גַּמְאָדִּים (*Gammádim*) signifies brave men, as Roediger has conclusively shown from the Syrian usage, in his *Addenda* to Gesenius' *Thes.* p. 70 seq. It is therefore an *epitheton* of the native troops of Tyre.—With the words, "they (the troops) completed thy beauty," the picture of the glory of Tyre is rounded off, returning to its starting-point in vers. 4 and 5.

Vers. 12–25. This is followed by a description of the commerce of Tyre with all nations, who delivered their productions

in the market of this metropolis of the commerce of the world, and received the wares and manufactures of this city in return.—Ver. 12. *Tarshish traded with thee for the multitude of goods of all kinds ; with silver, iron, tin, and lead they paid for thy sales.* Ver. 13. *Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants ; with souls of men and brazen vessels they made thy barter.* Ver. 14. *From the house of Togarmah they paid horses, riding-horses, and mules for thy sales.* Ver. 15. *The sons of Dedan were thy merchants ; many islands were at thy hand for commerce ; ivory horns and ebony they brought thee in payment.* Ver. 16. *Aram traded with thee for the multitude of thy productions ; with carbuncle, red purple, and embroidery, and byssus, and corals, and rubies they paid for thy sales.* Ver. 17. *Judah and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants ; with wheat of Minnith and confectionery, and honey and oil, and balsam they made thy barter.* Ver. 18. *Damascus traded with thee in the multitude of thy productions, for the multitude of goods of all kinds, with wine of Chelbon and white wool.* Ver. 19. *Vedan and Javan from Uzal gave wrought iron for thy sales ; cassia and calamus were for thy barter.* Ver. 20. *Vedan was thy merchant in cloths spread for riding.* Ver. 21. *Arabia and all the princes of Kedar, they were at thy hand for commerce ; lambs and rams and he-goats, in these they traded with thee.* Ver. 22. *The merchants of Sheba and Ragmah, they were thy merchants ; with all kinds of costly spices and with all kinds of precious stones and gold they paid for thy sales.* Ver. 23. *Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, Chilmad, were thy merchants ;* Ver. 24. *They were thy merchants in splendid clothes, in purple and embroidered robes, and in treasures of twisted yarn, in wound and strong cords for thy wares.* Ver. 25. *The ships of Tarshish were thy caravans, thy trade, and thou wast filled and glorious in the heart of the seas.*—The enumeration of the different peoples, lands, and cities, which carried on trade with Tyre, commences with Tarshish (Tartessus) in the extreme west, then turns to the

north, passes through the different lands of Anterior Asia and the Mediterranean to the remotest north-east, and ends by mentioning Tarshish again, to round off the list. But the lands and peoples, which are mentioned in vers. 5-11 as furnishing produce and manufactures for the building of Tyre, viz. Egypt and the tribes of Northern Africa, are left out.—To avoid wearisome uniformity in the enumeration, Ezekiel has used interchangeably the synonymous words which the language possessed for trade, besides endeavouring to give life to the description by a variety of turns of expression. Thus סַחְרִיתָּהּ (vers. 12, 16, 18), סַחְרִיָּהּ (ver. 21), and סַחְרֵת יָדָהּ (ver. 15), or סַחְרֵי יָדָהּ (ver. 21), are interchanged with רַבְלָיָהּ (vers. 13, 15, 17, 22, 24), רַבְלָתָהּ (vers. 20, 23), and מְרַבְלָתָהּ (ver. 24); and, again, נָתַן עֹבְדוֹנֶיהָ (vers. 12, 14, 22) or נָתַן בְּעֹבְדוֹנֶיהָ (vers. 16, 19) with נָתַן מְעַרְבָהּ (vers. 13, 17), and בְּמְעַרְבָהּ הִיָּה (ver. 19), and הִשִּׁיב אֶשְׁכְּבָרָהּ (ver. 15). The words סַחַר, participle of סָחַר, and רַבַּל, from רָכַל, signify merchants, traders, who travel through different lands for purposes of trade. סַחְרִיתָּהּ, literally, the female trader; and סַחְרָהּ, literally, trade; then used as abstract for concrete, the tradesman or merchant. רַבַּל, the travelling merchant.—רַבְלָתָהּ, the female trader, a city carrying on trade. מְרַבְלָתָהּ, trade or a place of trade, a commercial town. עֹבְדוֹנִים (*pluralet.*) does not mean a place of trade, market, and profits (Gesenius and others); but according to its derivation from עָזַב, to leave, relinquish, literally, leaving or giving up, and as Gusset. has correctly explained it, “that which you leave with another in the place of something else which he has given up to you.” Ewald, in accordance with this explanation, has adopted the very appropriate rendering *Absatz*, or sale. נָתַן עֹבְדוֹנֶיהָ, with ב, or with a double accusative, literally, to make thy sale with something, *i.e.* to pay or to give, *i.e.* pay, something as an equivalent for the sale; נָתַן בְּעֹבֵב, to give something for the sale, or the goods to be sold. מְעַרְבָּהּ, barter, goods bartered with נָתַן, to give bartered goods, or carry on trade by barter.

The following are the countries and peoples enumerated:—
 תַּרְשִׁישׁ, the Tyrian colony of *Tarshish* or *Tartessus*, in *Hispania Baetica*, which was celebrated for its wealth in silver (Jer. x. 9), and, according to the passage before us, also supplied iron, tin, and lead (*vid.* Plin. *Hist. nat.* iii. 3 (4), xxxiii. 6 (31), xxxiv. 14 (41); Diod. Sic. v. 38). Further particulars concerning *Tarshish* are to be found in Movers, *Phoeniz.* II. 2, pp. 588 sqq., and II. 3, p. 36.—*Javan*, *i.e.* *Jania*, Greece or Greeks.—*Tubal* and *Meshech* are the *Tibareni* and *Moschi* of the ancients between the Black and Caspian Seas (see the comm. on Gen. x. 2). They supplied souls of men, *i.e.* slaves, and things in brass. The slave trade was carried on most vigorously by the Ionians and Greeks (see Joel iv. 6, from which we learn that the Phoenicians sold prisoners of war to them); and both Greeks and Romans drew their largest supplies and the best slaves from the Pontus (for proofs of this, see Movers, II. 3, pp. 81 seq.). It is probable that the principal supplies of brazen articles were furnished by the *Tibareni* and *Moschi*, as the Colchian mountains still contain an inexhaustible quantity of copper. In Greece, copper was found and wrought in *Euboea* alone; and the only other rich mines were in Cyprus (*vid.* Movers, II. 3, pp. 66, 67).—Ver. 14. “From the house of *Togarmah* they paid,” *i.e.* they of the house of *Togarmah* paid. *Togarmah* is one of the names of the *Armenians* (see the comm. on Gen. x. 3); and Strabo (XI. 14. 9) mentions the wealth of Armenia in horses, whilst that in asses is attested by Herodotus (i. 194), so that we may safely infer that mules were also bred there.—Ver. 15. The sons of *Dedan*, or the *Dedanites*, are, no doubt, the *Dedanites* mentioned in Gen. x. 7 as descendants of Cush, who conducted the carrying trade between the Persian Gulf and Tyre, and whose caravans are mentioned in Isa. xxi. 13. Their relation to the Semitic *Dedanites*, who are evidently intended in ver. 20, and by the inhabitants of *Dedan* mentioned in connection with Edom in ch. xxv. 13 and Jer. xlix. 8, is involved in obscurity (see the

comm. on Gen. x. 7). The combination with אֲיִים רַבִּים and the articles of commerce which they brought to Tyre, point to a people of southern Arabia settled in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf. The many אֲיִים are the islands and coasts of Arabia on the Persian Gulf and Erythraean Sea.¹ סְחָרְתְּ יָדְךָ, the commerce of thy hand, i.e. as *abstr. pro concr.*, those who were ready to thy hand as merchants. קַרְנֹת שֵׁן, ivory horns. This is the term applied to the elephants' tusks (*shēn*) on account of their shape and resemblance to horns, just as Pliny (*Hist. nat.* xviii. 1) also speaks of *cornua elephantī*, although he says, in viii. 3 (4), that an elephant's weapons, which Juba calls *cornua*, are more correctly to be called *dentes*.² The ἀπ. λεγ. הַרְבֵּי, *Keri* הַרְבֵּי, signifies ἑβένος, *hebenum*, ebony. The ancients obtained both productions partly from India, partly from Ethiopia (Plin. xii. 4 (8)). According to Dioscor. i. 130, the Ethiopian ebony was preferred to the Indian. הָשִׁיב אֶשְׁכְּרִי, to return payment (see the comm. on Ps. lxxii. 10).—In ver. 16, J. D. Michaelis, Ewald, Hitzig, and others read אָרַם for אֲרָם, after the LXX. and Pesh., because Aram did not lie in the road from Dedan and the אֲיִים to Israel (ver. 17), and it is not till ver. 18 that Ezekiel reaches Aram. Moreover, the corruption אָרַם for אֲרָם could arise all the more readily from the simple fact that the defective form אָרַם only occurs in Ezekiel (xxv. 14), and is altogether an extraordinary one. These reasons are undoubtedly worthy of consideration; still they are not conclusive, since the enumeration does not follow a strictly geographical

¹ Movers (II. 3, pp. 303 sqq.) adduces still further evidence in addition to that given above, namely, that "unquestionable traces of the ancient name have been preserved in the region in which the ancient Dedanites are represented as living, partly on the coast in the names *Attana*, *Attene*, which have been modified according to well-known laws,—the former, a commercial town on the Persian Gulf, visited by Roman merchants (Plin. vi. 32, § 147); the latter, a tract of country opposite to the island of Tylos (Plin. l.c. § 49),—and partly in the islands of the Persian Gulf" (p. 304).

² The Ethiopians also call ivory *Karna nage*, i.e. *cornu elephantī*, and suppose that it is from horns, and not from tusks, that ivory comes (*vid.* Hiob Ludolph, *Hist. Aeth.* I. c. 10)

order, inasmuch as Damascus is followed in vers. 19 sqq. by many of the tribes of Southern Arabia, so that *Aram* might stand, as Hävernicks supposes, for Mesopotamian Aram, for which the articles mentioned in ver. 16 would be quite as suitable as for Edom, whose chief city *Petra* was an important place of commerce and emporium for goods. רַב מְעֲשֵׂיךָ, the multitude of thy works, thy manufactures. Of the articles of commerce delivered by אַרְגָּמָן, the red purple, embroidery, and בִּרְזִי (the Aramaean name for byssus, which appears, according to Movers, to have originally denoted a species of cotton), favour Aram, particularly Babylonia, rather than Edom. For the woven fabrics of Babylonia were celebrated from the earliest times (*vid.* Movers, II. 3, pp. 260 sqq.); and Babylon was also the oldest and most important market for precious stones (*vid.* Movers, p. 266). נֶפֶךְ is the carbuncle (see the comm. on Ex. xxviii. 18). בִּרְבִי, probably the ruby; in any case, a precious stone of brilliant splendour (*vid.* Isa. liv. 12). רִאֲמוֹת, corals or pearls (*vid.* Delitzsch on Job xxviii. 18).—*Judah* (ver. 17) delivered to Tyre wheat of *Minnith*, *i.e.* according to Judg. xi. 33, an Ammonitish place, situated, according to the *Onomast.*, four Roman miles from Heshbon in the direction of Philadelphia. That Ammonitis abounded in wheat, is evident from 2 Chron. xxvii. 5, although the land of Israel also supplied the Tyrians with wheat (1 Kings v. 25). The meaning of the ἀπ. λεγ. פִּנֵּי cannot be definitely ascertained. The rendering confectionery is founded upon the Aramaean פִּנְיָ, *deliciari*, and the Chaldee translation, סִינְיָ, *i.e.* *κολία*, according to Hesychius, τὰ ἐκ μέλιτος τρωγάλια, or sweetmeats made from honey. Jerome renders it *balsamum*, after the μύρων of the LXX.; and in Hitzig's opinion, *Pannaga* (literally, a snake) is a name used in Sanscrit for a sweet-scented wood, which was employed in medicine as a cooling and strengthening drug (?). Honey (from bees) and oil are well-known productions of Palestine. יֵצֶר is balsam; whether *resina* or the true balsam grown in gardens about Jericho (*opobalsamum*), it is impossible to decide

(see my *Bibl. Archäol.* I. p. 38, and Movers, II. 3, pp. 220 sqq.). *Damascus* supplied Tyre with wine of *Chelbon*. חֶלְבֹן still exists in the village of *Helbôn*, a place with many ruins, three hours and a half to the north of Damascus, in the midst of a valley of the same name, which is planted with vines wherever it is practicable, from whose grapes the best and most costly wine of the country is made (*vid.* Robinson, *Biblical Researches*). Even in ancient times this wine was so celebrated, that, according to Posidonius (in *Athen. Deipnos.* i. 22), the kings of Persia drank only Chalybonian wine from Damascus (*vid.* Strabo, XV. 3. 22). צֶמֶר צָהָר, wool of dazzling whiteness; or, according to others, wool of *Zachar*, for which the Septuagint has ἔρια ἐκ Μιλήτου, Milesian wool.¹—Ver. 19. Various explanations have been given of the first three words. דָּן is not to be altered into דָּו, as it has been by Ewald, both arbitrarily and unsuitably with ver. 20 immediately following; nor is it to be rendered “*and Dan*.” It is a decisive objection to this, that throughout the whole enumeration not a single land or people is introduced with the copula ו. *Vedan*, which may be compared with the *Vaheb* of Num. xxi. 14, a place also mentioned only once, is the name of a tribe and tract of land not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament. Movers (p. 302) conjectures that it is the celebrated city of *Aden* (عَدَن). *Javan* is also the name of an Arabian place or tribe; and, according to a notice in the *Kamus*, it is a place in *Yemen*. Tuch (*Genesis*, p. 210) supposes it to be a Greek (Ionian) settlement, the founders of which had been led by their enterprising spirit to cross the land of Egypt into Southern Arabia. For the purpose of distinguishing this Arabian *Javan* from Greece itself, or in order to define it more precisely, מַעֲחָל is

¹ According to Movers (II. 3, p. 269), צָהָר is the *Sicharia of Aethicus* (Cosm. § 108): *SICHARIA regio, quae postea Nabathaea, nuncupatur, silvestris valde, ubi Ismaelitae eminunt*,—an earlier name for the land of the Nabathaeans, who dwelt in olden time between Palestine and the Euphrates, and were celebrated for their wealth in flocks of sheep.

appended, which all the older translators have taken to be a proper name. According to the Masoretic pointing מֵאוּלַּל, the word is, no doubt, to be regarded as a participle *Pual* of אוּל, in the sense of spun, from אוּל, to spin. But apart from the fact that it would be a surprising thing to find spun goods mentioned in connection with the trade of the Arabian tribes, the explanation itself could not be sustained from the usage of the language; for there is nothing in the dialects to confirm the idea that אוּל is a softened form of עוּל, inasmuch as they have all עוּל (Aram.) and غزل (Arab.), and the Talmudic אוּל, *texere*, occurs first of all in the Gemara, and may possibly have been derived in the first instance from the Rabbinical rendering of our מֵאוּלַּל by "spun." Even the fact that the word is written with *Shurek* is against this explanation rather than in its favour; and in all probability its origin is to be traced to the simple circumstance, that in vers. 12, 14, 16 the articles of commerce are always mentioned before נָתַנִּי עֲבוּנֵינִי, and in this verse they would appear to be omitted altogether, unless they are covered by the word מֵאוּלַּל. But we can very properly take the following words בְּרִיל עֲשׂוּת as the object of the first hemistich, since the Masoretic accentuation is founded upon the idea that מֵאוּלַּל is to be taken as the object here. We therefore regard מֵאוּלַּל as the only admissible pointing, and take אוּלַּל as a proper name, as in Gen. x. 27: "from *Uzal*," the ancient name of *Sanaa*, the subsequent capital of *Yemen*. The productions mentioned bear this out. Forged or wrought iron, by which Tuch (*l.c.* p. 260) supposes that sword-blades from *Yemen* are chiefly intended, which were celebrated among the Arabs as much as the Indian. Cassia and calamus (see the comm. on Ex. xxx. 23 and 24), two Indian productions, as *Yemen* traded with India from the very earliest times.—*Dedan* (ver. 20) is the inland people of that name, living in the neighbourhood of Edom (cf. ch. xxv. 13; see the comm. on ver. 15). They furnished חֲפָשׁ בְּגֵדֵי חֲפָשׁ, *tapetes straguli*, cloths for spreading out, most likely costly riding-cloths, like the *middim* of Judg. v. 10.

עֲרַב and קֶדָר represent the nomad tribes of Central Arabia, the Bedouins. For עֲרַב is never used in the Old Testament for the whole of Arabia; but, according to its derivation from עֲרָבָה, a steppe or desert, simply for the tribes living as nomads in the desert (as in Isa. xiii. 20; Jer. iii. 2; cf. Ewald, *Grammat. Arab.* I. p. 5). *Kedar*, descended from Ishmael, an Arabian nomad tribe, living in the desert between Arabia Petraea and Babylonia, the *Cedrei* of Pliny (see the comm. on Gen. xxv. 13). They supplied lambs, rams, and he-goats, from the abundance of their flocks, in return for the goods obtained from Tyre.—Ver. 22. Next to these the merchants of *Sheba* and *Ragmah* (רַעְמָה) are mentioned. They were Arabs of Cushite descent (Gen. x. 7) in south-eastern Arabia (*Oman*); for רַעְמָה, 'Ρεγμα, was in the modern province of *Oman* in the bay of the same name in the Persian Gulf. Their goods were all kinds of spices, precious stones, and gold, in which southern Arabia abounded. רֹאשׁ כָּל־בִּשְׁם, the chief or best of all perfumes (on this use of רֹאשׁ, see the comm. on Ex. xxx. 23; Song of Sol. iv. 14), is most likely the genuine balsam, which grew in *Yemen* (*Arabia felix*), according to Diod. Sic. iii. 45, along with other costly spices, and grows there still; for Forskal found a shrub between Mecca and Medina, called *Abu sham*, which he believed to be the true balsam, and of which he has given a botanical account in his *Flora Aeg.* pp. 79, 80 (as *Amyris opobalsamum*), as well as of two other kinds. Precious stones, viz. onyx-stones, rubies, agates, and cornelians, are still found in the mountains of Hadramaut; and in Yemen also jaspers, crystals, and many good rubies (*vid.* Niebuhr, *Descript.* p. 125, and Seetzen in Zach's *Monatl. Corresp.* xix. p. 339). And, lastly, the wealth of Yemen in gold is too strongly attested by ancient writers to be called in question (cf. Bochart, *Phal.* II. 28), although this precious metal is not found there now.—In vers. 23, 24 the trade with Mesopotamia is mentioned. כַּרְרַן, the *Carrhae* of the Romans in north-western Mesopotamia (see the comm. on Gen. xi. 31), was situated at the crossing of the caravan-roads

which intersect Mesopotamia; for it was at this point that the two caravan routes from Babylonia and the Delta of the Persian Gulf joined the old military and commercial road to Canaan (Movers, p. 247). The eastern route ran along the Tigris, where *Calneh*, the later *Ktesiphon*, was the most important commercial city. It is here called כַּנְה (Canneh), contracted from כַּלְנֵה (see the comm. on Gen. x. 10; Amos vi. 2). The western route ran along the Euphrates, past the cities mentioned in ver. 23*b*. עֵדֵן is not the Syrian, but the Mesopotamian *Eden* (2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12), the situation of which has not yet been determined, though Movers (p. 257) has sought for it in the Delta of the Euphrates and Tigris. The singular circumstance that the merchants of Sheba should be mentioned in connection with localities in Mesopotamia, which has given rise both to arbitrary alterations of the text and to various forced explanations, has been explained by Movers (p. 247 compared with p. 139) from a notice of Juba in Pliny's *Hist. nat.* xii. 17 (40), namely, that the Sabaeans, the inhabitants of the spice country, came with their goods from the Persian Gulf to Carrhae, where they held their yearly markets, and from which they were accustomed to proceed to Gabba (Gabala in Phoenicia) and Palestinian Syria. Consequently the merchants of Sabaea are mentioned as those who carried on the trade between Mesopotamia and Tyre, and are not unsuitably placed in the centre of those localities which formed the most important seats of trade on the two great commercial roads of Mesopotamia. *Asshur* and *Chilmad*, as we have already observed, were on the western road which ran along the Euphrates. כַּלְמַד has already been discovered by Bochart (*Phal.* I. 18) in the *Charmande* of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5. 10), and Sophænetus (see Steph. Byz. s.v. *Χαρμάνδη*), a large and wealthy city in a desert region "beyond the river Euphrates." The *Asshur* mentioned along with *Chilmad*, in the midst of purely commercial cities, cannot be the land of Assyria, but must be the emporium *Sura* (Movers, p. 252), the present

Essurieh, which stands upon the bank on this side of the Euphrates above Thapsacus and on the caravan route, which runs from Palmyra past Rusapha (*Rezep*, Isa. xxxvii. 12; 2 Kings xix. 12) to Nicephorium or Rakka, then in a northerly direction to Haran, and bending southwards, runs along the bank of the river in the direction of Chilmad or Charmande (Ritter, *Erdk.* XI. pp. 1081 sqq.). The articles of commerce from these emporia, which were brought to Tyre by Sabaean caravans, consisted of מְבֻלִּים, literally, articles of perfect beauty, either state-dresses (cf. מְבֻלִּל, ch. xxiii. 12 and xxxiv. 4), or more generally, costly works of art (Hävernicks). The omission of the copula ו before בְּנֻלִּים is decisive in favour of the former, as we may infer from this that בְּנִל is intended as an explanatory apposition to מְבֻלִּים. בְּנֻלִּים תְּכֵלֶח וְרֻקְמָה, cloaks (בְּנֻלִּים connected with *χλαμύς*) of hyacinth-purple and embroidery, for which Babylonia was celebrated (for proofs of this, see Movers, pp. 258 sqq.). The words which follow cannot be explained with certainty. All that is evident is, that בְּחֻבִּים is appended to בְּנֻלִּים בְּרוּמִים without a copula, as בְּנֻלִּים וְגו' is to בְּמְבֻלִּים in the first hemistich, and therefore, like the latter, is intended as an explanatory apposition. חֻבִּים does not mean either cloths or threads, but lines or cords. תְּכֵשִׁים signifies literally bound or wound up; probably twisted, i.e. formed of several threads wound together or spun; and אֲרָזִים, firm, compact, from אָרַז, to be drawn together. Consequently בְּנֻלִּים בְּרוּמִים can hardly have any other meaning than treasures of spun yarns, i.e. the most valuable yarns formed of different threads. For "treasures" is the only meaning which can be assigned to בְּנֻלִּים with any certainty on philological grounds, and בְּרוּמִים, from בָּרַם, *contorsit*, is either yarn spun from several or various threads, or cloth woven from such threads. But the latter would not harmonize with חֻבִּים. Movers (II. 3, pp. 263 sqq.) adopts a similar conclusion, and adduces evidence that silk yarn, bombyx, and cotton came to Tyre

through the Mesopotamian trade, and were there dyed in the splendid Tyrian purples, and woven into cloths, or brought for sale with the dyeing complete. All the other explanations which have been given of these difficult words are arbitrary and untenable; not only the Rabbinical rendering of בְּרוֹמִים, viz. chests of damask, but that of Ewald, "pockets of damask," and that proposed by Hartmann, Hävernicks, and others, viz. girdles of various colours, ζώναι σκωταί. In ver. 25 the description is rounded off with a notice of the lever of this world-wide trade. שָׁרוֹת cannot mean "walls" in this instance, as in Jer. v. 10, and like שָׁרוֹת in Job xxiv. 11, because the ships, through which Tyre became so rich, could not be called walls. The word signifies "caravans," after שָׂרָה = سار (Isa. lvii. 9), corresponding to the Aramaean שִׁירָא. מַעֲרָבָה might be regarded as an accusative of more precise definition: caravans, with regard to (for) thy bartering trade. At the same time it is more rhetorical to take מַעֲרָבָה as a second predicate: they were thy trade, i.e. the carriers of thy trade. What the caravans were for the emporia of trade on the mainland, the ships of Tarshish were for Tyre, and these on the largest sea-going ships are mentioned *instar omnium*. By means of these vessels Tyre was filled with goods, and rendered weighty (נִבְבֵּר), i.e. rich and glorious.—But a tempest from the east would destroy Tyre with all its glory.

Vers. 26-36. Destruction of Tyre.—Ver. 26. *Thy rowers brought thee into great waters: the east wind broke thee up in the heart of the seas.* Ver. 27. *Thy riches and thy sales, thy bartering wares, thy seamen and thy sailors, the repairers of thy leaks and the traders in thy wares, and all thy fighting men in thee, together with all the multitude of people in thee, fell into the heart of the seas in the day of thy fall.* Ver. 28. *At the noise of the cry of thy sailors the places tremble.* Ver. 29. *And out of their ships come all the oarsmen, seamen, all the sailors of the sea; they come upon the land,* Ver. 30. *And make their voice heard over thee, and cry bitterly, and put dust upon their heads, and*

cover themselves with ashes ; Ver. 31. And shave themselves bald on thy account, and gird on sackcloth, and weep for thee in anguish of soul a bitter wailing. Ver. 32. They raise over thee in their grief a lamentation, and lament over thee : Who is like Tyre ! like the destroyed one in the midst of the sea ! Ver. 33. When thy sales came forth out of the seas, thou didst satisfy many nations ; with the abundance of thy goods and thy wares thou didst enrich kings of the earth. Ver. 34. Now that thou art wrecked away from the seas in the depths of the water, thy wares and all thy company are fallen in thee. Ver. 35. All the inhabitants of the islands are amazed at thee, and their kings shudder greatly ; their faces quiver. Ver. 36. The traders among the nations hiss over thee ; thou hast become a terror, and art gone for ever.—The allusion to the ships of Tarshish, to which Tyre was indebted for its glory, serves as an introduction to a renewal in ver. 26 of the allegory of vers. 5–9a ; Tyre is a ship, which is wrecked by the east wind (cf. Ps. xlviii. 8). In Palestine (Arabia and Syria) the east wind is characterized by continued gusts ; and if it rises into a tempest, it generally causes great damage on account of the violence of the gusts (see Wetzstein in Delitzsch's commentary on Job xxvii. 1). Like a ship broken in pieces by the storm, Tyre with all its glory sinks into the depths of the sea. The repetition of *בְּלִב יָם* in vers. 26 and 27 forms an effective contrast to ver. 25 ; just as the enumeration of all the possessions of Tyre, which fall with the ship into the heart of the sea, does to the wealth and glory in ver. 25b. They who manned the ship also perish with the cargo,—“ the seamen,” i.e. sailors, rowers, repairers of leaks (calkers), also the merchants on board, and the fighting men who defended the ship and its goods against pirates,—the whole *qâhâl*, or gathering of people, in the ship. The difficult expression *בְּכָל־קְהָלָךְ* can only be taken as an explanatory apposition to *אֲשֶׁר בְּךָ* : all the men who are in thee, namely, in the multitude of people in thee. Ver. 28. When the vessel is wrecked, the managers of the ship raise

such a cry that the *migreshōth* tremble. מִגְרֵשׁ is used in Num. xxxv. 2 for the precincts around the Levitical cities, which were set apart as pasture ground for the flocks; and in Ezek. xlv. 2, xlviii. 17, for the ground surrounding the holy city. Consequently מִגְרֵשׁ cannot mean the suburbs of Tyre in the passage before us, but must signify the open places on the mainland belonging to Tyre, *i.e.* the whole of its territory, with the fields and villages contained therein. The rendering "fleet," which Ewald follows the Vulgate in adopting, has nothing to support it.—Vers. 29 sqq. The ruin of this wealthy and powerful metropolis of the commerce of the world produces the greatest consternation among all who sail upon the sea, so that they forsake their ships, as if they were no longer safe in them, and leaving them for the land, bewail the fall of Tyre with deepest lamentation. הַשָּׂמִיעַ with בָּקוֹל, as in Ps. xxvi. 7; 1 Chron. xv. 19, etc. For the purpose of depicting the lamentation as great and bitter in the extreme, Ezekiel groups together all the things that were generally done under such circumstances, *viz.* covering the head with dust (cf. Josh. vii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 12; and Job ii. 12) and ashes (הִתְפַּלֵּשׁ, to strew, or cover oneself, not to roll oneself: see the comm. on Mic. i. 10); shaving a bald place (see ch. vii. 18 and the comm. on Mic. i. 16); putting on sackcloth; loud, bitter weeping (בִּמְרֹנָה, as in Job vii. 11 and x. 1); and singing a mournful dirge (vers. 32 sqq.). בְּנִיָּהִם, *in lamento eorum*; נִי contracted from נִיָּה (Jer. ix. 17, 18; cf. הִי, ch. ii. 10). The reading adopted by the LXX., Theodot., Syr., and eleven Codd. (בְּנִיָּהִם) is unsuitable, as there is no allusion to sons, but the seamen themselves raise the lamentation. The correction proposed by Hitzig, בְּפִיָּהִם, is altogether inappropriate. The exclamation, Who is like Tyre! is more precisely defined by בְּרָמָה, like the destroyed one in the midst of the sea. רָמָה, participle *Pual*, with the *ו* dropt, as in 2 Kings ii. 10, etc. (*vid.* Ges. § 52. 2, Anm. 6). It is quite superfluous to assume that there was a noun רָמָה signifying destruction. בִּצְאָתָא עֹב has been aptly explained by Hitzig: "inasmuch as

thy wares sprang out of the sea, like the plants and field-fruits out of the soil" (the selection of the word *הַשְׁבֵּעַתָּה* also suggested this simile); "not as being manufactured at Tyre, and therefore in the sea, but because the sea floated the goods to land for the people in the ships, and they satisfied the desire of the purchasers." Tyre satisfied peoples and enriched kings with its wares, not only by purchasing from them and paying for their productions with money or barter, but also by the fact that the Tyrians gave a still higher value to the raw material by the labour which they bestowed upon them. *הַיּוֹנִיָּה* in the plural is only met with here.—Ver. 34. But now Tyre with its treasures and its inhabitants has sunk in the depths of the sea. The antithesis in which ver. 34 really stands to ver. 33 does not warrant our altering *עַתָּה נִשְׁבֶּרֶת* into *עַתָּה נִשְׁבֶּרֶת*, as Ewald and Hitzig propose, or adopting a different division of the second hemistich. *עַתָּה* is an adverbial accusative, as in ch. xvi. 57: "at the time of the broken one away from the seas into the depth of the waters, thy wares and thy people have fallen, *i.e.* perished." *עַתָּה נִשְׁבֶּרֶת*, *tempore quo fracta es*. *נִשְׁבֶּרֶת מִיַּמִּים* is intentionally selected as an antithesis to *נִשְׁבֶּרֶת מִיַּמִּים* in ch. xxvi. 17.—Ver. 35. All the inhabitants of the islands and their kings, *i.e.* the inhabitants of the (coast of the) Mediterranean and its islands, will be thrown into consternation at the fall of Tyre; and (ver. 36) the merchants among the nations, *i.e.* the foreign nations, the rivals of Tyre in trade, will hiss thereat; in other words, give utterance to malicious joy. *שָׁמָּה*, to be laid waste, or thrown into perturbation with terror and amazement. *רָעַם פָּנִים*, to tremble or quiver in the face, *i.e.* to tremble so much that the terror shows itself in the countenance.—In ver. 36b Ezekiel brings the lamentation to a close in a similar manner to the threat contained in ch. xxvi. (*vid.* ch. xxvi. 21).

CHAP. XXVIII. 1-19. AGAINST THE PRINCE OF TYRE.

As the city of Tyre was first of all threatened with destruction (ch. xxvi.), and then her fall was confirmed by a lamentation (ch. xxvii.), so here the prince of Tyre is first of all forewarned of his approaching death (vers. 1-10), and then a lamentation is composed thereon (vers. 11-19).

Vers. 1-10. FALL OF THE PRINCE OF TYRE.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, say to the prince of Tyre, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because thy heart has lifted itself up, and thou sayest, "I am a God, I sit upon a seat of Gods, in the heart of the seas," when thou art a man and not God, and cherishest a mind like a God's mind,* Ver. 3. *Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; nothing secret is obscure to thee;* Ver. 4. *Through thy wisdom and thy understanding hast thou acquired might, and put gold and silver in thy treasures;* Ver. 5. *Through the greatness of thy wisdom hast thou increased thy might by thy trade, and thy heart has lifted itself up on account of thy might,* Ver. 6. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because thou cherishest a mind like a God's mind,* Ver. 7. *Therefore, behold, I will bring foreigners upon thee, violent men of the nations; they will draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and pollute thy splendour.* Ver. 8. *They will cast thee down into the pit, that thou mayest die the death of the slain in the heart of the seas.* Ver. 9. *Wilt thou indeed say, I am a God, in the face of him that slayeth thee, when thou art a man and not God in the hand of him that killeth thee?* Ver. 10. *Thou wilt die the death of the uncircumcised at the hand of foreigners; for I have spoken it, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—This threat of judgment follows in general the same course as those addressed to other nations (compare especially ch. xxv.), namely, that the sin is mentioned first (vers. 2-5), and then the punishment consequent upon the sin (vers. 6-10). In ver. 12 מֶלֶךְ is used instead of נָגִיד, *dux*. In the use of the term נָגִיד to designate the king,

Kliefoth detects an indication of the peculiar position occupied by the prince in the commercial state of Tyre, which had been reared upon municipal foundations; inasmuch as he was not so much a monarch, comparable to the rulers of Babylon or to the Pharaohs, as the head of the great mercantile aristocracy. This is in harmony with the use of the word נָגִיד for the prince of Israel, David for example, whom God chose and anointed to be the *nāgīd* over His people; in other words, to be the leader of the tribes, who also formed an independent commonwealth (*vid.* 1 Sam. xiii. 14; 2 Sam. vii. 8, etc.). The pride of the prince of Tyre is described in ver. 2 as consisting in the fact that he regarded himself as a God, and his seat in the island of Tyre as a God's seat. He calls his seat מוֹשֶׁב־אֱלֹהִים, not "because his capital stood out from the sea, like the palace of God from the ocean of heaven" (Ps. civ. 3), as Hitzig supposes; for, apart from any other ground, this does not suit the subsequent description of his seat as God's mountain (ver. 16), and God's holy mountain (ver. 14). The God's seat and God's mountain are not the palace of the king of Tyre, but Tyre as a state, and that not because of its firm position upon a rocky island, but as a holy island (*ἁγία νῆσος*, as Tyre is called in Sanchun. ed. Orelli, p. 36), the founding of which has been glorified by myths (*vid.* Mövers, *Phoenizier*, I. pp. 637 sqq.). The words which Ezekiel puts into the mouth of the king of Tyre may be explained, as Kliefoth has well expressed it, "from the notion lying at the foundation of all natural religions, according to which every state, as the production of its physical factors and bases personified as the native deities of house and state, is regarded as a work and sanctuary of the gods." In Tyre especially the national and political development went hand in hand with the spread and propagation of its religion. "The Tyrian state was the production and seat of its gods. He, the prince of Tyre, presided over this divine creation and divine seat; therefore he, the prince, was himself a god, a manifestation of the deity, having its work and home

in the state of Tyre." All heathen rulers looked upon themselves in this light; so that the king of Babylon is addressed in a similar manner in Isa. xiv. 13, 14. This self-deification is shown to be a delusion in ver. 2*b*; He who is only a man makes his heart like a God's heart, *i.e.* cherishes the same thought as the Gods. לֵב, the heart, as the seat of the thoughts and imaginations, is named instead of the disposition. This is carried out still further in vers. 3-5 by a description of the various sources from which this imagination sprang. He cherishes a God's mind, because he attributes to himself superhuman wisdom, through which he has created the greatness, and might, and wealth of Tyre. The words, "behold, thou art wiser," etc. (ver. 3), are not to be taken as a question, "art thou indeed wiser?" as they have been by the LXX., Syriac, and others; nor are they ironical, as Hävernicks supposes; but they are to be taken literally, namely, inasmuch as the prince of Tyre was serious in attributing to himself supernatural and divine wisdom. Thou art, *i.e.* thou regardest thyself as being, wiser than Daniel. No hidden thing is obscure to thee (עָמַם, a later word akin to the Aramaean, "to be obscure"). The comparison with Daniel refers to the fact that Daniel surpassed all the magi and wise men of Babylon in wisdom through his ability to interpret dreams, since God gave him an insight into the nature and development of the power of the world, such as no human sagacity could have secured. The wisdom of the prince of Tyre, on the other hand, consisted in the cleverness of the children of this world, which knows how to get possession of all the good things of the earth. Through such wisdom as this had the Tyrian prince acquired power and riches. חֵיל, might, possessions in the broader sense; not merely riches, but the whole of the might of the commercial state of Tyre, which was founded upon riches and treasures got by trade. In ver. 5 בִּרְכָּתָהּ is in apposition to בֵּרַב הַכְּמָתָהּ, and is introduced as explanatory. The fulness of its wisdom showed itself in its commerce and the manner in which it conducted it, whereby Tyre had become

rich and powerful. It is not till we reach ver. 6 that we meet with the apodosis answering to 'עַן נָבִיא וְגו' in ver. 2, which has been pushed so far back by the intervening parenthetical sentences in vers. 2b-5. For this reason the sin of the prince of Tyre in deifying himself is briefly reiterated in the clause 'עַן תִּתְּקֶה וְגו' (ver. 6b, compare ver. 2b), after which the announcement of the punishment is introduced with a repetition of לָכֵן in ver. 7. Wild foes approaching with barbarous violence will destroy all the king's resplendent glory, slay the king himself with the sword, and hurl him down into the pit as a godless man. The enemies are called עֲרִיצֵי גוֹיִם, violent ones of the peoples,—that is to say, the wild hordes composing the Chaldean army (cf. ch. xxx. 11, xxxi. 12). They drew the sword "against the beauty (יָפִי, the construct state of יָפִי) of thy wisdom," i.e. the beauty produced by thy wisdom, the beautiful Tyre itself, with all that it contains (ch. xxvi. 3, 4). יָפְעָה, splendour; it is only here and in ver. 17 that we meet with it as a noun. The king himself they hurl down into the pit, i.e. the grave, or the nether world. מָמוֹתַי הָלָל, the death of a pierced one, substantially the same as מוֹתֵי עֲרָלִים. The plural מָמוֹתַי and מוֹתַי here and Jer. xvi. 4 (*mortes*) is a *pluralis exaggerativus*, a death so painful as to be equivalent to dying many times (see the comm. on Isa. liii. 9). In ver. 9 Ezekiel uses the *Piel* מִחַלֵּל in the place of the *Poel* מִחַלֵּל, as חָלַל in the *Piel* occurs elsewhere only in the sense of *profanare*, and in Isa. li. 9 the *Poel* is used for piercing. But there is no necessity to alter the pointing in consequence, as we also find the *Pual* used by Ezekiel in ch. xxxii. 26 in the place of the *Poal* of Isa. liii. 5. The death of the uncircumcised is such a death as godless men die—a violent death. The king of Tyre, who looks upon himself as a god, shall perish by the sword like a godless man. At the same time, the whole of this threat applies, not to the one king, *Ithobal*, who was reigning at the time of the siege of Tyre by the Chaldeans, but to the king as the founder and creator of the might of Tyre (vers. 3-5), i.e. to the supporter of that

royalty which was to perish along with Tyre itself.—It is to the king, as the representative of the might and glory of Tyre, and not merely to the existing possessor of the regal dignity, that the following lamentation over his fall refers.

Vers. 11-19. LAMENTATION OVER THE KING OF TYRE.—

Ver. 11. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 12. *Son of man, raise a lamentation over the king of Tyre, and say to him, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Thou seal of a well-measured building, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty.* Ver. 13. *In Eden, the garden of God, wast thou; all kinds of precious stones were thy covering, cornelian, topaz, and diamond, chrysolite, beryl, and jasper, sapphire, carbuncle, and emerald, and gold: the service of thy timbrels and of thy women was with thee; on the day that thou wast created, they were prepared.* Ver. 14. *Thou wast a cherub of anointing, which covered, and I made thee for it; thou wast on a holy mountain of God; thou didst walk in the midst of fiery stones.* Ver. 15. *Thou wast innocent in thy ways from the day on which thou wast created, until iniquity was found in thee.* Ver. 16. *On account of the multitude of thy commerce, thine inside was filled with wrong, and thou didst sin: I will therefore profane thee away from the mountain of God; and destroy thee, O covering cherub, away from the fiery stones!* Ver. 17. *Thy heart has lifted itself up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom together with thy splendour: I cast thee to the ground, I give thee up for a spectacle before kings.* Ver. 18. *Through the multitude of thy sins in thine unrighteous trade thou hast profaned thy holy places; I therefore cause fire to proceed from the midst of thee, which shall devour thee, and make thee into ashes upon the earth before the eyes of all who see thee.* Ver. 19. *All who know thee among the peoples are amazed at thee: thou hast become a terror, and art gone for ever.—*
The lamentation over the fall of the king of Tyre commences with a picture of the super-terrestrial glory of his position, so as to correspond to his self-deification as depicted in the fore-

going word of God. In ver. 12 he is addressed as *הָיָה חֶתֶם*. This does not mean, "artistically wrought signet-ring;" for *חֶתֶם* does not stand for *חֶתֶם*, but is a participle of *חָתַם*, to seal. There is all the more reason for adhering firmly to this meaning, that the following predicate, *מָלֵא חֶכְמָה*, is altogether inapplicable to a signet-ring, though Hitzig once more scents a corruption of the text in consequence. *חֶתֶם*, from *חָתַן*, to weigh, or measure off, does not mean perfection (Ewald), beauty (Ges.), *façon* (Hitzig), or symmetry (Hävernicks); but just as in ch. xliii. 10, the only other passage in which it occurs, it denotes the measured and well-arranged building of the temple, so here it signifies a well-measured and artistically arranged building, namely, the Tyrian state in its artistic combination of well-measured institutions (Kliefoth). This building is sealed by the prince, inasmuch as he imparts to the state firmness, stability, and long duration, when he possesses the qualities requisite for a ruler. These are mentioned afterwards, namely, "full of wisdom, perfect in beauty." If the prince answers to his position, the wisdom and beauty manifest in the institutions of the state are simply the impress received from the wisdom and beauty of his own mind. The prince of Tyre possessed such a mind, and therefore regarded himself as a God (ver. 2). His place of abode, which is described in vers. 13 and 14, corresponded to his position. Ezekiel here compares the situation of the prince of Tyre with that of the first man in Paradise; and then, in vers. 15 and 16, draws a comparison between his fall and the fall of Adam. As the first man was placed in the garden of God, in Eden, so also was the prince of Tyre placed in the midst of paradisaical glory. *עֵדֶן* is shown, by the apposition *בְּגֵן אֱלֹהִים*, to be used as the proper name of Paradise; and this view is not to be upset by the captious objection of Hitzig, that Eden was not the garden of God, but that this was situated in Eden (Gen. ii. 8). The fact that Ezekiel calls Paradise *גֵּן עֵדֶן* in ch. xxxvi. 35, proves nothing more than that the terms *Eden* and *Garden of*

God do not cover precisely the same ground, inasmuch as the garden of God only occupied one portion of Eden. But notwithstanding this difference, Ezekiel could use the two expressions as synonyms, just as well as Isaiah (Isa. li. 3). And even if any one should persist in pressing the difference, it would not follow that *בְּעֵדֶן* was corrupt in this passage, as Hitzig fancies, but simply that *גן אלהים* defined the idea of *עֵדֶן* more precisely—in other words, restricted it to the garden of Paradise. There is, however, another point to be observed in connection with this expression, namely, that the epithet *גן אלהים* is used here and in ch. xxxi. 8, 9; whereas, in other places, Paradise is called *גן יְהוָה* (*vid.* Isa. li. 3; Gen. xiii. 10). Ezekiel has chosen Elohim instead of Jehovah, because Paradise is brought into comparison, not on account of the historical significance which it bears to the human race in relation to the plan of salvation, but simply as the most glorious land in all the earthly creation. The prince of Tyre, placed in the pleasant land, was also adorned with the greatest earthly glory. Costly jewels were his coverings, that is to say, they formed the ornaments of his attire. This feature in the pictorial description is taken from the splendour with which Oriental rulers are accustomed to appear, namely, in robes covered with precious stones, pearls, and gold. *מְסָכָה*, as a noun *ἀπ. λεγ.*, signifies a covering. In the enumeration of the precious stones, there is no reference to the breastplate of the high priest. For, in the first place, the order of the stones is a different one here; secondly, there are only nine stones named instead of twelve; and lastly, there would be no intelligible sense in such a reference, so far as we can perceive. Both precious stones and gold are included in the glories of Eden (*vid.* Gen. ii. 11, 12). For the names of the several stones, see the commentary on Ex. xxviii. 17-20. The words *מְלֶאכֶת תְּפִיד וְגו'*—which even the early translators have entirely misunderstood, and which the commentators down to Hitzig and Ewald have made marvellous attempts to explain—present no peculiar difficulty, apart from

the plural נְקִיבִים, which is only met with here. As the meaning timbrels, tambourins (*aduffa*), is well established for תְּפִלִּים, and in 1 Sam. x. 5 and Isa. v. 12 flutes are mentioned along with the timbrels, it has been supposed by some that נְקִיבִים must signify flutes here. But there is nothing to support such a rendering either in the Hebrew or in the other Semitic dialects. On the other hand, the meaning *pala gemmarum* (Vulgate), or ring-casket, has been quite arbitrarily forced upon the word by Jerome, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and many others. We agree with Hävernicks in regarding נְקִיבִים as a plural of נְקִיבָה (*foeminae*), formed, like a masculine, after the analogy of נָשִׁים, פְּלִנְשִׁים, etc., and account for the choice of this expression from the allusion to the history of the creation (Gen. i. 27). The service (מִלְאָכָה, performance, as in Gen. xxxix. 11, etc.) of the women is the leading of the circular dances by the odalisks who beat the timbrels: "the harem-pomp of Oriental kings." This was made ready for the king on the day of his creation, *i.e.* not his birthday, but the day on which he became king, or commenced his reign, when the harem of his predecessor came into his possession with all its accompaniments. Ezekiel calls this the day of his creation, with special reference to the fact that it was God who appointed him king, and with an allusion to the parallel, underlying the whole description, between the position of the prince of Tyre and that of Adam in Paradise.¹ The next verse (ver. 14) is a more difficult one. נָא is an abbreviation of אָנָּה, אֵנָּה, as in Num. xi. 15; Deut. v. 24 (see Ewald, § 184a). The ἀπ. λεγ. מִמֶּנֶּשׁ has been explained in very different ways, but mostly according to the Vulgate rendering,

¹ In explanation of the fact alluded to, Hävernicks has very appropriately called attention to a passage of Athen. (xii. 8, p. 531), in which the following statement occurs with reference to Strato, the Sidonian king: "Strato, with flute-girls, and female harpers and players on the cithara, made preparations for the festivities, and sent for a large number of *hetaerae* from the Peloponnesus, and many singing-girls from Ionia, and young *hetaerae* from the whole of Greece, both singers and dancers." See also other passages in Brissonius, *de regio Pers. princ.* pp. 142-3.

tu Cherub extentus et protegens, as signifying spreading out or extension, in the sense of "with outspread wings" (Gesenius and many others). But מִשָּׁח does not mean either to spread out or to extend. The general meaning of the word is simply to anoint; and judging from מִשָּׁחָה and מִשָּׁחָה, *portio*, Lev. vii. 35 and Num. xviii. 8, also to measure off, from which the idea of extension cannot possibly be derived. Consequently the meaning "anointing" is the only one that can be established with certainty in the case of the word מִשָּׁח. So far as the form is concerned, מִשָּׁח might be in the construct state; but the connection with הַפֹּכֵחַ, anointing, or anointed one, of the covering one, does not yield any admissible sense. A comparison with ver. 16, where פְּרוּב הַפֹּכֵחַ occurs again, will show that the מִשָּׁח, which stands between these two words in the verse before us, must contain a more precise definition of פְּרוּב, and therefore is to be connected with פְּרוּב in the construct state: cherub of anointing, *i.e.* anointed cherub. This is the rendering adopted by Kliefoth, the only commentator who has given the true explanation of the verse. מִשָּׁח is the older form, which has only been retained in a few words, such as מְרַמֵּס in Isa. x. 6, together with the tone-lengthened *a* (*vid.* Ewald, § 160*a*). The prince of Tyre is called an anointed cherub, as Ephraem Syrus has observed, because he was a king even though he had not been anointed. הַפֹּכֵחַ is not an abstract noun, either here or in Nah. ii. 6, but a participle; and this predicate points back to Ex. xxv. 20, "the cherubim covered (סֹכְכִים) the capporeth with their wings," and is to be explained accordingly. Consequently the king of Tyre is called a cherub, because, as an anointed king, he covered or overshadowed a sanctuary, like the cherubim upon the ark of the covenant. What this sanctuary was is evident from the remarks already made at ver. 2 concerning the divine seat of the king. If the "seat of God," upon which the king of Tyre sat, is to be understood as signifying the state of Tyre, then the sanctuary which he covered or overshadowed as a cherub

will also be the Tyrian state, with its holy places and sacred things. In the next clause, *וַיַּתְתִּיךָ* is to be taken by itself according to the accents, "and I have made thee (so)," and not to be connected with *בְּהָר קֹדֶשׁ*. We are precluded from adopting the combination which some propose—viz. "I set thee upon a holy mountain; thou wast a God"—by the incongruity of first of all describing the prince of Tyre as a cherub, and then immediately afterwards as a God, inasmuch as, according to the Biblical view, the cherub, as an angelic being, is simply a creature and not a God; and the fanciful delusion of the prince of Tyre, that he was an *El* (ver. 2), could not furnish the least ground for his being addressed as *Elohim* by Ezekiel. And still more are we precluded from taking the words in this manner by the declaration contained in ver. 16, that Jehovah will cast him out "from the mountain of Elohim," from which we may see that in the present verse also *Elohim* belongs to *har*, and that in ver. 16, where the mountain of God is mentioned again, the predicate *קֹדֶשׁ* is simply omitted for the sake of brevity, just as *מַמְשֵׁחַ* is afterwards omitted on the repetition of *בְּרוֹב הַפִּזְקָה*. The missing but actual object to *נִתְתִּיךָ* can easily be supplied from the preceding clause,—namely, this, *i.e.* an overshadowing cherub, had God made him, by placing him as king in paradisaical glory. The words, "thou wast upon a holy mountain of God," are not to be interpreted in the sense suggested by Isa. xiv. 13, namely, that Ezekiel was thinking of the mountain of the gods (*Alborj*) met with in Asiatic mythology, because it was there that the cherub had its home, as Hitzig and others suppose; for the Biblical idea of the cherub is entirely different from the heathen notion of the griffin keeping guard over gold. It is true that God placed the cherub as guardian of Paradise, but Paradise was not a mountain of God, nor even a mountainous land. The idea of a holy mountain of God, as being the seat of the king of Tyre, was founded partly upon the natural situation of Tyre itself, built as it was upon one or two rocky islands of the Mediterranean,

and partly upon the heathen notion of the sacredness of this island as the seat of the Deity, to which the Tyrians attributed the grandeur of their state. To this we may probably add a reference to Mount Zion, upon which was the sanctuary, where the cherub covered the seat of the presence of God. For although the comparison of the prince of Tyre to a cherub was primarily suggested by the description of his abode as Paradise, the epithet *הַפְּסוּכָה* shows that the place of the cherub in the sanctuary was also present to the prophet's mind. At the same time, we must not understand by *הַר קָדֵשׁ* Mount Zion itself. The last clause, "thou didst walk in the midst of (among) fiery stones," is very difficult to explain. It is admitted by nearly all the more recent commentators, that "stones of fire" cannot be taken as equivalent to "every precious stone" (ver. 13), both because the precious stones could hardly be called stones of fire on account of their brilliant splendour, and also being covered with precious stones is not walking in the midst of them. Nor can we explain the words, as Hävernick has done, from the account given by Herodotus (II. 44) of the two emerald pillars in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, which shone resplendently by night; for pillars shining by night are not stones of fire, and the king of Tyre did not walk in the temple between these pillars. The explanation given by Hofmann and Kliefoth appears to be the correct one, namely, that the stones of fire are to be regarded as a wall of fire (Zech. ii. 9), which rendered the cherubic king of Tyre unapproachable upon his holy mountain.

In ver. 15, the comparison of the prince of Tyre to Adam in Paradise is brought out still more prominently. As Adam was created sinless, so was the prince of Tyre innocent in his conduct in the day of his creation, but only until perverseness was found in him. As Adam forfeited and lost the happiness conferred upon him through his fall, so did the king of Tyre forfeit his glorious position through unrighteousness and sin, and cause God to cast him from his eminence down to the ground.

He fell into perverseness in consequence of the abundance of his trade (ver. 16*a*). Because his trade lifted him up to wealth and power, his heart was filled with iniquity. מָלֵא for מָלֵא, like מָלֵא for מָלֵא in ch. xli. 8, and נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא in ch. xxxix. 26. מוֹכֵר is not the subject, but the object to מָלֵא; and the plural מָלֵא, with an indefinite subject, "they filled," is chosen in the place of the passive construction, because in the Hebrew, as in the Aramaean, active combinations are preferred to passive whenever it is possible to adopt them (*vid.* Ewald, § 294*b* and 128*b*). מָלֵא is used by Ezekiel in the transitive sense "to fill" (ch. viii. 17 and xxx. 11). מִתְּנֶה, the midst, is used for the interior in a physical sense, and not in a spiritual one; and the expression is chosen with an evident allusion to the history of the fall. As Adam sinned by eating the forbidden fruit of the tree, so did the king of Tyre sin by filling himself with wickedness in connection with trade (Hävernick and Kliefoth). God would therefore put him away from the mountain of God, and destroy him. הִלֵּל with מִן is a pregnant expression: to desecrate away from, *i.e.* to divest of his glory and thrust away from. נִאֲבָדָה is a contracted form for נִאֲבָדָהָ (vid. Ewald, § 232*h* and § 72*c*).—Vers. 17 and 18 contain a comprehensive description of the guilt of the prince of Tyre, and the approaching judgment is still further depicted. עַל יְפַעְחָהּ cannot mean, "on account of thy splendour," for this yields no appropriate thought, inasmuch as it was not the splendour itself which occasioned his overthrow, but the pride which corrupted the wisdom requisite to exalt the might of Tyre,—in other words, tempted the prince to commit iniquity in order to preserve and increase his glory. We therefore follow the LXX., Syr., Ros., and others, in taking עַל in the sense of *una cum*, together with. רִאָּה is an infinitive form, like אֶהְיֶה for רִאָּה, though Ewald (§ 238*e*) regards it as so extraordinary that he proposes to alter the text. רִאָּה with ב is used for looking upon a person with malicious pleasure. בְּעֵל רִבְלֶתָהּ shows in what the guilt (עוֹן) consisted (עוֹל is the construct state of עוֹל). The sanctuaries

(*miqdāshim*) which the king of Tyre desecrated by the unrighteousness of his commerce, are not the city or the state of Tyre, but the temples which made Tyre a holy island. These the king desecrated by bringing about their destruction through his own sin. Several of the codices and editions read מִקְדָּשָׁךְ in the singular, and this is the reading adopted by the Chaldee, Syriac, and Vulgate versions. If this were the true reading, the sanctuary referred to would be the holy mountain of God (vers. 14 and 16). But the reading itself apparently owes its origin simply to this interpretation of the words. In the clause, "I cause fire to issue from the midst of thee," מִתּוֹכְךָ is to be understood in the same sense as מִתּוֹכָךְ in ver. 16. The iniquity which the king has taken into himself becomes a fire issuing from him, by which he is consumed and burned to ashes. All who know him among the peoples will be astonished at his terrible fall (ver. 19, compare ch. xxvii. 36).

If we proceed, in conclusion, to inquire into the fulfilment of these prophecies concerning Tyre and its king, we find the opinions of modern commentators divided. Some, for example Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Drechsler (on Isa. xxiii.), and others, assuming that, after a thirteen years' siege, Nebuchadnezzar conquered the strong Island Tyre, and destroyed it; while others—viz. Gesenius, Winer, Hitzig, etc.—deny the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar, or at any rate call it in question; and many of the earlier commentators suppose the prophecy to refer to Old Tyre, which stood upon the mainland. For the history of this dispute, see Hengstenberg, *De rebus Tyriorum comment.* (Berol. 1832); Hävernicks, *On Ezekiel*, pp. 420 sqq.; and Movers, *Phoenizier*, II. 1, pp. 427 sqq.—The denial of the conquest of Insular Tyre by the king of Babylon rests partly on the silence which ancient historians, who mention the siege itself, have maintained as to its result; and partly on the statement contained in Ezek. xxix. 17-20.—All that Josephus (*Antt.* x. 11. 1) is able to quote from the ancient historians on this point is the following:—In the first place, he states, on the authority of the

third book of the Chaldean history of Berosus, that when the father of Nebuchadnezzar, on account of his own age and consequent infirmity, had transferred to his son the conduct of the war against the rebellious satrap in Egypt, Coelesyria, and Phoenicia, Nebuchadnezzar defeated him, and brought the whole country once more under his sway. But as the tidings reached him of the death of his father just at the same time, after arranging affairs in Egypt, and giving orders to some of his friends to lead into Babylon the captives taken from among the Judaeans, the Phoenicians, the Syrians, and the Egyptians, together with the heavy armed portion of the army, he himself hastened through the desert to Babylon, with a small number of attendants, to assume the government of the empire. Secondly, he states, on the authority of the Indian and Phoenician histories of Philostratus, that when Ithobal was on the throne, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre for thirteen years. The accounts taken from Berosus are repeated by Josephus in his *c. Apion* (i. § 19), where he also adds (§ 20), in confirmation of their credibility, that there were writings found in the archives of the Phoenicians which tallied with the statement made by Berosus concerning the king of Chaldea (Nebuchadnezzar), viz. "that he conquered all Syria and Phoenicia;" and that Philostratus also agrees with this, since he mentions the siege of Tyre in his histories (*μεμνημένος τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας*). In addition to this, for synchronistic purposes, Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 21) also communicates a fragment from the Phoenician history, containing not only the account of the thirteen years' siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar in the reign of Ithobal, but also a list of the kings of Tyre who followed Ithobal, down to the time of Cyrus of Persia.¹ The siege of Tyre is

¹ The passage reads as follows: "In the reign of Ithobal the king, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre for thirteen years. After him judges were appointed. Ecnibalus, the son of Baslachus, judged for two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdaeus, for ten months; Abbarus, the high priest, for three months; Myttonus and Gerastartus, the sons of Abdelemus, for

therefore mentioned three times by Josephus, on the authority of Phoenician histories; but he never says anything of the conquest and destruction of that city by Nebuchadnezzar. From this circumstance the conclusion has been drawn, that this was all he found there. For if, it is said, the siege had terminated with the conquest of the city, this glorious result of the thirteen years' exertions could hardly have been passed over in silence, inasmuch as in *Antt.* x. 11. 1 the testimony of foreign historians is quoted to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar was "an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him." But the argument is more plausible than conclusive. If we bear in mind that Berosus simply relates the account of a subjugation and devastation of the whole of Phoenicia, without even mentioning the siege of Tyre, and that it is only in Phoenician writings therefore that the latter is referred to, we cannot by any means conclude, from their silence as to the result or termination of the siege, that it ended gloriously for the Tyrians and with humiliation to Nebuchadnezzar, or that he was obliged to relinquish the attempt without success after the strenuous exertions of thirteen years. On the contrary, considering how all the historians of antiquity show the same anxiety, if not to pass over in silence such events as were unfavourable to their country, at all events to put them in as favourable a light as possible, the fact that the Tyrian historians observe the deepest silence as to the result of the thirteen years' siege of Tyre would rather force us to the conclusion that it was very humiliating to Tyre. And this could only be the case if Nebuchadnezzar really conquered Tyre at the end of thirteen years. If he had been obliged to relinquish the siege because he found himself unable to conquer so strong a city, the Tyrian historians would most assuredly have related

six years; after whom Balatorus reigned for one year. When he died, they sent for and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, and he reigned four years. At his death they sent for his brother Eiramus, who reigned twenty years. During his reign, Cyrus ruled over the Persians."

this termination of the thirteen years' strenuous exertions of the great and mighty king of Babylon.

The silence of the Tyrian historians concerning the conquest of Tyre is no proof, therefore, that it did not really take place. But Ezek. xxix. 17-20 has also been quoted as containing positive evidence of the failure of the thirteen years' siege; in other words, of the fact that the city was not taken. We read in this passage, that Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to perform hard service against Tyre, and that neither he nor his army received any recompense for it. Jehovah would therefore give him Egypt to spoil and plunder as wages for this work of theirs in the service of Jehovah. Gesenius and Hitzig (on Isa. xxiii.) infer from this, that Nebuchadnezzar obtained no recompense for the severe labour of the siege, because he did not succeed in entering the city. But Movers (*l.c.* p. 448) has already urged in reply to this, that "the passage before us does not imply that the city was not conquered any more than it does the opposite, but simply lays stress upon the fact that it *was not plundered*. For nothing can be clearer in this connection than that what we are to understand by the wages, which Nebuchadnezzar did not receive, notwithstanding the exertions connected with his many years' siege, is simply the treasures of Tyre;" though Movers is of opinion that the passage contains an intimation that the siege was brought to an end with a certain compromise which satisfied the Tyrians, and infers, from the fact of stress being laid exclusively upon the neglected plundering, that the termination was of such a kind that plundering might easily have taken place, and therefore that Tyre was either actually conquered, but treated mildly from wise considerations, or else submitted to the Chaldeans upon certain terms. But neither of these alternatives can make the least pretension to probability. In Ezek. xxix. 20 it is expressly stated that "as wages, for which he (Nebuchadnezzar) has worked, I give him the land of Egypt, because they (Nebuchadnezzar and his army) have done it for me;" in other words,

have done the work for me. When, therefore, Jehovah promises to give Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward or wages for the hard work which has been done for Him at Tyre, the words presuppose that Nebuchadnezzar had really accomplished against Tyre the task entrusted to him by God. But God had committed to him not merely the siege, but also the conquest and destruction of Tyre. Nebuchadnezzar must therefore have executed the commission, though without receiving the expected reward for the labour which he had bestowed; and on that account God would compensate him for his trouble with the treasures of Egypt. This precludes not only the supposition that the siege was terminated, or the city surrendered, on the condition that it should not be plundered, but also the idea that for wise reasons Nebuchadnezzar treated the city leniently after he had taken possession. In either case Nebuchadnezzar would not have executed the will of Jehovah upon Tyre in such a manner as to be able to put in any claim for compensation for the hard work performed. The only thing that could warrant such a claim would be the circumstance, that after conquering Tyre he found no treasures to plunder. And this is the explanation which Jerome has given of the passage *ad litteram*. "Nebuchadnezzar," he says, "being unable, when besieging Tyre, to bring up his battering-rams, besieging towers, and *vineae* close to the walls, on account of the city being surrounded by the sea, employed a very large number of men from his army in collecting rocks and piling up mounds of earth, so as to fill up the intervening sea, and make a continuous road to the island at the narrowest part of the strait. And when the Tyrians saw that the task was actually accomplished, and the foundations of the walls were being disturbed by the shocks from the battering-rams, they placed in ships whatever articles of value the nobility possessed in gold, silver, clothing, and household furniture, and transported them to the islands; so that when the city was taken, Nebuchadnezzar found nothing to compensate him for all his labour. And

because he had done the will of God in all this, some years after the conquest of Tyre, Egypt was given to him by God.”¹ It is true that we have no historical testimony from any other quarter to support this interpretation. But we could not expect it in any of the writings which have come down to us, inasmuch as the Phœnician accounts extracted by Josephus simply contain the fact of the thirteen years’ siege, and nothing at all concerning its progress and result. At the same time, there is the greatest probability that this was the case. If Nebuchadnezzar really besieged the city, which was situated upon an island in the sea, he could not have contented himself with cutting off the supply of drinking water from the city simply on the land side, as Shalmanezzer, the king of Assyria, is said to have done (*vid.* Josephus, *Antt.* ix. 14. 2), but must have taken steps to fill up the strait between the city and the mainland with a mound, that he might construct a road for besieging and assaulting the walls, as Alexander of Macedonia afterwards did. And the words of Ezek. xxix. 18, according to which every head was bald, and the skin rubbed off every shoulder with the severity of the toil, point indisputably to the undertaking of some such works as these. And if the Chaldeans really carried out their operations upon the city in this way, as the siege-works advanced, the Tyrians would not neglect any precaution to defend themselves as far as possible, in the event of the capture of the city. They would certainly send the possessions and treasures of the city by ship into the colonies, and thereby place them in security; just as, according to Curtius, iv. 3, they sent off their families to Carthage, when the city was besieged by Alexander.

This view of the termination of the Chaldean siege of Tyre receives a confirmation of no little weight from the fragment of Menander already given, relating to the succession of rulers in Tyre after the thirteen years’ siege by Nebuchadnezzar. It is there stated that after Ithobal, Baal reigned for ten years,

¹ Cyrill. Alex. gives the same explanation in his commentary on Isa. xxiii.

that judges (*suffetes*) were then appointed, nearly all of whom held office for a few months only; that among the last judges there was also a king *Balatorus*, who reigned for a year; that after this, however, the Tyrians sent to Babylon, and brought thence *Merbal*, and on his death *Hiram*, as kings, whose genuine Tyrian names undoubtedly show that they were descendants of the old native royal family. This circumstance proves not only that Tyre became a Chaldean dependency in consequence of the thirteen years' siege by Nebuchadnezzar, but also that the Chaldeans had led away the royal family to Babylonia, which would hardly have been the case if Tyre had submitted to the Chaldeans by a treaty of peace.

If, however, after what has been said, no well-founded doubt can remain as to the conquest of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, our prophecy was not so completely fulfilled thereby, that Tyre became a bare rock on which fishermen spread their nets, as is threatened in ch. xxvi. 4, 5, 14. Even if Nebuchadnezzar destroyed its walls, and laid the city itself in ruins to a considerable extent, he did not totally destroy it, so that it was not restored. On the contrary, two hundred and fifty years afterwards, we find Tyre once more a splendid and powerful royal city, so strongly fortified, that Alexander the Great was not able to take it till after a siege of seven months, carried on with extraordinary exertions on the part of both the fleet and army, the latter attacking from the mainland by means of a mound of earth, which had been thrown up with considerable difficulty (Diod. Sic. xvii. 40 sqq.; Arrian, *Alex.* ii. 17 sqq.; Curtius, iv. 2-4). Even after this catastrophe it rose once more into a distinguished commercial city under the rule of the Seleucidae and afterwards of the Romans, who made it the capital of Phoenicia. It is mentioned as such a city in the New Testament (Matt. xv. 21; Acts xxi. 3, 7); and Strabo (xvi. 2. 23) describes it as a busy city with two harbours and very lofty houses. But Tyre never recovered its ancient grandeur. In the first centuries of the Christian era, it is frequently men-

tioned as an archbishop's see. From A.D. 636 to A.D. 1125 it was under the rule of the Saracens, and was so strongly fortified, that it was not till after a siege of several months' duration that they succeeded in taking it. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Tyre in the year 1060, describes it as a city of distinguished beauty, with a strongly fortified harbour, and surrounded by walls, and with the best glass and earthenware in the East. "Saladin, the conqueror of Palestine, broke his head against Tyre in the year 1189. But after Acre had been taken by storm in the year 1291 by the Sultan El-Ashraf, on the day following this conquest the city passed without resistance into the hands of the same Egyptian king; the inhabitants having forsaken Tyre by night, and fled by sea, that they might not fall into the power of such bloodthirsty soldiers" (Van de Velde). When it came into the hands of the Saracens once more, its fortifications were demolished; and from that time forward Tyre has never risen from its ruins again. Moreover, it had long ceased to be an insular city. The mound which Alexander piled up, grew into a broader and firmer tongue of land in consequence of the sand washed up by the sea, so that the island was joined to the mainland, and turned into a peninsula. The present *Sûr* is situated upon it, a market town of three or four thousand inhabitants, which does not deserve the name of a city or town. The houses are for the most part nothing but huts; and the streets are narrow, crooked, and dirty lanes. The ruins of the old Phœnician capital cover the surrounding country to the distance of more than half an hour's journey from the present town gate. The harbour is so thoroughly choked up with sand, and filled with the ruins of innumerable pillars and building stones, that only small boats can enter. The sea has swallowed up a considerable part of the greatness of Tyre; and quite as large a portion of its splendid temples and fortifications lie buried in the earth. To a depth of many feet the soil trodden at the present day is one solid mass of building stones, shafts of pillars, and rubbish composed of

marble, porphyry, and granite. Fragments of pillars of the costly *verde antiquo* (green marble) also lie strewn about in large quantities. The crust, which forms the soil that is trodden to-day, is merely the surface of this general heap of ruins. Thus has Tyre actually become "a bare rock, and a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of sea;" and "the dwelling-places, which are now erected upon a portion of its former site, are not at variance with the terrible decree, 'thou shalt be built no more'" (compare Robinson's *Palestine*, and Van de Velde's *Travels*).—Thus has the prophecy of Ezekiel been completely fulfilled, though not directly by Nebuchadnezzar; for the prophecy is not a bare prediction of historical details, but is pervaded by the idea of the judgment of God. To the prophet, Nebuchadnezzar is the instrument of the punitive righteousness of God, and Tyre the representative of the ungodly commerce of the world. Hence, as Hävernicks has already observed, Nebuchadnezzar's action is more than an isolated deed in the prophet's esteem. "In his conquest of the city he sees the whole of the ruin concentrated, which history places before us as a closely connected chain. The breaking of the power of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar stands out before his view as inseparably connected with its utter destruction. This was required by the internal theocratic signification of the fact in its relation to the destruction of Jerusalem." Jerusalem will rise again to new glory out of its destruction through the covenant faithfulness of God (ch. xxviii. 25, 26). But Tyre, the city of the world's commerce, which is rejoicing over the fall of Jerusalem, will pass away for ever (ch. xxvi. 14, xxvii. 36).

CHAP. XXVIII. 20-26. PROPHECY AGAINST SIDON AND PROMISE
FOR ISRAEL.

The threatening word against Sidon is very brief, and couched in general terms, because as a matter of fact the prophecy against Tyre involved the announcement of the fall

of Sidon, which was dependent upon it ; and, as we have already observed, Sidon received a special word of God simply for the purpose of making up the number of the heathen nations mentioned to the significant number seven. The word of God against Sidon brings to a close the cycle of predictions of judgment directed against those heathen nations which had given expression to malicious pleasure at the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah. There is therefore appended a promise for Israel (vers. 25, 26), which is really closely connected with the threatening words directed against the heathen nations, and for which the way is prepared by ver. 24. The correspondence of *נִקְדַּשְׁתִּי בָּהּ* (I shall be sanctified in her) in ver. 22 to *נִקְדַּשְׁתִּי בָּם* (I shall be sanctified in them) in ver. 25, serves to place the future fate of Israel in antithesis not merely to the future fate of Sidon, but, as vers. 24 and 26 clearly show, to that of all the heathen nations against which the previous threats have been directed.

Ver. 20. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,*
 Ver. 21. *Son of man, direct thy face towards Sidon, and prophesy against it,* Ver. 22. *And say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will be against thee, O Sidon, and will glorify myself in the midst of thee ; and they shall know that I am Jehovah, when I execute judgments upon it, and sanctify myself upon it.* Ver. 23. *I will send pestilence into it, and blood into its streets ; slain will fall in the midst of it by the sword, which cometh upon it from every side ; and they shall learn that I am Jehovah.* Ver. 24. *And there shall be no more to the house of Israel a malignant thorn and smarting sting from all round about them, who despise them ; but they shall learn that I am the Lord Jehovah.*
 —Jehovah will glorify Himself as the Lord upon Sidon, as He did before upon Pharaoh (compare Ex. xiv. 4, 16, 17, to which the word *נִבְרַחְתִּי* in ver. 22, an unusual expression for Ezekiel, evidently points). The glorification is effected by judgments, through which He proves Himself to be holy upon the enemies of His people. He executes the judgments through

pestilence and blood (*vid.* ch. v. 17, xxxviii. 22), *i.e.* through disease and bloodshed occasioned by war, so that men fall, slain by the sword (*cf.* ch. vi. 7). Instead of ^לנָפַח we have the intensive form ^{לל}נָפַח, which is regarded by Ewald and Hitzig as a copyist's error, because it is only met with here. Through these judgments the Lord will liberate His people Israel from all round about, who increase its suffering by their contempt. These thoughts sum up in ver. 24 the design of God's judgments upon all the neighbouring nations which are threatened in ch. xxv.—xxviii., and thus prepare the way for the concluding promise in vers. 25 and 26. The figure of the sting and thorn points back to Num. xxxiii. 55, where it is said that the Canaanites whom Israel failed to exterminate would become thorns in its eyes and stings in its sides. As Israel did not keep itself free from the Canaanitish nature of the heathen nations, God caused it to feel these stings of heathenism. Having been deeply hurt by them, it was now lying utterly prostrate with its wounds. The sins of Canaan, to which Israel had given itself up, had occasioned the destruction of Jerusalem (chap. xvi.). But Israel is not to succumb to its wounds. On the contrary, by destroying the heathen powers, the Lord will heal His people of the wounds which its heathen neighbours have inflicted upon it. סָלֵן, synonymous with סָלֵן in ch. ii. 6, a word only found in Ezekiel. מִטְאִיר, on the contrary, is taken from Lev. xiii. 51 and xiv. 44, where it is applied to malignant leprosy (see the comm. on the former passage).—For אֹתָם הַשְׁאֵתִים, see ch. xvi. 57 and xxv. 6.

Ver. 25. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, When I shall gather the house of Israel out of the peoples among whom they have been scattered, I shall sanctify myself upon them before the eyes of the heathen nations, and they will dwell in their land which I have given to my servant Jacob.* Ver. 26. *They will dwell there securely, and build houses and plant vineyards, and will dwell securely when I execute judgments upon all who despise them of those round about them; and they shall learn that I Jehovah am*

their God.—Whilst the heathen nations succumb to the judgments of God, Israel passes on to a time of blessed peace. The Lord will gather His people from their dispersion among the heathen, bring them into the land which He gave to the patriarch Jacob, His servant, and give them in that land rest, security, and true prosperity. (For the fact itself, compare ch. xi. 17, xx. 41, xxxvi. 22 sqq.)

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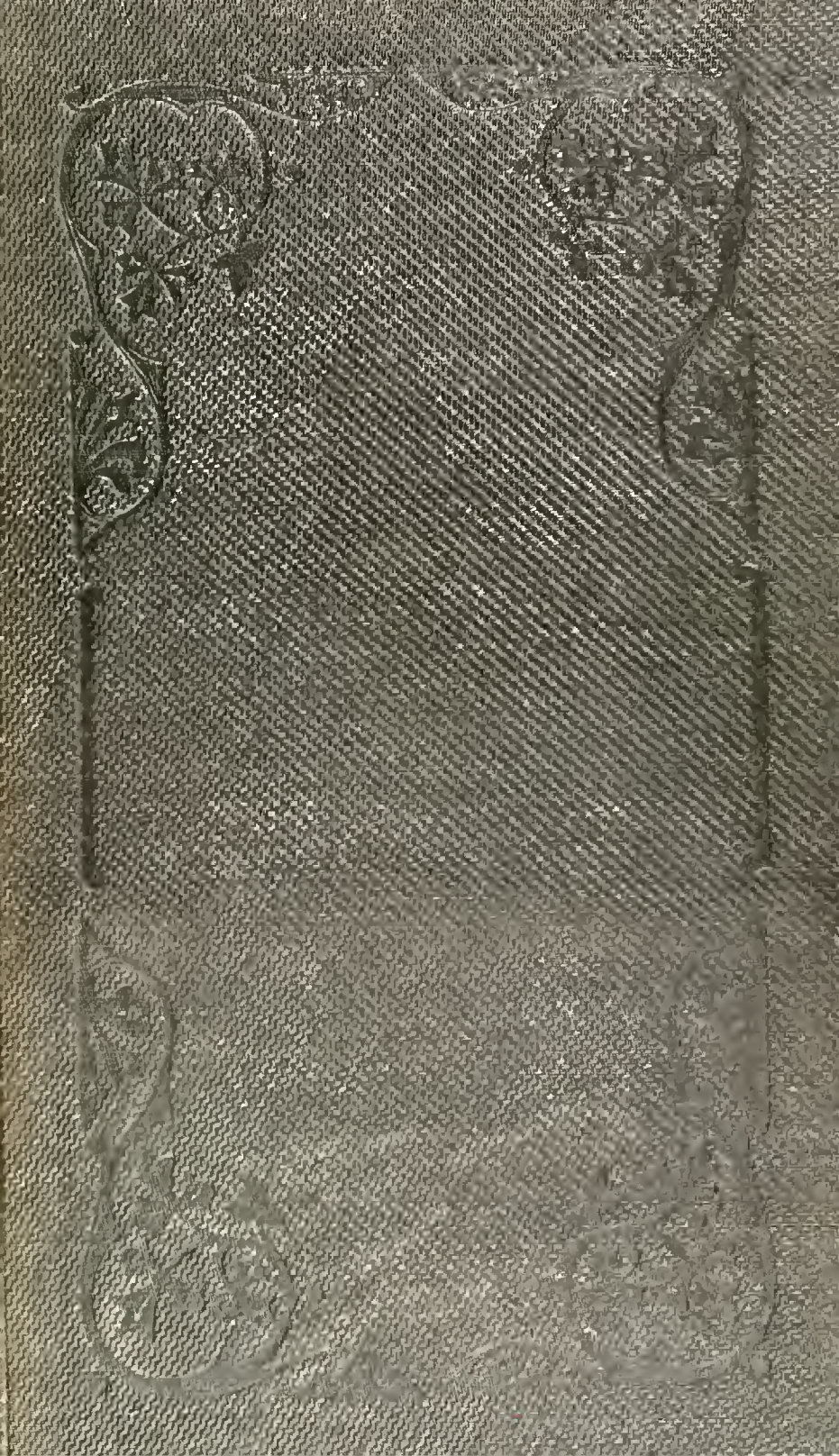
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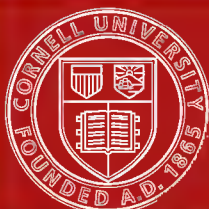
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THE PROPHECIES OF EZEKIEL.

CHAP. XXIX.—XXXII.—AGAINST EGYPT.



THE announcement of the judgment upon Egypt is proclaimed in seven "words of God." The first five are threats. The first (ch. xxix. 1-16) contains a threat of the judgment upon Pharaoh and his people and land, expressed in grand and general traits. The second (ch. xxix. 17-21) gives a special prediction of the conquest and plundering of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. The third (ch. xxx. 1-19) depicts the day of judgment which will break upon Egypt and its allies. The fourth (ch. xxx. 20-26) foretells the annihilation of the might of Pharaoh by the king of Babylon; and the fifth (ch. xxxi.) holds up as a warning to the king and people of Egypt the glory and the overthrow of Assyria. The last two words of God in ch. xxxii. contain lamentations over the destruction of Pharaoh and his might, viz. ch. xxxii. 1-16, a lamentation over the king of Egypt; and ch. xxxii. 17-32, a second lamentation over the destruction of his imperial power.—Ezekiel's prophecy concerning Egypt assumes this elaborate form, because he regards the power of Pharaoh and Egypt as the embodiment of that phase of the imperial power which imagines in its ungodly self-deification that it is able to uphold the kingdom of God, and thus seduces the people of God to rely with false confidence upon the imperial power of this world.

CHAP. XXIX. 1-16. THE JUDGMENT UPON PHARAOH AND HIS
PEOPLE AND LAND.

Because Pharaoh looks upon himself as the creator of his kingdom and of his might, he is to be destroyed with his men of war (vers. 2-5a). In order that Israel may no longer put its trust in the fragile power of Egypt, the sword shall cut off from Egypt both man and beast, the land shall be turned into a barren wilderness, and the people shall be scattered over the lands (vers. 5b-12). But after the expiration of the time appointed for its punishment, both people and land shall be restored, though only to remain an insignificant kingdom (vers. 13-16).—According to ver. 1, this prophecy belongs to the tenth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin; and as we may see by comparing it with the other oracles against Egypt of which the dates are given, it was the first word of God uttered by Ezekiel concerning this imperial kingdom. The contents also harmonize with this, inasmuch as the threat which it contains merely announces in general terms the overthrow of the might of Egypt and its king, without naming the instrument employed to execute the judgment, and at the same time the future condition of Egypt is also disclosed.

Vers. 1-12. Destruction of the might of Pharaoh, and devastation of Egypt.—Ver. 1. *In the tenth year, in the tenth (month), on the twelfth of the month, the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, direct thy face against Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and prophesy against him and against all Egypt.* Ver. 3. *Speak and say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, thou great dragon which lieth in its rivers, which saith, "Mine is the river, and I have made it for myself."* Ver. 4. *I will put a ring into thy jaws, and cause the fishes of thy rivers to hang upon thy scales, and draw thee out of thy rivers, and all the fishes of thy rivers which hang upon thy scales;* Ver. 5. *And will cast thee into the desert, thee and all the fishes of thy rivers; upon the*

surface of the field wilt thou fall, thou wilt not be lifted up nor gathered together; I give thee for food to the beasts of the earth and the birds of the heaven. Ver. 6. And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall learn that I am Jehovah. Because it is a reed-staff to the house of Israel,—Ver. 7. When they grasp thee by thy branches, thou crackest and tearest open all their shoulder; and when they lean upon thee, thou breakest and causest all their loins to shake,—Ver. 8. Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I bring upon thee the sword, and will cut off from thee man and beast; Ver. 9. And the land of Egypt will become a waste and desolation, and they shall learn that I am Jehovah. Because he saith: “The river is mine, and I have made it,” Ver. 10. Therefore, behold, I will deal with thee and thy rivers, and will make the land of Egypt into barren waste desolations from Migdol to Syene, even to the border of Cush. Ver. 11. The foot of man will not pass through it, and the foot of beast will not pass through it, and it will not be inhabited for forty years. Ver. 12. I make the land of Egypt a waste in the midst of devastated lands, and its cities shall be waste among desolate cities forty years; and I scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them in the lands.—The date given, viz. “in the tenth year,” is defended even by Hitzig as more correct than the reading of the LXX., ἐν τῇ ἔτει τῇ δωδεκάτῃ; and he supposes the Alexandrian reading to have originated in the fact that the last date mentioned in ch. xxvi. 1 had already brought down the account to the eleventh year.—Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, against whom the threat is first directed, is called “the great dragon” in ver. 3. תַּנִּינִי (here and ch. xxxii. 2) is equivalent to אֲנָשִׁי, literally, the lengthened animal, the snake; here, the water-snake; the crocodile, the standing symbol of Egypt in the prophets (cf. Isa. li. 9, xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 13), which is here transferred to Pharaoh, as the ruler of Egypt and representative of its power. By אֲרָאָה we are to understand the arms and canals of the Nile (*vid.* Isa. vii. 18). The predicate, “lying in the midst of his rivers,” points at once

to the proud security in his own power to which Pharaoh gave himself up. As the crocodile lies quietly in the waters of the Nile, as though he were lord of the river; so did Pharaoh regard himself as the omnipotent lord of Egypt. His words affirm this: "the river is mine, I have made it for myself." The suffix attached to עָשִׂיתִי stands in the place of לִי, as ver. 9, where the suffix is wanting, clearly shows. There is an incorrectness in this use of the suffix, which evidently passed into the language of literature from the popular phraseology (cf. Ewald, § 315*b*). The rendering of the Vulgate, *ego feci memetipsum*, is false. אֲנִי is the expression used by him as a king who regards the land and its rivers as his own property; in connection with which we must bear in mind that Egypt is indebted to the Nile not only for its greatness, but for its actual existence. In this respect Pharaoh says emphatically לִי, it is mine, it belongs to me, because he regards himself as the creator. The words, "I have made it for myself," simply explain the reason for the expression לִי, and affirm more than "I have put myself in possession of this through my own power, or have acquired its blessings for myself" (Hävernick); or, "I have put it into its present condition by constructing canals, dams, sluices, and buildings by the river-side" (Hitzig). Pharaoh calls himself the creator of the Nile, because he regards himself as the creator of the greatness of Egypt. This pride, in which he forgets God and attributes divine power to himself, is the cause of his sin, for which he will be overthrown by God. God will draw the crocodile Pharaoh out of his Nile with hooks, and cast him upon the dry land, where he and the fishes that have been drawn out along with him upon his scales will not be gathered up, but devoured by the wild beasts and birds of prey. The figure is derived from the manner in which even in ancient times the crocodile was caught with large hooks of a peculiar construction (compare Herod. ii. 70, and the testimonies of travellers in Oedmann's *Vermischten Sammlungen*, III. pp. 6 sqq., and Jomard in the *Description de l'Égypte*, I. p. 27). The

form חַיִּים with a double *Yod* is a copyist's error, probably occasioned by the double *Yod* occurring after ח in בְּלִקְחֶיךָ, which follows. A dual form for חַיִּים is unsuitable, and is not used anywhere else even by Ezekiel (cf. ch. xix. 4, 9, and more especially ch. xxxviii. 4).—The fishes which hang upon the scales of the monster, and are drawn along with it out of the Nile, are the inhabitants of Egypt, for the Nile represents the land. The casting of the beast into the wilderness, where it putrefies and is devoured by the beasts and birds of prey, must not be interpreted in the insipid manner proposed by Hitzig, namely, that Pharaoh would advance with his army into the desert of Arabia and be defeated there. The wilderness is the dry and barren land, in which animals that inhabit the water must perish; and the thought is simply that the monster will be cast upon the desert land, where it will finally become the food of the beasts of prey.—In ver. 6 the construction is a subject of dispute, inasmuch as many of the commentators follow the Hebrew division of the verse, taking the second hemistich 'עַן הַיּוֹתָם וְגו' as dependent upon the first half of the verse, for which it assigns the reason, and then interpreting ver. 7 as a further development of ver. 6b, and commencing a new period with ver. 8 (Hitzig, Kliefoth, and others). But it is decidedly wrong to connect together the two halves of the sixth verse, if only for the simple reason that the formula וַיֵּדַע כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה, which occurs so frequently elsewhere in Ezekiel, invariably closes a train of thought, and is never followed by the addition of a further reason. Moreover, a sentence commencing with 'עַן is just as invariably followed by an apodosis introduced by לֵכֵן, of which we have an example just below in vers. 9b and 10a. For both these reasons it is absolutely necessary that we should regard 'עַן הַיּוֹתָם וְגו' as the beginning of a protasis, the apodosis to which commences with לֵכֵן in ver. 8. The correctness of this construction is established beyond all doubt by the fact that from ver. 6b onwards it is no longer Pharaoh who is spoken of, as in vers. 3-5, but Egypt; so that 'עַן introduces

a new train of thought. But ver. 7 is clearly shown, both by the contents and the form, to be an explanatory intermediate clause inserted as a parenthesis. And inasmuch as the protasis is removed in consequence to some distance from its apodosis, Ezekiel has introduced the formula "thus saith the Lord Jehovah" at the commencement of the apodosis, for the purpose of giving additional emphasis to the announcement of the punishment. Ver. 7 cannot in any case be regarded as the protasis, the apodosis to which commences with the לָכֵן in ver. 8, as Hävernicks maintains. The suffix attached to הָיִיתָם, to which Hitzig takes exception, because he has misunderstood the construction, and which he would conjecture away, refers to מִצְרַיִם as a land or kingdom. Because the kingdom of Egypt was a reed-staff to the house of Israel (a figure drawn from the physical character of the banks of the Nile, with its thick growth of tall, thick rushes, and recalling to mind Isa. xxxvi. 6), the Lord would bring the sword upon it and cut off from it both man and beast. But before this apodosis the figure of the reed-staff is more clearly defined: "when they (the Israelites) take thee by thy branches, thou breakest," etc. This explanation is not to be taken as referring to any particular facts either of the past or future, but indicates the deceptive nature of Egypt as the standing characteristic of that kingdom. At the same time, to give greater vivacity to the description, the words concerning Egypt are changed into a direct address to the Egyptians, *i.e.* not to Pharaoh, but to the Egyptian people regarded as a single individual. The expression בכַּף causes some difficulty, since the ordinary meaning of כַּף (hand) is apparently unsuitable, inasmuch as the verb הִרִיץ, from רָץ, to break or crack (not to break in pieces, *i.e.* to break quite through), clearly shows that the figure of the reed is still continued. The *Keri* בַּכֶּה is a bad emendation, based upon the rendering "to grasp with the hand," which is grammatically inadmissible. הִפִּישׁ with ב does not mean to grasp with something, but to seize upon something, to take hold of a person

(Isa. iii. 6; Deut. ix. 17), so that כַּנֶּפֶךְ can only be an explanatory apposition to קָדַ. The meaning grip, or grasp of the hand, is also unsuitable and cannot be sustained, as the plural כַּפּוֹת alone is used in this sense in Song of Sol. v. 5. The only meaning appropriate to the figure is that of branches, which is sustained, so far as the language is concerned, by the use of the plural כַּפּוֹת for palm-branches in Lev. xxiii. 40, and of the singular כַּפָּה for the collection of branches in Job xv. 32, and Isa. ix. 13, xix. 15; and this is apparently in perfect harmony with natural facts, since the tall reed of the Nile, more especially the papyrus, is furnished with hollow, sword-shaped leaves at the lower part of the stalk. When it cracks, the reed-staff pierces the shoulder of the man who has grasped it, and tears it; and if a man lean upon it, it breaks in pieces and causes all the loins to tremble. הֶעָמִיד cannot mean to cause to stand, or to set upright, still less to render stiff and rigid. The latter meaning cannot be established from the usage of the language, and would be unsuitable here. For if a stick on which a man leans should break and penetrate his loins, it would inflict such injury upon them as to cause him to fall, and not to remain stiff and rigid. הֶעָמַד cannot have any other meaning than that of הִקְעִיר, to cause to tremble or relax, as in Ps. lxix. 24, to shake the firmness of the loins, so that the power to stand is impaired.—In the apodosis the thought of the land gives place to that of the people; hence the use of the feminine suffixes עָלֶיהָ and כִּמְצָהָ in the place of the masculine suffixes בָּהֶן and עָלֵיהֶן in ver. 7. Man and beast shall be cut off, and the land made into a desert waste by the sword, *i.e.* by war. This is carried out still further in vers. 9b-12; and once again in the protasis 9b (cf. ver. 3b) the inordinate pride of the king is placed in the foreground as the reason for the devastation of his land and kingdom. The Lord will make of Egypt the most desolate wilderness. הַרְבֹּת is intensified into a superlative by the double genitive שְׁמָמָה הַרְבֵּה, desolation of the wilderness. Throughout its whole extent from *Migdol*, *i.e.*

Magdolo, according to the *Itiner. Anton.* p. 171 (ed. Wessel), twelve Roman miles from Pelusium; in the Coptic *Meshtol*, Egyptian *Ma'ktr* (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* I. pp. 261 seq.), the most northerly place in Egypt. סִינַיָה, to Syene (for the construction see ch. xxx. 6 and xxi. 3), Συήνη, *Sun* in the inscriptions, according to Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.* I. p. 155), probably the profane designation of the place (Coptic *Souan*), the most southerly border town of Egypt in the direction of Cush, i.e. Ethiopia, on the eastern bank of the Nile, some ruins of which

are still to be seen in the modern *Assvan* (*Assuan*, ^{أَسْوَان}) which is situated to the north-east of them (*vid.* Brugsch, *Reiseber. aus Aegypten*, p. 247, and Leyrer in Herzog's *Encyclopaedia*). The additional clause, "and to the border of Cush," does not give a fresh terminal point, still further advanced, but simply defines with still greater clearness the boundary toward the south, viz. to Syene, where Egypt terminates and Ethiopia begins. In ver. 11a the desolation is more fully depicted. לֹא יֵשֵׁב, it will not dwell, poetical for "be inhabited," as in Joel iv. (iii.) 20, Isa. xiii. 20, etc. This devastation shall last for forty years, and so long shall the people of Egypt be scattered among the nations. But after the expiration of that time they shall be gathered together again (ver. 13). The number forty is neither a round number (Hitzig) nor a very long time (Ewald), but is a symbolical term denoting a period appointed by God for punishment and penitence (see the comm. on ch. iv. 6), which is not to be understood in a chronological sense, or capable of being calculated.

Vers. 13-16. Restoration of Egypt.—Ver. 13. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, At the end of forty years I will gather the Egyptians out of the nations, whither they were scattered.* Ver. 14. *And I will turn the captivity of Egypt, and will bring them back into the land of Pathros, into the land of their origin, and they shall be a lowly kingdom there.* Ver. 15. *Lowlier than the kingdoms shall it be, and exalt itself no more over the nations; and I will*

make them small, so that they shall rule no more over the nations. Ver. 16. And it shall be no more the confidence of the house of Israel, bringing iniquity to remembrance when they incline towards it; and they shall learn that I am the Lord Jehovah.—The turning of the period of Egypt's punishment is connected by עֲרֵב, which refers to the time indicated, viz. "forty years." For forty years shall Egypt be utterly laid waste; for after the expiration of that period the Lord will gather the Egyptians again from their dispersion among the nations, turn their captivity, i.e. put an end to their suffering (see the comm. on ch. xvi. 53), and lead them back into the land of their birth, i.e. of their origin (for מִכְנִיָּה, see ch. xvi. 3), namely, to Pathros. פְּתָרוֹס, the Egyptian *Petorēs* (Παθούρης, LXX. Jer. xlv. 1), or south land, i.e. Upper Egypt, the Thebais of the Greeks and Romans. The designation of Upper Egypt as the mother country of the Egyptians, or the land of their nativity, is confirmed not only by the accounts given by Herodotus (ii. 4 and 15) and Diodorus Sic. (i. 50), but also by the Egyptian mythology, according to which the first king who reigned after the gods, viz. *Menes* or *Mena*, sprang from the city of *Thinis* (*Thynis*), Egypt. *Tenj*, in the neighbourhood of Abydos in Upper Egypt, and founded the city of *Memphis* in Lower Egypt, which became so celebrated in later times (vid. Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, I. p. 16). But Egypt shall not attain to its former power any more. It will be and continue a lowly kingdom, that it may not again become a ground of confidence to Israel, a power upon which Israel can rely, so as to fall into guilt and punishment. The subject to יִהְיֶה is Egypt as a nation, notwithstanding the fact that it has previously been construed in the feminine as a land or kingdom, and in אֲחֵרֵיהֶם the Egyptians are spoken of in the plural number. For it is out of the question to take מְזַכֵּיר עֹן as the subject to יִהְיֶה in the sense of "no more shall one who calls guilt to remembrance inspire the house of Israel with confidence," as Kliefoth proposes, not only because of the arrangement of the words, but because the more precise definition of מְזַכֵּיר עֹן

as 'בְּפִנּוֹתָם אֶרֶץ clearly shows that Egypt is the subject of the sentence; whereas, in order to connect this definition in any way, Kliefoth is compelled to resort to the interpolation of the words, "which it committed." מִזִּכְרֵ עֵץ is in apposition to מִבְּטָח; making Egypt the ground of confidence, brings into remembrance before God the guilt of Israel, which consists in the fact that the Israelites turn to the Egyptians and seek salvation from them, so that He is obliged to punish them (*vid.* ch. xxi. 28, 29).—The truth of the prediction in vers. 13–16 has been confirmed by history, inasmuch as Egypt never recovered its former power after the Chaldean period.—Moreover, if we compare the Messianic promise for Egypt in Isa. xix. 18–25 with the prediction in vers. 13–15, we are struck at once with the peculiarity of Ezekiel, already referred to in the introductory remarks on ch. xxv.–xxxii., namely, that he leaves entirely out of sight the Messianic future of the heathen nations.

CHAP. XXIX. 17–21. CONQUEST AND PLUNDERING OF EGYPT
BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Ver. 17. *In the seven and twentieth year, in the first (moon), on the first of the moon, the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,*
Ver. 18. *Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, has made his army perform hard work at Tyre: every head is bald, and every shoulder grazed, and no wages have been given to him and to his army from Tyre for the work which he performed against it.* Ver. 19. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I give Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, the land of Egypt, that he may carry away its possessions, and plunder its plunder, and make booty of its booty, and this may be the wages of his army.* Ver. 20. *As the pay for which he worked, I give him the land of Egypt, because they did it for me, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 21. *In that day will I cause a horn to sprout to the house of Israel, and I will open the mouth for thee in the midst of them; and they shall know that I am Jehovah.—*

This brief prophecy concerning Egypt was uttered about seventeen years after the preceding word of God, and was the latest of all the predictions of Ezekiel that are supplied with dates. But notwithstanding its brevity, it is not to be taken in connection with the utterance which follows in ch. xxx. 1-19 so as to form one prophecy, as Hitzig supposes. This is at variance not only with the formula in ch. xxx. 1, which is the usual introduction to a new word of God, but also with ver. 21 of the present chapter, which is obviously intended to bring the previous word of God to a close. This termination, which is analogous to the closing words of the prophecies against Tyre and Sidon in ch. xxviii. 25, 26, also shows that the present word of God contains the last of Ezekiel's prophecies against the Egyptian world-power, and that the only reason why the prophet did not place it at the end when collecting his prophecies—that is to say, after ch. xxxii.—was, that the promise in ver. 30, that the Lord would cause a horn to bud to the house of Israel, contained the correlate to the declaration that Egypt was henceforth to be but a lowly kingdom. Moreover, this threat of judgment, which is as brief as it is definite, was well fitted to prepare the way and to serve as an introduction for the more elaborate threats which follow. The contents of the prophecy, namely, the assurance that God would give Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar as spoil in return for the hard labour which he and his army had performed at Tyre, point to the time immediately following the termination of the thirteen years' siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. If we compare with this the date given in ver. 17, the siege was brought to a close in the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Jeboiachin, *i.e.* B.C. 572, and must therefore have commenced in the year B.C. 586, or about two years after the destruction of Jerusalem, and with this the extract given by Josephus (*c. Ap. i. 21*) from the Tyrian annals agrees.¹ הָעֵבֶיר עָבְדָהּ, to cause a work to be

¹ For the purpose of furnishing the proof that the temple at Jerusalem lay in ruins for fifty years, from the time of its destruction till the com-

executed, or service to be rendered. This labour was so severe, that every head was bald and every shoulder grazed. These words have been correctly interpreted by the commentators, even by Ewald, as referring to the heavy burdens that had to be carried in order to fill up the strait which separated Insular Tyre from the mainland. They confirm what we have said above, in the remarks on ch. xxvi. 10 and elsewhere, concerning the capture of Tyre. But neither he nor his army had received any recompense for their severe toil. This does not imply that Nebuchadnezzar had been unable to accomplish the work which he had undertaken, *i.e.* to execute his design and conquer the city, but simply that he had not received the recompense which he expected after this severe labour; in other words, had not found the booty he hoped for when the city was taken (see the introductory remarks on ch. xxvi.–xxviii.). To compensate him for this, the Lord will give him the land of Egypt with its possessions as booty, וְנִשָּׂא הָמְנָהּ, that he may carry off the abundance of its possessions, its wealth; not that he may lead away the multitude of its people (De Wette, Kliefoth, etc.), for “נִשָּׂא is not the appropriate expression for this” (Hitzig). הָמְנוֹן, abundance of possessions, as in Isa. lx. 5, Ps. xxxvii. 16, etc. פְּעֻלָּהּ, the doing of a thing; then that which is gained by working, the recompense for labour, as in Lev. xix. 13 and other passages. וְאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לִי is taken by Hitzig as referring to the Egyptians, and rendered, “in consequence of that which they have done to me.” But although אֲשֶׁר may be taken in this sense (*vid.* Isa. lxv. 18), the arguments employed by Hitzig in

mencement of its rebuilding, Josephus gives in the passage referred to above the years of the several reigns of the kings and judges of Tyre from Ithobal to *Hirom*, in whose reign *Cyrus* took the kingdom; from which it is apparent that fifty years elapsed from the commencement of the siege of Tyre to the fourteenth year of *Hirom*, in which *Cyrus* began to reign. At the same time, the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar is given by mistake instead of the seventeenth or nineteenth as the date of the beginning of the siege. (Compare on this point Movers, *Phönizier*, II. 1, pp. 437 sqq.; M. v. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs u. Bab.* pp. 106 sqq.; and M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Altert.* I. p. 841.)

opposition to the ordinary rendering—"for they (Nebuchadnezzar and his army) have done it for me," *i.e.* have performed their hard work at Tyre for me and by my commission—have no force whatever. This use of עָשָׂה לִי is thoroughly established by Gen. xxx. 30; and the objection which he raises, namely, that "the assertion that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre in the service of Jehovah could only have been properly made by Ezekiel in the event of the city having been really conquered," is out of place, for this simple reason, that the assumption that the city was not taken is a mere conjecture; and even if the conjecture could be sustained, the siege itself might still be a work undertaken in the service of Jehovah. And the principal argument, namely, "that we should necessarily expect עָשָׂה (instead of עָשָׂה), inasmuch as with עָשָׂה every Hebrew reader would inevitably take מִצְרַיִם as referring to מִצְרַיִם," is altogether wide of the mark; for מִצְרַיִם does not signify the Egyptians in this passage, but the land of Egypt alone is spoken of both in the verse before us and throughout the oracle, and for this עָשָׂה is quite unsuitable, whereas the context suggests in the most natural way the allusion to Nebuchadnezzar and his army. But what is absolutely decisive is the circumstance that the thought itself, "in consequence of what the Egyptians have done to me," *i.e.* what evil they have done, is foreign to, if not at variance with, all the prophecies of Ezekiel concerning Egypt. For the guilt of Egypt and its Pharaoh mentioned by Ezekiel is not any crime against Jehovah, but simply Pharaoh's deification of himself, and the treacherous nature of the help which Egypt afforded to Israel. עָשָׂה לִי = לִי הָיָה is not the appropriate expression for this, in support of which assertion we might point to עָשָׂה לִי in ch. xxiii. 38.—Ver. 21. On that day, namely, when the judgment upon Egypt is executed by Nebuchadnezzar, the Lord will cause a horn to sprout or grow to the house (people) of Israel. The horn is a symbol of might and strength, by which the attacks of foreigners are warded off. By the overthrow of Judah the horn of Israel was cut off (Lam. ii. 3;

compare also Jer. xlviii. 25). In בְּתוֹכָם the promise coincides, so far as the words are concerned, with Ps. cxxxii. 17; but it also points back to the prophetic words of the godly Hannah in 1 Sam. ii. 1, "My horn is exalted in Jehovah, my mouth hath opened itself wide over my enemies," and is Messianic in the broader sense of the word. The horn which the Lord will cause to sprout to the people of Israel is neither Zerubbabel nor the Messiah, but the Messianic salvation. The reason for connecting this promise of salvation for Israel with the overthrow of the power of Egypt, as Hävernicks has observed, is that "Egypt presented itself to the prophet as the power in which the idea of heathenism was embodied and circumscribed." In the might of Egypt the world-power is shattered, and the overthrow of the world-power is the dawn of the unfolding of the might of the kingdom of God. Then also will the Lord give to His prophet an opening of the mouth in the midst of Israel. These words are unquestionably connected with the promise of God in ch. xxiv. 26, 27, that after the fall of Jerusalem the mouth of Ezekiel should be opened, and also with the fulfilment of that promise in ch. xxxiii. 22; but they have a much more comprehensive meaning, namely, that with the dawn of salvation in Israel, i.e. in the church of the Lord, the word of prophecy would sound forth in the richest measure, inasmuch as, according to Joel (ch. ii.), a universal outpouring of the Spirit of God would then take place. In this light Theodoret is correct in his remark, that "through Ezekiel He signified the whole band of prophets." But Kliefoth has quite mistaken the meaning of the words when he discovers in them the thought that "God would then give the prophet a new word of God concerning both Egypt and Israel, and that this is contained in the oracle in ch. xxx. 1-19." Such a view as this is proved at once to be false, apart from other grounds, by the expression בְּתוֹכָם (in the midst of them), which cannot be taken as applying to Egypt and Israel, but can only refer to בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, the house of Israel.

CHAP. XXX. 1-19. THE DAY OF JUDGMENT UPON EGYPT.

Commencing with a call to lamentation, the prophet announces that the Lord's day of judgment upon the nations is near at hand, and will burst upon Egypt, and the nations in alliance with it (vers. 2-5). He then depicts in three strophes, with the introductory words 'כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה, the execution of this judgment, namely: (a) the destruction of the might of Egypt and the devastation of the land (vers. 6-9); (b) the enemy by whom the judgment will be accomplished (vers. 10-12); and (c) the extermination of the idols of Egypt, the conquest and demolition of its fortresses, the slaughter of its male population, and the captivity of the daughters of the land (vers. 13-19).

The heading does not contain any chronological information; and the contents furnish no definite *criteria* for determining with precision the date of the prophecy. Jerome assigns this oracle to the same period as the prophecy in ch. xxix. 1-16, whilst others connect it more closely with ch. xxix. 17-21, and regard it as the latest of all Ezekiel's prophecies. The latter is the conclusion adopted by Rosenmüller, Hävernicks, Hitzig, Kliefoth, and some others. The principal argument adduced for linking it on to ch. xxix. 17 sqq. is, that in ver. 3 the day of judgment upon Egypt is threatened as near at hand, and this did not apply to the tenth year (ch. xxix. 1), though it was perfectly applicable to the twenty-seventh (ch. xxix. 17), when the siege of Tyre was ended, and Nebuchadnezzar was on the point of attacking Egypt. But the expression, "the day of the Lord is near at hand," is so relative a chronological phrase, that nothing definite can be gathered from it as to the date at which an oracle was composed. Nor does the fact that our prophecy stands after the prophecy in ch. xxix. 17-21, which is furnished with a date, prove anything; for the other prophecies which follow, and are furnished with dates, all belong to a much earlier period. It is very evident from this that ch. xxix. 17-21 is inserted without regard to chronological

sequence, and consequently ch. xxx. 1-19 may just as well belong to the period between the tenth month of the tenth year (ch. xxix. 1) and the first month of the eleventh year (ch. xxx. 20), as to the twenty-seventh year (ch. xxix. 17), since all the reasons assigned for the closer connection of our prophecy with the one immediately preceding (ch. xxix. 17-21), which is supposed to indicate similarity of date, are invalid; whilst, on the other hand, the resemblance of vers. 6 and 17 to ch. xxix. 10 and 12 is not sufficient to warrant the assumption of a contemporaneous origin.

Vers. 1-5. Announcement of the judgment upon Egypt and its allies.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, prophesy, and say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Howl ye! Woe to the day!* Ver. 3. *For the day is near, the day of Jehovah near, a day of cloud, the time of the heathen will it be.* Ver. 4. *And the sword will come upon Egypt, and there will be pangs in Ethiopia, when the slain fall in Egypt, and they take her possessions, and her foundations are destroyed.* Ver. 5. *Ethiopians and Libyans and Lydians, and all the rabble, and Chub, and the sons of the covenant land, will fall by the sword with them.*—In the announcement of the judgment in vers. 2b and 3, Ezekiel rests upon Joel i. 13, 15, and ii. 2, where the designation already applied to the judgment upon the heathen world by Obadiah, viz. “the day of Jehovah” (Obad. ver. 15), is followed by such a picture of the nearness and terrible nature of that day, that even Isaiah (Isa. xiii. 6, 9) and Zephaniah (Zeph. i. 7, 14) appropriate the words of Joel. Ezekiel also does the same, with this exception, that he uses *יה* instead of *אֶתֶּר*, and adds to the force of the expression by the repetition of *יָוֵם*. In ver. 3b, the words from *יָוֵם עָנָן* to *יִהְיֶה* are not to be taken together as forming one sentence, “a day of cloud will the time of the nations be” (De Wette), because the idea of a “time of the nations” has not been mentioned before, so as to prepare the way for a description of its real nature here. *יָוֵם עָנָן* and *עַתְּ נָיוִם* contain two co-ordinate

affirmations concerning the day of Jehovah. It will be a day of cloud, *i.e.* of great calamity (as in Joel ii. 2), and a time of the heathen, *i.e.* when heathen (גוֹיִם without the article) are judged, when their might is to be shattered (cf. Isa. xiii. 22). This day is coming upon Egypt, which is to succumb to the sword. Ethiopia will be so terrified at this, that it will writhe convulsively with anguish (תִּלְחָלֵחַ, as in Nah. ii. 11 and Isa. xxi. 3). לָקַח הַמִּנָּה signifies the plundering and removal of the possessions of the land, like נָשַׂא הַמִּנָּה in ch. xxix. 19. The subject to לָקַח is indefinite, "they," *i.e.* the enemy. The foundations of Egypt, which are to be destroyed, are not the foundations of its buildings, but may be understood in a figurative sense as relating to persons, after the analogy of Isa. xix. 10; but the notion that Cush, Phut, etc. (ver. 9), *i.e.* the mercenary troops obtained from those places, which are called the props of Egypt in ver. 6, are intended, as Hitzig assumes, is not only extremely improbable, but decidedly erroneous. The announcement in ver. 6, that Cush, Phut, etc., are to fall by the sword along with the Egyptians (עַמָּם), is sufficient of itself to show that these tribes, even if they were auxiliaries or mercenaries of Egypt, did not constitute the foundations of the Egyptian state and kingdom; but that, on the contrary, Egypt possessed a military force composed of native troops, which was simply strengthened by auxiliaries and allies. We there interpret יְסֻדֹתֶיהָ after the analogy of Ps. xi. 3 and lxxxii. 5, as referring to the real foundations of the state, the regulations and institutions on which the stability and prosperity of the kingdom rest. The neighbouring, friendly, and allied peoples will also be smitten by the judgment together with the Egyptians. *Cush*, *i.e.* the Ethiopians, *Phut* and *Lud*, *i.e.* the Libyans and African Lydians (see the comm. on ch. xxvii. 10), are mentioned here primarily as auxiliaries of Egypt, because, according to Jer. xlvi. 9, they served in Necho's army. By כָּל־הָעָרֹב, the whole of the mixed crowd (see the comm. on 1 Kings x. 15,—πάντες οἱ ἐπίμικτοι,

LXX.), we are then to understand the mercenary soldiers in the Egyptian army, which were obtained from different nations (chiefly Greeks, Ionians, and Carians, *οἱ ἐπικούροι*, as they are called by Herodotus, iii. 4, etc.). In addition to these, כּוּב (ἀπ. λεγ.) is also mentioned. Hävernicks connects this name with the people of *Kufa*, so frequently met with on the Egyptian monuments. But, according to Wilkinson (*Manners*, etc., I. 1, pp. 361 sqq.), they inhabited a portion of Asia farther north even than Palestine; and he ranks them (p. 379) among the enemies of Egypt. Hitzig therefore imagines that *Kufa* is probably to be found in *Kohistan*, a district of Media, from which, however, the Egyptians can hardly have obtained mercenary troops. And so long as nothing certain can be gathered from the advancing Egyptological researches with regard to the name *Cub*, the conjecture that כּוּב is a mis-spelling for לִיב is not to be absolutely set aside, the more especially as this conjecture is naturally suggested by the לִיבִים of Nah. iii. 9 and 2 Chron. xvi. 8, and the form לִיב by the side of לִיבִים is analogous to לִיר by the side of לִירִים in Jer. xlvi. 9, whilst the *Liby-Aegyptii* of the ancients, who are to be understood by the term לִיבִים (see the comm. on Gen. x. 13), would be quite in keeping here. On the other hand, the conjecture offered by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 664), viz. נִיב, *Nubia*, has but a very weak support in the Arabic translator; and the supposition that לִיב may have been the earlier Hebrew form for Nubia (Hitzig), is destitute of any solid foundation. Maurer suggests *Cob*, a city (*municipium*) of Mauretania, in the *Itiner. Anton.* p. 17, ed. Wessel. — The following expression, “sons of the covenant land,” is also obscure. Hitzig has correctly observed, that it cannot be synonymous with בְּעָלֵי בְרִיתָם, their allies. But we certainly cannot admit that the covenant land (made definite by the article) is Canaan, the Holy Land (Hitzig and Kliefoth); although Jerome writes without reserve, *de filiis terrae foederis*, i.e. *de populo Judaeorum*; and the LXX. in their translation, καὶ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς διαθήκης μου, undoubtedly thought of the

Jews, who fled to Egypt, according to Theodoret's exposition, along with Jeremiah after the destruction of Jerusalem and the murder of the governor Gedaliah, for fear of the vengeance of the Chaldeans (Jer. xlii., xliii., and xliv.). For the application of the expression "land of the covenant" to the Holy Land is never met with either in the Old or New Testament, and cannot be inferred, as Hitzig supposes, from Ps. lxxiv. 20 and Dan. xi. 28, or supported in any way from either the epithet "the land of promise" in Heb. xi. 9, or from Acts iii. 25, where Peter calls the Jews "the children of the prophets and of the covenant." We therefore agree with Schmieder in regarding אֶרֶץ הַבְּרִית as signifying a definite region, though one unknown to us, in the vicinity of Egypt, which was inhabited by a tribe that was independent of the Egyptians, yet bound to render help in time of war.

Vers. 6-9. All the supports and helpers of Egypt will fall, and the whole land with its cities will be laid waste.—Ver. 6. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Those who support Egypt will fall, and its proud might will sink; from Migdol to Syene will they fall by the sword therein, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 7. *And they will lie waste in the midst of waste lands, and its cities be in the midst of desolate cities.* Ver. 8. *They shall learn that I am Jehovah, when I bring fire into Egypt, and all its helpers are shattered.* Ver. 9. *In that day will messengers go forth from me in ships to terrify the confident Ethiopia, and there will be writhing among them as in the day of Egypt; for, behold, it cometh.*—"Those who support Egypt" are not the auxiliary tribes and allies, for they are included in the term עֲזָרָה in ver. 8, but the idols and princes (ver. 13), the fortified cities (ver. 15), and the warriors (ver. 17), who formed the foundation of the might of the kingdom. גִּבּוֹן עֲזָרָה, "the pride of its might," which is an expression applied in ch. xxiv. 21 to the temple at Jerusalem, is to be taken here in a general sense, and understood not merely of the temples and idols of Egypt, but as the sum total of all the things on which the Egyptians

rested the might of their kingdom, and on the ground of which they regarded it as indestructible. For 'מִמְּנוֹל וְגו' see the comm. on ch. xxix. 10. The subject to יָפֹל בָּהּ is the 'מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם'. Ver. 7 is almost a literal repetition of ch. xxix. 12; and the subject to נִשְׁמַד is מִצְרַיִם regarded as a country, though the number and gender of the verb have both been regulated by the form of the noun. The fire which God will bring into Egypt (ver. 8) is the fire of war. Ver. 9. The tidings of this judgment of God will be carried by messengers to Ethiopia, and there awaken the most terrible dread of a similar fate. In the first hemistich, the prophet has Isa. xviii. 2 floating before his mind. The messengers, who carry the tidings thither, are not the warlike forces of Chaldea, who are sent thither by God; for they would not be content with performing the service of messengers alone. We have rather to think of Egyptians, who flee by ship to Ethiopia. The messengers go, מִלִּפְנֵי, from before Jehovah, who is regarded as being present in Egypt, while executing judgment there (cf. Isa. xix. 1). צִיִּים, as in Num. xxiv. 24 = צִיִּים (Dan. xi. 30), ships, *trieres*, according to the Rabbins, in Hieron. *Symm.* on Isa. xxxiii. 21, and the Targum on Num. (cf. Ges. *Thes.* p. 1156). בָּטָח is attached to בּוֹשׁ, Cush secure or confident, equivalent to the confident Cush (Ewald, § 287c). וְהִיָּתָה חֵלֶח', repeated from ver. 4. בָּהֶם, among the Ethiopians. בְּיוֹם מִצְרַיִם, as in the day of Egypt, *i.e.* not the present day of Egypt's punishment, for the Ethiopians have only just heard of this from the messengers; but the ancient, well-known day of judgment upon Egypt (Ex. xv. 12 sqq.). Ewald and Hitzig follow the LXX. in taking בְּיוֹם for בָּיוֹם; but this is both incorrect and unsuitable, and reduces 'בְּיוֹם מִצְרַיִם' into a tame repetition of בְּיוֹם הָהוּא. The subject to הִנֵּה בָּאָהּ is to be taken from the context, *viz.* that which is predicted in the preceding verses (vers. 6–8).

Vers. 10–12. The executors of the judgment.—Ver. 10. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, And I will put an end to the tumult of Egypt through Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.*

Ver. 11. *He and his people with him, violent of the nations, will be brought to destroy the land; they will draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with slain.* Ver. 12. *And I will make the rivers dry, and sell the land into the hand of wicked men, and lay waste the land and its fulness by the hand of foreigners; I Jehovah have spoken it.*—הָמוֹן cannot be understood as signifying either the multitude of people only, or the abundance of possessions alone; for הַשְׂבִּיט is not really applicable to either of these meanings. They are evidently both included in the הָמוֹן, which signifies the tumult of the people in the possession and enjoyment of their property (cf. ch. xxvi. 13). The expression is thus specifically explained in vers. 11 and 12. Nebuchadnezzar will destroy the land with his men of war, slaying the people with its possessions. עָרִיצֵי גוֹיִם, as in ch. xxviii. 7. מוֹבָאִים, as in ch. xxiii. 42. הָרִיק וְגו', cf. ch. xii. 14, xxviii. 7. הָלַל . . . מָלַא, as in ch. xi. 6. יָאֲרִים, the arms and canals of the Nile, by which the land was watered, and on which the fertility and prosperity of Egypt depended. The drying up of the arms of the Nile must not be restricted, therefore, to the fact that God would clear away the hindrances to the entrance of the Chaldeans into the land, but embraces also the removal of the natural resources on which the country depended. מָכַר, to sell a land or people into the hand of any one, i.e. to deliver it into his power (cf. Deut. xxxii. 30; Judg. ii. 14, etc.). For the fact itself, see Isa. xix. 4-6. For הַשְׂבִּיטִי וְגו', see ch. xix. 7.

Vers. 13-19. Further description of the judgment.—Ver. 13. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I will exterminate the idols and cut off the deities from Noph, and there shall be no more a prince from the land of Egypt; and I put terror upon the land of Egypt.* Ver. 14. *And I lay Pathros waste, and bring fire into Zoan, and execute judgments upon No;* Ver. 15. *And I pour out my fury upon Sin, the stronghold of Egypt, and cut off the multitude of No;* Ver. 16. *And I put fire in Egypt; Sin will writhe in pain, and No will be broken open, and Noph—enemies by day.* Ver. 17. *The men of On and Bubastus will fall by the sword,*

and they themselves will go into captivity. Ver. 18. At Tachpanches the day will be darkened when I shatter the yokes of Egypt there, and an end will be put to its proud haughtiness; cloud will cover it, and its daughters will go into captivity. Ver. 19. And thus I execute judgments upon Egypt, that they may know that I am Jehovah. — Egypt will lose its idols and its princes (cf. Jer. xlv. 25). פְּלִיִּים and פְּלִיִּים are synonymous, signifying not the images, but the deities; the former being the ordinary epithet applied to false deities by Ezekiel (see the comm. on ch. vi. 4), the latter traceable to the reading of Isa. xix. 1. מִן, contracted from מִנֵּה, *Manoph* or *Menoph* = מִן in Hos. ix. 6, is *Memphis*, the ancient capital of Lower Egypt, with the celebrated temple of *Ptah*, one of the principal seats of Egyptian idolatry (see the comm. on Hos. ix. 6 and Isa. xix. 13). In ver. 13b מִצֵּר מִצֵּר belongs to מִצְרַיִם, there shall be no more a prince from the land of Egypt, i.e. a native prince. וְנָתַתִּי יִרְאָה, to put fear upon (cf. ch. xxvi. 17b). From Lower Egypt Ezekiel passes in ver. 14 to Upper Egypt (*Pathros*, see the comm. on ch. xxix. 14), which is also to be laid waste, and then names several more of the principal cities of Lower Egypt along with the chief city of Upper Egypt. טַבַּי, Egypt. *Zane*, Copt. *Jane*, is the *Tavis*, *Tanis*, of the Greeks and Romans, on the Tanitic arm of the Nile, an ancient city of Lower Egypt; see the comm. on Num. xiii. 22 and Isa. xix. 11. אֲמוֹן = אֲמוֹן in Nah. iii. 8, probably “abode of Amon,” Egypt. *P-amen*, i.e. house of Amon, the sacred name of *Thebes*, the celebrated royal city of Upper Egypt, the *Διὸς πόλις ἡ μεγάλη* of the Greeks (see the comm. on Nah. iii. 8). פִּתּוֹן (literally, mire; compare the Aram. פִּתּוֹן) is *Πηλούσιον*, *Pelusium*, which derives its name from *πηλός* (*ὠνόμασται ἀπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ πηλός*, Strab. xvii. p. 802), because there were swamps all round. It was situated on the eastern arm of the Nile, to which it gave its name, at a distance of twenty stadia from the sea. The Egyptian name *Pheromi* also signifies dirty, or muddy. From this the Arabs have made

Elfarama ; and in the vicinity of the few ruins of the ancient Pelusium there is still a castle called طينه, Tineh (compare the Chaldee ܬܝܢܐ, clay, in Dan. ii. 41). Ezekiel calls it the "fortress or bulwark of Egypt," because, as Strabo (*l.c.*) observes, "Egypt is difficult of access here from places in the East;" for which reason Hirtius (*de bell. Al. c. 27*) calls it "the key of Egypt," and Suidas (*s.v.*) "the key both of the entrance and exit of Egypt." On the history of this city, see Leyrer in Herzog's *Encyclopaedia*. In ָמֶן (Jer. xli. 25), the chief deity of Thebes, which is possible, but not very probable, as we should not expect to find a god mentioned again here after ver. 13; and ַרְחֵי would be inappropriate.—In ver. 16 *Sin* (= *Pelusium*) is mentioned again as the border fortress, *No* (= *Thebes*) as the chief city of Upper Egypt, and *Noph* (= *Memphis*) as the capital of Upper Egypt, as all falling within the range of the judgment. The expression ָמֶן has caused some difficulty and given occasion to various conjectures, none of which, however, commend themselves as either simple or natural explanations.¹ As Hitzig has correctly observed, ָמֶן is the same as ַרְחֵי in Jer. xv. 8, and is the opposite of ַרְחֵי in Obad. ver. 5. The enemy who comes by day, not in the night, is the enemy who does not shun open attack. The connection with ָמֶן is to be explained by the same rule as Jer. xxiv. 2, "the one basket—very good figs." Memphis will have enemies in broad daylight,

¹ Ewald proposes to alter ָמֶן into ַרְחֵי (after the Aramaean), "rust," and renders it: "Memphis will be eternal rust." But to this Hitzig has very properly objected that in ch. xxiv. 6, 11, rust is called ַרְחֵי; and that even in Ps. vi. 3 ָמֶן does not mean perpetual or eternal. Hävernicks proposes to explain ַרְחֵי, from the Aramaean ַרְחֵי, to rend or tear in pieces, "Memphis shall become perpetual rents." To this also it may be objected, that ַרְחֵי in Hebrew has the standing meaning of oppressors; and that ָמֶן, *interdiu*, is not equivalent to perpetual; and still further, that the preposition ַרְחֵי could not be omitted before ָמֶן.

i.e. will be filled with them. $\text{אֲנִי} = \text{אֵן}, \text{אֵן}$, in Gen. xli. 45, 50 (Egyptian *An*, or *Anu*), is the popular name of *Heliopolis* in Lower Egypt (see the comm. on Gen. xli. 45); and the form אֲנִי (a vain thing, or idol) is probably selected intentionally in the sense of an idol-city (see the comm. on Hos. iv. 15), because *On-Heliopolis* (בֵּית-שֶׁשֶׁשׁ in Jer. xliii. 13) was from time immemorial one of the principal seats of the Egyptian worship of the sun, and possessed a celebrated temple of the sun, with a numerous and learned priesthood (see the comm. on Gen. xli. 45, ed. 2). בִּי-בֶסֶט , *i.e.* *Βουβαστός* (LXX.) or *Βουβαστίς* (Herod. ii. 59), Egyptian *Pi-Pasht*, *i.e.* the place of *Pasht*, so called from the cat-headed *Bubastis* or *Pasht*, the Egyptian *Diana*, which was worshipped there in a splendid temple. It was situated on the royal canal leading to Suez, which was begun by Necho and finished under Ptolemy II., not far from its junction with the Pelusiac arm of the Nile. It was the chief seat of the *Nomos Bubastites*, was destroyed by the Persians, who demolished its walls (Diod. Sic. xvi. 51), and has entirely disappeared, with the exception of some heaps of ruins which still bear the name of *Tel Bastah*, about seven hours' journey from the Nile (compare Ges. *Thes.* pp. 1101 sqq., and Leyrer in Herzog's *Encyclopaedia*, s.v.). The *Nomos* of Bubastis, according to Herod. ii. 166, was assigned to the warrior-caste of Calasirians. The בְּחִירִים , the young military men, will fall by the sword; and הָנָה , not *αἱ γυναῖκες* (LXX. and others), but the cities themselves, *i.e.* their civil population as distinguished from the military garrison, shall go into exile. This explanation of הָנָה is commended by בְּנוֹתֶיהָ in ver. 18. חֶתִּיבָהּ or חֶתִּיבָהֶם (Jer. xliii. 7 sqq., xliv. 1, xlv. 14), and חֶתִּיבָהּ in Jer. ii. 16 (*Chetib*), is *Τάφναι*, *Τάφνη* (LXX.), or *Δάφναι* (Herod. ii. 30. 107), a frontier city of Egypt in the vicinity of Pelusium, after the time of Psammetichus a fortification with a strong garrison, where a palace of Pharaoh was also to be found, according to Jer. xliii. 9. After the destruction of Jerusalem, a portion of the Jews took refuge there

and to them Jeremiah predicted the punishment of God on the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xliii. 7 sqq., xliv. 1 sqq.). In the case of שח the reading varies; the printed *Masora* at Gen. xxxix. 3 giving שח as the reading to be found in all the codices examined by the author of the *Masora*; whereas many of the codices and printed editions have שח , and this is adopted in all the ancient versions. This is evidently the correct reading, as שח does not furnish an appropriate meaning, and the parallel passages, ch. xxxii. 8, Isa. xiii. 10, Joel iii. 4, Amos viii. 9, all favour שח . The darkening of the day is the phenomenal prognostic of the dawning of the great day of judgment upon the nations (cf. Joel ii. 10, iii. 4, iv. 15; Isa. xiii. 10, etc.). This day is to dawn upon Egypt at Tachpanches, the border fortress of the land towards Syria and Palestine, when the Lord will break the yokes of Egypt. These words point back to Lev. xxvi. 13, where the deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt is called the breaking in pieces of its yokes (see also Ezek. xxxiv. 27). That which took place then is to be repeated here. The yokes which Egypt put upon the nations are to be broken; and all the proud might of that kingdom is to be brought to an end (אֶת־כֹּחַהֶן , as in ver. 6). In ver. 18b, אֶת־כֹּחַהֶן , which stands at the head in an absolute form, points back to בְּתַחֲפָנִיחַם . The city (*Daphne*) will be covered with cloud, *i.e.* will be overthrown by the judgment; and her daughters, *i.e.* the smaller cities and hamlets dependent upon her (cf. ch. xvi. 46 and xxvi. 6), will go into captivity in the persons of their inhabitants. It follows from this that *Daphne* was the chief city of a *Nomos* in Lower Egypt; and this is confirmed by the circumstance that there was a royal palace there. If we compare the threat in this verse, that in Tachpanches an end is to be put to the proud might of Pharaoh, with the threatening words of Jer. xliii. 9sq., to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar would set up his throne at Tachpanches and smite Egypt, it is evident that the situation of Daphne must at that time have been such that the war

between Egypt and Babylonia would necessarily be decided in or near this city. These prophetic utterances cannot be explained, as Kliefoth supposes, from the fact that many Jews had settled in Daphne; nor do the contents of this verse furnish any proof that Ezekiel did not utter this prophecy of his till after the Jews had settled there (Jer. xliii. and xliv.). Ver. 19 serves to round off the prophecy.

CHAP. XXX. 20-26. DESTRUCTION OF THE MIGHT OF PHARAOH
BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

According to the heading in ver. 20, "*In the eleventh year, in the first (month), on the seventh of the month, the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,*" this short word of threatening against Egypt falls in the second year of the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and, as ver. 21 clearly shows, after the army of Pharaoh Hophra, which marched to the relief of Jerusalem, had been defeated by the Chaldeans who turned to meet it (Jer. xxxvii. 5, 7). If we compare with this the date of the first prophecy against Egypt in ch. xxix. 1, the prophecy before us was separated from the former by an interval of three months. But as there is no allusion whatever in ch. xxix. to Pharaoh's attempt to come to the relief of the besieged city of Jerusalem, or to his repulse, the arrival of the Egyptian army in Palestine, its defeat, and its repulse by the Chaldeans, seems to have occurred in the interval between these two prophecies, towards the close of the tenth year.

Ver. 21. *Son of man, the arm of Pharaoh the king of Egypt have I broken; and, behold, it will no more be bound up, to apply remedies, to put on a bandage to bind it up, that it may grow strong to grasp the sword.* Ver. 22. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and will break both his arms, the strong one and the broken one, and will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.* Ver. 23. *And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations and*

disperse them in the lands, Ver. 24. *And will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and give my sword into his hand, and will break the arms of Pharaoh, so that he shall groan the groanings of a pierced one before him.* Ver. 25. *I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and the arms of Pharaoh will fall; and they shall know that I am Jehovah, when I give my sword into the hand of the king of Babylon, that he may stretch it against the land of Egypt.* Ver. 26. *I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them in the lands; and they shall know that I am Jehovah.*—The perfect שְׁבַרְתִּי in ver. 21 is not a prophetic utterance of the certainty of the future, but a pure preterite. This may be seen “both from the allusion in ver. 21*b* to the condition resulting from the שָׁבַר, and also to the obviously antithetical relation of ver. 22, in which future events are predicted” (Hitzig). The arm is a figurative expression for power, here for military power, as it wields the sword. God broke the arm of Pharaoh by the defeat which the Chaldeans inflicted upon Pharaoh Hophra, when he was marching to the relief of besieged Jerusalem. חֲבֹשָׁה is a present, as is apparent from the infinitive clauses (לָתֵת וְנָ) which follow, altogether apart from הִנֵּה; and חֲבֹשָׁה signifies to bind up, for the purpose of healing a broken limb, that remedies may be applied and a bandage put on. לְחִזְקָה, that it may become strong or sound, is subordinate to the preceding clause, and governs the infinitive which follows. The fact that the further judgment which is to fall upon Pharaoh is introduced with לָכֵן (therefore) here (ver. 22), notwithstanding the fact that it has not been preceded by any enumeration of the guilt which occasioned it, may be accounted for on the ground that the causal לָכֵן forms a link with the concluding clause of ver. 21: the arm shall not be healed, so as to be able to grasp or hold the sword. Because Pharaoh is not to attain any more to victorious power, therefore God will shatter both of his arms, the strong, *i.e.* the sound one and the broken one, that is to say, will smite it so completely, that the sword will fall from his hand. The

Egyptians are to be scattered among the nations, as is repeated in ver. 23 *verbatim* from ch. xxix. 12. God will give the sword into the hand of the king of Babylon, and equip and strengthen him to destroy the might of Pharaoh, that the latter may groan before him like one who is pierced with the sword. This thought is repeated in vers. 25 and 26 with an intimation of the purpose of this divine procedure. That purpose is: that men may come to recognise Jehovah as God the Lord. The subject to וְיָדְעוּ is indefinite; and the rendering of the LXX. is a very good one, *καὶ γνώσονται πάντες*.

CHAP. XXXI. THE GLORY AND FALL OF ASSHUR A TYPE
OF EGYPT.

In two months *minus* six days from the time when the preceding word of God was uttered, Ezekiel received another threatening word against the king and the people of Egypt, in which the former announcement of the destruction of the might of Egypt was confirmed by a comparison drawn between the power of Egypt and that of Asshur. Ezekiel having opened his prophecy with the question, whom does Pharaoh with his might resemble (ver. 2), proceeds to depict Asshur as a mighty towering cedar (vers. 3-9) which has been felled and cast down by the prince of the nations on account of its height and pride (vers. 10-14), so that everything mourned over its fall, because many nations went down with it to hell (vers. 15-17). The question, whom Pharaoh resembles, is then repeated in ver. 18; and from the preceding comparison the conclusion is drawn, that he will perish like that lofty cedar.—The reminiscence of the greatness of the Assyrian empire and of its destruction was well adapted to overthrow all reliance upon the might and greatness of Egypt. The fall of that great empire was still so fresh in the mind at the time, that the reminiscence could not fail to make a deep impression upon the prophet's hearers.

Vers. 1-9. The might of Pharaoh resembles the greatness and glory of Asshur.—Ver. 1. *In the eleventh year, in the third (month), on the first of the month, the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, say to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and to his tumult, Whom art thou like in thy greatness?* Ver. 3. *Behold, Asshur was a cedar-tree upon Lebanon, beautiful in branches, a shadowing thicket, and its top was high in growth, and among the clouds.* Ver. 4. *Water brought him up, the flood made him high, its streams went round about its plantation, and it sent its channels to all the trees of the field.* Ver. 5. *Therefore its growth became higher than all the trees of the field, and its branches became great, and its boughs long from many waters in its shooting out.* Ver. 6. *In its branches all the birds of the heaven made their nests, and under its boughs all the beasts of the field brought forth, and in its shadow sat great nations of all kinds.* Ver. 7. *And he was beautiful in his greatness, in the length of his shoots; for his root was by many waters.* Ver. 8. *Cedars did not obscure him in the garden of God, cypresses did not resemble his branches, and plane-trees were not like his boughs; no tree in the garden of God resembled him in his beauty.* Ver. 9. *I had made him beautiful in the multitude of his shoots, and all the trees of Eden which were in the garden of God envied him.*—The word of God is addressed to King Pharaoh and to הַמִּטְוֵה, his tumult, i.e. whoever and whatever occasions noise and tumult in the land. We must not interpret this, however, as Hitzig has done, as signifying the ruling classes and estates in contrast with the quiet in the land, for no such use of הַמִּטְוֵה is anywhere to be found. Nor must we regard the word as applying to the multitude of people only, but to the people with their possessions, their riches, which gave rise to luxury and tumult, as in ch. xxx. 10. The inquiry, whom does Pharaoh with his tumult resemble in his greatness, is followed in the place of a reply by a description of Asshur as a glorious cedar (vers. 3-9). It is true that Ewald has followed the example of Meibom (*vanarum*

in *Cod. Hebr. interprett. spec.* III. p. 70) and J. D. Michaelis, and endeavours to set aside the allusion to Asshur, by taking the word אֲשׁוּר in an appellative sense, and understanding אֲשׁוּרִים as signifying a particular kind of cedar, namely, the tallest species of all. But apart altogether from there being no foundation whatever for such an explanation in the usage of the language, there is nothing in the fact to justify it. For it is not anywhere affirmed that Pharaoh resembled this cedar; on the contrary, the question, whom does he resemble? is asked again in ver. 18 (Hitzig). Moreover, Michaelis is wrong in the supposition that "from ver. 10 onwards it becomes perfectly obvious that it is not Assyria but Egypt itself which is meant by the cedar-tree previously described." Under the figure of the felling of a cedar there is depicted the overthrow of a king or monarchy, which has already taken place. Compare vers. 12 and 16, where the past is indicated quite as certainly as the future in ver. 18. And as ver. 18 plainly designates the overthrow of Pharaoh and his power as still in the future, the cedar, whose destruction is not only threatened in vers. 10–17, but declared to have already taken place, can only be Asshur, and not Egypt at all.

The picture of the glory of this cedar recalls in several respects the similar figurative description in ch. xvii. Asshur is called a cedar upon Lebanon, because it was there that the most stately cedars grew. חֲרֹשׁ מִצֵּל, a shade-giving thicket (מִצֵּל is a *Hiphil* participle of צָלַל), belongs to יָפֶה עֲנָף as a further expansion of עֲנָף, corresponding to the further expansion of נִבְהָה לְסֻמָּה by "its top was among the clouds." If we bear this in mind, the reasons assigned by Hitzig for altering חֲרֹשׁ into an adjective חָרֵשׁ, and taking מִצֵּל as a substantive formation after the analogy of מִסְכַּב, lose all their force. Analogy would only require an adjective in the construct state in the event of the three statements 'יָפֶה ע', חֲרֹשׁ מ', and נִבְהָה ק' being co-ordinate with one another. But what is decisive against the proposed conjecture is the fact that neither the noun מִצֵּל nor the ad-

jective **חַלֵּשׁ** is ever met with, and that, in any case, **מִצֵּל** cannot signify foliage. The rendering of the Vulgate, "*frondibus nemorosus*," is merely guessed at, whilst the Seventy have omitted the word as unintelligible to them. For **עֲבָתִים**, thicket of clouds, see the comm. on ch. xix. 11; and for **צִמְרֵת**, that on ch. xvii. 3. The cedar grew to so large a size because it was richly watered (ver. 4). A flood poured its streams round about the place where the cedar was planted, and sent out brooks to all the trees of the field. The difficult words **אֶת־נְהַרְתִּיהָ וְנָהָר** are to be taken literally thus: as for its (the flood's) streams, it (the flood) was going round about its plantation, *i.e.* round about the plantation belonging to the flood or the place situated near it, where the cedar was planted. **אֶת** is not to be taken as a preposition, but as a sign of the accusative, and **אֶת־נְהַרְתִּיהָ** as an accusative used for the more precise definition of the manner in which the flood surrounded the plantation. It is true that there still remains something striking in the masculine **הָלָהּ**, since **תְּהוֹם**, although of common gender, is construed throughout as a feminine, even in this very verse. But the difficulty remains even if we follow Ewald, and take **הָלָהּ** to be a defectively written or irregular form of the *Hiphil* **הוֹלִיף**; a conjecture which is precluded by the use of **הוֹלִיף**, to cause to run = to cause to flow away, in ch. xxxii. 14. **מִמָּצְיָהּ**, its (the flood's) plantation, *i.e.* the plantation for which the flood existed. **תְּהוֹם** is used here to signify the source or starting-point of a flood, as in Deut. viii. 7, where **תְּהוֹמוֹת** are co-ordinate with **עֵינֹת**.—While the place where the cedar was planted was surrounded by the streams of the flood, only the brooks and channels of this flood reached to the trees of the field. The cedar therefore surpassed all the trees of the field in height and luxuriance of growth (ver. 5). **נִבְהָא**, an Aramean mode of spelling for **נִבְהָה**; and **מִרְעֵפֹת**, *ἀπ. λεγ.*, an Aramean formation with **ר** inserted, for **מִרְעָפֹת**, branches. For **בְּאֵרֶת**, see the comm. on ch. xvii. 6. **בְּשִׁלְחוֹ** cannot mean "since it (the stream) sent out the water" (Ewald); for although **תְּהוֹם** in ver. 4 is also construed as a

masculine, the suffix cannot be taken as referring to **הָיָה**, for this is much too far off. And the explanation proposed by Rosenmüller, Hävernicks, Kliefoth, and others, "as it (the tree) sent them (the branches) out," is open to this objection, that **בְּשִׁלְחָהּ** would then contain a spiritless tautology; since the stretching out of the branches is already contained in the fact of their becoming numerous and long. The tautology has no existence if the object is left indefinite, "in its spreading out," *i.e.* the spreading not only of the branches, but also of the roots, to which **שִׁלְחָהּ** is sometimes applied (cf. Jer. xvii. 8). By the many waters which made the cedar great, we must not understand, either solely or especially, the numerous peoples which rendered Assyria great and mighty, as the Chaldee and many of the older commentators have done. It must rather be taken as embracing everything which contributed to the growth and greatness of Assyria. It is questionable whether the prophet, when describing the flood which watered the cedar plantation, had the description of the rivers of Paradise in Gen. ii. 10 sqq. floating before his mind. Ewald and Hävernicks think that he had; but Hitzig and Kliefoth take a decidedly opposite view. There is certainly no distinct indication of any such allusion. We meet with this for the first time from ver. 8 onwards. In vers. 6-9 the greatness and glory of Asshur are still further depicted. Upon and under the branches of the stately tree, all creatures, birds, beasts, and men, found shelter and protection for life and increase (ver. 6; cf. ch. xvii. 23 and Dan. iv. 9). In **כָּל-גִּוִּיִּם רַבִּים**, all kinds of great nations, the fact glimmers through the figure. The tree was so beautiful (**יָפָה** from **יָיִף**) in its greatness, that of all the trees in the garden of God not one was to be compared with it, and all envied it on that account; that is to say, all the other nations and kingdoms in God's creation were far inferior to Asshur in greatness and glory. **גִּן אֱדֶנִּים** is the garden of Paradise; and consequently **עֵדֶן** in vers. 9, 16, and 18 is also Paradise, as in ch. xxviii. 13. There is no ground for Kliefoth's objection,

that if עֵדֶן be taken in this sense, the words "which are in the garden of God" will contain a superfluous pleonasm, a mere tautology. In Gen. ii. 8 a distinction is also made between עֵדֶן and the garden in *Eden*. It was not all Eden, but the garden planted by Jehovah in Eden, which formed the real paradisaical creation; so that the words "which are in the garden of God" give intensity to the idea of the "trees of Eden." Moreover, as Hävernicks has correctly pointed out, there is a peculiar emphasis in the separation of עֵדֶן אֱלֹהִים from אֲרָזִים in ver. 8: "cedars . . . even such as were found in the garden of God." Not one even of the other and most glorious trees, viz. cypresses and planes, resembled the cedar Asshur, planted by God by many waters, in its boughs and branches. It is not stated in so many words in vers. 8 and 9 that the cedar Asshur stood in the garden of God; but it by no means follows from this, that by the garden of God we are to understand simply the world and the earth as the creation of God, as Kliefoth imagines, and in support of which he argues that "as all the nations and kingdoms of the world are regarded as trees planted by God, the world itself is quite consistently called a garden or plantation of God." The very fact that a distinction is made between trees of the field (vers. 4 and 5) and trees of Eden in the garden of God (vers. 8 and 9), shows that the trees are not all regarded here as being in the same sense planted by God. If the garden of God stood for the world, where should we then have to look for the field (הַשָּׂדֶה)? The thought of vers. 8 and 9 is not that "not a single tree in all God's broad earth was to be compared to the cedar Asshur," but that even of the trees of Paradise, the garden in Eden, there was not one so beautiful and glorious as the cedar Asshur, planted by God by many waters.

Vers. 10-14. The felling of this cedar, or the overthrow of Asshur on account of its pride.—Ver. 10. *Therefore thus said the Lord Jehovah, Because thou didst exalt thyself in height, and he stretched his top to the midst of the clouds, and his heart exalted*

itself in its height, Ver. 11. I will give him into the hand of the prince of the nations; he shall deal with him: for his wickedness I rejected him. Ver. 12. And strangers cut him down, violent ones of the nations, and cast him away: upon the mountains and in all the valleys his shoots fell, and his boughs were broken in pieces into all the deep places of the earth; and all the nations of the earth withdrew from his shadow, and let him lie. Ver. 13. Upon his fallen trunk all the birds of the heaven settle, and all the beasts of the field are over his branches: Ver. 14. That no trees by the water may exalt themselves on account of their height, or stretch their top to the midst of the clouds, and no water-drinkers stand upon themselves in their exaltation: for they are all given up to death into hell, in the midst of the children of men, to those that go into the grave.—In the description of the cause of the overthrow of Asshur which commences with *וְעַן אֲשֶׁר*, the figurative language changes in the third clause into the literal fact, the towering of the cedar being interpreted as signifying the lifting up of the heart in his height,—that is to say, in his pride. In the first clause the tree itself is addressed; but in the clauses which follow, it is spoken of in the third person. The direct address in the first clause is to be explained from the vivid manner in which the fact presented itself. The divine sentence in vers. 10 and 11 is not directed against Pharaoh, but against the Assyrian, who is depicted as a stately cedar; whilst the address in ver. 10a, and the imperfect (future) in ver. 11a, are both to be accounted for from the fact that the fall of Asshur is related in the form in which it was denounced on the part of Jehovah upon that imperial kingdom. The perfect *אָמַר* is therefore a preterite here: the Lord said . . . for His part: because Asshur has exalted itself in the pride of its greatness, I give it up. The form *וְאֶתְּנָהּ* is not to be changed into *וְאֶתְּנֶנָּהּ*, but is defended against critical caprice by the imperfect *יִעָשֶׂה* which follows. That the penal sentence of God is not to be regarded as being first uttered in the time then present, but belongs to the past,—and therefore the words merely communicate what God had

already spoken,—is clearly shown by the preterites commencing with גִּרְשָׁתִּיהוּ, the historical tenses וַיִּכְרֹתֶהוּ and וַיַּטְּשֵׁהוּ, and the preterite נִפְּלוּ, which must not be turned into futures in violation of grammar. גָּבַהּ בְּקוֹמָה does not mean, to be high in its height, which would be a tautology; but to exalt itself (be proud) in, or on account of, its height. And in the same way is רוּם also affirmed of the heart, in the sense of exultation from pride. For the fact itself, compare Isa. x. 5 sqq. אֵל נֹיִם does not mean God, but a powerful one of the nations, i.e. Nebuchadnezzar. אֵל is a simple appellative from אָל, the strong one; and is neither a name of God nor a defective form for אֱלִי, the construct state of אֵל, a ram. For this defective form is only met with once in the case of אֵל, a ram, namely, in Job xlii. 8, where we have the plural אֱלִים, and nowhere else; whereas, in the case of אֵל, אֱלִים, in the sense of a strong one, the *scriptio plena* very frequently alternates with the *defectiva*. Compare, for example, Job xlii. 8, where both readings occur just as in this instance, where many MSS. have אֵל (*vid. de Rossi, variae lectt. ad h. l.*); also Ex. xv. 15 and Ezek. xvii. 13, אֱלִי, compared with אֱלִי in Ezek. xxxii. 21, after the analogy of גִּירִי, 2 Sam. xxii. 29, and גִּירִים, 2 Chron. ii. 16. עָשׂוּ יַעֲשֶׂה לוֹ is not a relative clause, “who should treat him ill,” nor is the *relat.* omitted on account of the preceding עָשׂוּ, as Hitzig imagines; but it is an independent sentence, and יַעֲשֶׂה is a forcible expression for the imperative: he will deal with him, equivalent to, “let him deal with him.” עָשָׂה לוֹ, to do anything to a person, used here as it frequently is in an evil sense; compare Ps. lvi. 5. בָּרַשָׁעוּ—or בִּרְשָׁעוּ, which Norzi and Abarbanel (in de Rossi, *variae lectt. ad h. l.*) uphold as the reading of many of the more exact manuscripts and editions—belongs to גִּרְשָׁתִּיהוּ: for, or according to, his wickedness, I rejected him. In ver. 12 the figure of the tree is resumed; and the extinction of the Assyrian empire is described as the cutting down of the proud cedar. נָרִים עָרִיצִי נֹיִם as in ch. xxviii. 7 and xxx. 11, 12. וַיַּטְּשֵׁהוּ: they cast him away and let him lie, as in ch. xxix. 5,

xxxii. 4; so that in the first sentence the idea of casting away predominates, and in the second that of letting lie. By the casting away, the tree became so shattered to atoms that its boughs and branches fell upon the mountains and on the low ground and valleys of the earth, and the nations which had sat under its shadow withdrew. **וַיֵּרְדוּ** (they descended) is to be explained from the idea that the tree had grown upon a high mountain (namely Lebanon); and Hitzig is mistaken in his conjecture that **וַיֵּרְדוּ** was the original reading, as **וַיָּרֶד**, to fly, is not an appropriate expression for **עַמִּים**. On the falling of the tree, the birds which had made their nests in its branches naturally flew away. If, then, in ver. 13, birds and beasts are said to settle upon the fallen trunk, as several of the commentators have correctly observed, the description is based upon the idea of a corpse, a **מַפְלֵת** (Judg. xiv. 8), around which both birds and beasts of prey gather together to tear it in pieces (cf. ch. xxxii. 4 and Isa. xviii. 6). **וַיָּבֹאוּ אֵלָיו**, to come towards or over any one, to be above it. The thought expressed is, that many nations took advantage of the fall of Asshur and rose into new life upon its ruins.—Ver. 14. This fate was prepared for Asshur in order that henceforth no tree should grow up to the sky any more, i.e. that no powerful one of this earth (no king or prince) should strive after superhuman greatness and might. **לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר** is dependent upon **וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶהוּ** in ver. 11; for vers. 12 and 13 are simply a further expansion of the thought expressed in that word. **עֲצֵי מַיִם** are trees growing near the water, and therefore nourished by water. For **לֹא יִנְבְּהוּ וְגו'**, see ver. 10. The words **וְלֹא יַעֲמְדוּ אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְגו'** are difficult. As **אֱלֹהֵיהֶם**, with *Tzere* under **א**, to which the *Masora* calls attention, cannot be the preposition **אֶל** with the suffix, many have taken **אֱלֹהֵיהֶם** to be a noun, in the sense of *fortes, principes*, or *terebinthi* (vid. Isa. lxi. 3), and have rendered the clause either *ut non perstent terebinthi eorum in altitudine sua, omnes (ceterae arbores) bibentes aquam* (Vatabl., Starck, Maurer, and Kliefoth), or, that their princes may not lift themselves up in their pride, all the

drinkers of water (Hävernicks). But both renderings founder on the simple fact that they leave the suffix $\eta\mu$ in $\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\mu$ either unnoticed or unexplained. As only the trees of the water have been spoken of previously, the suffix must be taken as referring to them. But the water-trees have neither terebinths nor princes; on the contrary, these are what they must either be, or signify. Terebinths, or princes of the water-trees, would be senseless ideas. Ewald has therefore taken $\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\mu$ as the object, and rendered it thus: "and (that) no water-drinkers may contend with their gods in their pride." He has not proved, however, but has simply asserted, that $\epsilon\mu\delta$ is to endure = to contend (!). The only remaining course is to follow the LXX., Targum, and many commentators, and to take $\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\mu$ as a pronoun, and point it $\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\mu$. $\epsilon\mu\delta$ אל: to station oneself against, or upon = $\epsilon\mu\delta$ על (ch. xxxiii. 26), in the sense of resting, or relying upon anything. The suffix is to be taken in a reflective sense, as in ch. xxxiv. 2, etc. (*vid.* Ewald, § 314c), and precedes the noun to which it refers, as in Prov. xiv. 20 for example. $\beta\eta\eta\eta\eta$, as in ver. 10, referring to pride. $\beta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ מים, the subject of the sentence, is really synonymous with $\beta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ מים, except that the figure of the tree falls into the background behind the fact portrayed. The rendering of the Berleburg Bible is very good: "and no trees abounding in water stand upon themselves (rely upon themselves) on account of their height." The water-drinkers are princes of this earth who have attained to great power through rich resources. "As a tree grows through the moisture of water, so men are accustomed to become proud through their abundance, not reflecting that these waters have been supplied to them by God" (Starck). The reason for this warning against proud self-exaltation is given in ver. 14b in the general statement, that all the proud great ones of this earth are delivered up to death. $\beta\eta\eta\eta$, all of them, the water-drinkers or water-trees already named, by whom kings, earthly potentates, are intended. $\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\mu$ תחתיהם = $\alpha\lambda\iota\eta\mu$ תחתיהם (ch. xxvi. 20). $\beta\eta\eta\eta$ בתוך בני אדם: in the midst of the

children of men, *i.e.* like all other men. "Thus the prophet teaches that princes must die as well as the people, that death and decomposition are common to both. Hence he takes all ground of proud boasting away" (Starck).

Vers. 15–18. Impression made upon the nations by the fall of Asshur; and its application to Pharaoh.—Ver. 15. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, In the day that he went down to hell I caused a mourning: covered the flood for his sake, and stopped its streams, and the great waters were held back: I caused Lebanon to blacken itself for him, and all the trees of the field pined for him.* Ver. 16. *I made the nations tremble at the noise of his fall, when I cast him down to hell to those who go into the grave: and they comforted themselves in the nether world, even all the trees of Eden, the choice and most beautiful of Lebanon, all the water-drinkers.* Ver. 17. *They also went with him into hell, to those pierced with the sword, who sat as his helpers in his shade among the nations.* Ver. 18. *Whom dost thou thus resemble in glory and greatness among the trees of Eden? So shalt thou be thrust down to the trees of Eden into the nether world, and lie among uncircumcised ones with those pierced with the sword. This is Pharaoh and all his tumult, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—In order that the overthrow of the Assyrian, *i.e.* the destruction of the Assyrian empire, may be placed in the clearest light, a picture is drawn of the impression which it made upon the whole creation. There is no necessity to understand *כִּי אָמַר* in a past sense, as in ver. 10. What God did on the overthrow of Asshur He may even now, for the first time, make known through the prophet, for a warning to Pharaoh and the people of Israel. That this is the way in which the words are to be interpreted, is evident from the use of the perfect *הָאֵבֶלְתִּי*, followed by the historical imperfects, which cannot be taken in a prophetic sense, as Kliefoth supposes, or turned into futures. It is contrary to Hebrew usage to connect *הָאֵבֶלְתִּי* and *כִּפַּרְתִּי* together as *asyndeton*, so as to form one idea, viz. "to veil in mourning," as Ewald and Hävernicks propose. The

circumstances under which two verbs are joined together to form one idea are of a totally different kind. In this instance **הָאֲבִלָּהִי** is placed first as an absolute; and in the sentences which follow, it is more specifically defined by a detail of the objects which were turned into mourning. **כָּפָה עָלָיו אֶת־תְּהוֹמוֹ** cannot mean here, "to cover the flood upon (over) him" (after ch. xxiv. 7 and xxvi. 19); for this is altogether unsuitable to either the more remote or the more immediate context. The tree Asshur was not destroyed by a flood, but cut down by strangers. The following clauses, "I stopped its streams," etc., show very plainly that the connection between the flood (**תְּהוֹמוֹ**) and the tree which had been felled is to be understood in accordance with ver. 4. A flood, which poured its **נְהִירוֹת** round about its plantation, made the cedar-tree great; and now that the tree has been felled, God covers the flood on its account. **כָּפָה** is to be explained from **כָּפָה שָׁק**, to veil or wrap in mourning, as Raschi, Kimchi, Vatablus, and many others have shown. The word **שָׁק** is omitted, because it appeared inappropriate to **תְּהוֹמוֹ**. The mourning of the flood is to be taken as equivalent to drying up, so that the streams which issued from it were deprived of their water. Lebanon, *i.e.* the cedar-forest (Isa. x. 34), and all the other trees, mourned over the fall of the cedar Asshur. **הִקְדִּיר**, to clothe in black, *i.e.* to turn into mourning. **עֲלָפָה** is regarded by Ewald as a *Pual* formed after the Aramean mode, that is to say, by attaching the syllable *ae* instead of doubling the middle radical; whilst Hitzig proposes to change the form into **עֲלָפָה**. In any case the word must be a perfect *Pual*, as a *nomen verbale* appears unsuitable; and it must also be a third person feminine, the termination **הָ** being softened into **הָ**, as in **וּנְרָה** (Isa. lix. 5), and the doubling of the **ל** being dropped on account of the *Sheva*; so that the plural is construed with the singular feminine (Ewald, § 317a). **עָלָה**, to faint with grief (cf. Isa. li. 20). The thought is the following: all nature was so painfully affected by the fall of Asshur, that the whole of the resources from

which its prosperity and might had been derived were dried up. To interpret the different figures as specially relating to princes and nations appears a doubtful procedure, for the simple reason that in ver. 16 the trembling of the nations is expressly named. —Whilst all the nations on the surface of the earth tremble at the fall of Assyria, because they are thereby warned of the perishable nature of all earthly greatness and of their own destruction, the inhabitants of the nether world console themselves with the thought that the Assyrian is now sharing their fate (for this thought, compare ch. xxxii. 31 and Isa. xiv. 9, 10). “All the trees of Eden” are all the powerful and noble princes. The idea itself, “trees of Eden,” is explained by the apposition, “the choice and beautiful ones of Lebanon,” *i.e.* the picked and finest cedars, and still further strengthened by the expression *בְּלִשְׁתֵּי מַיִם* (cf. ver. 14). *מִבְּחַר וְטוֹב* are connected, as in 1 Sam. ix. 2; and both words are placed side by side in the construct state, as in Dan. i. 4 (cf. Ewald, § 339*b*). They comfort themselves because they have gone down with him into Sheol, so that he has no advantage over them. They come thither to those pierced with the sword, *i.e.* to the princes and peoples whom Asshur slew in wars to establish his imperial power. *וְיָרְדוּ* might also belong to *וְיָרְדוּ* as a second subject. In that case *וְיָשְׁבוּ בְּצִלּוֹ* should be taken in a relative sense: “and his arm,” *i.e.* his resources, “which sat in his shadow among the nations.” With this explanation *וְיָרְדוּ* would be different from *הֵם*, and could only denote the army of the Assyrian. But this does not harmonize with the sitting in his shadow among the nations, for these words obviously point back to ver. 6; so that *וְיָרְדוּ* is evidently meant to correspond to *בְּלִשְׁתֵּי מַיִם* (ver. 6), and is actually identical with *הֵם*, *i.e.* with all the trees of Eden. We therefore agree with Osiander, Grotius, and others, in regarding the whole of the second hemistich as more precisely determining the subject,—in other words, as a declaration of the reason for their descending into hell along with the Assyrians,—and render the passage thus: “for as his arm (as his

might) they sat in his shadow among the nations ;” so that the cop. ו is used in place of a causal particle. In any case, the conjecture which Ewald has adopted from the LXX. and the Syriac, viz. וְהָרַעוּ, and his seed, in support of which appeal might be made to Isa. xiv. 21, is unsuitable, for the simple reason that the statement, that it sat in his shadow among the nations, does not apply.—After this description of the greatness and the destruction of the imperial power of Assyria, Ezekiel repeats in ver. 18 the question already asked in ver. 3 : to whom is Pharaoh like? כִּכָּהּ, so, i.e. under such circumstances, when the glorious cedar Asshur has been smitten by such a fate (Hitzig). The reply to this question is really contained in the description given already ; so that it is immediately followed by the announcement, “ and thou wilt be thrust down,” etc. עֲרֵלִים, uncircumcised, equivalent to ungodly heathen הוּא פ, not “ he is,” as that would require פִּרְעֹה הוּא ; but הוּא is the predicate: this is (i.e. so does it happen to) Pharaoh. הַמּוֹנֵה, as in ver. 2.

CHAP. XXXII. LAMENTATIONS OVER THE RUIN OF PHARAOH AND HIS PEOPLE.

The chapter contains two lamentations composed at different times: the first, in vers. 1-16, relating to the fall of Pharaoh, which rests upon the prophecy contained in ch. xxix. 1-16 and ch. xxx. 20-26 ; the second, in vers. 17-32, in which the prophecy concerning the casting down of this imperial power into hell (ch. xxxi. 14-17) is worked out in elegiac form.

Vers. 1-16. LAMENTATION OVER THE KING OF EGYPT.—Pharaoh, a sea-monster, is drawn by the nations out of his waters with the net of God, and cast out upon the earth. His flesh is given to the birds and beasts of prey to devour, and the earth is saturated with his blood (vers. 2-6). At his destruction the lights of heaven lose their brightness, and all the nations

will be amazed thereat (vers. 7-10). The king of Babel will come upon Egypt, will destroy both man and beast, and will make the land a desert (vers. 11-16).—The date given in ver. 1—“*In the twelfth year, in the twelfth month, on the first of the month, the word of Jehovah came to me, saying*”—agrees entirely with the relation in which the substance of the ode itself stands to the prophecies belonging to the tenth and eleventh years in ch. xxix. 1-16 and ch. xxx. 20-26; whereas the different date found in the Septuagint cannot come into consideration for a moment.

Vers. 2-6. The destruction of Pharaoh.—Ver. 2. *Son of man, raise a lamentation over Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and say to him, Thou wast compared to a young lion among the nations, and yet wast like a dragon in the sea; thou didst break forth in thy streams, and didst trouble the waters with thy feet, and didst tread their streams.* Ver. 3. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Therefore will I spread out my net over thee in the midst of many nations, that they may draw thee up in my yarn;* Ver. 4. *And will cast thee upon the land, hurl thee upon the surface of the field, and will cause all the birds of the heaven to settle upon thee, and the beasts of the whole earth to satisfy themselves with thee.* Ver. 5. *Thy flesh will I put upon the mountains, and fill the valleys with thy funeral heap.* Ver. 6. *I will saturate the earth with thine outflow of thy blood even to the mountains, and the low places shall become full of thee.*—This lamentation begins, like others, with a picture of the glory of the fallen king. Hitzig objects to the ordinary explanation of the words *בְּפִיד נָוִים נִרְמָה*, λέοντι ἐθνῶν ὁμοιώθης (LXX.), *leoni gentium assimilatus es* (Vulg.), on the ground that the frequently recurring *נִרְמָה* would only have this meaning in the present passage, and that *נִמְשָׁל*, which would then be synonymous, is construed in three other ways, but not with the nominative. For these reasons he adopts the rendering, “lion of the nations, thou belongest to death.” But it would be contrary to the analogy of all the *קִינֹת* to commence the lamentation with such a threat; and Hitzig’s objections to the ordinary rendering of the words will

not bear examination. The circumstance that the *Niphal* נִדְמָה is only met with here in the sense of *ῥοισσοῦσθαι*, proves nothing; for דָּמָה has this meaning in the *Kal*, *Piel*, and *Hithpael*, and the construction of the *Niphal* with the accusative (not nominative, as Hitzig says) may be derived without difficulty from the construction of the synonymous נִמְשַׁל with ב. But what is decisive in favour of this rendering is the fact that the following clause is connected by means of the adversative וְאַתָּה (but thou), which shows that the comparison of Pharaoh to a תַּנִּים forms an antithesis to the clause in which he is compared to a young lion. If נִדְמָה ג' נִדְמִית contained a declaration of destruction, not only would this antithesis be lost, but the words addressed to it as a lion of the nations would float in the air and be used without any intelligible meaning. The lion is a figurative representation of a powerful and victorious ruler; and כַּפִּיר גִּוִּים is really equivalent to אֵל גִּוִּים in ch. xxxi. 11. Pharaoh was regarded as a mighty conqueror of the nations, "though he was rather to be compared to the crocodile, which stirs up the streams, the fresh waters, and life-giving springs of the nations most perniciously with mouth and feet, and renders turbid all that is pure" (Ewald). תַּנִּים, as in ch. xxix. 3. Ewald and Hitzig have taken offence at the words בְּנִהְרֹתֶיךָ, "thou didst break forth in thy streams," and alter בְּנִהְרֹתֶיךָ into בְּנִהְרֹתֶיךָ, with thy nostrils (Job xli. 12); but they have not considered that תַּנִּים would be quite out of place with such an alteration, as נִיחַ in both the *Kal* and *Hiphil* (Judg. xx. 33) has only the intransitive meaning to break out. The thought is simply this: the crocodile lies in the sea, then breaks occasionally forth in its streams, and makes the waters and their streams turbid with its feet. Therefore shall Pharaoh also end like such a monster (vers. 3-6). The guilt of Pharaoh did not consist in the fact that he had assumed the position of a ruler among the nations (Kliefoth); but in his polluting the water-streams, stirring up and disturbing the life-giving streams of the nations. God will take him in His net by a gathering of nations, and cause him

to be drawn out of his element upon the dry land, where he shall become food to the birds and beasts of prey (cf. ch. xxix. 4, 5, xxxi. 12, 13). The words 'בְּקֶהֶל עַמִּים ר' are not to be understood as referring to the nations, as spectators of the event (Hävernicks); but ב denotes the instrument, or medium employed, here the persons by whom God causes the net to be thrown, as is evident from the וְהַעֲלִיךָ which follows. According to the *parallelismus membrorum*, the ἀπ. λεγ. רָמוֹת can only refer to the carcase of the beast, although the source from which this meaning of the word is derived has not yet been traced. There is no worth to be attached to the reading רָמוֹת in some of the codices, as רָמָה does not yield a suitable meaning either in the sense of reptile, or in that of putrefaction or decomposed bodies, which has been attributed to it from the Arabic. Under these circumstances we adhere to the derivation from רוֹם, to be high, according to which רָמוֹת may signify a height or a heap, which the context defines as a funeral-pile. צָפָה, strictly speaking, a participle from צָוָה, to flow, that which flows out, the outflow (Hitzig), is not to be taken in connection with צָוָה, but is a second object to הִשְׁקִייתִי; and the appended word כְּרוֹמָה indicates the source whence the flowing takes place, and of what the outflow consists. אֶל הַהָרִים, to the mountains, i.e. up to the top of the mountains. The thought in these verses is probably simply this, that the fall of Pharaoh would bring destruction upon the whole of the land of Egypt, and that many nations would derive advantage from his fall.

Vers. 7-10. His overthrow fills the whole world with mourning and terror.—Ver. 7. *When I extinguish thee, I will cover the sky and darken its stars; I will cover the sun with cloud, and the moon will not cause its light to shine.* Ver. 8. *All the shining lights in the sky do I darken because of thee, and I bring darkness over thy land, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 9. *And I will trouble the heart of many nations when I bring out thine overthrow among the nations into lands which thou knowest not,* Ver. 10. *And I will make many nations amazed at thee, and their*

kings shall shudder at thee when I brandish my sword before their face; and they shall tremble every moment, every one for his life on the day of his fall.—The thought of vers. 7 and 8 is not exhausted by the paraphrase, “when thou art extinguished, all light will be extinguished, so far as Egypt is concerned,” accompanied with the remark, that the darkness consequent thereupon is a figurative representation of utterly hopeless circumstances (Schmieder). The thought on which the figure rests is that of the day of the Lord, the day of God’s judgment, on which the lights of heaven lose their brightness (cf. ch. xxx. 3 and Joel ii. 10, etc.). This day bursts upon Egypt with the fall of Pharaoh, and on it the shining stars of heaven are darkened, so that the land of Pharaoh becomes dark. Egypt is a world-power represented by Pharaoh, which collapses with his fall. But the overthrow of this world-power is an omen and prelude of the overthrow of every ungodly world-power on the day of the last judgment, when the present heaven and the present earth will perish in the judgment-fire. Compare the remarks to be found in the commentary on Joel iii. 4 upon the connection between the phenomena of the heavens and great catastrophes on earth. The contents of both verses may be fully explained from the biblical idea of the day of the Lord and the accompanying phenomena; and for the explanation of *בְּבוֹרֶתָּהּ*, there is no necessity to assume, as Dereser and Hitzig have done, that the sea-dragon of Egypt is presented here under the constellation of a dragon; for there is no connection between the comparison of Egypt to a *tannim* or sea-dragon, in ver. 2 and ch. xxix. 3 (= *תַּנִּינִי*, Isa. li. 9), and the constellation of the dragon (see the comm. on Isa. li. 9 and xxx. 7). In *בְּבוֹרֶתָּהּ* Pharaoh is no doubt regarded as a star of the first magnitude in the sky; but in this conception Ezekiel rests upon Isa. xiv. 12, where the king of Babylon is designated as a bright morning-star. That this passage was in the prophet’s mind, is evident at once from the fact that ver. 7 coincides almost *verbatim* with Isa. xiii. 10.—The extinction

and obscuration of the stars are not merely a figurative representation of the mourning occasioned by the fall of Pharaoh; still less can vers. 9 and 10 be taken as an interpretation in literal phraseology of the figurative words in vers. 7 and 8. For vers. 9 and 10 do not relate to the mourning of the nations, but to anxiety and terror into which they are plunged by God through the fall of Pharaoh and his might. *הִכְעִים לֵב*, to afflict the heart, does not mean to make it sorrowful, but to fill it with anxiety, to deprive it of its peace and cheerfulness. "When I bring thy fall among the nations" is equivalent to "spread the report of thy fall." Consequently there is no need for either the arbitrary alteration of *שְׁבִירָה* into *שְׁבִירָה*, which Ewald proposes, with the imaginary rendering announcement or report; nor for the marvellous assumption of Hävernicks, that *שְׁבִירָה* describes the prisoners scattered among the heathen as the ruins of the ancient glory of Egypt, in support of which he adduces the rendering of the LXX. *αἰχμαλωσίαν σου*, which is founded upon the change of *שְׁבִירָה* into *שְׁבִירָה*. For ver. 10a compare ch. xxvii. 35. *עוֹפֶה*, to cause to fly, to brandish. The sword is brandished before their face when it falls time after time upon their brother the king of Egypt, whereby they are thrown into alarm for their own lives. *לְיָנָעִים*, by moments = every moment (see the comm. on Isa. xxvii. 3).

Vers. 11-16. The judgment upon Egypt will be executed by the king of Babylon.—Ver. 11. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, The sword of the king of Babylon will come upon thee.* Ver. 12. *By swords of heroes will I cause thy tumult to fall, violent ones of the nations are they all, and will lay waste the pride of Egypt, and all its tumult will be destroyed.* Ver. 13. *And I will cut off all its cattle from the great waters, that no foot of man may disturb them any more, nor any hoof of cattle disturb them.* Ver. 14. *Then will I cause their waters to settle and their streams to flow like oil, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah,* Ver. 15. *When I make the land of Egypt a desert, and the land is made desolate of its fulness, because I smite all the inhabitants therein, and they*

shall know that I am Jehovah. Ver. 16. *A lamentation (mournful ode) is this, and they will sing it mournfully; the daughters of the nations will sing it mournfully, over Egypt and over all its tumult will they sing it mournfully, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—In this concluding strophe the figurative announcement of the preceding one is summed up briefly in literal terms; and toward the close (ver. 14) there is a slight intimation of a better future. The destruction of the proud might of Egypt will be effected through the king of Babylon and his brave and violent hosts. עֲרִיצֵי גִּוִּים, as in ch. xxxi. 12 (see the comm. on ch. xxviii. 7). הָמוֹן in vers. 12 and 13 must not be restricted to the multitude of people. It signifies tumult, and embraces everything in Egypt by which noise and confusion were made (as in ch. xxxi. 2 and 18); although the idea of a multitude of people undoubtedly predominates in the use of הָמוֹן in ver. 12a. הָאֶזְנוֹן מִצְרַיִם, the pride of Egypt, is not that of which Egypt is proud, but whatever is proud or exalts itself in Egypt. The utter devastation of Egypt includes the destruction of the cattle, i.e. of the numerous herds which fed on the grassy banks of the Nile and were driven to the Nile to drink (cf. Gen. xlvii. 6, xli. 2 sqq.; Ex. ix. 3); and this is therefore specially mentioned in ver. 13, with an allusion to the consequence thereof, namely, that the waters of the Nile would not be disturbed any more either by the foot of man or hoof of beast (compare ver. 13b with ch. xxix. 11). The disturbing of the water is mentioned with evident reference to ver. 2, where Pharaoh is depicted as a sea-monster, which disturbs the streams of water. The disturbance of the water is therefore a figurative representation of the wild driving of the imperial power of Egypt, by which the life-giving streams of the nations were stirred up.—Ver. 14. Then will God cause the waters of Egypt to sink. Hitzig and Kliefoth understand this as signifying the diminution of the abundance of water in the Nile, which had previously overflowed the land and rendered it fertile, but for which there was no further purpose now. According to this explanation, the

words would contain a continued picture of the devastation of the land. But this is evidently a mistake, for the simple reason that it is irreconcilable with the אָ , by which the thought is introduced. אָ , *tunc*, is more precisely defined by $\text{וְהָיָה בְּהַיָּתָו}$ in ver. 15 as the time when the devastation has taken place; whereas Kliefoth takes the 15th verse, in opposition both to the words and the usage of the language, as the sequel to ver. 14, or in other words, regards בְּהַיָּתָו as synonymous with וְהָיָה . The verse contains a promise, as most of the commentators, led by the Chaldee and Jerome, have correctly assumed.¹ וְהַשְׁקִיעַ , to make the water sink, might no doubt signify in itself a diminution of the abundance of water. But if we consider the context, in which reference is made to the disturbance of the water through its being trodden with the feet (ver. 13), וְהַשְׁקִיעַ can only signify to settle, *i.e.* to become clear through the sinking to the bottom of the slime which had been stirred up (cf. ch. xxxiv. 18). The correctness of this explanation is confirmed by the parallel clause, to make their streams flow with oil. To understand this as signifying the slow and gentle flow of the diminished water, would introduce a figure of which there is no trace in Hebrew. Oil is used throughout the Scriptures as a figurative representation of the divine blessing, or the power of the divine Spirit. כַּשֶּׁן , like oil, according to Hebrew phraseology, is equivalent to "like rivers of oil." And oil-rivers are not rivers which flow quietly like oil, but rivers which contain oil instead of water (cf. Job xxix. 6), and are symbolical of the rich blessing of God (cf. Deut. xxxii. 13). The figure is a very appropriate one for Egypt, as the land is indebted to the Nile for all its fertility. Whereas its water had been stirred up and rendered turbid by Pharaoh; after the fall of Pharaoh the Lord will cause the waters of the stream,

¹ The explanation of Jerome is the following: "Then will purest waters, which had been disturbed by the sway of the dragon, be restored not by another, but by the Lord Himself; so that their streams flow like oil, and are the nutriment of true light."

which pours its blessing upon the land, to purify themselves, and will make its streams flow with oil. The clarified water and flowing oil are figures of the life-giving power of the word and Spirit of God. But this blessing will not flow to Egypt till its natural power is destroyed. Ewald has therefore given the following as the precise meaning of ver. 14: "The Messianic times will then for the first time dawn on Egypt, when the waters no more become devastating and turbid, that is to say, through the true knowledge to which the chastisement leads." Ver. 16 "rounds off the passage by turning back to ver. 2" (Hitzig). The daughters of the nations are mentioned as the singers, because mourning for the dead was for the most part the business of women (cf. Jer. ix. 16). The words do not contain a summons to the daughters of the nations to sing the lamentation, but the declaration that they will do it, in which the thought is implied that the predicted devastation of Egypt will certainly occur.

Vers. 17-32. FUNERAL-DIRGE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MIGHT OF EGYPT.—This second lamentation or mourning ode, according to the heading in ver. 17, belongs to the same year as the preceding, and to the 15th of the month, no doubt the 12th month; in which case it was composed only fourteen days after the first. The statement of the month is omitted here, as in ch. xxvi. 1; and the omission is, no doubt, to be attributed to a copyist in this instance also. In the ode, which Ewald aptly describes as a "dull, heavy lamentation," we have six regular strophes, preserving the uniform and monotonous character of the lamentations for the dead, in which the thought is worked out, that Egypt, like other great nations, is cast down to the nether world. The whole of it is simply an elegiac expansion of the closing thought of the previous chapter (ch. xxxi.).

Vers. 18-21. Introduction and first strophe.—Ver. 18. *Son of man, lament over the tumult of Egypt, and hurl it down, her,*

like the daughters of glorious nations, into the nether world, to those who go into the pit ! Ver. 19. Whom dost thou surpass in loveliness? Go down and lay thyself with the uncircumcised. Ver. 20. Among those slain with the sword will they fall ; the sword is handed, draw her down and all her tumult. Ver. 21. The strong ones of the heroes say of it out of the midst of hell with its helpers : they are gone down, they lie there, the uncircumcised, slain with the sword.—נִהָה, utter a lamentation, and הוֹרְרָהּ, thrust it (the tumult of Egypt) down, are co-ordinate. With the lamentation, or by means thereof, is Ezekiel to thrust down the tumult of Egypt into hell. The lamentation is God's word ; and as such it has the power to accomplish what it utters. אֹהֶה is not intended as a repetition of the suffix יהי, but resumes the principal idea contained in the object already named, viz. מִצְרַיִם, Egypt, i.e. its population. אֹהֶה and the daughters of glorious nations are co-ordinate. בָּנוֹת, as in the expression, daughter Tyre, daughter Babel, denotes the population of powerful heathen nations. The גִּוִּים can only be the nations enumerated in vers. 22, 24 sqq., which, according to these verses, are already in Sheol, not about to be thrust down, but thrust down already. Consequently the copula ו before בָּנוֹת is to be taken in the sense of a comparison, as in 1 Sam. xii. 15 (cf. Ewald, § 340b). All these glorious nations have also been hurled down by the word of God ; and Egypt is to be associated with them. By thus placing Egypt on a level with all the fallen nations, the enumeration of which fills the middle strophes of the ode, the lamentation over Egypt is extended into a funeral-dirge on the fall of all the heathen powers of the world. For אֶרֶץ תְּהוֹמֹת and יוֹרְרֵי בֹר, compare ch. xxvi. 20. The ode itself commences in ver. 19, by giving prominence to the glory of the falling kingdom. But this prominence consists in the brief inquiry מִמִּי נְעֻמָּה, before whom art thou lovely? i.e. art thou more lovely than any one else? The words are addressed either to הַמֶּלֶךְ (ver. 18), or what is more probable, to Pharaoh with all

his tumult (cf. ver. 32), *i.e.* to the world-power, Egypt, as embodied in the person of Pharaoh; and the meaning of the question is the following:—Thou, Egypt, art indeed lovely; but thou art not better or more lovely than other mighty heathen nations; therefore thou canst not expect any better fate than to go down into Sheol, and there lie with the uncircumcised. עֲרִלִים, as in ch. xxxi. 18. This is carried out still further in ver. 20, and the ground thereof assigned. The subject to יָפְלוּ is the Egyptians, or Pharaoh and his tumult. They fall in the midst of those pierced with the sword. The sword is already handed to the executor of the judgment, the king of Babel (ch. xxxi. 11). Their destruction is so certain, that the words are addressed to the bearers of the sword: “Draw Egypt and all its tumult down into Sheol” (מִשְׁכֹּו is imperative for מִשְׁכֹּו in Ex. xii. 21), and, according to ver. 21, the heathen already in Sheol are speaking of his destruction. יִדְבְּרוּ לוֹ is rendered by many, “there speak to him, address him, greet him,” with an allusion to Isa. xiv. 9 sqq., where the king of Babel, when descending into Sheol, is greeted with malicious pleasure by the kings already there. But however obvious the fact may be that Ezekiel has this passage in mind, there is no address in the verse before us as in Isa. xiv. 10, but simply a statement concerning the Egyptians, made in the third person. Moreover, אֶת־עֲרָיו could hardly be made to harmonize with יִדְבְּרוּ לוֹ, if לוֹ signified *ad eum*. For it is not allowable to connect אֶת־עֲרָיו (taken in the sense of along with their helpers) with אֱלֵי בְּוֹרִים as a noun in apposition, for the simple reason that the two are separated by מִתּוֹךְ שָׂאוֹל. Consequently אֶת־עֲרָיו can only belong to יִדְבְּרוּ: they talk (of him) with his helpers. עֲרָיו, his (Pharaoh’s) helpers are his allies, who have already gone down before him into hell (cf. ch. xxx. 8). The singular suffix, which has offended Hitzig, is quite in order as corresponding to לוֹ. The words, “they have gone down, lie there,” etc., point once more to the fact that the same fate has happened to the Egyptians as to all the rest of the rulers and

nations of the world whom God has judged. For אֱלֵי גִבּוֹרִים, strong ones of the heroes, compare the comm. on ch. xxxi. 11. שְׂאוֹל, hell=the nether world, the gathering-place of the dead; not the place of punishment for the damned. חֶלְלֵי חֶרֶב without the article is a predicate, and not in apposition to הָעֶרְלִים. On the application of this epithet to the Egyptians, Kliefoth has correctly observed that "the question whether the Egyptians received circumcision is one that has no bearing upon this passage; for in the sense in which Ezekiel understands circumcision, the Egyptians were uncircumcised, even if they were accustomed to circumcise their flesh."

In the four following strophes (vers. 22-30) a series of heathen nations is enumerated, whom the Egyptian finds already in hell, and with whom he will share the same fate. There are six of these—namely, Asshur, Elam, Meshech-Tubal, Edom, the princes of the north, and Sidon. The six are divisible into two classes—three great and remote world-powers, and three smaller neighbouring nations. In this no regard is paid to the time of destruction. With the empire of Asshur, which had already fallen, there are associated Elam and Meshech-Tubal, two nations, which only rose to the rank of world-powers in the more immediate and more remote future; and among the neighbouring nations, the Sidonians and princes of the north, *i.e.* the Syrian kings, are grouped with Edom, although the Sidonians had long ago given up their supremacy to Tyre, and the Aramean kings, who had once so grievously oppressed the kingdom of Israel, had already been swallowed up in the Assyrian and Chaldean empire. It may, indeed, be said that "in any case, at the time when Ezekiel prophesied, princes enough had already descended into Sheol both of the Assyrians and Elamites, etc., to welcome the Egyptians as soon as they came" (Kliefoth); but with the same justice may it also be said that many of the rulers and countrymen of Egypt had also descended into Sheol already, at the time when Pharaoh, reigning in Ezekiel's day, was to share the same fate. It is

evident, therefore, that "any such reflection upon chronological relations is out of place in connection with our text, the intention of which is merely to furnish an exemplification" (Kliefoth), and that Ezekiel looks upon Egypt more in the light of a world-power, discerning in its fall the overthrow of all the heathen power of the world, and predicting it under the prophetic picture, that Pharaoh and his tumult are expected and welcomed by the princes and nations that have already descended into Sheol, as coming to share their fate with them.

Vers. 22, 23. Second strophe.—Ver. 22. *There is Asshur and all its multitude, round about it their graves, all of them slain, fallen by the sword.* Ver. 23. *Whose graves are made in the deepest pit, and its multitude is round about its grave; all slain, fallen by the sword, who spread terror in the land of the living.*—The enumeration commences with Asshur, the world-power, which had already been overthrown by the Chaldeans. It is important to notice here, that אַשּׁוּר, like עֵילָם in ver. 24, and מִשְׁפַּחַת הַבֵּל in ver. 26, is construed as a feminine, as הַמִּזְנוּחַ which follows in every case plainly shows. It is obvious, therefore, that the predominant idea is not that of the king or people, but that of the kingdom or world-power. It is true that in the suffixes attached to קְבִירוֹתָי קְבִירוֹתַי in ver. 22, and קְבִירוֹתַי in vers. 25 and 26, the masculine alternates with the feminine, and Hitzig therefore proposes to erase these words; but the alternation may be very simply explained, on the ground that the ideas of the kingdom and its king are not kept strictly separate, but that the words oscillate from one idea to the other. It is affirmed of Asshur, that as a world-power it lies in Sheol, and the graves of its countrymen are round about the graves of its ruler. They all lie there as those who have fallen by the sword, *i.e.* who have been swept away by a judgment of God. To this is added in ver. 23 the declaration that the graves of Asshur lie in the utmost sides, *i.e.* the utmost or deepest extremity of Sheol; whereas so long as this power together with its people was in the land of the living, *i.e.* so

long as they ruled on earth, they spread terror all around them by their violent deeds. From the loftiest height of earthly might and greatness, they are hurled down to the lowest hell. The higher on earth, the deeper in the nether world. Hävernick has entirely misunderstood the words "round about Asshur are its graves" (ver. 22), and "its multitude is round about its grave" (the grave of this world-power), when he finds therein the thought that the graves and corpses are to be regarded as separated, so that the dead are waiting near their graves in deepest sorrow, looking for the honour of burial, but looking in vain. There is not a word of this in the text, but simply that the graves of the people lie round about the grave of their ruler.

Vers. 24 and 25. Third strophe.—Ver. 24. *There is Elam, and all its multitude round about its grave; all of them slain, fallen by the sword, who went down uncircumcised into the nether world, who spread terror before them in the land of the living, and bear their shame with those who went into the pit.* Ver. 25. *In the midst of the slain have they made it a bed with all its multitude, round about it are their graves; all of them uncircumcised, pierced with the sword; because terror was spread before them in the land of the living, they bear their shame with those who have gone into the pit. In the midst of slain ones is he laid.*—Asshur is followed by עֵלָם, Elam, the warlike people of Elymais, i.e. Susiana, the modern Chusistan, whose archers served in the Assyrian army (Isa. xxii. 6), and which is mentioned along with the Medes as one of the conquerors of Babylon (Isa. xxi. 2), whereas Jeremiah prophesied its destruction at the commencement of Zedekiah's reign (Jer. xlix. 34 sqq.). Ezekiel says just the same of Elam as he has already said of Asshur, and almost in the same words. The only difference is, that his description is more copious, and that he expresses more distinctly the thought of shameful destruction which is implied in the fact of lying in Sheol among the slain, and repeats it a second time, and that he also sets the bearing of shame

into Sheol in contrast with the terror which Elam had spread around it during its life on earth. נָשָׂא בְלִמָּה, as in ch. xvi. 52. The ב in בְּבִלְיָה־מוֹנֶה is either the "with of association," or the fact of being in the midst of a crowd. הָלָה refers to עֵלָם; and נָתַנוּ has an indefinite subject, "they gave" = there was given. מִשְׁכָּב, the resting-place of the dead, as in 2 Chron. xvi. 14. The last clause in ver. 25 is an emphatic repetition of the leading thought: he (Elam) is brought or laid in the midst of the slain.

Vers. 26-28. Fourth strophe.—Ver. 26. *There is Meshech-Tubal and all its multitude, its graves round about it; all of them uncircumcised, slain with the sword, because they spread terror before them in the land of the living.* Ver. 27. *They lie not with the fallen heroes of uncircumcised men, who went down into hell with their weapons of war, whose swords they laid under their heads; their iniquities have come upon their bones, because they were a terror of the heroes in the land of the living.* Ver. 28. *Thou also wilt be dashed to pieces among uncircumcised men, and lie with those slain with the sword.*—מִשְׁכָּב and תִּבְלָה, the Moschi and Tibareni of the Greeks (see the comm. on ch. xxvii. 13), are joined together ἀσυνδερῶς here as one people or heathen power; and Ewald, Hitzig, and others suppose that the reference is to the Scythians, who invaded the land in the time of Josiah, and the majority of whom had miserably perished not very long before (Herod. i. 106). But apart from the fact that the prophets of the Old Testament make no allusion to any invasion of Palestine by the Scythians (see *Minor Prophets*, vol. ii. p. 124, Eng. transl.), this view is founded entirely upon the erroneous supposition that in this funeral-dirge Ezekiel mentions only such peoples as had sustained great defeats a longer or shorter time before. Meshech-Tubal comes into consideration here, as in ch. xxxviii., as a northern power, which is overcome in its conflict with the kingdom of God, and is prophetically exhibited by the prophet as having already fallen under the judgment of death. In ver. 26 Ezekiel makes the

same announcement as he has already made concerning Asshur in vers. 22, 23, and with regard to Elam in vers. 24, 25. But the announcement in ver. 27 is obscure. Rosenmüller, Ewald, Hävernicks, and others, regard this verse as a question (נִלְיָ in the sense of נִלְיָ): "and should they not lie with (rest with) other fallen heroes of the uncircumcised, who . . . ?" *i.e.* they do lie with them, and could not possibly expect a better fate. But although the interrogation is merely indicated by the tone where the language is excited, and therefore נִלְיָ might stand for נִלְיָ, as in Ex. viii. 22, there is not the slightest indication of such excitement in the description given here as could render this assumption a probable one. On the contrary, נִלְיָ at the commencement of the sentence suggests the supposition that an antithesis is intended to the preceding verse. And the probability of this conjecture is heightened by the allusion made to heroes, who have descended into the nether world with their weapons of war; inasmuch as, at all events, something is therein affirmed which does not apply to all the heroes who have gone down into hell. The custom of placing the weapons of fallen heroes along with them in the grave is attested by Diod. Sic. xviii. 26; Arrian, i. 5; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 233 (cf. Douglai *Analectt.* ss. i. pp. 281, 282); and, according to the ideas prevailing in ancient times, it was a mark of great respect to the dead. But the last place in which we should expect to meet with any allusion to the payment of such honour to the dead would be in connection with Meshech and Tubal, those wild hordes of the north, who were only known to Israel by hearsay. We therefore follow the Vulgate, the Rabbins, and many of the earlier commentators, and regard the verse before us as containing a declaration that the slain of Meshech-Tubal would not receive the honour of resting in the nether world along with those fallen heroes whose weapons were buried with them in the grave, because they fell with honour.¹ נִלְיָ

¹ C. a Lapide has already given the true meaning: "He compares them, therefore, not with the righteous, but with the heathen, who, although

מִלְחָמָה, instruments of war, weapons, as in Deut. i. 41. The text leaves it uncertain who they were who had been buried with such honours. The Seventy have confounded מַעֲרָלִים with מַעוֹלִים, and rendered נִפְלִיִּים מַעֲרָלִים, τῶν πεπτωκότων ἀπ' αἰῶνος, possibly thinking of the *gibborim* of Gen. vi. 4. Dathe and Hitzig propose to alter the text to this; and even Hävernicks imagines that the prophet may possibly have had such passages as Gen. vi. 4 and x. 9 sqq. floating before his mind. But there is not sufficient ground to warrant an alteration of the text; and if Ezekiel had had Gen. vi. 4 in his mind, he would no doubt have written הַגִּבּוֹרִים. The clause וַתְּהִי עֲוֹנוֹתָם is regarded by the more recent commentators as a continuation of the preceding וַיִּתְּנוּ וְגו', which is a very natural conclusion, if we simply take notice of the construction. But if we consider the sense of the words, this combination can hardly be sustained. The words, "and so were their iniquities upon their bones" (or they came upon them), can well be understood as an explanation of the reason for their descending into Sheol with their weapons, and lying upon their swords. We must therefore regard וַתְּהִי עֲוֹנוֹתָם as a continuation of וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ, so that their not resting with those who were buried with their weapons of war furnishes the proof that their guilt lay upon their bones. The words, therefore, have no other meaning than the phrase וַיִּשָּׂא כָל־מָתָם in vers. 24 and 30. Sin comes upon the bones when the punishment consequent upon it falls upon the bones of the sinner. In the last clause we connect הַגִּבּוֹרִים with תְּהִיָּתָם, terror of the heroes, i.e. terrible even to heroes on account of their savage and cruel nature. In ver. 28 we cannot take אֶתָּה as referring to Meshech-Tubal, as many of the commentators propose. A direct address to that people would be at variance with the whole plan of the ode. Moreover, the declaration contained in the verse would contradict what pre-

uncircumcised, had met with a glorious death, i.e. they will be more wretched than these; for the latter went down to the shades with glory, but they with ignominy, as if conquered and slain."

cedes. As Meshech-Tubal is already lying in Sheol among the slain, according to ver. 26, the announcement cannot be made to it for the first time here, that it is to be dashed in pieces and laid with those who are slain with the sword. It is the Egyptian who is addressed, and he is told that this fate will also fall upon him. And through this announcement, occurring in the midst of the list of peoples that have already gone down to Sheol, the design of that list is once more called to mind.

Vers. 29 and 30. Fifth strophe.—Ver. 29. *There are Edom, its kings and all its princes, who in spite of their bravery are associated with those that are pierced with the sword; they lie with the uncircumcised and with those that have gone down into the pit.* Ver. 30. *There are the princes of the north, all of them, and all the Sidonians who have gone down to the slain, been put to shame in spite of the dread of them because of their bravery; they lie there as uncircumcised, and bear their shame with those who have gone into the pit.*—In this strophe Ezekiel groups together the rest of the heathen nations in the neighbourhood of Israel; and in doing so, he changes the שָׁם of the preceding list for שָׁמָּה, thither. This might be taken prophetically: thither will they come, “to these do they also belong” (Hävernick), only such nations being mentioned here as are still awaiting their destruction. But, in the first place, the perfects אֲשֶׁר נָהָנוּ, אֲשֶׁר יָרְדוּ, in vers. 29, 30, do not favour this explanation, inasmuch as they are used as preterites in vers. 22, 24, 25, 26, 27; and, secondly, even in the previous strophes, not only are such peoples mentioned as have already perished, but some, like Elam and Meshech-Tubal, which did not rise into historical importance, or exert any influence upon the development of the kingdom of God till after Ezekiel’s time, whereas the Edomites and Sidonians were already approaching destruction. We therefore regard שָׁמָּה as simply a variation of expression in the sense of “thither have they come,” without discovering any allusion to the future.—In the case of Edom, kings and נְשִׂאֵיהֶם, i.e. tribe-princes, are mentioned. The allusion is to the ‘allu-

phim or phylarchs, literally chiliarchs, the heads of the leading families (Gen. xxxvi. 15 sqq.), in whose hands the government of the people lay, inasmuch as the kings were elective, and were probably chosen by the phylarchs (see the comm. on Gen. xxxvi. 31 sqq.). בְּנִבְיָרָתָם, in, or with their bravery, *i.e.* in spite of it. There is something remarkable in the allusion to princes of the north (נְסִיכֵי, lit. persons enfeoffed, vassal-princes; see the comm. on Josh. xiii. 21 and Mic. v. 4) in connection with the Sidonians, and after Meshech-Tubal the representative of the northern nations. The association with the Sidonians renders the conjecture a very natural one, that allusion is made to the north of Palestine, and more especially to the Aram of Scripture, with its many separate states and princes (Hävernicks); although Jer. xxv. 26, "the kings of the north, both far and near," does not furnish a conclusive proof of this. So much, at any rate, is certain, that the princes of the north are not to be identified with the Sidonians. For, as Kliefoth has correctly observed, "there are six heathen nations mentioned, viz. Asshur, Elam, Meshech-Tubal, Edom, the princes of the north, and Sidon; and if we add Egypt to the list, we shall have seven, which would be thoroughly adapted, as it was eminently intended, to depict the fate of universal heathenism." A principle is also clearly discernible in the mode in which they are grouped. Asshur, Elam, and Meshech-Tubal represent the greater and more distant world-powers; Edom the princes of the north, and Sidon the neighbouring nations of Israel on both south and north. בְּחַתִּיתָם כְּנִבְיָרָתָם, literally, in dread of them, (which proceeded) from their bravery, *i.e.* which their bravery inspired. וַיִּשְׂאוּ וְנִי, as in ver. 24.

Vers. 31 and 32. Sixth and last strophe.—Ver. 31. *Pharaoh will see them, and comfort himself over all his multitude. Pharaoh and all his army are slain with the sword, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 32. *For I caused him to spread terror in the land of the living, therefore is he laid in the midst of uncircumcised, those slain with the sword, Pharaoh and all his multi-*

tude, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—In these verses the application to Egypt follows. Pharaoh will see in the nether world all the greater and smaller heathen nations with their rulers; and when he sees them all given up to the judgment of death, he will comfort himself over the fate which has fallen upon himself and his army, as he will perceive that he could not expect any better lot than that of the other rulers of the world. נָחַם עַל, to comfort oneself, as in ch. xxxi. 16 and xiv. 22. Hitzig's assertion, that נָחַם עַל never signifies *to comfort oneself*, is incorrect (see the comm. on ch. xiv. 22). נָתַתִּי אֶת-חִתִּיתוֹ, I have given terror of him, *i.e.* I have made him an instrument of terror. The *Keri* קָרַתִּי אֶת-חִתִּיתוֹ arose from a misunderstanding. The *Chetib* is confirmed by vers. 24 and 26. In ver. 32*b* the ode is brought to a close by returning even in expression to vers. 19 and 20*a*.

If, now, we close with a review of the whole of the contents of the words of God directed against Egypt, in all of them is the destruction of the might of Pharaoh and Egypt as a world-power foretold. And this prophecy has been completely fulfilled. As Kliefoth has most truly observed, "one only needs to enter the pyramids of Egypt and its catacombs to see that the glory of the Pharaohs has gone down into Sheol. And it is equally certain that this destruction of the glory of ancient Egypt dates from the times of the Babylonio-Persian empire. Moreover, this destruction was so thorough, that even to the New Egypt of the Ptolemies the character of the Old Egypt was a perfect enigma, a thing forgotten and incomprehensible." But if Ezekiel repeatedly speaks of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon as executing this judgment upon Egypt, we must bear in mind that here, as in the case of Tyre (see the comm. on ch. xxviii. 1–19), Ezekiel regards Nebuchadnezzar as the instrument of the righteous punishment of God in general, and discerns in what he accomplishes the sum of all that in the course of ages has been gradually fulfilling itself in history. At the same time, it is equally certain that this

view of the prophet would have no foundation in truth unless Nebuchadnezzar really did conquer Egypt and lay it waste, and the might and glory of this ancient empire were so shattered thereby, that it never could recover its former greatness, but even after the turning of its captivity, *i.e.* after its recovery from the deadly wounds which the imperial monarchy of Babylonia and afterwards of Persia inflicted upon it, still remained a lowly kingdom, which could "no more rule over the nations" (ch. xxix. 13-16). Volney, however, in his *Recherch. nouv. sur l'hist. anc.* (III. pp. 151 sqq.), and Hitzig (*Ezek.* p. 231), dispute the conquest and devastation of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, because the Greek historians, with Herodotus (ii. 161 sqq.) at their head, make no allusion whatever to an invasion of Egypt; and their statements are even opposed to such an occurrence. But the silence of Greek historians, especially of Herodotus, is a most "miserable" argument. The same historians do not say a word about the defeat of Necho by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish; and yet even Hitzig accepts this as an indisputable fact. Herodotus and his successors derived their accounts of Egypt from the communications of Egyptian priests, who suppressed everything that was humiliating to the pride of Egypt, and endeavoured to cover it up with their accounts of glorious deeds which the Pharaohs had performed. But Hitzig has by no means proved that the statements of the Greeks are at variance with the assumption of a Chaldean invasion of Egypt, whilst he has simply rejected but not refuted the attempts of Perizonius, Vitranga, Hävernicks, and others, to reconcile the biblical narrative of the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar with the accounts given by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other Greeks, concerning the mighty feats of Necho, and his being slain by Amasis. The remark that, in the description given by Herodotus, Amasis appears as an independent king by the side of Cambyses, only less powerful than the Persian monarch, proves nothing more, even assuming the correctness of the fact, than that Amasis

had made Egypt once more independent of Babylonia on the sudden overthrow of the Chaldean monarchy.

The conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, after the attitude which Pharaoh Necho assumed towards the Babylonian empire, and even attempted to maintain in the time of Zedekiah by sending an army to the relief of Jerusalem when besieged by the Chaldeans, is not only extremely probable in itself, but confirmed by testimony outside the Bible. Even if no great importance can be attached to the notice of Megasthenes, handed down by Strabo (xv. 1. 6) and Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 20): "he says that he (Nebuchadnezzar) conquered the greater part of Libya and Iberia;" Josephus not only quotes from Berosus (*l.c.* i. 19) to the effect that "the Babylonian got possession of *Egypt*, Syria, Phoenicia, Arabia," but, on the ground of such statements, relates the complete fulfilment of the prophecies of Scripture, saying, in *Antt.* x. 9. 7, with reference to Nebuchadnezzar, "he fell upon Egypt to conquer it. And the reigning king he slew; and having appointed another in his place, made those Jews prisoners who had hitherto resided there, and led them into Babylon." And even if Josephus does not give his authority in this case, the assertion that he gathered this from the prophecies of Jeremiah is untrue; because, immediately before the words we have quoted, he says that what Jeremiah had prophesied (*Jer.* xliii. and xliv.) had thus come to pass; making a distinction, therefore, between prophecy and history. And suspicion is not to be cast upon this testimony by such objections as that Josephus does not mention the name of the Egyptian king, or state precisely the time when Egypt was conquered, but merely affirms in general terms that it was after the war with the Ammonites and Moabites.

SECOND HALF

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF SALVATION.

CHAP. XXXIII.-XLVIII.



IN the first half of his book, Ezekiel has predicted severe judgments, both to the covenant nation and to the heathen nations. But to the people of Israel he has also promised the turning of its captivity, after the judgment of the destruction of the kingdom and the dispersion of the refractory generation in the heathen lands; not merely their restoration to their own land, but the setting up of the covenant made with the fathers, and the renewing of the restored nation by the Spirit of God, so that it will serve the Lord upon His holy mountain with offerings acceptable to Him (compare ch. xi. 16-21, xvi. 60, and xx. 40 sqq.). On the other hand, he has threatened the heathenish peoples and kingdoms of the world with devastation and everlasting destruction, so that they will be remembered no more (compare ch. xxi. 36, 37, xxv. 7, 10, 16, xxvi. 21, xxvii. 36, and xxviii. 19), or rather with the lasting humiliation and overthrow of their glory in the nether world (compare ch. xxix. 13 sqq., xxxi. 15 sqq., and xxxii. 17 sqq.); whilst God will create a glorious thing in the land of the living, gather Israel from its dispersion, cause it to dwell safely and happily in the land given to His servant Jacob, and a horn to grow thereto (ch. xxvi. 20, xxviii. 25 sqq., and xxix. 21).—This announcement is carried out still further in the second half of the book, where first of

all the pardon, blessing, and glorification promised to the covenant nation, after its sifting by the judgment of exile, are unfolded according to their leading features, and the destruction of its foes is foretold (ch. xxxiv.-xxxix.); and then, secondly, there is depicted the establishment of the renovated kingdom of God for everlasting continuance (ch. xl.-xlviii.). The prophet's mouth was opened to make the announcement when a fugitive brought the tidings of the destruction both of Jerusalem and of the kingdom to the captives by the Chaboras; and this constitutes the second half of the prophetic ministry of Ezekiel. The introduction to this is contained in ch. xxxiii., whilst the announcement itself is divisible into two parts, according to its contents, as just indicated,—namely, first, the promise of the restoration and glorification of Israel (ch. xxxiv.-xxxix.); and secondly, the apocalyptic picture of the new constitution of the kingdom of God (ch. xl.-xlviii.).

CHAP. XXXIII. THE CALLING OF THE PROPHET, AND HIS
FUTURE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PEOPLE.

This chapter is divided into two words of God of an introductory character, which are separated by the historical statement in vers. 21 and 22, though substantially they are one. The first (vers. 1-20) exhibits the calling of the prophet for the time to come; the second (vers. 23-33) sets before him his own attitude towards the people, and the attitude of the people towards his further announcement. The first precedes the arrival of the messenger, who brought to the prophet and the exiles the tidings of the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (ver. 21). The second was uttered afterwards. The fall of the holy city formed a turning-point in the prophetic work of Ezekiel. Previous to this catastrophe, God had appointed him to be a watchman over Israel: to show the people their sins, and to proclaim the consequent punishment, namely, the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah, together with

the dispersion of the people among the heathen. But after the city had fallen, and the judgment predicted by him had taken place, the object to be aimed at was to inspire those who were desponding and despairing of salvation with confidence and consolation, by predicting the restoration of the fallen kingdom of God in a new and glorious form, to show them the way to new life, and to open the door for their entrance into the new kingdom of God. The two divisions of our chapter correspond to this, which was to be henceforth the task imposed upon the prophet. In the first (vers. 1–20), his calling to be the spiritual watchman over the house of Israel is renewed (vers. 2–9), with special instructions to announce to the people, who are inclined to despair under the burden of their sins, that the Lord has no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but will give life to him who turns from his iniquity (vers. 10–20). The kernel and central point of this word of God are found in the lamentation of the people: “Our transgressions and sins lie upon us, and we are pining away through them; how then can we live?” (ver. 10), together with the reply given by the Lord: “By my life, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked . . . turn ye, turn yourselves; why do ye wish to die?” (ver. 11). The way is prepared for this by vers. 2–9, whilst vers. 12–20 carry out this promise of God still further, and assign the reason for it.—The thoughts with which the promise of the Lord, thus presented as an antidote to despair, is introduced and explained are not new, however, but repetitions of earlier words of God. The preparatory introduction in vers. 2–9 is essentially a return to the word in ch. iii. 17–21, with which the Lord closes the prophet’s call by pointing out to him the duty and responsibility connected with his vocation. And the reason assigned in vers. 12–20, together with the divine promise in ver. 11, is taken from ch. xviii., where the prophet unfolds the working of the righteousness of God; and more precisely from vers. 20–32 of that chapter, where the thought is more fully expanded, that the judgments of God can be averted by repentance and con-

version. From all this it is indisputably evident that the first section of this chapter contains an introduction to the second half of the prophecies of Ezekiel; and this also explains the absence of any date at the head of the section, or the "remarkable" fact that the date (vers. 21 and 22) is not given till the middle of the chapter, where it stands between the first and second of the words of God contained therein.—The word of God in vers. 23 sqq. was no doubt addressed to the prophet after the fugitive had arrived with the tidings of the fall of Jerusalem; whereas the word by which the prophet was prepared for his further labours (vers. 1–20) preceded that event, and coincided in point of time with the working of God upon the prophet on the evening preceding the arrival of the fugitive, through which his mouth was opened for further *speaking* (ver. 22); and it is placed before this historical statement because it was a renewal of his call.¹

Vers. 1–20. *Calling of the Prophet for the Future.*

Vers. 1–9. The prophet's office of watchman.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, speak to the sons of thy people, and say to them, When I bring the sword upon a land, and the people of the land take a man from their company and set him for a watchman,* Ver. 3. *And he seeth the sword come upon the land, and bloweth the trumpet, and warneth the people;* Ver. 4. *If, then, one should hear the blast of the trumpet and not take warning, so that the sword*

¹ It is incomprehensible how Kliefoth could find "no sign of introductory thoughts" in this section, or could connect it with the preceding oracles against the foreign nations, for no other reason than to secure fourteen words of God for that portion of the book which contains the prophecies against the foreign nations. For there is no force in the other arguments which he adduces in support of this combination; and the assertion that "the section, ch. xxxiii. 1–20, speaks of threatenings and warnings, and of the faithfulness with which Ezekiel is to utter them, and of the manner in which Israel is to receive them," simply shows that he has neither correctly nor perfectly understood the contents of this section and its train of thought.

*should come and take him away, his blood would come upon his own head. Ver. 5. He heard the blast of the trumpet, and took not warning; his blood will come upon him: whereas, if he had taken warning, he would have delivered his soul. Ver. 6. But if the watchman seeth the sword come, and bloweth not the trumpet, and the people is not warned; and the sword should come and take away a soul from them, he is taken away through his guilt; but his blood will I demand from the watchman's hand. Ver. 7. Thou, then, son of man, I have set thee for the watchman to the house of Israel; thou shalt hear the word from my mouth, and warn them for me. Ver. 8. If I say to the sinner, Sinner, thou wilt die the death; and thou speakest not to warn the sinner from his way, he, the sinner, will die for his iniquity, and his blood I will demand from thy hand. Ver. 9. But if thou hast warned the sinner from his way, to turn from it, and he does not turn from his way, he will die for his iniquity; but thou hast delivered thy soul.—Vers. 7-9, with the exception of slight deviations which have little influence upon the sense, are repeated *verbatim* from ch. iii. 17-19. The repetition of the duty binding upon the prophet, and of the responsibility connected therewith, is introduced, however, in vers. 2-6, by an example taken from life, and made so plain that every one who heard the words must see that Ezekiel was obliged to call the attention of the people to the judgment awaiting them, and to warn them of the threatening danger, and that this obligation rested upon him still. In this respect the expansion, which is wanting in ch. iii., serves to connect the following prophecies of Ezekiel with the threats of judgment contained in the first part. The meaning of it is the following: As it is the duty of the appointed watchman of a land to announce to the people the approach of the enemy, and if he fail to do this he is deserving of death; so Ezekiel also, as the watchman of Israel appointed by God, not only is bound to warn the people of the approaching judgment, in order to fulfil his duty, but has already warned them of it, so that whoever has not taken warning has*

been overtaken by the sword because of his sin. As, the Ezekiel has only discharged his duty and obligation by doing, so has he the same duty still further to perform.—ver. 2 אֶרֶץ is placed at the head in an absolute form; אָבִיָּא וְנָוִי, “if I bring the sword upon a land,” is to be understood with this restriction: “so that the enemy is on the way and an attack may be expected” (Hitzig). מִקְצֵיהֶם, from the end of the people of the land, *i.e.* one taken from the whole body of the people, as in Gen. xlvii. 2 (see the comm. on Gen. xix. 4). Blowing the trumpet is a signal of alarm on the approach of an enemy (compare Amos iii. 6; Jer. iv. 4). נִהְיֶה in ver. 5b is a participle; on the other hand, both before and afterwards it is a perfect, pointed with *Kametz* on account of the tone. For vers. 7–9, see the exposition ch. iii. 17–19.

Vers. 10–20. As watchman over Israel, Ezekiel is to announce to those who are despairing of the mercy of God, that the Lord will preserve from destruction those who turn from their sins and lead them into life.—Ver. 10. *Thou then, son of man, say to the house of Israel, Ye rightly say, Our transgressions and our sins lie upon us, and in them we vanish away; how, then, can we live?* Ver. 11. *Say to them, As truly as I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner but when the sinner turneth from his way, he shall live. Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways! for why will ye die, O house of Israel?* Ver. 12. *And thou, son of man, say to the sons of the people, The righteousness of the righteous man will not deliver him in the day of his transgression, and the sinner will not flourish through his sin in the day that he turneth from his sin, and the righteous man will not be able to live thereby in the day that he sinneth.* Ver. 13. *If I say to the righteous man that he shall live, and he relies upon his righteousness and does wrong, all his righteousnesses will not be remembered; and for his wrong that he has done, he will die.* Ver. 14. *If I say to the sinner, Thou shalt die, and he turns from his sin, and does justice and righteous-*

ness, Ver. 15. *So that the wicked returns the pledge, restores what has been robbed, walks in the statutes of life without doing wrong, he will live, not die.* Ver. 16. *All his sins which he has committed shall not be remembered against him; he has done justice and righteousness, he will live.* Ver. 17. *And the sons of thy people say, The way of the Lord is not right; but they—their way is not right.* Ver. 18. *If the righteous man turneth from his righteousness and doeth wrong, he shall die thereby;* Ver. 19. *But if the wicked man turneth from his wickedness and doeth right and righteousness, he will live thereby.* Ver. 20. *And yet ye say, The way of the Lord is not right. I will judge you every one according to his ways, O house of Israel.*—In vers. 10 and 11 the prophet's calling for the future is set before him, inasmuch as God instructs him to announce to those who are in despair on account of their sins the gracious will of the Lord. The threat contained in the law (Lev. xxvi. 39), וְיָדַעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם, of which Ezekiel had repeatedly reminded the people with warning, and, last of all, when predicting the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (compare ch. iv. 17 and xxiv. 23), had pressed heavily upon their heart, when the threatened judgment took place, so that they quote the words, not “in self-defence,” as Hävernicks erroneously supposes, but in despair of any deliverance. Ezekiel is to meet this despair of little faith by the announcement that the Lord has no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but desires his conversion and his life. Ezekiel had already set this word of grace before the people in ch. xviii. 23, 32, accompanied with the summons to salvation for them to lay to heart: there, it was done to overthrow the delusion that the present generation had to atone for the sins of the fathers; but here, to lift up the hearts of those who were despairing of salvation; and for this reason it is accompanied with the asseveration (wanting in ch. xviii. 23 and 32): “as truly as I live, saith the Lord,” and with the urgent appeal to repent and turn. But in order to preclude the abuse of this word of consolation by making it a

ground of false confidence in their own righteousness, Ezekiel repeats in vers. 12-20 the principal thoughts contained in the announcement (ch. xviii. 20-32)—namely, first of all, in vers. 12-16, the thought that the righteousness of the righteous is of no avail to him if he gives himself up to the unrighteousness, and that the sinner will not perish on account of his sin if he turns from his wickedness and strives after righteousness (יִפְשֵׁל בָּרָא, ver. 12, as in Hos. v. 5, Jer. vi. 15; compare ch. xviii. 24, 25, and xxi., xxii.; and for vers. 14 and 15, more especially ch. xviii. 5 and 7); and then, secondly, in vers. 17-20, the reproof of those who find fault with the way of the Lord (compare ch. xviii. 25, 27, 29, 30).

Vers. 21 and 22. Tidings of the fall of Jerusalem, and the consequences with regard to the prophet.—Ver. 21. *And came to pass in the twelfth year, in the tenth (month), on the fifth of the month after our being taken captive, there came to me a fugitive from Jerusalem, and said, The city is smitten.* Ver. 22. *And the hand of Jehovah had come upon me in the evening before the arrival of the fugitive, and He opened my mouth till he came to me in the morning; and so was my mouth opened, and I was silent no more.*—In these verses the fulfilment of the promise made by God to the prophet in ch. xxi. 25-27, after the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem is recorded. The chronological datum, as to the precise time at which the messenger arrived with the account of the destruction of Jerusalem, serves to mark with precision the point of time at which the obstacle was removed, and the prophet was able to speak and prophesy without restraint.—The fact that the tidings of the destruction of Jerusalem, which took place in the fifth month of the eleventh year, are said to have only reached the exiles in the tenth month of the twelfth year—that is to say, nearly a year and a half after it occurred, do not warrant our following the Syriac, as Doederlein and Hitzig have done, calling in question the correctness of the text and substituting the eleventh year for the twelfth. With the di-

tance at which Ezekiel was living, namely, in northern Mesopotamia, and with the fearful confusion which followed the catastrophe, a year and a half might very easily pass by before a fugitive arrived with the information. But Hitzig's assertion, that Ezekiel would contradict himself, inasmuch as, according to ch. xxvi. 1, 2, he received intelligence of the affair in the eleventh year, is founded upon a misinterpretation of the passage quoted. It is not stated there that Ezekiel received this information through a fugitive or any man whatever, but simply that God had revealed to him the fall of Jerusalem even before it occurred. לְגִלְתִּינִי, after our being led away (ver. 21 and ch. xl. 1), coincides with לְגִלְתִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ יִזְכִּין in ch. i. 2. הַבְּתָה, smitten, i.e. conquered and destroyed, exterminated. In the clause וַיִּדְּ יְהוָה גּוֹ, the verb דָּ is a pluperfect, and אֵלֵי stands for עָלַי, according to the later usage. The formula indicates the translation of the prophet into an ecstatic state (see the comm. on ch. i. 3), in which his mouth was opened to speak, that is to say, the silence imposed upon him was taken away. The words, "till he came to me in the morning," etc., are not to be understood as signifying that the prophet's mouth had only been opened for the time from evening till morning; for this would be opposed to the following sentence. They simply affirm that the opening of the mouth took place before the arrival of the fugitive, the night before the morning of his arrival. וַיִּבְרָתָה פִּי, which follows, is an emphatic repetition, introduced as a link with which to connect the practically important statement that from that time forward he was not speechless any more.—It was in all probability shortly afterwards that Ezekiel was inspired with the word of God which follows in vers. 23–33, as we may infer from the contents of the word itself, which laid the foundation for the prophet's further prophesying. But nothing can be gathered from ver. 22 with regard to the time when this and the following words of God (as far as ch. xxxix.), of which no chronological data are given, were communicated to the prophet and uttered by him. His

being "silent no more" by no means involves immediate or continuous speaking, but simply recalls the command to be speechless. There is no ground for the assumption that all these words of God were communicated to him in one night (Hävernicks, Hengstenberg, and others), either in ver. 22 or in the contents of these divine revelations.

Vers. 23-33. *Preaching of Repentance after the Fall of Jerusalem.*

The first word of God, which Ezekiel received after the arrival of the fugitive with the intelligence of the destruction of Jerusalem, was not of a consolatory, but of a rebuking nature, and directed against those who, while boasting in an impenitent state of mind of the promise given to the patriarchs of the everlasting possession of the Holy Land, fancied that they could still remain in possession of the promised land even after the destruction of Jerusalem and of the kingdom of Judah. This delusion the prophet overthrows by the announcement that the unrighteous are to have no share in the possession of the land of Israel, but are to perish miserably, and that the land is to be utterly waste and without inhabitants (vers. 23-29). The Lord then shows him that his countrymen will indeed come to him and listen to his words, but will only do that which is pleasant to themselves; that they will still seek after gain, and not do his words; and that it will not be till after his words have been fulfilled that they will come to the knowledge of the fact that he really was a prophet (vers. 30-33). We perceive from these last verses that the threat uttered in vers. 24-29 was to form the basis for Ezekiel's further prophecies, so that the whole of this word of God has only the force of an introduction to his further labours. But however the two halves of this word of God may appear to differ, so far as their contents are concerned, they are nevertheless closely connected. The state of heart disclosed in the first half, with reference to the judgment that has already fallen upon the

land and kingdom, is to preclude the illusion, that the fact of the people's coming to the prophet to hear his words is a sign of penitential humiliation under the punishing hand of God, and to bring out the truth, that the salvation which he is about to foretell to the people is only to be enjoyed by those who turn with sincerity to the Lord.

Vers. 23-29. False reliance upon God's promises.—Ver. 23. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 24. *Son of man, the inhabitants of these ruins in the land of Israel speak thus: Abraham was one, and received the land for a possession; but we are many, the land is given to us for a possession.* Ver. 25. *Therefore say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Ye eat upon the blood, and lift up your eyes to your idols, and shed blood, and would ye possess the land?* Ver. 26. *Ye rely upon your sword, do abomination, and one defileth another's wife, and would ye possess the land?* Ver. 27. *Speak thus to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, By my life, those who are in the ruins shall fall by the sword, and whoever is in the open field him do I give to the beasts to devour, and those who are in the fortresses and caves shall die of the pestilence.* Ver. 28. *And I make the land devastation and waste, and its proud might shall have an end, and the mountains of Israel shall be waste, so that no one passeth through.* Ver. 29. *And they shall know that I am Jehovah, when I make the land devastation and waste because of all the abominations which they have done.*—This threat is directed against the people who remained behind in the land of Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem. **יֹשְׁבֵי הָהָרְבוֹת** are the Israelites who dwelt amidst the ruins of the Holy Land, the remnant of the people left behind in the land. For it is so evident as to need no proof that Kliefoth is wrong in asserting that by **הָהָרְבוֹת** we are to understand the district bordering on the Chaboras, which was not properly cultivated; and by the inhabitants thereof, the exiles who surrounded Ezekiel. It is only by confounding **אֲמִר** and **הָרְבִּיר** that Kliefoth is able to set aside the more precise definition of the inhabitants of these

ruins contained in the words *עַל אֲדָמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל*, and to connect 'ש' *עַל אֲדָ* with *אֲמָרִים*, "they speak concerning the land of Israel;" and in ver. 27 it is only in a forced manner that he can generalize *הַחֲרָבוֹת*, and take it as referring to the waste places both in the Holy Land and on the Chaboras. The fact, moreover, that vers. 30-33 treat of the Israelites by the Chaboras, is no proof whatever that they must also be referred to in vers. 24-29. For the relation in which the two halves of this word of God stand to one another is not that "vers. 30-33 depict the impression made upon the hearers by the words contained in vers. 24-29," so that "the persons alluded to in vers. 30-33 must necessarily be the hearers of vers. 24-29." Vers. 30-33 treat in quite a general manner of the attitude which the prophet's countrymen would assume towards his words—that is to say, not merely to his threats, but also to his predictions of salvation; they would only attend to that which had a pleasant sound to them, but they would not do his words (vers. 31, 32). It is quite in harmony with this, that in vers. 23-29 these people should be told of the state of heart of those who had remained behind on the ruins of the Holy Land, and that it should be announced to them that the fixed belief in the permanent possession of the Holy Land, on which those who remained behind in the land relied, was a delusion, and that those who were victims of this delusion should be destroyed by sword and pestilence. Just as in the first part of this book Ezekiel uttered the threatened prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah in the presence of his countrymen by the Chaboras, and addressed them to these because they stood in the same internal relation to the Lord as their brethren in Jerusalem and Judah; so here does he hold up this delusion before them as a warning, in order that he may disclose to them the worthlessness of such vain hope, and preach repentance and conversion as the only way to life. The meaning of the words spoken by these people, "Abraham was one," etc., is, that if Abraham, as one solitary individua

received the land of Canaan for a possession by the promise of God, the same God could not take this possession away from them, the many sons of Abraham. The antithesis of the "one" and the "many" derived its significance, in relation to their argument, from the descent of the many from the one, which is taken for granted, and also from the fact, which is assumed to be well known from the book of Genesis, that the land was not promised and given to the patriarch for his own possession, but for his seed or descendants to possess. They relied, like the Jews of the time of Christ (John viii. 33, 39), upon their corporeal descent from Abraham (compare the similar words in ch. xi. 15). Ezekiel, on the other hand, simply reminds them of their own sinful conduct (vers. 25, 26), for the purpose of showing them that they have thereby incurred the loss of this possession. Eating upon the blood, is eating flesh in which the blood is still lying, which has not been cleansed from blood, as in Lev. xix. 26 and 1 Sam. xiv. 32, 33; an act the prohibition of which was first addressed to Noah (Gen. ix. 4), and is repeatedly urged in the law (cf. Lev. vii. 26, 27). This is also the case with the prohibition of idolatry, lifting up the eyes to idols (cf. ch. xviii. 6), and the shedding of blood (cf. ch. xviii. 10, xxii. 3, etc.). עָמַר עַל חַרְבּוֹ, to support oneself, or rely (עָמַר, used as in ch. xxxi. 14) upon the sword, *i.e.* to put confidence in violence and bloodshed. In this connection we are not to think of the use of the sword in war. To work abomination, as in ch. xviii. 12. עֲשִׂיתָּ is not a feminine, "ye women," but י is written in the place of ם on account of the ך which follows, after the analogy of פָּרִיזוֹן for פָּרִיזוֹם (Hitzig). On the defiling of a neighbour's wife, see the comm. on ch. xviii. 6. Such daring sinners the Lord would destroy wherever they might be. In ver. 37 the punishment is individualized (cf. ch. xiv. 21). Those in the חֲרִבוֹת shall fall by the חֶרֶב (the play upon the word is very obvious); those in the open country shall perish by wild beasts (compare 2 Kings xvii. 25; Ex. xxiii. 19; Lev. xxvi. 22); those who are in mountain fastnesses and caves,

where they are safe from the sword and ravenous beasts, shall perish by plague and pestilence. This threat is not to be restricted to the acts of the Chaldeans in the land after the destruction of Jerusalem, but applies to all succeeding times. Even the devastation and utter depopulation of the land, threatened in ver. 28, are not to be taken as referring merely to the time of the Babylonian captivity, but embrace the devastation which accompanied and followed the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. For *וְהָיָה כִּי יִשָּׁאֵל*, see the comm. on ch. vii. 24. For ver. 29, compare ch. vi. 14.

Vers. 30–33. Behaviour of the people towards the prophet.—
 Ver. 30. *And thou, son of man, the sons of thy people converse about thee by the walls and in the house-doors; one talketh to another, every one to his brother, saying, Come and let us hear what kind of word goeth out from Jehovah.* Ver. 31. *And they will come to thee, like an assembly of the people, and sit before thee as my people, and will hear thy words, but not do them; but that which is pleasant in their mouth they do; their heart goeth after their gain.* Ver. 32. *And, behold, thou art unto them like a pleasant singer, beautiful in voice and playing well; they will hear thy words, but they will not do them.* Ver. 33. *But when it cometh—behold, it cometh—they will know that a prophet was in the midst of them.*—This addition to the preceding word of God, which is addressed to Ezekiel personally, applies to the whole of the second half of his ministry, and stands in obvious connection with the instructions given to the prophet on the occasion of his first call (ch. iii. 16 sqq.), and repeated, so far as their substance is concerned, in vers. 7–9, as Kliefoth himself acknowledges, in opposition to his assumption that vers. 1–20 of this chapter belong to the prophecies directed against the foreign nations. As God had directed the prophet's attention, on the occasion of his call, to the difficulties connected with the discharge of the duties of a watchman with which he was entrusted, by setting before him the object and the responsibility of his vocation, and had warned him not to allow himself

to be turned aside by the opposition of the people; so here in vers. 30-33, at the commencement of the second section of his ministry, another word is addressed to him personally, in order that he may not be influenced in the further prosecution of his calling by either the pleasure or displeasure of men.—His former utterances had already induced the elders of the people to come to him to hear the word of God (cf. ch. xiv. 1 and xx. 1). But now that his prophecies concerning Jerusalem had been fulfilled, the exiles could not fail to be still more attentive to his words, so that they talked of him both secretly and openly, and encouraged one another to come and listen to his discourses. God foretells this to him, but announces to him at the same time that this disposition on the part of his countrymen to listen to him is even now no sign of genuine conversion to the word of God, in order that he may not be mistaken in his expectations concerning the people. Kliefoth has thus correctly explained the contents, design, and connection of these verses as a whole. In ver. 30 the article before the participle **נִדְבָרִים** takes the place of the relative **אֲשֶׁר**, and the words are in apposition to **בְּנֵי עַמְּךָ**, the sons of thy people who converse about thee. **נִדְבָר** is reciprocal, as in Mal. iii. 13, 16, and Ps. cxix. 23. But **ב** is to be understood, not in a hostile sense, as in the passage cited from the Psalms, but in the sense of concerning, like **דְּבַר ב** in 1 Sam. xix. 3 as contrasted with **דְּבַר ב** in Num. xxi. 7, to speak against a person. The participle is continued by the finite **וְדָבַר**, and the verb belonging to **בְּנֵי עַמְּךָ** follows, in the **וַיְבֹא** of ver. 31, in the form of an apodosis. There is something monstrous in Hitzig's assumption, that the whole passage from ver. 30 to ver. 33 forms but one clause, and that the predicate to **בְּנֵי עַמְּךָ** does not occur till the **וַיֵּרָשֶׁה** of ver. 33.—**אֶצֶל הַקִּירוֹת**, by the side of the walls, *i.e.* sitting against the walls, equivalent to secretly; and in the doors of the houses, in other words publicly, one neighbour conversing with another. **וְהָרַח**, Aramean for **אֶחָד**, and **אִישׁ** by the side of **אֶחָד**, every one; not merely one here or there, but every man to his neighbour.

בְּמִבְּוֹאֵם, lit. as the coming of a people, *i.e.* as when a crowd of men flock together in crowds or troops. עָמִי is a predicate, as my people, *i.e.* as if they wished, like my people, to hear my word from thee. But they do not think of doing thy words, *i.e.* what thou dost announce to them as my word. עֲנָנִים are things for which one cherishes an eager desire, pleasant things in their mouth, *i.e.* according to their taste (cf. Gen. xxv. 28). Hävernicks is wrong in taking עֲנָנִים to mean illicit love. The word בְּפִיהֶם is quite inapplicable to such a meaning. The rendering, they do it with their mouth, is opposed both to the construction and the sense. בְּצַעֲמָם, their gain, the source from which they promise themselves advantage or gain. In ver. 32 a clearer explanation is given of the reason why they come to the prophet, notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish to do his words. "Thou art to them כְּשִׁיר עֲנָנִים;" this cannot mean like a pleasant song, but, as כְּמִטָּב נֶאֱמָר (one who can play well) clearly shows, like a singer of pleasant songs. The abstract שִׁיר stands for the concrete שָׂר, a singer, a man of song (Hitzig). In ver. 32b, "they hear thy words, but do them not," is repeated with emphasis, for the purpose of attaching the threat in ver. 33. But when it cometh,—namely, what thou sayest, or prophesiest,—behold, it cometh, *i.e.* it will come as surely as thy prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem; then will they know that a prophet was among them (cf. ch. ii. 5), that is to say, that he proclaimed God's word to them. Therefore Ezekiel is not to be prevented, by the misuse which will be made of his words, from preaching the truth.—This conclusion of the word of God, which points back to ch. ii. 5, also shows that it forms the introduction to the prophecies which follow.

CHAP. XXXIV.—XXXIX.—THE RESTORATION OF ISRAEL,
AND DESTRUCTION OF GOG AND MAGOG.

The promise of the salvation, which is to blossom for the covenant nation after the judgment, commences with the announcement that the Lord will deliver Israel out of the hand of its evil shepherds, who only feed themselves and destroy the flock, and will take care of His own flock, gather them together, feed and tend them on a good meadow, protect the weak sheep against the strong, and through His servant David bring security and blessing to the whole of the flock (ch. xxxiv.). This comprehensive promise is carried out still further in the following chapters in various phases. Because Edom cherishes perpetual enmity against the sons of Israel, and has sought to take possession of their land, in which Jehovah was, the mountains of Seir shall become a perpetual desert (ch. xxxv.); whereas the devastated land of Israel shall be rebuilt, and sown once more, bear fruit, and be filled with man and beast (ch. xxxvi. 1–15). The Lord will do this for His holy name's sake, will cleanse His people from their sins, when gathered out of the nations, by sprinkling them with pure water, and renew them by His Spirit in heart and mind, that they may walk in His commandments, and multiply greatly in their land, when it has been glorified into a garden of God (ch. xxxvi. 16–38). The house of Israel, which has been slain with the sword, and has become like a field full of dry bones of the dead, the Lord will awaken to new life, and bring in peace into the land of Israel (ch. xxxvii. 1–14); the two divided peoples and kingdoms of Israel He will unite into one people and kingdom, will liberate them from their sins, cause them to dwell in the land given to His servant Jacob under the sovereignty of His servant David, will make with them a covenant of peace for ever, and dwell above them as their God for ever in the sanctuary, which He will establish in the midst of them (ch. xxxvii. 15–28). And, finally, in the last time, when Israel

is dwelling in its own land in security and peace, the Lord will bring Gog from the land of Magog, the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal, with a powerful army of numerous peoples, into the land that has been restored from the sword; but when he has come to plunder and prey, the Lord will destroy him with all his army, and by this judgment display His glory among the nations, and so have compassion upon the whole house of Israel, and because He has poured out His Spirit upon it, will hide His face from it no more (ch. xxxviii. and xxxix.).—From this general survey it is evident that the words of God contained in ch. xxxiv.—xxxvii. announce the restoration and exaltation of Israel to be the sanctified people of God, and ch. xxxviii. and xxxix. the lasting establishment of this salvation, through the extermination of those enemies who rise up against the restored people of God.

CHAP. XXXIV. DEPOSITION OF THE BAD SHEPHERDS; COLLECTING AND TENDING OF THE FLOCK; AND APPOINTMENT OF THE ONE GOOD SHEPHERD.

The shepherds, who have fed themselves and neglected the flock, so that it has been scattered and has become a prey to wild beasts, will be deprived by the Lord of their office of shepherd (vers. 1–10). And He will take charge of His own flock, gather it together from its dispersion in the lands, feed and tend it on good pasture in the land of Israel, and sift it by the extermination of the fat and violent ones (vers. 11–22). He will appoint His servant David shepherd over His flock, make a covenant of peace with His people, and bless the land with fruitfulness, so that Israel may dwell there in security, and no more be carried off either as booty for the nations or by famine, and may acknowledge Jehovah as its God (vers. 23–31).

This word of God is a repetition and further expansion of the short prophecy of Jeremiah in Jer. xxiii. 1–8. The threat against the bad shepherds simply forms the foil for the promise,

that the flock, which has been plunged into misery by bad shepherds, shall be gathered and tended by the Lord and His servant David, whom Jehovah will appoint prince over His people, so that it is essentially a prophecy of salvation for Israel. — The question in dispute among the commentators, whether we are to understand by the shepherds, out of whose hand and tyranny the Lord will rescue Israel His flock, the priests and kings (Ephr., Syr., and Theodoret), or the false prophets and false teachers of the people (Glass and others), or simply the kings (Hengst., Häv., and others), or all those who, by reason of their office, were leaders of the people, rulers, priests, and prophets, “the whole body of official persons charged with the direction of the nation” (Kliefoth), may be settled by the simple conclusion, that only the rulers of the nation are intended. This is proved not only by the biblical idea of the shepherd generally, which (probably in distinction from the idea of the bell-wether) is everywhere employed to denote rulers alone, but more particularly by the primary passage already referred to (Jer. xxiii. 1–8), where we are to understand by the shepherds, kings and princes, to the exclusion of priests and prophets, against whom Jeremiah first prophesies from ver. 9 onwards; and, lastly, by the antithesis to the good shepherd, David, who is to feed the flock of Jehovah as prince (מֶלֶךְ), and not as priest or prophet (vers. 23, 24). Only we must not take the term rulers as applying to the kings alone, but must understand thereby all the persons entrusted with the government of the nation, or the whole body of the civil authorities of Israel, among whom priests and prophets come into consideration, not on account of their spiritual calling and rank, but only so far as they held magisterial offices. And apart from other grounds, we are not warranted in restricting the idea of shepherds to the kings alone; for the simple reason that our prophecy, which dates from the time succeeding the destruction of Jerusalem, does not apply to the former rulers only, *i.e.* the kings who had

fallen along with the kingdom of Judah, but although treating of shepherds, who had scattered Israel among the nations, assumes that the rule of these shepherds is still continuing, and announces their removal, or the deliverance of the flock out of their hand, as something to be effected in the future (cf. vers. 8–10); so that it also refers to the civil rulers who governed Israel after the overthrow of the monarchy, and even after the captivity until the coming of the Messiah, the promised Prince of David.

Vers. 1–10. Woe to the bad shepherds.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, prophesy concerning the shepherds of Israel; prophesy, and say to them, to the shepherds, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Woe to the shepherds of Israel, who fed themselves; should not the shepherds feed the flock? Ver. 3. Ye eat the fat, and clothe yourselves with the wool; ye slay the fattened; the flock ye do not feed. Ver. 4. The weak ones ye do not strengthen, and that which is sick ye do not cure, the wounded one ye bind not up, the scattered ye bring not back, and the lost one ye do not seek; and ye rule over them with violence and with severity. Ver. 5. Therefore they were scattered, because without shepherd, and became food to all the beasts of the field, and were scattered. Ver. 6. My sheep wander about on all the mountains, and on every high hill; and over all the land have my sheep been scattered, and there is no one who asks for them, and no one who seeks them. Ver. 7. Therefore, ye shepherds, hear ye the word of Jehovah: Ver. 8. As I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, because my sheep become a prey, and my sheep become food to all the beasts of the field, because there is no shepherd, and my shepherds do not inquire after my sheep, and the shepherds feed themselves, but do not feed the sheep, Ver. 9. Therefore, ye shepherds, hear ye the word of Jehovah, Ver. 10. Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with the shepherds, and will demand my sheep from their hand, and cause them to cease to feed my flock, that they may feed themselves no more; and I will deliver my sheep from*

their mouth, that they may be food to them no more.—In ver. 2 לְרַעִים is an explanatory apposition to אֱלֵיהֶם, and is not to be taken in connection with בִּה אָמַר יי, in opposition to the constant use of this formula, as Kliefoth maintains. The reason for the woe pronounced is given in the apposition, who fed themselves, whereas they ought to have fed the flock; and the charge that they only care for themselves is still further explained by a description of their conduct (vers. 3 and 4), and of the dispersion of the flock occasioned thereby (vers. 5 and 6). Observe the periphrastic preterite הָיִי רַעִים, they were feeding, which shows that the woe had relation chiefly to the former shepherds or rulers of the nation. אִוְתָם is reflective, *se ipsos* (cf. Gesen § 124. 1b). The disgracefulness of their feeding themselves is brought out by the question, “Ought not the shepherds to feed the flock?” Ver. 3 shows how they fed themselves, and ver. 4 how they neglected the flock. חֶלֶב, the fat, which Bochart and Hitzig propose to alter into חֶחֱלָב, the milk, after the Septuagint and Vulgate, is not open to any objection. The fat, as the best portion of the flesh, which was laid upon the altar, for example, in the case of the sacrifices, as being the flower of all the flesh, is mentioned here as *pars melior pro toto*. Hävernicks has very properly pointed, in vindication of the reading in the text, to Zech. xi. 16, where the two clauses, ye eat the fat, and slay the fattened, are joined together in the one clause, “the flesh of the fattened one will he eat.” There is no force in the objection raised by Hitzig, that “the slaughtering of the fat beasts, which ought to be mentioned first, is not introduced till afterwards;” for this clause contains a heightening of the thought that they use the flock to feed themselves: they do not even kill the leaner beasts, but those that are well fattened; and it follows very suitably after the general statement, that they make use of both the flesh and the wool of the sheep for their own advantage. They care nothing for the wellbeing of the flock: this is stated in the last clause of ver. 3, which is explained in detail in ver. 4. נִחְלִית is the *Niphal* participle of

חֲלָה, and is a contracted form of נַחֲלֹת, like נַחֲלָה in Isa. xvii. 11. The distinction between נַחֲלֹת and חֲלָה is determined by the respective predicates חֲזַק and רָפָא. According to these נַחֲלָה signifies that which is weak in consequence of sickness and חֲלָה that which is weak in itself. נִשְׁבָּרָה, literally, that which is broken, an animal with a leg or some other member injured. נָדָה, scattered, as in Deut. xxii. 1. In the last clause of ver. 4, the neglect of the flock is summed up in the positive expression, to rule over them with violence and severity. רָדָה בְּפֶרֶךְ is taken from Lev. xxv. 43, 46; but there as well as here it points back to Ex. i. 13, 14, where בְּפֶרֶךְ is applied to the tyrannical measures adopted by Pharaoh for the oppression of the Israelites. The result of this (vers. 5, 6) was, that the sheep were scattered, and became food to the beasts of prey. אֲכָלֵי רֵעִה, on account of there not being a shepherd, *i.e.* because there was no shepherd worthy of the name. This took place when Israel was carried away into exile, where it became a prey to the heathen nations. When we find this mournful fate of the people described as brought about by the bad shepherds, and attributable to faults of theirs, we must not regard the words as applying merely to the mistaken policy of the kings with regard to external affairs (Hitzig); for this was in itself simply a consequence of their neglect of their theocratic calling, and of their falling away from the Lord into idolatry. It is true that the people had also made themselves guilty of this sin, so that it was obliged to atone not only for the sins of its shepherds, but for its own sin also; but this is passed by here, in accordance with the design of this prophecy. And it could very properly be kept out of sight, inasmuch as the rulers had also occasioned the idolatry of the people, partly by their neglect of their duty and partly by their bad example. וְהִפְרִצִינָהּ is repeated with emphasis at the close of ver. 5; and the thought is still further expanded in ver. 6. The wandering upon all the mountains and hills must not be understood as signifying the straying of the people to the worship on high places, as Theodoret and

Kliefoth suppose. The fallacy of this explanation is clearly shown by the passage on which this figurative description rests (1 Kings xxii. 17), where the people are represented as scattered upon the mountains in consequence of the fall of the king in battle, like a flock that had no shepherd. The words in the next clause, corresponding to the mountains and hills, are *בְּלִפְנֵי הָאָרֶץ*, the whole face of the land, not "of the earth" (Kliefoth). For although the dispersion of the flock actually consisted in the carrying away of the people into heathen lands, the actual meaning of the figure is kept in the background here, as is evident from the fact that Ezekiel constantly uses the expression *הָאֲרָצוֹת* (plural) when speaking of the dispersion among the heathen (cf. ver. 13). The distinction between *רָשׁ* and *בָּקַשׁ* is, that *רָשׁ* signifies rather to ask, inquire for a thing, to trouble oneself about it, whereas *בָּקַשׁ* means to seek for that which has strayed or is lost. In vers. 7-10, the punishment for their unfaithfulness is announced to the shepherds themselves; but at the same time, as is constantly the case with Ezekiel, their guilt is once more recapitulated as an explanation of the threatening of punishment, and the earnest appeal to listen is repeated in ver. 9. The Lord will demand His sheep of them; and because sheep have been lost through their fault, He will depose them from the office of shepherd, and so deliver the poor flock from their violence. If we compare with this Jer. xxiii. 2: "Behold, I will visit upon you the wickedness of your doings," the threat in Ezekiel has a much milder sound. There is nothing said about the punishment of the shepherd, but simply that the task of keeping the sheep shall be taken from them, so that they shall feed themselves no more. This distinction is to be explained from the design of our prophecy, which is not so much to foretell the punishment of the shepherds, as the deliverance from destruction of the sheep that have been plunged into misery. The repetition of *צֹאֲנִי*, my flock (vers. 8 and 10, as before in ver. 6), is also connected with this. The rescue of the sheep out of the hand of the bad

shepherds had already commenced with the overthrow of the monarchy on the destruction of Jerusalem. If, then, it is here described as only to take place in the future, justice is not done to these words by explaining them, as Hitzig does, as signifying that what has already actually taken place is now to be made final, and not to be reversed. For although this is implied, the words clearly affirm that the deliverance of the sheep out of the hand of the shepherds has not yet taken place, but still remains to be effected, so that the people are regarded as being at the time in the power of bad shepherds, and their rescue is predicted as still in the future. How and when it will be accomplished, by the removal of the bad shepherds, is shown in the announcement, commencing with ver. 11, of what the Lord will do for His flock.

Vers. 11-22. Jehovah Himself will seek His flock, gather it together from the dispersion, lead it to good pasture, and sift it by the destruction of the bad sheep.—Ver. 11. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I myself, I will inquire after my flock, and take charge thereof.* Ver. 12. *As a shepherd taketh charge of his flock in the day when he is in the midst of his scattered sheep, so will I take charge of my flock, and deliver them out of all the places whither they have been scattered in the day of cloud and cloudy night.* Ver. 13. *And I will bring them out from the nations, and gather them together out of the lands, and bring them into their land, and feed them upon the mountains of Israel, in the valleys, and in all the dwelling-places of the land.* Ver. 14. *I will feed them in a good pasture, and on the high mountains of Israel will their pasture-ground be : there shall they lie down in a good pasture-ground, and have fat pasture on the mountains of Israel.* Ver. 15. *I will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 16. *That which is lost will I seek, and that which is driven away will I bring back ; that which is wounded will I bind up, and that which is sick will I strengthen : but that which is fat and strong will I destroy, and feed them according to justice.*

Ver. 17. *And you, my sheep, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will judge between sheep and sheep, and the rams and the he-goats.* Ver. 18. *Is it too little for you, that ye eat up the good pasture, and what remains of your pasture ye tread down with your feet? and the clear water ye drink, and render muddy what remains with your feet?* Ver. 19. *And are my sheep to have for food that which is trodden down by your feet, and to drink that which is made muddy by your feet?* Ver. 20. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah to them, Behold I, I will judge between fat sheep and lean.* Ver. 21. *Because ye press with side and shoulder, and thrust all the weak with your horns, till ye have driven them out;* Ver. 22. *I will help my sheep, so that they shall no more become a prey; and will judge between sheep and sheep.*—All that the Lord will do for His flock is summed up in ver. 11, in the words *דַּרְשָׁתִי אֶת-צֹאֲנֵי יִבְקָרְתִּים*, which stand in obvious antithesis to *וְאֵין דֹּרֶשׁ וְגו'* in ver. 6,—an antithesis sharply accentuated by the emphatic *הִנְנִי אֲנִי*, which stands at the head in an absolute form. The fuller explanation is given in the verses which follow, from ver. 12 onwards. Observe here that *יִבְקַר* is substituted for *בִּקֵּשׁ*. *יִבְקַר*, to seek and examine minutely, involves the idea of taking affectionate charge. What the Lord does for His people is compared in ver. 12a to the care which a shepherd who deserves the name manifests towards sheep when they are scattered (*נִפְרָשׁוֹת* without the article is connected with *צֹאֲנֵי* in the form of apposition); and in ver. 12b it is still more particularly explained. In the first place, He will gather them from all the places to which they have been scattered. *הִצִּיל* implies that in their dispersion they have fallen into a state of oppression and bondage among the nations (cf. Ex. vi. 6). *בְּיוֹם עֲנֵן וְעֶרְפָּל* belongs to the relative clause: whither they have been scattered. The circumstance that these words are taken from Joel ii. 2 does not compel us to take them in connection with the principal clause, as Hitzig and Kliefoth propose, and to understand them as relating to the time when God will hold His judgment of the heathen world. The

notion that the words in Joel signify "God's day of judgment upon all the heathen" (Kliefoth), is quite erroneous; and even Hitzig does not derive this meaning from Joel ii. 2, but from the combination of our verse with Ezek. xxx. 3 and xxix. 21. The deliverance of the sheep out of the places to which they have been scattered, consists in the gathering together of Israel out of the nations, and their restoration to their own land, and their feeding upon the mountains and all the dwelling-places of the land (מוֹשָׁב, a place suitable for settlement), and that in good and fat pasture (ver. 14); and lastly, in the fact that Jehovah bestows the necessary care upon the sheep, strengthens and heals the weak and sick (vers. 15 and 16),—that is to say, does just what the bad shepherds have omitted (ver. 4),—and destroys the fat and strong. In this last clause another side is shown of the pastoral fidelity of Jehovah. אֶשְׂמֹר has been changed by the LXX., Syr., and Vulg. into אֶשְׂמֹר, φυλάξω; and Luther has followed them in his rendering, "I will watch over them." But this is evidently a mistake, as it fails to harmonize with אֶרְעֶנָּה בְּמִשְׁפָּט. The fat and strong sheep are characterized in vers. 18 and 19 as those which spoil the food and water of the others. The allusion, therefore, is to the rich and strong ones of the nation, who oppress the humble and poor, and treat them with severity. The destruction of these oppressors shows that the loving care of the Lord is associated with righteousness—that He feeds the flock בְּמִשְׁפָּט. This thought is carried out still further in vers. 17–21, the sheep themselves being directly addressed, and the Lord assuring them that He will judge between sheep and sheep, and put an end to the oppressive conduct of the fat sheep and the strong. לִשָּׁהּ בֵּין שֵׁה לְשָׁה: between the one sheep and the other. לִשָּׁהּ is extended in the apposition, "the rams and he-goats," which must not be rendered, "with regard to the rams and he-goats," as it has been by Kliefoth. The thought is not that Jehovah will divide the rams and he-goats from the sheep, as some have explained it, from an inappropriate comparison with Matt.

xxv. 32; but the division is to be effected in such a manner that sheep will be separated from sheep, the fat sheep being placed on one side with the rams and he-goats, and kept apart from the lean (רָחֵה, ver. 20) and the sickly sheep (נַחֲלוֹחַ, ver. 21). It is to the last-named sheep, rams, and he-goats that vers. 18 and 19 are addressed. With regard to the charge brought against them, that they eat up the pasture and tread down the remainder with their feet, etc., Bochart has already correctly observed, that "if the words are not quite applicable to actual sheep, they are perfectly appropriate to the mystical sheep intended here, *i.e.* to the Israelites, among whom many of the rich, after enjoying an abundant harvest and vintage, grudged the poor their gleaning in either one or the other." מִשְׁקַע, a substantive formation, like מִרְמָס, literally, precipitation of the water, *i.e.* the water purified by precipitation; for שָׁקַע, to sink, is the opposite of רָפַשׁ, to stir up or render muddy by treading with the feet (compare ch. xxxii. 14 and 2). בָּרִיָּה, ver. 20 = בְּרָאָה or בְּרִיָּה. Ver. 22 brings to a close the description of the manner in which God will deliver His flock, and feed it with righteousness. הוֹשִׁיעָהּ points back to הוֹצֵאתִי in ver. 12, and אֶרְעֶנָּה בְּמִשְׁפָּט to וְאֶשְׁפָּטִי in ver. 16.—To this there is appended in vers. 23 sqq. a new train of thought, describing how God will still further display to His people His pastoral fidelity.

Vers. 23-31. Appointment of David as shepherd, and blessing of the people.—Ver. 23. *And I will raise up one shepherd over them, who shall feed them, my servant David; he will feed them, and he will be to them a shepherd.* Ver. 24. *And I, Jehovah, will be God to them, and my servant David prince in the midst of them: I, Jehovah, have spoken it.* Ver. 25. *And I will make a covenant of peace with them, and destroy the evil beasts out of the land, so that they will dwell safely in the desert and sleep in the forests.* Ver. 26. *And I will make them and the places round my hill a blessing, and cause the rain to fall in its season: showers of blessing shall there be.* Ver. 27. *The tree of the field will give its fruit, and the land will give its produce, and*

they will be safe in their land, and will know that I am Jehovah, when I break their yoke-bars in pieces, and deliver them out of the hand of those who made them servants. Ver. 28. They will be no more a prey to the nations, and the wild beasts will not devour them; but they will dwell safely, and no one will terrify them. Ver. 29. And I will raise up for them a plantation for a name, so that they will no more be swept away by famine in the land, and shall no longer bear the disgrace of the heathen nations. Ver. 30. And they shall know that I, Jehovah, their God, am with them, and they are my people, the house of Israel, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 31. And ye are my sheep, the flock of my pasture; ye are men, I am your God, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—God will cause to stand up, raise up, one single shepherd over His flock. *הִקְיָם*, the standing expression for the rising up of a person in history through the interposition of God (cf. Deut. xviii. 15, 2 Sam. vii. 12, and other passages). *רֹעֶה אֶחָד*, not *unicus, singularis*, a shepherd unique in his kind, but *one* shepherd, in contrast not only with the many bad shepherds, but with the former division of the people into two kingdoms, each with its own separate king. Compare ch. xxxvii. 24 with Jer. xxiii. 6, where it is expressly said that the David to be raised up is to feed Israel and Judah, the two peoples that had been divided before. “My servant David:” Jehovah calls him *עַבְדִּי*, not merely with reference to the obedience rendered (*Hävernick*), but also with regard to his election (Isa. xlii. 1; Hengstenberg). There is no necessity to refute the assertion of Hitzig, David Strauss, and others, that Ezekiel expected the former King David to be raised from the dead. The reference is to the sprout of David (Jer. xxiii. 5), already called simply David in Hos. iii. 5 and Jer. xxx. 9. In ver. 24 the relation of Jehovah to this David is more precisely defined: Jehovah will then be God to His people, and David be prince in the midst of them. The last words point back to 2 Sam. vii. 8b. Through the government of David, Jehovah will become in

truth God of His people Israel; for David will feed the people in perfect unity with Jehovah,—will merely carry out the will of Jehovah, and not place himself in opposition to God, like the bad shepherds, because, as is therewith presupposed, he is connected with God by unity of nature.—In vers. 25 sqq. the thought is carried out still further,—how God will become God to His people, and prove Himself to be its covenant God through the pastoral fidelity of the future David. God will fully accomplish the covenant mercies promised to Israel. The making of the covenant of peace need not be restricted, in accordance with Hos. ii. 20 (18), to a covenant which God would make with the beasts in favour of His people. The thought is a more comprehensive one here, and, according to Lev. xxvi. 4-6, the passage which Ezekiel had in his mind involves all the salvation which God had included in His promises to His people: viz. (1) the extermination of everything that could injure Israel, of all the wild beasts, so that they would be able to sleep securely in the deserts and the forests (ver. 25; compare Lev. xxvi. 6); (2) the pouring out of an abundant rain, so that the field and land would yield rich produce (vers. 26, 27; cf. Lev. xxvi. 4, 5). “I make them, the Israelites, and the surroundings of my hill, a blessing.” **בְּרֵכָה**, the hill of Jehovah, is, according to Isa. xxxi. 4, Mount Zion, the temple-mountain, including the city of Jerusalem. The surroundings of this hill are the land of Israel, that lay around it. But Zion, with the land around, is not mentioned in the place of the inhabitants; and still less are we to understand by the surroundings of the hill the heathen nations, as Hengstenberg does, in opposition both to the context and the usage of the language. The thought is simply that the Lord will make both the people and the land a blessing (Hävernicks, Kliefoth). **בְּרֵכָה**, a blessing, is stronger than “blessed” (cf. Gen. xii. 2). The blessing is brought by the rain in its season, which fertilizes the earth. This will take place when the Lord breaks the yokes laid upon His people. These words are from Lev.

xxvi. 13, where they refer to the deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt; and they are transferred by Ezekiel to the future redemption of Israel from the bondage of the heathen. For עֲבָרִים בְּהֶם, compare Ex. i. 14. This thought is carried out still further in ver. 28; and then, in ver. 29, all that has been said is summed up in the thoughts, "I raise up for them a plantation for a name," etc. מִצֵּעַ, a plantation, as in ch. xvii. 7; not a land for planting (Hitzig). לְשֵׁם, for a name, i.e. not for the glory of God (De Wette); but the plantation, which the Lord will cause to grow by pouring down showers of blessing (ver. 26), is to bring renown to the Israelites, namely, among the heathen, who will see from this that Israel is a people blessed by its God. This explanation of the words is supplied by the following clause: they shall no more be swept away by famine in the land, and no more hear the disgrace of the heathen, i.e. the disgrace which the heathen heaped upon Israel when in distress (compare Zeph. iii. 19; Jer. xiii. 11; and the primary passage, Deut. xxvi. 29). From this blessing they will learn that Jehovah their God is with them, and Israel is His people. The promise concludes in ver. 31 with these words, which set a seal upon the whole: "Ye are my flock, the flock of my pasture (lit. my pasture-flock; צֹאן מִרְעִית, Jer. xxiii. 1, the flock fed by God Himself); men are ye, I am your God." That these last words do not serve merely as an explanation of the figurative expression "flock," is a fact of which no proof is needed. The figure of a flock was intelligible to every one. The words "call attention to the depth and greatness of the divine condescension, and meet the objection of men of weak faith, that man, who is taken from the earth הָאָדָמָה, and returns to it again, is incapable of so intimate a connection with God" (Hengstenberg).

If we take another survey, in conclusion, of the contents of our prophecy, the following are the three features of the salvation promised to the people of Israel:—(1) The Lord will liberate His people from the hand of the bad shepherds, and

He Himself will feed it as His flock; (2) He will gather it together from its dispersion, bring it back to the land of Israel and feed it there, will take charge of the sheep in need of help, and destroy the fat and strong sheep by which the weak ones are oppressed; (3) He will raise up the future David for a shepherd, and under his care He will bestow upon His people the promised covenant blessings in richest measure. These saving acts of God for His people, however, are not depicted according to their several details and historical peculiarities, as Kliefoth has correctly observed, nor are they narrated in the chronological order in which they would follow one another in history; but they are grouped together according to their general design and character, and their essential features. If, then, we seek for the fulfilment, the Lord raised up His servant David as a shepherd to Israel, by sending Jesus Christ, who came to seek and to save that which was lost (Luke xix. 10; Matt. xviii. 11), and who calls Himself the Good Shepherd with obvious reference to this and other prophetic declarations of a similar kind (John x. 11 sqq.). But the sending of Christ was preceded by the gathering of Israel out of the Babylonian exile, by which God had already taken charge of His flock. Yet, inasmuch as only a small portion of Israel received the Messiah, who appeared in Jesus, as its shepherd, there fell upon the unbelieving Israel a new judgment of dispersion among all nations, which continues still, so that a gathering together still awaits the people of Israel at some future time. No distinction is made in the prophecy before us between these two judgments of dispersion, which are associated with the twofold gathering of Israel; but they are grouped together as one, so that although their fulfilment commenced with the deliverance of Israel from the Babylonian captivity and the coming of Jesus Christ as the Good Shepherd of the family of David, it was only realized in that portion of Israel, numerically the smallest portion, which was willing to be gathered and fed by Jesus Christ, and the full realization will only be effected

when that conversion of Israel shall take place, which the Apostle Paul foretells in Rom. xi. 25 sqq.—For further remarks on the ultimate fulfilment, we refer the reader to a later page.

CHAP. XXXV. 1—XXXVI. 15. DEVASTATION OF EDMO, AND
RESTORATION OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL.

The two sections, ch. xxxv. 1–15 and ch. xxxvi. 1–15, form a connected prophecy. This is apparent not only from their formal arrangement, both of them being placed together under the introductory formula, “And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,” but also from their contents, the promise in relation to the mountains of Israel being so opposed to the threat against the mountains of Seir (ch. xxxv. 1–15) as to form the obverse and completion of the latter; whilst allusion is evidently made to it in the form of expression employed (compare ch. xxxvi. 4, 6, with ch. xxxv. 8; and ch. xxxvi. 5a with ch. xxxv. 15b). The contents are the following: The mountains of Seir shall be laid waste (ch. xxxv. 1–4), because Edom cherishes eternal enmity and bloody hatred towards Israel (vers. 5–9), and because it has coveted the land of Israel and blasphemed Jehovah (vers. 10–15). On the other hand, the mountain-land of Israel, which the heathen have despised on account of its devastation, and have appropriated to themselves as booty (ch. xxxvi. 1–7), shall be inhabited by Israel again, and shall be cultivated and no longer bear the disgrace of the heathen (vers. 8–15). This closing thought (ver. 15) points back to ch. xxxiv. 29, and shows that our prophecy is intended as a further expansion of that conclusion; and at the same time, that in the devastation of Edom the overthrow of the heathen world as a whole, with its enmity against God, is predicted, and in the restoration of the land of Israel the re-erection of the fallen kingdom of God.

Chap. xxxv. THE DEVASTATION OF EDMO.—Ver. 1. *And*

the word of Jehovah came to me, saying, Ver. 2. Son of man, set thy face against Mount Seir, and prophesy against it, Ver. 3. And say to it, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with thee, Mount Seir, and will stretch out my hand against thee, and make thee waste and devastation. Ver. 4. Thy cities will I make into ruins, and thou wilt become a waste, and shalt know that I am Jehovah. Ver. 5. Because thou cherishest eternal enmity, and gavest up the sons of Israel to the sword at the time of their distress, at the time of the final transgression, Ver. 6. Therefore, as truly as I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, I will make thee blood, and blood shall pursue thee ; since thou hast not hated blood, therefore blood shall pursue thee. Ver. 7. I will make Mount Seir devastation and waste, and cut off therefrom him that goeth away and him that returneth, Ver. 8. And fill his mountains with his slain ; upon thy hills, and in thy valleys, and in all thy low places, those pierced with the sword shall fall. Ver. 9. I will make thee eternal wastes, and thy cities shall not be inhabited ; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah. Ver. 10. Because thou sayest, The two nations and the two lands they shall be mine, and we will take possession of it, when Jehovah was there ; Ver. 11. Therefore, as truly as I live, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, I will do according to thy wrath and thine envy, as thou hast done because of thy hatred, and will make myself known among them, as I shall judge thee. Ver. 12. And thou shalt know that I, Jehovah, have heard all thy reproaches which thou hast uttered against the mountains of Israel, saying, " they are laid waste, they are given to us for food." Ver. 13. Ye have magnified against me with your mouth, and heaped up your sayings against me ; I have heard it. Ver. 14. Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, When the whole earth rejoiceth, I will prepare devastation for thee. Ver. 15. As thou hadst thy delight in the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was laid waste, so will I do to thee ; thou shalt become a waste, Mount Seir and all Edom together ; and they shall know that I am Jehovah.

The theme of this prophecy, viz. "Edom and its cities are

to become a desert" (vers. 2-4), is vindicated and earnestly elaborated in two strophes, commencing with 'עַל וְגו' (vers. 5 and 10), and closing, like the announcement of the theme itself (ver. 4b), with 'וַיִּדְעֻם בִּי אֲנִי י' (וִידְעֻם), by a distinct statement of the sins of Edom.—Already, in ch. xxv., Edom has been named among the hostile border nations which are threatened with destruction (vers. 12-14). The earlier prophecy applied to the Edomites, according to their historical relation to the people of Israel and the kingdom of Judah. In the present word of God, on the contrary, Edom comes into consideration, on the ground of its hostile attitude towards the covenant people, as the representative of the world and of mankind in its hostility to the people and kingdom of God, as in Isa. xxxiv. and lxi. 1-6. This is apparent from the fact that devastation is to be prepared for Edom, when the whole earth rejoices (ver. 14), which does not apply to Edom as a small and solitary nation, and still more clearly from the circumstance that, in the promise of salvation in ch. xxxvi., not all Edom alone (ver. 5), but the remnant of the heathen nations generally (ch. xxxvi. 3-7 and 15), are mentioned as the enemies from whose disgrace and oppression Israel is to be delivered. For ver. 2, compare ch. xiii. 17. הַר שִׁעִיר is the name given to the mountainous district inhabited by the Edomites, between the Dead Sea and the Elanitic Gulf (see the comm. on Gen. xxxvi. 9). The prophecy is directed against the land; but it also applies to the nation, which brings upon itself the desolation of its land by its hostility to Israel. For ver. 3, compare ch. vi. 14, etc. הָרָפָה, destruction. The sin of Edom mentioned in ver. 5 is eternal enmity toward Israel, which has also been imputed to the Philistines in ch. xxv. 15, but which struck deeper root, in the case of Edom, in the hostile attitude of Esau toward Jacob (Gen. xxv. 22 sqq. and xxvii. 37), and was manifested, as Amos (i. 11) has already said, in the constant retention of its malignity toward the covenant nation, so that Edom embraced every opportunity to effect its destruction, and according to the charge

brought against it by Ezekiel, gave up the sons of Israel to the sword when the kingdom of Judah fell. הִנִּיר עַל יְדֵי חֶרֶב, lit. to pour upon (— into) the hands of the sword, *i.e.* to deliver up to the power of the sword (cf. Ps. lxiii. 11; Jer. xviii. 21). בָּעַת אֲיָדָם recalls to mind בָּיוֹם אֲיָדָם in Obad. 13; but here it is more precisely defined by בָּעַת עִין הָזֶה, and limited to the time of the overthrow of the Israelites, when Jerusalem was taken and destroyed by the Chaldeans. בָּעַת עִין הָזֶה, as in ch. xxi. 30. On account of this display of its hostility, the Lord will make Edom blood (ver. 6). This expression is probably chosen for the play upon the words דָּם and אֲדָם. Edom shall become what its name suggests. Making it blood does not mean merely filling it with bloodshed, or reddening the soil with blood (Hitzig); but, as in ch. xvi. 38, turning it as it were into blood, or causing it to vanish therein. Blood shall pursue thee, “as blood-guiltiness invariably pursues a murderer, cries for vengeance, and so delivers him up to punishment” (Hävernicks). לֹא אֵם cannot be the particle employed in swearing, and dependent upon הִיאֲנִי, since this particle introduces an affirmative declaration, which would be unsuitable here, inasmuch as דָּם in this connection cannot possibly signify blood-relationship. לֹא אֵם means “if not,” in which the conditional meaning of אֵם coincides with the causal, “if” being equivalent to “since.” The unusual separation of the לֹא from the verb is occasioned by the fact that דָּם is placed before the verb to avoid collision with אֵם. To hate blood is the same as to have a horror of bloodshed or murder. This threat is carried out still further in vers. 7 and 8. The land of Edom is to become a complete and perpetual devastation; its inhabitants are to be exterminated by war. The form שִׁמְמָה stands for שִׁמְמָה, and is not to be changed into מִשְׁמָה. Considering the frequency with which מִשְׁמָה occurs, the supposition that we have here a copyist’s error is by no means a probable one, and still less probable is the perpetuation of such an error. עֲבַר וְשָׁב, as in Zech. vii. 14. For ver. 8 compare ch. xxxii. 5, 6 and ch.

xxx. 12. The *Chetib* חֲשִׁבְנָה is *scriptio plena* for חֲשִׁבָּנָה, the imperfect *Kal* of חָשַׁב in the intransitive sense to be inhabited. The *Keri* חֲשִׁבְנָה, from שָׁב, is a needless and unsuitable correction, since שָׁב does not mean *restitui*.

In the second strophe, vers. 10–15, the additional reason assigned for the desolation of Edom is its longing for the possession of Israel and its land, of which it desired to take forcible possession, although it knew that they belonged to Jehovah, whereby the hatred of Edom toward Israel became contempt of Jehovah. The two peoples and the two lands are Israel and Judah with their lands, and therefore the whole of the holy people and land. אֲנִי is the sign of the accusative: as for the two peoples, they are mine. The suffix appended to יִרְשְׁנֶיהָ is neuter, and is to be taken as referring generally to what has gone before. וַיִּהְיֶה שָׁם הָיָה is a circumstantial clause, through which the desire of Edom is placed in the right light, and characterized as an attack upon Jehovah Himself. Jehovah was there—namely, in the land of which Edom wished to take possession. Kliefoth's rendering, "and yet Jehovah *is* there," is opposed to Hebrew usage, by changing the preterite הָיָה into a present; and the objection which he offers to the only rendering that is grammatically admissible, viz. "when Jehovah was there," to the effect "that it attributes to Ezekiel the thought that the Holy Land had once been the land and dwelling-place of God, but was so no longer," calls in question the actual historical condition of things without the slightest reason. For Jehovah had really forsaken His dwelling-place in Canaan before the destruction of the temple, but without thereby renouncing His right to the land; since it was only for the sins of Israel that He had given up the temple, city, and land to be laid waste by the heathen. "But Edom had acted as if Israel existed among the nations without God, and Jehovah had departed from it for ever" (Hävernick); or rather as if Jehovah were a powerless and useless Deity, who had not been able to defend His people against the might of the heathen nations.

The Lord will requite Edom for this, in a manner answering to its anger and envy, which had both sprung from hatred. נִירָעָתִי בָם, "I will make myself known among them (the Israelites) when I judge thee;" *i.e.*, by the fact that He punishes Edom for its sin, He will prove to Israel that He is a God who does not suffer His people and His possession to be attacked with impunity. From this shall Edom learn that He is Jehovah, the omniscient God, who has heard the revilings of His enemies (vers. 12, 13), and the almighty God, who rewards those who utter such proud sayings according to their deeds (vers. 14 and 15). נֶאֱצוֹת has retained the *Kametz* on account of the guttural in the first tone, in contrast with נֶאֱצוֹת in Neh. ix. 18, 26 (cf. Ewald, § 696).—The expression "mountains of Israel," for the land of Israel, in ver. 12 and ch. xxxvi. 1, is occasioned by the antithesis "mountain (mountain-range) of Seir." The *Chetib* שְׂמִמָּה is to be pronounced שְׂמִמָּה, and to be retained in spite of the *Keri*. The singular of the neuter gender is used with emphasis in a broken and emotional address, and is to be taken as referring *ad sensum* to the land. הִגְדִּיל בִּפִּי, to magnify or boast with the mouth, *i.e.* to utter proud sayings against God, in other words, actually to deride God (compare הִגְדִּיל פִּי in Obad. 12, which has a kindred meaning). הֵעֲתִיר, used here according to Aramean usage for הֵעֲשִׂיר, to multiply, or heap up. In בְּשִׂמְחָה, in ver. 14, בְּ is a particle of time, as it frequently is before infinitives (*e.g.* Josh. vi. 20), when all the earth rejoices, not "over thy desolation" (Hitzig), which does not yield any rational thought, but when joy is prepared for all the world, I will prepare devastation for thee. Through this antithesis בְּלִי-הָאָרֶץ is limited to the world, with the exception of Edom, *i.e.* to that portion of the human race which stood in a different relation to God and His people from that of Edom; in other words, which acknowledged the Lord as the true God. It follows from this, that Edom represents the world at enmity against God. In בְּשִׂמְחָתְךָ (ver. 15) כִּי is a particle of comparison; and the meaning of ver. 15 is: as thou didst rejoice over

the desolation of the inheritance of the house of Israel, so will I cause others to rejoice over thy desolation. In ver. 15*b* we agree with the LXX., Vulgate, Syriac, and others, in taking *תְּהִיָּה* as the second person, not as the third. *כָּל-אֲדוֹם בָּלָהָה* serves to strengthen *הִרְשִׁיעִיר* (compare ch. xi. 15 and xxxvi. 10).

Chap. xxxvi. 1-15. THE RESTORATION AND BLESSING OF ISRAEL.—Ver. 1. *And thou, son of man, prophesy to the mountains of Israel, and say, Mountains of Israel, hear the word of Jehovah:* Ver. 2. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because the enemy saith concerning you, Aha! the everlasting heights have become ours for a possession:* Ver. 3. *Therefore prophesy, and say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because, even because they lay you waste, and pant for you round about, so that ye have become a possession to the remnant of the nations, and have come to the talk of the tongue and gossip of the people:* Ver. 4. *Therefore, ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord Jehovah: Thus saith the Lord Jehovah to the mountains and hills, to the low places and valleys, and to the waste ruins and the forsaken cities, which have become a prey and derision to the remnant of the nations round about;* Ver. 5. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Truly in the fire of my jealousy I have spoken against the remnant of the nations, and against Edom altogether, which have made my land a possession for themselves in all joy of heart, in contempt of soul, to empty it out for booty.* Ver. 6. *Therefore prophesy concerning the land of Israel, and say to the mountains and hills, to the low places and valleys, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, in my jealousy and fury have I spoken, because ye have borne the disgrace of the nations.* Ver. 7. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I, I have lifted up my hand; truly the nations round about you, they shall bear their disgrace.* Ver. 8. *But ye, ye mountains of Israel, shall put forth your branches, and bear your fruit to my people Israel; for they will soon come.* Ver. 9. *For, behold, I will deal with you, and turn toward you, and ye shall be tilled and sown.* Ver. 10.

I will multiply men upon you, all the house of Israel at once; and the cities shall be inhabited, and the ruins built. Ver. 11. And I will multiply upon you man and beast; they shall multiply and be fruitful: and I will make you inhabited as in your former time, and do more good to you than in your earlier days; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah. Ver. 12. I will cause men, my people Israel, to walk upon you; and they shall possess thee, and thou shalt be an inheritance to them, and make them childless no more. Ver. 13. Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Because they say to you, "Thou art a devourer of men, and hast made thy people childless;" Ver. 14. Therefore thou shalt no more devour men, and no more cause thy people to stumble, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 15. And I will no more cause thee to hear the scoffing of the nations, and the disgrace of the nations thou shalt bear no more, and shalt no more cause thy people to stumble, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.

This prophecy is uttered concerning the land of Israel, as is plainly declared in ver. 6; whereas in vers. 1 and 4 the mountains of Israel are mentioned instead of the land, in antithesis to the mountains of Seir (ch. xxxv.; see the comm. on ch. xxxv. 12). The promise takes throughout the form of antithesis to the threat against Edom in ch. xxxv. Because Edom rejoices that the Holy Land, which has been laid waste, has fallen to it for a possession, therefore shall the devastated land be cultivated and sown again, and be inhabited by Israel as in the former time. The heathen nations round about shall, on the other hand, bear their disgrace; Edom, as we have already observed, being expanded, so far as the idea is concerned, into all the heathen nations surrounding Israel (vers. 3-7). In ver. 2, הָאֹיִבִּים, the enemy, is mentioned in quite a general manner; and what has already been stated concerning Edom in ch. xxxv. 5 and 10, is here predicted of the enemy. In vers. 3 and 4 this enemy is designated as a remnant of the heathen nations; and it is not till ver. 5 that it is more precisely defined by the clause, "and all Edom altogether." The

גוֹיִם round about (אֲשֶׁר מִסָּבִיב, ver. 4, compared with ver. 3) are the heathen nations which are threatened with destruction in ch. xxv. and xxvi., on account of their malicious rejoicing at the devastation of Jerusalem and Judah. This serves to explain the fact that these nations are designated as שְׂאִרֵי הַגּוֹיִם, the rest, or remnant of the heathen nations, which presupposes that the judgment has fallen upon them, and that only a remnant of them is left, which remnant desires to take possession of the devastated land of Israel. The epithet applied to this land, בְּמֹת עוֹלָם, everlasting, *i.e.* primeval heights, points back to the גְּבוּעוֹת עוֹלָם of Gen. xlix. 26 and Deut. xxxiii. 15, and is chosen for the purpose of representing the land as a possession secured to the people of Israel by primeval promises, in consequence of which the attempt of the enemy to seize upon this land has become a sin against the Lord God. The indignation at such a sin is expressed in the emotional character of the address. As Ewald has aptly observed, "Ezekiel is seized with unusual fire, so that after the brief statement in ver. 2 'therefore' is repeated five times, the charges brought against these foes forcing themselves in again and again, before the prophecy settles calmly upon the mountains of Israel, to which it was really intended to apply." For יַעַן בִּיעַן, see the comm. on ch. xiii. 10. שָׂמֹת is an infinitive *Kal*, formed after the analogy of the verbs לָה (cf. Ewald, § 238e), from שָׂמָה, to be waste, to devastate, as in Dan. viii. 13, ix. 27, xii. 11, and is not to be taken in the sense of נָשַׁם, after Isa. xlii. 14, as Hitzig supposes. שָׂאָה, to pant for a thing; here it is equivalent to snapping at anything. This is required by a comparison with ver. 4b, where הִיָּה לְבֹנֵי corresponds to שָׂמֹת וְשָׂאָה, and לָלֶעַן to יַעַל עַל שִׁפְתוֹ וְנֹא'. In the connection שִׁפְתוֹ לָשֹׁן, שִׁפְתָּה שִׁפְתָּה signifies the lip as an organ of speech, or, more precisely, the words spoken; and לָשֹׁן, the tongue, is personified, and stands for אִישׁ לָשֹׁן (Ps. cxl. 12), a tongue-man, *i.e.* a talker. In ver. 4 the idea expressed in "the mountains of Israel" is expanded into mountains, hills, lowlands, and valleys (cf. ch.

xxx. 12, xxxii. 5, 6); and this periphrastic description of the land is more minutely defined by the additional clause, "waste ruins and forsaken cities." לֹא אִם in ver. 5 is the particle used in oaths (cf. ch. v. 11, etc.); and the perfect דִּבַּרְתִּי is not merely prophetic, but also a preterite. God has already uttered a threatening word concerning the nations round about in ch. xxv., xxvi., and xxxv.; and here He once more declares that they shall bear their disgrace. אֵשׁ קִנְיָאָה is the fiery jealousy of wrath. בָּלָא is an Aramean form for בָּלָה (ch. xxxv. 15). For בִּשְׂאֵם נָפֶשׁ, see ch. xxv. 6. In the expression לְמַעַן מִן־רָשָׁה לָבוֹ, which has been rendered in various ways, we agree with Gesenius and others in regarding מִן־רָשָׁה as an Aramean form of the infinitive of רָשָׁה, with the meaning to empty out, which is confirmed by the Syriac; for מִן־רָשָׁה cannot be a substantive, on account of the לְמַעַן; and Hitzig's conjecture, that לָבוֹ should be pointed לָבוֹ, and the clause rendered "to plunder its produce," is precluded by the fact that the separation of the preposition לְ, by the insertion of a word between, is unexampled, to say nothing of the fact that מִן־רָשָׁה does not mean produce at all. The thought expressed in vers. 6 and 7 is the following: because Israel has hitherto borne the contempt of the heathen, the heathen shall now bear their own contempt. The lifting of the hand is a gesture employed in taking an oath, as in ch. xx. 6, etc. But the land of Israel is to receive a blessing. This blessing is described in ver. 8 in general terms, as the bearing of fruit by the mountains, i.e. by the land of Israel; and its speedy commencement is predicted. It is then depicted in detail in vers. 9 sqq. In the clause בִּי תָרְבוּ לְבוֹא, the Israelites are not to be regarded as the subject, as Kliefoth supposes, in which case their speedy return from exile would be announced. The בִּי shows that this cannot be the meaning; for it is immediately preceded by לְעַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל, which precludes the supposition that, when speaking of the mountains, Ezekiel had the inhabitants in his mind. The promised blessings are the subject, or the branches and fruits, which the mountains

are to bear. Nearly all the commentators have agreed in adopting this explanation of the words, after the analogy of Isa. lvi. 1. With the **בִּי** in ver. 9 the carrying out of the blessing promised is appended in the form of a reason assigned for the general promise. The mountains shall be cultivated, the men upon them, viz. all Israel, multiplied, the desolated cities rebuilt, so that Israel shall dwell in the land as in the former time, and be fruitful and blessed. This promise was no doubt fulfilled in certain weak beginnings after the return of a portion of the people under Zerubbabel and Ezra; but the multiplying and blessing, experienced by those who returned from Babylon, did not take place till long after the salvation promised here, and more especially in vers. 12–15. According to ver. 12, the land is to become the inheritance of the people Israel, and will no more make the Israelites childless, or (according to ver. 14) cause them to stumble; and the people are no more to bear the contempt of the heathen. But that portion of the nation which returned from exile not only continued under the rule of the heathen, but had also in various ways to bear the contempt of the heathen still; and eventually, because Israel not only stumbled, but fell very low through the rejection of its Saviour, it was scattered again out of the land among the heathen, and the land was utterly wasted . . . until this day. In ver. 12 the masculine suffix attached to **יִירָשׁוּהָ** refers to the land regarded as **הָאָרֶץ**, which is also the subject to **הָיְיָ** and **הוֹסִיף**. It is not till vers. 13, 14, where the idea of the land becomes so prominent, that the feminine is used. **שָׁבְלִים**, to make them (the Israelites) childless, or bereaved, is explained in vers. 13, 14 by **אֲכָלֵת אָדָם**, devouring men. That the land devours its inhabitants, is what the spies say of the land of Canaan in Num. xiii. 32; and in 2 Kings ii. 19 it is affirmed of the district of Jericho that it causes **מִשְׁבָּלֵת**, i.e. miscarriages, on account of its bad water. The latter passage does not come into consideration; but the former (Num. xiii. 32) probably does, and Ezekiel evidently refers to this. For there is no

doubt whatever that he explains or expands אֲכָלָת אָדָם by שֶׁבַל. Although, for example, the charge that the land devours men is brought against it by the enemies or adversaries of Israel (אֲמָרִים לָכֶם, they say to you), the truth of the charge is admitted, since it is said that the land shall henceforth no more devour men, though without a repetition of the שֶׁבַל. But the sense in which Ezekiel affirms of the land that it had been אֲכָלָת אָדָם, and was henceforth to be so no more, is determined by וְנִיחָה לֹא תִכְשַׁל עוֹד, thou wilt no more cause thy people to stumble, which is added in ver. 14b in the place of מִשֶּׁבַל נִיחָה הָיִיתָ in ver. 14a. Hence the land became a devourer of men by the fact that it caused its people to stumble, *i.e.* entangled them in sins (the *Keri* תִּשְׁבַּל for תִּכְשַׁל is a bad conjecture, the incorrectness of which is placed beyond all doubt by the לֹא תִכְשַׁל עוֹד of ver. 15). Consequently we cannot understand the “devouring of men,” after Num. xiii. 32, as signifying that, on account of its situation and fruitfulness, the land is an apple of discord, for the possession of which the nations strive with one another, so that the inhabitants are destroyed, or at all events we must not restrict the meaning to this; and still less can we agree with Ewald and Hitzig in thinking of the restless hurrying and driving by which individual men were of necessity rapidly swept away. If the sweeping away of the population is connected with the stumbling, the people are devoured by the consequences of their sins, *i.e.* by penal judgments, unfruitfulness, pestilence, and war, with which God threatened Israel for its apostasy from Him. These judgments had depopulated the land; and this fact was attributed by the heathen in their own way to the land, and thrown in the teeth of the Israelites as a disgrace. The Lord will henceforth remove this charge, and take away from the heathen all occasion to despise His people, namely, by bestowing upon His land and people the blessing which He promised in the law to those who kept His commandments. But this can only be done by His removing the occasion to stumble or sin, *i.e.*, according to vers. 25 sqq. (com-

pared with ch. xi. 18 sqq.), by His cleansing His people from all uncleannesses and idols, and giving them a new heart and a new spirit. The *Keri* כִּרְיָה in vers. 13, 14, and 15 is a needless alteration of the *Chetib* חֲרִיב.—In ver. 15 this promise is rounded off and concluded by another summing up of the principal thoughts.

CHAP. XXXVI. 16–38. THE SALVATION OF ISRAEL FOUNDED
UPON ITS SANCTIFICATION.

Because Israel has defiled its land by its sins, God has scattered the people among the heathen; but because they also profaned His name among the heathen, He will exercise forbearance for the sake of His holy name (vers. 16–21), will gather Israel out of the lands, cleanse it from its sins, and sanctify it by the communication of His Spirit, so that it will walk in His ways (vers. 22–28), and will so bless and multiply it, that both the nations around and Israel itself will know that He is the Lord (vers. 29–38).—This promise is shown by the introductory formula in ver. 16 and by the contents to be an independent word of God; but it is substantially connected in the closest manner with the preceding word of God, showing, on the one hand, the motive which prompted God to restore and bless His people; and, on the other hand, the means by which He would permanently establish the salvation predicted in ch. xxxiv. and ch. xxxvi. 1–15.—The kernel of this promise is formed by vers. 25–28, for which the way is prepared in vers. 17–24, whilst the further extension is contained in vers. 29–38.

Vers. 16–21. The Lord will extend His forbearance, for the sake of His holy name, to the people who have been rejected on account of their sins.—Ver. 16. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 17. *Son of man, the house of Israel dwelt in its land, and defiled it with its way and its doings; like the uncleanness of the unclean woman, was its way before me.* Ver. 18. *Then I poured out my fury upon them on account of*

the blood which they had shed in the land, and because they had defiled it through their idols, Ver. 19. And scattered them among the nations, and they were dispersed in the lands; according to their way and their doings I judge them. Ver. 20. And they came to the nations whither they came, and profaned my holy name, for men said of them, "These are Jehovah's people, and they have come out of His land." Ver. 21. And so I had pity upon my holy name, which the house of Israel profaned among the nations whither they came.—The address commences with a description of the reasons why God had thrust out His people among the heathen, namely, on account of their sins and idolatrous abominations, by which the Israelites had defiled the land (cf. Lev. xviii. 28 and Num. xxxv. 34). Their conduct resembled the most offensive uncleanness, namely, the uncleanness of a woman in her menstruation (Lev. xv. 19), to which the moral depravity of the people had already been compared in Isa. lxiv. 5.—In ver. 18 the consequence of the defiling of the land by the people is introduced with the expression וַאֲשַׁפֵּה. In ver. 17, וַיִּטְּאוּ is the continuation of the participle יֹשְׁבִים; and the participle is expressive of the condition in the past, as we may see from the words וַאֲשַׁפֵּה וְגו'. The simile in ver. 17b is an explanatory, circumstantial clause. For ver. 18, compare ch. vii. 8, and for עַל הָרָם וְגו', ch. xxii. 3, 6. The last clause, "and through their idols they have defiled it," is loosely appended; but it really contains a second reason for the pouring out of the wrath of God upon the people. For ver. 19, compare ch. xxii. 15. וַיָּבוֹא in ver. 20 refers to בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל; but there is no necessity to read וַיָּבוֹא on that account. It is perfectly arbitrary to supply the subject proposed by Kliefoth, viz. "the report of what had happened to Israel" came to the heathen, which is quite foreign to the connection; for it was not the report concerning Israel, but Israel itself, which came to the heathen, and profaned the sacred name of God. This is not only plainly expressed in ver. 21b, but has been already stated in ver. 20.

The fact that the words of the heathen, by which the name of God was profaned, are quoted here, does not prove that it is the heathen nations who are to be regarded as those who profaned the name of God, as Kliefoth imagines. The words, "these are Jehovah's people, and have come out of His (Jehovah's) land," could only contain a profanation of the holy name of God, if their coming out was regarded as involuntary, *i.e.* as an exile enforced by the power of the heathen; or, on the other hand, if the Israelites themselves had denied the holiness of the people of God through their behaviour among the heathen. Most of the commentators have decided in favour of the former view. Vatablus, for example, gives this explanation: "if their God whom they preach had been omnipotent, He would not have allowed them to be expelled from His land." And we must decide in favour of this exposition, not only because of the parallel passages, such as Num. xiv. 16 and Jer. xxxiii. 24, which support this view; but chiefly on account of the verses which follow, according to which the sanctification of the name of God among the nations consists in the fact that God gathers Israel out of its dispersion among the nations, and leads them back into His own land (*vid.* vers. 23 and 24). Consequently the profanation of His name can only have consisted in the fact that Israel was carried away out of its own land, and scattered in the heathen lands. For, since the heathen acknowledged only national gods, and regarded Jehovah as nothing more than such a national god of Israel, they did not look upon the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the carrying away of the people as a judgment of the almighty and holy God upon His people, but concluded that that catastrophe was a sign of the inability of Jehovah to defend His land and save His people. The only way in which God could destroy this delusion was by manifesting Himself to the heathen as the almighty God and Lord of the whole world through the redemption and glorification of His people. **וַיִּחַל** **עַל־שְׁמִי** : so I had pity, compassion upon my holy name. The

preterite is prophetic, inasmuch as the compassion consists in the gathering of Israel out of the nations, which is announced in vers. 22 sqq. as still in the future. The rendering, "I spared (them) for my holy name's sake" (LXX., Hävernicks), is false; for ^לנָּקַדְתִּי is construed with ^לעָלַי, governing the person or the thing toward which the compassion is shown (*vid.* ch. xvi. 5 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 17).

Vers. 22-28. For His holy name's sake the Lord will bring Israel back from its dispersion into His own land, purify it from its sins, and sanctify it by His Spirit to be His own people.—Ver. 22. *Therefore say to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I do it not for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for my holy name's sake, which ye have profaned among the nations whither ye have come.* Ver. 23. *I will sanctify my great name, which is profaned among the nations, which ye have profaned in the midst of them, so that the nations shall know that I am Jehovah, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, when I prove myself holy upon you before their eyes.* Ver. 24. *I will take you out of the nations, and gather you out of all lands, and bring you into your land,* Ver. 25. *And will sprinkle clean water upon you, that ye may become clean; from all your uncleannesses and from all your idols will I cleanse you,* Ver. 26. *And I will give you a new heart, and give a new spirit within you; I will take the heart of stone out of your flesh, and give you a heart of flesh.* Ver. 27. *I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and keep my rights, and do them.* Ver. 28. *And ye shall dwell in the land which I have given to your fathers, and shall become my people, and I will be your God.*—These verses show in what way the Lord will have compassion upon His holy name, and how He will put an end to the scoffing thereat, and vindicate His honour in the sight of the heathen. "Not for your sake," *i.e.* not because you have any claim to deliverance on account of your behaviour (*cf.* Isa. xlviii. 11 and Deut. ix. 6), but for my holy name's sake, *i.e.* to manifest as holy

the name which has been profaned among the heathen, I do it, namely, what follows from ver. 23 onwards. The Lord will sanctify His name, *i.e.* show it to be holy by proving Himself to be holy upon Israel. קָדַשׁ is not equivalent to glorify, although the holiness of God involves the idea of glory. Sanctifying is the removing or expunging of the blots and blemishes which adhere to anything. The giving up of His people was regarded by the heathen as a sign of the weakness of Jehovah. This blot through which His omnipotence and glory were dishonoured, God would remove by gathering Israel out of the heathen, and glorifying it. Instead of לְעִינֵיכֶם, the ancient versions have rendered לְעִינֵיהֶם. This reading is also found in many of the *codices* and the earliest editions, and is confirmed by the great Masora, and also commended by the parallel passages, ch. xx. 41 and xxviii. 25, so that it no doubt deserves the preference, although לְעִינֵיכֶם can also be justified. For inasmuch as Israelites had despaired in the midst of their wretchedness through unbelief, it was necessary that Jehovah should sanctify His great name in their sight as well. The great name of Jehovah is His almighty exaltation above all gods (cf. Mal. i. 11, 12). The first thing that Jehovah does for the sanctification of His name is to bring back Israel from its dispersion into its own land (ver. 24, compare ch. xi. 17 and xx. 41, 42); and then follows the purifying of Israel from its sins. The figurative expression, "to sprinkle with clean water," is taken from the lustrations prescribed by the law, more particularly the purifying from defilement from the dead by sprinkling with the water prepared from the ashes of a red heifer (Num. xix. 17-19; compare Ps. li. 9). Cleansing from sins, which corresponds to justification, and is not to be confounded with sanctification (Schmieder), is followed by renewal with the Holy Spirit, which takes away the old heart of stone and puts within a new heart of flesh, so that the man can fulfil the commandments of God, and walk in newness of life (vers. 26-28; compare ch. xi. 18-20, where this promise has already

occurred, and the necessary remarks concerning its fulfilment have been made).—With regard to the construction עָשָׂה אֶת אֲשֶׁר וְנוֹ, to make or effect your walking, compare Ewald, § 337b.

Vers. 29–38. The Lord will richly bless, multiply, and glorify His people, when thus renewed and sanctified.—Ver. 29. *And I will save you from all your uncleannesses, and will call the corn, and multiply it, and no more bring famine upon you; Ver. 30. But I will multiply the fruit of the tree and the produce of the field, so that ye will no more bear the reproach of famine among the nations. Ver. 31. But ye will remember your evil ways, and your deeds which were not good, and will loathe yourselves on account of your iniquities and your abominations. Ver. 32. Not for your sake do I this, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, be this known to you; be ye ashamed and blush for your ways, O house of Israel! Ver. 33. Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, In the day when I shall cleanse you from all your iniquities, I will make the cities inhabited, and the ruins shall be built, Ver. 34. And the devastated land shall be tilled instead of being a desert before the eyes of every one who passed by. Ver. 35. And men will say, This land, which was laid waste, has become like the garden of Eden, and the desolate and ruined cities are fortified and inhabited. Ver. 36. And the nations, which have been left round about you, shall know that I Jehovah build up that which is destroyed, and plant that which is laid waste. I, Jehovah, have said it, and do it. Ver. 37. Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I will still let myself be sought by the house of Israel in this, to do it for them; I will multiply them, like a flock, in men; Ver. 38. Like a flock of holy sacrifices, like the flock of Jerusalem on its feast-days, so shall the desolate cities be full of flocks of men; and they shall know that I am Jehovah.*—The words הוֹשַׁעְתִּי וְנוֹ, I help or save you from all your uncleannesses, cannot be understood as relating to their purification from the former uncleannesses; for they have already been cleansed from these, according to ver. 25. The בְּמִצֹּת can only be such defilements

as are still possible even after the renewing of the people; and *הוֹשִׁיעַ*, to help, means to guard them against any further recurrence of such defilements (cf. ch. xxxvii. 23), and not to deliver them from the consequences of their former pollutions. But if God preserves His people from these, there is no longer any occasion for a fresh suspension of judgments over them, and God can bestow His blessing upon the sanctified nation without reserve. It is in this way that the further promises are appended; and, first of all, in vers. 29*b* and 30, a promise that He will bless them with an abundant crop of fruits, both of the orchard and the field. "I call to the corn," *i.e.* I cause it to come or grow, so that famine will occur no more (for the fact, compare ch. xxxiv. 29). In consequence of this blessing, Israel will blush with shame at the thought of its former sins, and will loathe itself for those abominations (ver. 31); compare ch. xx. 43, where the same thought has already occurred. To this, after repeating what has been said before in ver. 22, namely, that God is not doing all this for the sake of the Israelites themselves, the prophet appends the admonition to be ashamed of their conduct, *i.e.* to repent, which is so far inserted appropriately in the promise, that the promise itself is meant to entice Israel to repent and return to God. Then, secondly, in two strophes introduced with *כֹּה אָמַר יְיָ*, the promise is still further expanded. In vers. 33–36, the prophet shows how the devastated land is to be restored and rebuilt, and to become a paradise; and in vers. 37 and 38, how the people are to be blessed through a large increase in their numbers. Both of these strophes are simply a further elaboration of the promise contained in vers. 9–12. *הוֹשִׁיעַ*, causative of *יָשַׁב*, to cause to be inhabited, to populate, as in Isa. liv. 3. *לְעֵינֵי בָלְעֹוֹבֵר*, as in ch. v. 14. The subject to *וְאֵמְרוּ* in ver. 35 is, "those who pass by." For the comparison to the garden of Eden, see ch. xxxi. 9. *בְּצֻרוֹת* is a circumstantial word belonging to *יָשְׁבוּ*: they shall be inhabited as fortified cities, that is to say, shall afford to their inhabitants the security of fortresses, from

which there is no fear of their being expelled. In ver. 36 the expression, "the heathen nations which shall be left round about you," presupposes that at the time of Israel's redemption the judgment will have fallen upon the heathen (compare ch. xxx. 3 with ch. xxix. 21), so that only a remnant of them will be still in existence; and this remnant will recognise the work of Jehovah in the restoration of Israel. This recognition, however, does not involve the conversion of the heathen to Jehovah, but is simply preparatory to it. For the fact itself, compare ch. xvii. 24. הִרְרֵשׁ, to let oneself be asked or entreated, as in ch. xiv. 3. וְזֹאת, with regard to this, is explained by לַעֲשׂוֹת לָהֶם. What God will do follows in אֶרְבֶּה וְנִי. God will multiply His people to such an extent, that they will resemble the flock of lambs, sheep, and goats brought to Jerusalem to sacrifice upon the feast days. Compare 2 Chron. xxxv. 7, where Josiah is said to have given to the people thirty thousand lambs and goats for the feast of the passover. פִּצְאוֹן אֲרָם does not mean, like a flock of men. אֲרָם cannot be a genitive dependent upon פִּצְאוֹן, on account of the article in פִּצְאוֹן, but belongs to אֶרְבֶּה, either as a supplementary apposition to אֹתָם, or as a second object, so that אֶרְבֶּה would be construed with a double accusative, after the analogy of verbs of plenty, to multiply them in men. Kliefoth's rendering, "I will multiply them, so that they shall be the flock of men" (of mankind), is grammatically untenable. פִּצְאוֹן קֳדָשִׁים, a flock of holy beasts, i.e. of sacrificial lambs. The flock of Jerusalem is the flock brought to Jerusalem at the yearly feasts, when the male population of the land came to the sanctuary (Deut. xvi. 16): So shall the desolate cities be filled again with flocks of men (compare Mic. ii. 12).

CHAP. XXXVII. RESURRECTION OF ISRAEL AND REUNION AS
ONE NATION.

This chapter contains two revelations from God (vers. 1-14 and vers. 15-28). In the first, the prophet is shown in a vision the resurrection of Israel to a new life. In the second, he is commanded to exhibit, by means of a symbolical act, the reunion of the divided kingdoms into a single nation under one king. Both of these he is to announce to the children of Israel. The substantial connection between these two prophecies will be seen from the exposition.

Vers. 1-14. *Resurrection of Israel to new Life.*

Ver. 1. *There came upon me the hand of Jehovah, and Jehovah led me out in the spirit, and set me down in the midst of the valley; this was full of bones.* Ver. 2. *And He led me past them round about; and, behold, there were very many on the surface of the valley, and, behold, they were very dry.* Ver. 3. *And He said to me, Son of man, will these bones come to life? and I said, Lord, Jehovah, thou knowest.* Ver. 4. *Then He said to me, Prophesy over these bones, and say to them, Ye dry bones, hear ye the word of Jehovah.* Ver. 5. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah to these bones, Behold, I bring breath into you, that ye may come to life.* Ver. 6. *I will create sinews upon you, and cause flesh to grow upon you, and cover you with skin, and bring breath into you, so that ye shall live and know that I am Jehovah.* Ver. 7. *And I prophesied as I was commanded; and there was a noise as I prophesied, and behold a rumbling, and the bones came together, bone to bone.* Ver. 8. *And I saw, and behold sinews came over them, and flesh grew, and skin drew over it above; but there was no breath in them.* Ver. 9. *Then He said to me, Prophesy to the breath, prophesy, son of man, and say to the breath, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Come from the four winds, thou breath, and blow upon these slain, that they may come to life.* Ver. 10. *And I prophesied as I was commanded;*

then the breath came into them, and they came to life, and stood upon their feet, a very, very great army. Ver. 11. *And He said to me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel; behold, they say, our bones are dried, and our hope has perished; we are destroyed!* Ver. 12. *Therefore prophesy, and say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will open your graves, and cause you to come out of your graves, my people, and bring you into the land of Israel.* Ver. 13. *And ye shall know that I am Jehovah, when I open your graves, and cause you to come out of your graves, my people.* Ver. 14. *And I will put my Spirit into you, and will place you in your land, and ye shall know that I, Jehovah, have spoken and do it, is the saying of Jehovah.*

—This revelation divides itself into two sections. Vers. 1-10 contain the vision, and vers. 11-14 give the interpretation. There are no particular difficulties in the description of the vision, so far as the meaning of the words is concerned. By a supernatural intervention on the part of God, Ezekiel is taken from his own home in a state of spiritual ecstasy into a valley which was full of dead men's bones. For the expression הִיָּתָה עָלֵי יָדַי, see the comm. on ch. i. 3. In the second clause of ver. 1 יהוה is the subject, and is not to be taken as a genitive in connection with בְּרִית, as it has been by the Vulgate and Hitzig in opposition to the accents. בְּרִית אֱלֹהִים (ch. xi. 24), and אֱלֹהִים is omitted simply because יהוה follows immediately afterwards. הִנֵּית, to set down, here and ch. xl. 2; whereas in other cases the form הִנֵּית is usually employed in this sense. The article prefixed to הַבְּקָעָה appears to point back to ch. iii. 22, to the valley where Ezekiel received the first revelation concerning the fate of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. That עַצְמוֹת are dead men's bones is evident from what follows. הֶעָבִירַנִי עֲלֵיהֶם, not "He led me over them round about," but past them, in order that Ezekiel might have a clear view of them, and see whether it were possible for them to come to life again. They were lying upon the surface of the valley, i.e. not under, but upon the ground, and not piled up in a heap, but scattered

over the valley, and they were very dry. The question asked by God, whether these bones could live, or come to life again, prepares the way for the miracle; and Ezekiel's answer, "Lord, Thou knowest" (cf. Rev. vii. 14), implies that, according to human judgment, it was inconceivable that they could come to life any more, and nothing but the omnipotence of God could effect this.—After this introduction there follows in vers. 4 sqq. the miracle of the raising to life of these very dry bones, accomplished through the medium of the word of God, which the prophet addresses to them, to show to the people that the power to realize itself is inherent in the word of Jehovah proclaimed by Ezekiel; in other words, that Jehovah possesses the power to accomplish whatever He promises to His people. The word in ver. 5, "Behold, I bring breath into you, that ye may come to life," announces in general terms the raising of them to life, whilst the process itself is more minutely described in ver. 6. God will put on them (clothe them with) sinews, flesh, and skin, and then put ריח in them. ריח is the animating spirit or breath = רוּחַ חַיִּים (Gen. vi. 17, vii. 17). קָרָם, ἀπ. λεγ. in Syriac *incrustare, obducere*. When Ezekiel prophesied there arose or followed a sound (קול), and then a shaking (רעשׁ), and the bones approached one another, every bone to its own bone. Different explanations have been given of the words קול and רעשׁ. קול signifies a sound or voice, and רעשׁ a trembling, an earthquake, and also a rumbling or a loud noise (compare ch. iii. 12 and Isa. ix. 4). The relation between the two words as they stand here is certainly not that the sound (קול) passes at once into a loud noise, or is continued in that form; whilst רעשׁ denotes the rattling or rustling of bones in motion. The fact that the moving of the bones toward one another is represented by וַהֲקִרְבוּ (with *Vav consec.*), as the sequel to רעשׁ, is decisive against this. Yet we cannot agree with Kliefoth, that by קול we are to understand the trumpet-blast, or voice of God, that wakes the dead from their graves, according to those passages of the New Testament which treat of the resurrection,

and by רָעַשׁ the earthquake which opens the graves. This explanation is precluded, not only by the philological difficulty that קוֹל without any further definition does not signify either the blast of a trumpet or the voice of God, but also by the circumstance that the קוֹל is the result of the prophesying of Ezekiel; and we cannot suppose that God would make His almighty call dependent upon a prophet's prophesying. And even in the case of רָעַשׁ, the reference to ch. xxxviii. 19 does not prove that the word must mean earthquake in this passage also, since Ezekiel uses the word in a different sense in ch. xii. 18 and iii. 12. We therefore take קוֹל in the general sense of a loud noise, and רָעַשׁ in the sense of shaking (*sc.* of the bones), which was occasioned by the loud noise, and produced, or was followed by, the movement of the bones to approach one another. The coming together of the bones was followed by their being clothed with sinews, flesh, and skin; but there was not yet any breath in them (ver. 8). To give them this the prophet is to prophesy again, and that to the breath, that it come from the four winds or quarters of the world and breathe into these slain (ver. 9). Then, when he prophesied, the breath came into them, so that they received life, and stood upright upon their feet. In vers. 9 and 10 רוּחַ is rendered by some "wind," by others "spirit;" but neither of these is in conformity with what precedes it. רוּחַ does not mean anything else than the breath of life, which has indeed a substratum in the wind, perceptible to the senses, but is not identical with it. The wind itself brings no life into dead bodies. If, therefore, the dead bodies become living, receive life through the blowing of the רוּחַ into them, what enters into them by the blowing cannot be a symbol of the breath of life, but must be the breath of life itself—namely, that divine breath of life which pervades all nature, giving and sustaining the life of all creatures (cf. Ps. civ. 29, 30). The expression פָּהִי בְּהִרְיָנִים points back to Gen. ii. 7. The representation of the bringing of the dead bones to life in two acts may also be explained from the fact

that it is based upon the history of the creation of man in Gen. ii., as Theodoret¹ has observed, and serves plainly to depict the creative revivification here, like the first creation there, as a work of the almighty God. For a correct understanding of the vision, it is also necessary to observe that in ver. 9 the dead bones, clothed with sinews, flesh, and skin, are called הַרְוִיּוֹת, slain, killed, and not merely dead. It is apparent at once from this that our vision is not intended to symbolize the resurrection of all the dead, but simply the raising up of the nation of Israel, which has been slain. This is borne out by the explanation of the vision which God gives to the prophet in vers. 11-14, and directs him to repeat to the people. The dead bones are the "whole house of Israel" that has been given up to death; in other words, Judah and Ephraim. "These bones" in ver. 11 are the same as in vers. 3 and 5, and not the bodies brought to life in ver. 10; though Hitzig maintains that they are the latter, and then draws the erroneous conclusion that vers. 11-14 do not interpret the vision of the first ten verses, but that the bones in the valley are simply explained in these verses as signifying the dead of Israel. It is true that the further explanation in ver. 12 sqq. of what is described in vers. 5-10 as happening to the dead bones is not given in the form of an exposition of the separate details of that occurrence, but is summed up in the announcement that God will open their graves, bring them out of their graves, and transport them to their own land. But it does not follow from this that the announcement is merely an application of the vision to the restoration of Israel to new life, and therefore that something different is represented from what is announced in vers. 12-14. Such a view is at variance with the words, "these bones are the whole house of Israel." Even if these words are not to be taken so literally as that we are to under-

¹ "For as the body of our forefather Adam was first moulded, and then the soul was thus breathed into it; so here also both combined in fitting harmony."—THEODORET.

stand that the prophet was shown in the vision the bones of the slain and deceased Israelites, but simply mean: these dead bones represent the house of Israel, depict the nation of Israel in its state of death,—they express so much in the clearest terms concerning the relation in which the explanation in vers. 12-14 stands to the visionary occurrence in vers. 4-10, namely, that God has shown to Ezekiel in the vision what He commands him to announce concerning Israel in vers. 12-14; in other words, that the bringing of the dead bones to life shown to him in the vision was intended to place visibly before him the raising of the whole nation of Israel to new life out of the death into which it had fallen. This is obvious enough from the words: these bones are the whole house of Israel. כְּלִי-בַיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל points forward to the reunion of the tribes of Israel that are severed into two nations, as foretold in vers. 15 sqq. It is they who speak in ver. 11*b*. The subject to אֲמַרְיִם is neither the bones nor the dead of Israel (Hitzig), but the כְּלִי-בַיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל already named, which is also addressed in ver. 12. All Israel says: our bones are dried, *i.e.* our vital force is gone. The bones are the seat of the vital force, as in Ps. xxxii. 3; and יָבֵשׁ, to dry up, applied to the marrow, or vital sap of the bones, is substantially the same as בָּלָה in the psalm (*l.c.*). Our hope has perished (cf. ch. xix. 5). תִּקְוָה is here the hope of rising into a nation once more. נִגְזְרֵנוּ לָנוּ: literally, we are cut off for ourselves, *sc.* from the sphere of the living (cf. Lam. iii. 54; Isa. liii. 8), equivalent to "it is all over with us."

To the people speaking thus, Ezekiel is to announce that the Lord will open their graves, bring them out of them, put His breath of life into them, and lead them into their own land. If we observe the relation in which vers. 12 and 13 stand to ver. 14, namely, that the two halves of the 14th verse are parallel to the two verses 12 and 13, the clause וִירְעָתֶם בִּי אֲנִי י' in ver. 14*b* to the similar clause in ver. 13, there can be no doubt that the contents of ver. 14*a* also correspond to those of ver. 12—that is to say, that the words, "I put my breath

(Spirit) into you, that ye may live, and place you in your own land" (bring you to rest therein), affirm essentially the same as the words, "I bring you out of your graves, and lead you into the land of Israel;" with this simple difference, that the bringing out of the graves is explained and rendered more emphatic by the more definite idea of causing them to live through the breath or Spirit of God put into them, and the הֵנִיחַ by הֵבִיא, the leading into the land by the transporting and bringing them to rest therein. Consequently we are not to understand by נָחֵתִי בְכֶם רוּחִי either a divine act differing from the raising of the dead to life, or the communication of the Holy Spirit as distinguished from the imparting of the breath of life. רוּחִי, the Spirit of Jehovah, is identical with the רוּחַ, which comes, according to vers. 9 and 10, into the bones of the dead when clothed with sinews, flesh, and skin, i.e. is breathed into them. This spirit or breath of life is the creative principle both of the physical and of the ethical or spiritual life. Consequently there are not three things announced in these verses, but only two: (1) The raising to life from a state of death, by bringing out of the graves, and communicating the divine Spirit of life; (2) the leading back to their own land to rest quietly therein. When, therefore, Kliefoth explains these verses as signifying that for the consolation of Israel, which is mourning hopelessly in its existing state of death, "God directs the prophet to say—(1) That at some future time it will experience a resurrection in the literal sense, that its graves will be opened, and that all its dead, those deceased with those still alive, will be raised up out of their graves; (2) that God will place them in their own land; and (3) that when He has so placed them in their land, He will put His Spirit within them that they may live: in the first point the idea of the future resurrection, both of those deceased and of those still living, is interpolated into the text; and in the third point, placing them in their land before they are brought to life by the Spirit of God, would be at variance with the text, according to which the giving of the Spirit

precedes the removal to their own land. The repetition of *עַם* in vers. 12 and 13 is also worthy of notice: you who are my people, which bases the comforting promise upon the fact that Israel is the people of Jehovah.

If, therefore, our vision does not set forth the resurrection of the dead in general, but simply the raising to life of the nation of Israel which is given up to death, it is only right that, in order still further to establish this view, we should briefly examine the other explanations that have been given.—The Fathers and most of the orthodox commentators, both of ancient and modern times, have found in vers. 1-10 a *locus classicus* for the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and that quite correctly. But their views differ widely as to the strict meaning and design of the vision itself; inasmuch as some regard the vision as a direct and immediate prophecy of the general resurrection of the dead at the last day, whilst others take the raising of the dead to life shown to the prophet in the vision to be merely a figure or type of the waking up to new life of the Israel which is now dead in its captivity. The first view is mentioned by Jerome; but in later times it has been more especially defended by Calov, and last of all most decidedly by Kliefoth. Yet the supporters of this view acknowledge that vers. 11-14 predict the raising to life of the nation of Israel. The question arises, therefore, how this prediction is to be brought into harmony with such an explanation of the vision. The persons noticed by Jerome, who supported the view that in vers. 4-10 it is the general resurrection that is spoken of, sought to remove the difficulties to which this explanation is exposed, by taking the words, "these bones are the whole house of Israel," as referring to the resurrection of the saints, and connecting them with the first resurrection in Rev. xx. 5, and by interpreting the leading of Israel back to their own land as equivalent to the inheriting of the earth mentioned in Matt. v. 5. Calov, on the other hand, gives the following explanation of the relation in which vers. 11-14 stand to vers. 1-10: "In

this striking vision there was shown by the Lord to the prophet the resurrection of the dead ; but the *occasion*, the *cause*, and the *scope* of this vision were the *resurrection of the Israelitish people*, not so much into its earlier political form, as for the restoration of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the establishment of the worship of God, both of which were indeed restored in the time of Zerubbabel, but were first brought to perfection at the coming of Jesus Christ." He also assumes that the raising of the dead is represented in the vision, "because God would have this representation exhibited for a *figure and confirmation* of the restitution of the people." And lastly, according to Kliefoth, vers. 11-14 do not furnish a literal exposition of the vision, but simply make an application of it to the bringing of Israel to life.—We cannot regard either of these views as correct, because neither of them does justice to the words of the text. The idea of the Fathers, that vers. 11-14 treat of the resurrection of the saints (believers), cannot be reconciled either with the words or with the context of our prophecy, and has evidently originated in perplexity. And the assumption of Calov and Kliefoth, that vers. 11-14 contain simply an application of the general resurrection of the dead exhibited in vers. 1-10 to the resurrection of Israel, by no means exhausts the meaning of the words, "these bones are the whole house of Israel," as we have already observed in our remarks on ver. 11. Moreover, in the vision itself there are certain features to be found which do not apply to the general resurrection of the dead. In proof of this, we will not lay any stress upon the circumstance that Ezekiel sees the resurrection of the dead within certain limits ; that it is only the dead men's bones lying about in one particular valley, and not the dead of the whole earth, though a very great army, that he sees come to life again ; but, on the other hand, we must press the fact that in ver. 9 those who are to be raised to life are called *הַרְגִּים*, a word which does not signify the dead of all kinds, but simply those who have been slain, or have perished by the sword, by

famine, or by other violent deaths, and which indisputably proves that Ezekiel was not shown the resurrection of all the dead, but simply the raising to life of Israel, which had been swept away by a violent death. Kliefoth would account for this restriction from the purpose for which the vision was shown to the prophet. Because the design of the vision was to comfort Israel concerning the wretchedness of its existing condition, and that wretchedness consisted for the most part in the fact that the greater portion of Israel had perished by sword, famine, and pestilence, he was shown the resurrection of the dead generally and universally, as it would take place not in the case of the Israelites alone, but in that of all the dead, though here confined within the limits of one particular field of dead; and stress is laid upon the circumstance that the dead which Ezekiel saw raised to life *instar omnium*, were such as had met with a violent death. This explanation would be admissible, if only it had been indicated or expressed in any way whatever, that the bones of the dead which Ezekiel saw lying about in the בְּקֶעֶת represented all the dead of the whole earth. But we find no such indication; and because in the whole vision there is not a single feature contained which would warrant any such generalization of the field of the dead which Ezekiel saw, we are constrained to affirm that the dead men's bones seen by Ezekiel in the valley represent the whole house of Israel alone, and not the deceased and slain of all mankind; and that the vision does not set forth the resurrection of all the dead, but only the raising to life of the nation of Israel which had been given up to death.

Consequently we can only regard the figurative view of the vision as the correct one, though this also has been adopted in very different ways. When Jerome says that Ezekiel "is prophesying of the restoration of Israel through the parable of the resurrection," and in order to defend himself from the charge of denying the dogma of the resurrection of the dead, adds that "the similitude of a resurrection would never have been

employed to exhibit the restoration of the Israelitish people, if that resurrection had been a delusion, and it had not been believed that it would really take place; because no one confirms uncertain things by means of things which have no existence;"—Hävernicks very justly replies, that the resurrection of the dead is not to be so absolutely regarded as a dogma already completed and defined, or as one universally known and having its roots in the national belief; though Hävernicks is wrong in affirming in support of this that the despair of the people described in ver. 11 plainly shows that so general a belief cannot possibly be presupposed. For we find just the same despair at times when faith in the resurrection of the dead was a universally accepted dogma. The principal error connected with this view is the assumption that the vision was merely a parable formed by Ezekiel in accordance with the dogma of the resurrection of the dead. If, on the contrary, the vision was a spiritual intuition produced by God in the soul of the prophet, it might set forth the resurrection of the dead, even if the belief in this dogma had no existence as yet in the consciousness of the people, or at all events was not yet a living faith; and God might have shown to the prophet the raising of Israel to life under this figure, for the purpose of awakening this belief in Israel.¹ In that case, however, the vision was not merely a parable, but a symbolical representation of a real fact, which was to serve as a pledge to the nation of

¹ No conclusive evidence can be adduced that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead was not only known to Ezekiel, but was regarded by the people as indisputably sure, as both Hengstenberg (*Christology*, vol. III. v. 51, transl.) and Pareau (*Comment. de immortal.* p. 109) assume. Such passages as Isa. xxv. 8 and xxvi. 19, even if Ezekiel referred to them, merely prove that the belief or hope of the resurrection of the dead could not be altogether unknown to the believers of Israel, because Isaiah had already declared it. But the obvious announcement of this dogma in Dan. xii. 2 belongs to a later period than our vision; and even Daniel does not speak of it as a belief that prevailed throughout the nation, but simply communicates it as a consolation offered by the angel of the Lord in anticipation of the times of severe calamity awaiting the people of God.

its restoration to life. Theodoret comes much nearer to the truth when he gives the following as his explanation of the vision: that "on account of the unbelief of the Jews in exile, who were despairing of their restoration, the almighty God makes known His might; and the resurrection of the dead bodies, which was much more difficult than their restoration, is shown to the prophet, in order that all the nation may be taught thereby that everything is easy to His will;"¹ and when, accordingly, he calls what occurs in the vision "a type not of the calling to life of the Jews only, but also of the resurrection of all men." The only defect in this is, that Theodoret regards the dead bones which are brought to life too much as a figurative representation of any dead whatever, and thereby does justice neither to the words, "these bones are the whole house of Israel," which he paraphrases by *τύπος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ταῦτα*, nor to the designation applied to them as *הַרְוּיִים*, though it may fairly be pleaded as a valid excuse so far as *הַרְוּיִים* is concerned, that the force of this word has been completely neutralized in the Septuagint, upon which he was commenting, by the rendering *τοὺς νεκροὺς τούτους*.—Hävernicks has interpreted the vision in a much more abstract manner, and evaporated it into the general idea of a symbolizing of the creative, life-giving power of God, which can raise even the bones of the dead to life again. His exposition is the following: "There is no express prediction of the resurrection in these words, whether of a general resurrection or of the particular resurrection of Israel; but this is only thought of here, inasmuch as it rests upon the creative activity of God, to which even such a conquest of death as this is possible."²

¹ His words are these: *ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ δι' ἣν ἐνόησαν ἀπιστίαν τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἀπηγόρευσαν ἐλπίδας οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἰχμάλωται γενόμενοι, τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτοῖς ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ἐπιδείκνυσιν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν πολλὰ τῆς ἀνακλήσεως ἐκείνης δυσκολωτέραν τῶν νεκρῶν σωματίων ἀνάστασιν ἐπιδείκνυσιν τῷ προφῆτῃ καὶ δι' ἐκείνου πάντα διδάσκει τὸν λαόν, ὡς πάντα αὐτῷ ῥᾶδιον βουλομένῳ.*

² The view expressed by Hofmann (*Schribeweis*, II. 2, pp. 507 sqq.) is a kindred one, namely, that it is not the future resurrection of the dead, or

The calling to life of the thoroughly dried dead bones shown to the prophet in the vision, is a figure or visible representation of that which the Lord announces to him in vers. 11-14, namely, that He will bring Israel out of its graves, give it life with His breath, and bring it into its own land; and consequently a figure of the raising of Israel to life from its existing state of death. The opening of the graves is also a figure; for those whom the Lord will bring out of their graves are they who say, "Our bones are dried," etc. (ver. 11), and therefore not those who are deceased, nor even the spiritually dead, but those who have lost all hope of life. We are not, however, to understand by this merely *mors civilis* and *vita civilis*, as Grotius has done. For Israel was destroyed, not only politically as a nation, but spiritually as a church of the Lord, through the destruction of its two kingdoms and its dispersion among the heathen; and in a very large number of its members it had also been given up to the power of physical death and sunk into the grave. Even then, if we keep out of sight those who were deceased, Israel, as the people of God, was slain (הָרַג), without any hope of coming to life again, or a resurrection to new life. But the Lord now shows the prophet this resurrection under the figure of the raising to life of the very dry bones that lie scattered all around. This is fulfilled through the restoration of Israel as the people of Jehovah, to which the leading of the people back into the land of Israel essentially belongs. The way was opened and prepared for this fulfilment by the return of a portion of the people from the Babylonian captivity under Zerubbabel and Ezra, which was

the resurrection of the deceased Israelites, which is indicated in the vision, and that it does not even set forth to view the unconditioned power of God over death, or an idea which is intended as a pledge of the resurrection of the dead; but that by the revelation made manifest to the prophet in the state of ecstasy, the completeness of that state of death out of which Israel is to be restored is exhibited, and thus the truth is set before his eyes that the word of prophecy has the inherent power to ensure its own fulfilment, even when Israel is in a condition which bears precisely the same resemblance to a nation as the state of death to a human being.

brought to pass by the Lord, by the rebuilding of the cities of Judah and the temple which had been destroyed, and by the restoration of political order. But all this was nothing more than a pledge of the future and complete restoration of Israel. For although the Lord still raised up prophets for those who had returned and furthered the building of His house, His glory did not enter the newly erected temple, and the people never attained to independence again,—that is to say, not to permanent independence,—but continued in subjection to the imperial power of the heathen. And even if, according to Ezra, very many more of the exiles may have returned to their native land, by whom, for example, Galilee was repopulated and brought into cultivation again, the greater portion of the nation remained dispersed among the heathen. The true restoration of Israel as the people of the Lord commenced with the founding of the new kingdom of God, the “kingdom of heaven,” through the appearing of Christ upon the earth. But inasmuch as the Jewish nation as such, or in its entirety, did not acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Messiah foretold by the prophets and sent by God, but rejected its Saviour, there burst afresh upon Jerusalem and the Jewish nation the judgment of dispersion among the heathen; whereas the kingdom of God founded by Christ spread over the earth, through the entrance of believers from among the Gentiles. This judgment upon the Jewish people, which is hardened in unbelief, still continues, and will continue until the time when the full number of the Gentiles has entered into the kingdom of God, and Israel as a people shall also be converted to Christ, acknowledge the crucified One as its Saviour, and bow the knee before Him (Rom. xi. 25, 26). Then will “all Israel” be raised up out of its graves, the graves of its political and spiritual death, and brought back into its own land, which will extend as far as the Israel of God inhabits the earth. Then also will the hour come in which all the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and come forth out of their graves to the resurrection (Dan.

xii. 2; John v. 25-29); when the Lord shall appear in His glory, and descend from heaven with the trump of God (1 Thess. iv. 16), to call all the dead to life, and through the judgment upon all the nations to perfect His kingdom in glory, and bring the righteous into the Canaan of the new earth, into the heavenly Jerusalem, to the imperishable life of everlasting blessedness.

All these several factors in the restoration of Israel, which has been given up to the death of exile on account of its sins, though far removed from one another, so far as the time of their occurrence is concerned, are grouped together as one in the vision of the coming to life of the dead bones of the whole house of Israel. The two features which are kept distinct in the visionary description—namely, (1) the coming together of the dry bones, and their being clothed with sinews, flesh, and skin; and (2) the bringing to life of the bones, which have now the form of corpses, through the divine breath of life—are not to be distinguished in the manner proposed by Hengstenberg, namely, that the first may be taken as referring to the restoration of the civil condition—the external *restitutio in integrum*; the second, to the giving of new life through the outpouring of the Spirit of God.—Even according to our view, the vision contains a prophecy of the resurrection of the dead, only not in this sense, that the doctrine of the general resurrection of the dead is the premiss, or the design, or the direct meaning of the vision; but that the figurative meaning constitutes the foreground, and the full, literal meaning of the words the background of the prophetic vision, and that the fulfilment advances from the figurative to the literal meaning,—the raising up of the people of Israel out of the civil and spiritual death of exile being completed in the raising up of the dead out of their graves to everlasting life at the last day.

Vers. 15-28. *Reunion of Israel as one Nation under the future King David.*

This word of God directs the prophet to represent by a sign the reunion of the tribes of Israel, which have been divided into two kingdoms (vers. 15-17), and to explain this sign to the people (vers. 18-21), and predict its sanctification and blessedness under the reign of the future David (vers. 22-28). What is new in this word of God is the express prediction, embodied in a symbolical action, of the reunion of the divided tribes of Israel into one single people of God, which has been already hinted at in the promise of the raising to life of "the whole house of Israel" (ver. 11). This brief indication is here plainly expressed and more fully developed.

Ver. 15. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,*
 Ver. 16. *And thou, son of man, take to thyself a piece of wood, and write upon it: Of Judah, and the sons of Israel, his associates; and take another piece of wood, and write upon it: Of Joseph, the wood of Ephraim, and the whole house of Israel, his associates;*
 Ver. 17. *And put them together, one to the other, into one piece of wood to thee, that they may be united in thy hand.*
 Ver. 18. *And when the sons of thy people say to thee, Wilt thou not show us what thou meanest by this?*
 Ver. 19. *Say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will take the wood of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel, his associates, which I put thereon, with the wood of Judah, and will make them into one stick, that they may be one in my hand.*
 Ver. 20. *And the pieces of wood upon which thou hast written shall be in thy hand before their eyes.*
 Ver. 21. *And say to them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will take the sons of Israel out of the nations among whom they walk, and will gather them from round about, and lead them into their land.*
 Ver. 22. *I will make them into one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall be king over them all; and it shall not become two nations any more, and they shall*

not henceforth be divided into two kingdoms any more ; Ver. 23. And shall not defile themselves by their idols and their abominations, and by all their transgressions ; but I will help them from all their dwelling-places, in which they have sinned, and will cleanse them ; so that they shall be my people, and I will be their God. Ver. 24. And my servant David will be king over them, and be a shepherd for them all ; and they will walk in my rights, and keep my statutes and do them. Ver. 25. And they will dwell in the land which I gave to my servant Jacob, in which their fathers dwelt ; there will they dwell, and their children's children for ever ; and my servant David will be a prince to them for ever. Ver. 26. And I make a covenant of peace with them for ever, an everlasting covenant shall be with them ; and I will place them, and multiply them, and put my sanctuary in the midst of them for ever. Ver. 27. And my dwelling will be over them ; I will be their God, and they will be my people. Ver. 28. And the nation shall know that I am Jehovah, who sanctifieth Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for ever.

The symbolical action commanded in vers. 16 and 17, which the prophet no doubt performed in all its external reality (cf. vers. 19 and 20), is easily understood, and expresses the thing to be represented in the clearest manner. The writing of the names of the tribes composing the two kingdoms recalls to mind the similar act on the part of Moses (Num. xvii. 17 sqq.). But the act itself is a different one here, and neither the passage referred to nor Ezek. xxi. 15 furnishes any proof that עץ signifies a staff or rod. Ezekiel would undoubtedly have used מִטָּה for a staff. Nor have we even to think of flat boards, but simply of pieces of wood upon which a few words could be written, and which could be held in one hand. The ׀ before the names to be written upon each piece of wood is the sign of the genitive, indicating to whom it belongs, as in the case of the heading to David's psalms (לְדָוִד). This is evident from the fact that in עֵץ אֶפְרַיִם the construct state is used instead. The name is to indicate that the piece of wood belongs to Judah or

Ephraim, and represents it. The command to Ezekiel to write upon one piece of wood, not only Judah, but "the sons of Israel, his associates," arose from the circumstance that the kingdom of Judah included, in addition to the tribe of Judah, the greater portion of Benjamin and Simeon, the tribe of Levi and those pious Israelites who emigrated at different times from the kingdom of the ten tribes into that of Judah, who either were or became associates of Judah (2 Chron. xi. 12 sqq., xv. 9, xxx. 11, 18, xxxi. 1). In the writing upon the second piece of wood, עֵץ אֶפְרַיִם is an explanatory apposition to לְיִסְרָאֵל, and an accusative governed by כָּתֹב. But the command is not to be understood as signifying that Ezekiel was to write the words עֵץ אֶפְרַיִם upon the piece of wood; all that he was to write was, "Joseph and the whole house of Israel, his associates." The name of Joseph is chosen, in all probability, not as the more honourable name, as Hävernicks supposes, but because the house of Joseph, consisting of the two powerful tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, formed the trunk of the kingdom of the ten tribes (Kliefoth). The "whole house of Israel, his associates," are the rest of the tribes belonging to that kingdom. The two pieces of wood, with these inscriptions upon them, Ezekiel is to put together, and hold in his hand bound together in one. מִתְּחִילָה לָךְ, what these (two pieces of wood) are to thee, is equivalent to, what thou meanest to indicate by them. For the rest, compare ch. xxiv. 19. In the word of God explaining the action (ver. 19), the wood of Joseph is not the piece of wood with Joseph's name written upon it, but the kingdom represented by this piece of wood which was in Ephraim's hand, inasmuch as the hegemony was with the tribe of Ephraim. Instead of the wood, therefore, the tribes (not staffs) of Israel, *i.e.* the Israelites who constituted these tribes, are mentioned as his associates. God will put these upon the wood of Joseph (עֵץ), *i.e.* will join them together, and then place them with the wood of Judah, *i.e.* the kingdom of Judah, and unite them into one wood (or nation).

אֶת־עֵץ יְהוּדָה, the construction of which has been misunderstood by Hitzig, is neither in apposition to עֵלָיו, nor governed by נָתַתִּי: "and will put them thereupon, upon the wood of Judah" (Hitzig and Kliefoth), or, "I add them to it, (namely) with the wood of Judah" (De Wette); but it is dependent upon לָקַח, "I take the wood of Joseph . . . and the tribes of Israel, his associates, which I put thereon, along with the wood of Judah, and make them into one wood." The construction is rendered obscure simply by the fact that the relative clause, "which I put thereon," is attached to the principal clause 'אֲנִי לָקַח וְנָתַתִּי by *Vav consec.* In בְּיָדִי, "they shall be one *in my hand*," there is probably an antithesis to בְּיַד אֶפְרַיִם, those who have come into Ephraim's hand, the tribes severed by Ephraim from the kingdom of God, will God once more bring together with Judah, and hold in His hand as an undivided nation.—In ver. 20 the description of the sign is completed by the additional statement, that the pieces of wood on which the prophet has written are to be in his hand before their eyes, and consequently that the prophet is to perform the act in such a way that his countrymen may see it; from which it follows that he performed it in its outward reality. The fulfilment of the instructions is not specially mentioned, as being self-evident; but in vers. 21–28 the further explanation of the symbolical action is given at once; and the interpretation goes beyond the symbol, inasmuch as it not only describes the manner in which God will effect the union of the divided tribes, but also what He will do for the preservation of the unity of the reunited people, and for the promotion of their blessedness. This explanation is arranged in two strophes through the repetition of the concluding thought: "they will be my people," etc., in vers. 23 and 27. Each of these strophes contains a twofold promise. The first (vers. 21–23) promises (a) the gathering of the Israelites out of their dispersion, their restoration to their own land, and their union as one nation under the rule of David (vers. 21, 22); (b) their purification from all sins, and

sanctification as the true people of the Lord (ver. 23). The second strophe (vers. 24-27) promises (a) their undisturbed eternal abode in the land, under David their prince (ver. 25); (b) the blessedness conferred upon them through the conclusion of an everlasting covenant of peace (vers. 26 and 27). This second promise, therefore, constitutes the completion of the first, securing to the nation of Israel its restoration and sanctification for all time. The whole promise, however, is merely a repetition of that contained in ch. xxxiv. 11-31 and xxxvi. 22-30. —The three factors—the gathering out of the nations, restoration to the land of Israel, and reunion as one people—form the first act of divine grace. The union of the Israelites, when brought back to their land, is accomplished by God giving them in David a king who will so rule the reunited people that they will not be divided any more into two peoples and two kingdoms. The *Chetib* יְהִי is not to be altered into the plural יְהִי, as in the *Keri*; but יְהִי is to be supplied in thought, from the preceding clause, as the subject to the verb. The division of the nation into two kingdoms had its roots, no doubt, in the ancient jealousy existing between the two tribes Ephraim and Judah; but it was primarily brought to pass through the falling away of Solomon from the Lord. Consequently it could only be completely and for ever terminated through the righteous government of the second David, and the purification of the people from their sins. This is the way in which ver. 23 is attached to ver. 22. For ver. 23a compare ch. xiv. 11 and xxxvi. 25. Different interpretations have been given of the words, “I help them from all their dwelling-places, in which they have sinned.” They recall to mind ch. xxxvi. 29, “I help them from all their uncleannesses.” As הִשְׁמַח מִן signifies, in that case, “to preserve therefrom,” so in the present instance the thought can only be, “God will preserve them from all the dwelling-places in which they have sinned.” Hengstenberg is of opinion that the redemption from the dwelling-places does not take place locally, but spiritually, through the cleansing

away of all traces of sin, first from the hearts, and then, in consequence, from all around. In this way is the land changed, through the power of the Lord, into another land, from a sinful to a holy one; just as before it had been changed from a holy to a sinful one through the guilt of the people. But if this were the only thought which the words contained, Ezekiel would certainly have placed the *וַיִּהְיֶה רָחֵם* before *וַיִּשְׁעֵתִּי וְנִי*. As the words read, the deliverance of the people from their sinful dwelling-places is to precede their purification, to prepare the way for it and bring it to pass, and not to follow after it. The dwelling-places, at or in which they have sinned, cannot be the settlements in foreign lands, as Hitzig supposes, but only the dwelling-places in Canaan, to which the Lord would bring them after gathering them from their dispersion. *הַיִּשָּׁע* does not signify, "leading out from these dwelling-places," which is the explanation given by Kliefoth, who consequently thinks that we must understand the words as denoting the leading over of Israel from the present Canaan, or the Canaan of this life, to which its sins adhere, to the glorified, new, and eternal Canaan. This view is utterly irreconcilable both with the words themselves and also with the context. Even if *הַיִּשָּׁע* meant to lead out, it would not be allowable to transform the "leading out" from the sinful Canaan into a "leading in" to the glorified and heavenly Canaan. Moreover, the further development of this promise in ver. 25 also shows that it is not in the glorified, eternal Canaan that Israel is to dwell, but in the earthly Canaan in which its fathers dwelt. It is obvious from this, that in all the promise here given there is no allusion to a transformation and glorification of Canaan itself. The helping or saving from all dwelling-places in which they have sinned would rather consist in the fact, therefore, that God would remove from their dwelling-places everything that could offer them an inducement to sin. For although sin has its seat, not in the things without us, but in the heart, the external circumstances of a man do offer various inducements to sin.

Before the captivity, Canaan offered such an inducement, to the Israelites through the idolatry and moral corruption of the Canaanites who were left in the land. And with reference to this the Lord promises that in future, when His people are brought back to Canaan, He will preserve them from the sinful influence of their dwelling-places. But this preservation will only be effected with complete success when God purifies Israel itself, and, by means of its renovation, eradicates all sinful desire from the heart (cf. ch. xxxvi. 26, 27). In this way *וְהִשְׁעֵמִי וְגו'* is appended in the most fitting way to *וְיִסְרְרֵמִי*.—Through the removal of all sinful influences from around them, and the purifying of the heart, Israel will then become in truth the people of God, and Jehovah the God of Israel (ver. 23).—Israel, when thus renewed, will walk in the rights of the Lord and fulfil His commandments, under the protection of its one shepherd David, *i.e.* of the Messiah (ver. 24, cf. ch. xxxvi. 27, and xxxiv. 23); and its children and children's children will dwell for ever in its own land, David being its prince for ever (ver. 25, cf. ch. xxxvi. 28 and xxxiv. 24). What is new in this promise, which is repeated from ch. xxxiv. and xxxvi., is contained in *לְעוֹלָם*, which is to be taken in the strict sense of the word. Neither the dwelling of Israel in Canaan, nor the government of the David-Messiah, will ever have an end. *לְעוֹלָם* is therefore repeated in ver. 26 in the promise of the covenant which the Lord will make with His people. The thought itself has already been expressed in ch. xxxiv. 25, and *בְּרִית שְׁלוֹם* is to be understood, both here and there, as comprehending all the saving good which the Lord will bestow upon His sanctified people. There are only two factors of this salvation mentioned here in vers. 26b and 27, namely, the multiplication of the people, as the earthly side of the divine blessing, and the establishing of His eternal sanctuary in the midst of them as the spiritual side. These two points refer back to the former acts of God, and hold up to view the certain and full realization in the future of what has hitherto been neither per-

fectly nor permanently accomplished on account of the sins of the people. **וַיַּתְתִּים**, in ver. 26, is not to be taken in connection with **וַיְהַרְבֵּיתִי אוֹתָם**, so as to form one idea in the sense of *dabo eos multiplicatos* (Venema and Hengstenberg), for we have no analogies of such a mode of combination; but **וַיַּתְתִּים**, I make, or place them, is to be taken by itself, and completed from the context, "I make them into a nation, and I multiply them (cf. ch. xxxvi. 10, 11, 37). Ezekiel has here Lev. xxvi. 9 and 11 in his mind, as we may see from the fact that the words, "I give my sanctuary in the midst of them for ever," are obviously formed after Lev. xxvi. 11, "I give my dwelling in the midst of them;" in such a manner, however, that by the substitution of **מִשְׁכָּנִי** for **מִקְדָּשִׁי**, and the addition of **לְעוֹלָם**, the promise is both deepened and strengthened. In the change of **מִשְׁכָּנִי** into **מִקְדָּשִׁי**, he may indeed have had the words of Ex. xxv. 8 floating before his mind, "they shall make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them;" nevertheless he deliberately selected the expression "my sanctuary," to indicate that the Lord would dwell in the midst of Israel as the Holy One, and the Sanctifier of His people. Moreover, the words are not, "my dwelling will be in the midst of them, or among them" (**בְּתוֹכָם**), but **עֲלֵיהֶם**, over them. This expression is transferred from the site of the temple, towering above the city (Ps. lxxviii. 30), to the dwelling of God among His people, to give prominence to the protective power and saving grace of the God who rules in Israel (cf. Hengstenberg on Ps. lxxviii. 30). The sanctuary which Jehovah will give in Israel for ever, *i.e.* will found and cause to endure, that He may dwell in the midst of it to shelter and bless, is the temple, but not the temple built by Zerubbabel. As an objection to this Jewish interpretation, Jerome has justly said: "but how could it be said to stand '*for ever*,' when that temple which was built in the time of Zerubbabel, and afterwards restored by many others, was consumed by Roman fire? All these things are to be taken as referring to the church in the time of the Saviour, when His tabernacle

was placed in the church." There is no reference whatever here to the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel; not because that temple did not stand for ever and was destroyed by the Romans, but chiefly because God did not make it His abode, or fill this temple with His gracious presence (Shechinah). The sanctuary which God will place for ever among His people is the sanctuary seen by Ezekiel in ch. xl. sqq.; and this is merely a figurative representation of the "dwelling of God in the midst of His people through His Son and Holy Spirit" (cf. Vitringa, *Observv.* I. p. 161), which began to be realized in the incarnation of the Logos, who is set forth in John i. 14 as the true לְבַשׁ , in the words $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$, and is continued in the spiritual dwelling of God in the heart of believers (1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19), and will be completed at the second coming of our Lord in the "tabernacle ($\sigma\kappa\eta\eta\eta$) of God with men" of the new Jerusalem, of which the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple, since Israel will then first have become in truth the people of God, and Jehovah (God with them) their God (Rev. xxi. 3, 22).—The promise concludes in ver. 28 with an allusion to the impression which these acts of God in Israel will make upon the heathen (cf. ch. xxxvi. 36). From the fact that Jehovah erects His sanctuary in the midst of Israel for ever, they will learn that it is He who sanctifieth Israel. שָׁפַר , to sanctify, means, "to remove from all connection either with sin or with its consequences. Here the reference is to the latter, because these alone strike the eyes of the heathen; but the former is presupposed as the necessary foundation" (Hengstenberg). The words rest upon the promises of the Pentateuch, where God describes Himself as He who will and does sanctify Israel (compare Ex. xxxi. 13; Lev. xxii. 31-33). This promise, which has hitherto been only imperfectly fulfilled on account of Israel's guilt, will be perfectly realized in the future, when Israel will walk in the ways of the Lord, renewed by the Spirit of God.

Thus does this prophecy of Ezekiel span the whole future of

the people of God even to eternity. But the promise in which it culminates, namely, that the Lord will erect His sanctuary in the midst of His restored people, and there take up His abode above them for ever (ch. xxxvii. 26 sqq.), is of importance as helping to decide the question, how we are to understand the fulfilment of the restoration to Canaan into the land given to the fathers, which is promised to all Israel; whether, in a literal manner, by the restoration of the Israelites to Palestine; or spiritually, by the gathering together of the Israelites converted to the Lord their God and Saviour, and their introduction into the kingdom of God founded by Christ, in which case Canaan, as the site of the Old Testament kingdom of God, would be a symbolical or typical designation of the earthly soil of the heavenly kingdom, which has appeared in the Christian church. —These two different views have stood opposed to one another from time immemorial, inasmuch as the Jews expect from the Messiah, for whose advent they still hope, not only their restoration to Palestine, but the erection of the kingdom of David and the rebuilding of the temple upon Mount Zion, together with the sacrificial worship of the Levitical law; whereas in the Christian church, on the ground of the New Testament doctrine, that the old covenant has been abolished along with the Levitical temple-worship through the perfect fulfilment of the law by Christ and the perpetual efficacy of His atoning sacrifice, the view has prevailed that, with the abolition of the Old Testament form of the kingdom of God, even Palestine has ceased to be the chosen land of the revelation of the saving grace of God, and under the new covenant Canaan extends as far as the Israel of the new covenant, the church of Jesus Christ, is spread abroad over the earth, and that Zion or Jerusalem is to be sought wherever Christendom worships God in spirit and in truth, wherever Christ is with His people, and dwells in the hearts of believers through the Holy Spirit. It was by J. A. Bengel and C. F. Oetinger that the so-called “realistic” interpretation of the Messianic prophecies of the

Old Testament—according to which, after the future conversion to Christ of the Jewish people who are hardened still, the establishment of the kingdom of God in Palestine and its capital Jerusalem is to be expected—has been revived and made into one of the leading articles of Christian hope. By means of this “realistic” exposition of the prophetic word the chiliastic dogma of the establishment of a kingdom of glory before the last judgment and the end of the world is then deduced from the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse; and many of the theologians of our day regard this as the certain resultant of a deeper study of the Scriptures. In the more precise definition of the dogma itself, the several supporters diverge very widely from one another; but they all agree in this, that they base the doctrine chiefly upon the prophetic announcement of the eventual conversion and glorification of all Israel. —As Ezekiel then stands out among all the prophets as the one who gives the most elaborate prediction of the restoration of Israel under the government of the Messiah, and he not only draws in ch. xl.—xlviii. a detailed picture of the new form of the kingdom of God, but also in ch. xxxviii. and xxxix., in the prophecy concerning Gog and Magog, foretells an attack on the part of the heathen world upon the restored kingdom of God, which appears, according to Rev. xx. 7–9, to constitute the close of the thousand years’ reign; we must look somewhat more closely at this view, and by examining the arguments *pro* and *con*, endeavour to decide the question as to the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies concerning the future of Israel. In doing this, however, we shall fix our attention exclusively upon the exegetical arguments adduced in support of the chiliastic view by its latest supporters.¹

¹ These are, C. A. Auberlen, “The Prophet Daniel and the Revelation of John;” also in a treatise on the Messianic Prophecies of the Mosaic times, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie*, IV. pp. 778 sqq.; J. C. K. Hofmann, in his *Weissagung und Erfüllung im A. u. N. Testamente*, and in the *Schriftbeweis*, vol. II. p. 2; Mich. Baumgarten, article “Ezekiel” in Herzog’s

The prophetic announcement, that the Lord will one day gather together again the people of Israel, which has been thrust out among the heathen for its unfaithfulness, will bring it back into the land given to the fathers, and there bless and greatly multiply it, has its roots in the promises of the law. If the stiff-necked transgressors of the commandments of God—these are the words of Lev. xxvi. 40–45—bear the punishment of their iniquity in the land of their enemies, and confess their sins, and their uncircumcised heart is humbled, then will the Lord remember His covenant with the patriarchs, and not cast them off even in the land of their enemies, to destroy them, and to break His covenant with them; but will remember the covenant which He made with their ancestors, when He brought them out of Egypt before the eyes of the nations to be their God. He will, as this is more precisely defined in Deut. xxx. 3 sqq., gather them together again out of the heathen nations, lead them back into the land which their fathers possessed, and multiply Israel more than its fathers. On the ground of this promise, of which Moses gives a still further pledge to the people in his dying song (Deut. xxxii. 36–43), all the prophets announce the restoration and ultimate glorification of Israel. This song, which closes with the promise, “Rejoice, ye nations, over His people; for He will avenge the blood of His servants, and repay vengeance to His adversaries, and expiate His land, His people,” continues to resound—to use the words of Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, II. 2, pp. 89, 90)—“through all the Old Testament prophecy. Not only when Obadiah (ver. 17) and Joel (ch. iii. 5) promise good to their nation do they call Mount Zion and the city of Jerusalem the place where there is protection from the judgment upon the nations of the world; but Micah also, who foretells the destruction of the temple and

Cyclopaedia, and here and there in his commentary on the Old Testament; C. E. Luthardt, *The Doctrine of the Last Things in Treatises and Expositions of Scripture* (1851); and Dr. Volck, in the *Dorpatser Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, IX. pp. 142 sqq.; and others.

the carrying away of his people to Babylon, beholds Mount Zion exalted at last above all the seats of worldly power, and his people brought back to the land of their fathers (ch. iv. 1, vii. 14). The same Isaiah, who was sent to harden his people with the word of his prophecy, is nevertheless certain that at last a holy nation will dwell in Jerusalem, a remnant of Israel (Isa. iv. 3, x. 21); and the holy mountain of Jehovah, to which His scattered people return from all the ends of the world, is that abode of peace where even wild beasts do no more harm under the rule of the second David (Isa. xi. 9, 11). After all the calamities which it was the mournful lot of Jeremiah to foretell and also to witness, Jehovah showed this prophet the days when He would restore His people, and bring them back to the land which He gave to their fathers (Jer. xxx. 3). . . . And the same promise is adhered to even after the return. In every way is the assurance given by Zechariah, that Judah shall be God's holy possession in God's holy land."¹ This restoration of Israel Ezekiel describes, in harmony with Jer. xxxi.,

¹ Compare with this the words of Auberlen (*der Prophet Daniel*, p. 399, ed. 2): "The doctrine of the glorious restoration of Israel to Canaan, after severe chastisement and humiliation, is so essential and fundamental a thought of all prophecy, that the difficulty is not so much to find passages to support it, as to make a selection from them. By way of example, let us notice Isa. ii. 2-4, iv. 2-6, ix. 1-6, xi. and xii.; more especially xi. 11 sqq., xxiv. sqq., lx. sqq.; Jer. xxx.-xxxiii.; Ezek. xxxiv. 23-31, xxxvi., xxxvii.; Hos. ii. 16-25, iii. 4, 5, xi. 8-11, xiv. 2 sqq.; Joel iii. 1-5, iv. 16-21; Amos ix. 8-15; Obad. vers. 17-21; Mic. ii. 12, 13, iv., v., vii. 11-20; Zeph. iii. 14-20; Zech. ii. 4 sqq., viii. 7 sqq., ix. 9 sqq., x. 8-12, xii. 2-xiii. 6, xiv. 8 sqq." Auberlen (pp. 400 sq.) then gives the following as the substance of these prophetic descriptions: "Israel having been brought back to its own land, will be the people of God in a much higher and deeper sense than before; inasmuch as sin will be averted, the knowledge of God will fill the land, and the Lord will dwell again in the midst of His people at Jerusalem. A new period of revelation is thus commenced, the Spirit of God is richly poured out, and with this a plenitude of such gifts of grace as were possessed in a typical manner by the apostolic church. And this rich spiritual life has also its perfect external manifestation both in a priestly and a regal form. The priesthood of Israel was more especially seen by Ezekiel, the son of a priest, in his mysterious vision in ch. xl.-xlviii.; the monarchy by Daniel, the statesman; while

though in a much more detailed picture, in the following way : —“ The condition of things in the future will differ from that in the past, simply in the fact that Israel will then have a heart converted to fidelity and obedience by the Spirit of God (ch. xi. 19, xxxvi. 27), and will live in good peace and prosperity under the shelter of its God, who is known and acknowledged by all the world (ch. xxxvi. 23). The land to which it is restored, a land most decidedly represented by Ezekiel as the same as that in which its fathers lived (ch. xxxvii. 25), appears throughout merely as a happy earthly dwelling-place, and the promise of its possession as an assurance given to a nation continuing to propagate itself in peace” (Hofmann, p. 576). This manner of depicting the condition of the Israel restored and glorified by the Messiah, as a peaceful settlement and a happy life in the land of the fathers, a life rich in earthly possessions, is not confined, however, to Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but stands out more or less conspicuously in the Messianic pictures of all the prophets. What follows, then, from this in

Jeremiah, for example, unites the two (ch. xxxiii. 17-22). What took place only in an outward way, *i.e.* in the letter, during the Old Testament times, and withdrew, on the other hand, into the inward and hidden spirit-life during the time of the Christian church, will then manifest itself outwardly also, and assume an external though pneumatic form. In the Old Testament the whole of the national life of Israel in its several forms of manifestation, domestic and political life, labour and art, literature and culture, was regulated by religion, though only at first in an outward and legal way. The church, on the other hand, has, above all, to urge a renewal of the heart, and must give freedom to the outward forms which life assumes, enjoining upon the conscience of individual men, in these also to glorify Christ. In the thousand years' reign all these departments of life will be truly Christianized, and that from within. Looked at in this light, there will be nothing left to give offence, if we bear in mind that the ceremonial law of Moses corresponds to the priesthood of Israel, and the civil law to the monarchy. The Gentile church has only been able to adopt the moral law, however certainly it has been directed merely to the inwardly working means of the word, or of the prophetic office. But when once the priesthood and the kingly office have been restored, then, without doing violence to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the ceremonial and civil law of Moses will unfold its spiritual depths in the worship and constitution of the thousand years' reign.”

relation to the mode in which these prophecies are to be fulfilled? Is it that the form assumed by the life of the people of Israel when restored will be only a heightened repetition of the conditions of its former life in Palestine, undisturbed by sin? By no means. On the contrary, it follows from this that the prophets have depicted the glorious restoration of Israel by the Messiah by means of figures borrowed from the past and present of the national life of Israel, and therefore that their picture is not to be taken literally, but symbolically or typically, and that we are not to expect it to be literally fulfilled.

We are forced to this conclusion by the fact that, through the coming of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven which began with Him, the idea of the people of God has been so expanded, that henceforth not the lineal descendants of Abraham, or the Jewish nation merely, but the church of confessors of Jesus Christ, gathered together out of Israel and the Gentiles, has become the people of God, and the economy of the Old Testament has ceased to constitute the divinely appointed form of the church of God. If, therefore, the Jewish people, who have rejected the Saviour, who appeared in Jesus Christ, and have hardened themselves against the grace and truth revealed in Him, are not cast off for ever, but, according to the promises of the Old Testament and the teaching of the Apostle Paul (Rom. xi.), will eventually repent, and as a people turn to the crucified One, and then also realize the fulfilment of the promises of God; there is still lacking, with the typical character of the prophetic announcement, any clear and unambiguous biblical evidence that all Israel, whose salvation is to be looked for in the future, will be brought back to Palestine, when eventually converted to Christ the crucified One, and continue there as a people separated from the rest of Christendom, and form the earthly centre of the church of the Lord gathered out of all nations and tongues. For, however well founded the remark of Hofmann (*ut sup.* p. 88) may be, that "holy people and holy land are demanded by one another;" this proves

nothing more than that the holy people, gathered out of all the families of the earth through the believing reception of the gospel, will also have a holy land for its dwelling-place; in other words, that, with the spread of the church of the Lord over all the quarters of the globe, the earth will become holy land or Canaan, so far as it is inhabited by the followers of Christ. The Apostle Paul teaches this in the same Epistle in which he foretells to Israel, hardened in unbelief, its eventual restoration and blessedness; when he explains in Rom. iv. 9-13 that to Abraham or his seed the promise that he was to be the heir of the world was not fulfilled through the law, but through the righteousness of the faith, which Abraham had when still uncircumcised, that he might become a father of all those who believe, though they be not circumcised, and a father of the circumcision, not merely of those who are of the circumcision, but of those also who walk in the footsteps of his faith. As the apostle, when developing this thought, interprets the promise given to the patriarch in Gen. xii. 7 and xv. 18: "to thy seed will I give this land" (*i.e.* the land of Canaan), by κληρονομεῖν κόσμον (inheriting the world), he regards Canaan as a type of the world or of the earth, which would be occupied by the children born of faith to the patriarch.

This typical interpretation of the promise, given in the Old Testament to the seed of Abraham, of the everlasting possession of the land of Canaan, which is thus taught by the Apostle Paul, and has been adopted by the church on his authority, corresponds also to the spirit and meaning of the Old Testament word of God. This is evident from Gen. xvii., where the Lord God, when instituting the covenant of circumcision, gives not to Abraham only, but expressly to Sarah also, the promise to make them into peoples (לְגוֹיִם), that kings of nations (מְלָכֵי עַמִּים) shall come from them through the son, whom they are to receive (vers. 6 and 16), and at the same time promises to give to the seed of Abraham, thus greatly to be multiplied, the land of his pilgrimage, the whole land of Canaan, for an

everlasting possession (ver. 8). This promise the Lord, as the "almighty God," has not carried into effect by making Abraham and Sarah into nations through the lineal posterity of Isaac, but only through the spiritual seed of Abraham, believers out of all nations, who have become, and still will become, children of Abraham in Christ. It was only through these that Abraham became the father of a multitude of nations (לְאַבְרָהָם הָיָה אֲבִי הַמְּלִיּוֹת, ver. 5). For although two peoples sprang from Isaac, the Israelites through Jacob, and the Edomites through Esau, and Abraham also became the ancestor of several tribes through Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, the divine promise in question refers to the people of Israel alone, because Esau was separated from the seed of the promise by God Himself, and the other sons of Abraham were excluded by the fact that they were not born of Sarah. The twelve tribes, however, formed but one people; and although Ezekiel calls them two peoples (ch. xxxv. 10 and xxxvii. 22), having in view their division into two kingdoms, they are never designated or described in the Old or New Testament as הָעַמִּים הַשְׁנָיִם. To this one people God did indeed give the land of Canaan for a possession, according to the boundaries described in Num. xxxiv., so that it dwelt therein until it was driven out and scattered among the heathen for its persistent unfaithfulness. But inasmuch as that portion of the promise which referred to the multiplication of the seed of Abraham into peoples was only to receive its complete fulfilment in Christ, according to the counsel and will of God, through the grafting of the believing Gentile nations into the family of Abraham, and has so received it, we are not at liberty to restrict the other portion of this promise, relating to the possession of the land of Canaan, to the lineal posterity of the patriarch, or the people of Israel by lineal descent, but must assume that in the promise of the land to be given to the seed of Abraham God even then spoke of Canaan as a type of the land which was to be possessed by the posterity of Abraham multiplied into nations.

This typical phraseology runs through all the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, and that both with regard to the promised seed, which Abraham received through Isaac (Gen. xxi. 12) in the people of Israel, and also with reference to the land promised to this seed for an inheritance, although, while the old covenant established at Sinai lasted, Israel according to the flesh was the people of God, and the earthly Canaan between the Euphrates and the river of Egypt was the dwelling-place of this people. For inasmuch as Abraham received the promise at the very time of his call, that in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed, and the germs of the universal destination of the people and kingdom of God were deposited, according to Gen. xvii., in the subsequent patriarchal promises, the prophets continued to employ the names of Israel and Canaan more and more in their Messianic prophecies as symbolical terms for the two ideas of the people and kingdom of God. And from the time when the fortress of Jerusalem upon Mount Zion was exalted by David into the capital of his kingdom and the seat of his government over Israel, and was also made the site of the dwelling of Jehovah in the midst of His people, by the removal of the ark of the covenant to Zion, and the building of the temple which was planned by David, though only carried into execution by Solomon his son, they employed Zion and Jerusalem in the same typical manner as the seat and centre of the kingdom of God; so that, in the Messianic psalms and the writings of the prophets, Zion or Jerusalem is generally mentioned as the place from which the king (David-Messiah), anointed by Jehovah as prince over His people, extends His dominion over all the earth, and whither the nations pour to hear the law of the Lord, and to be instructed as to His ways and their walking in His paths.

Consequently neither the prominence expressly given to the land in the promises contained in Lev. xxvi. 42 and Deut. xxxii. 43, upon which such stress is laid by Auberlen (*die*

messianische Weissagungen, pp. 827 and 833), nor the fact that Mount Zion or the city of Jerusalem is named as the place of judgment upon the world of nations and the completion of the kingdom of God, to which both Hofmann and Auberlen appeal in the passages already quoted, furnishes any valid evidence that the Jewish people, on its eventual conversion to Christ, will be brought back to Palestine, and that the Lord, at His second coming, will establish the millennial kingdom in the earthly Jerusalem, and take up His abode on the material Mount Zion, in a temple built by human hands.

Even the supporters of the literal interpretation of the Messianic prophecies cannot deny the symbolico-typical character of the Old Testament revelation. Thus Auberlen, for example, observes (*die mess. Weiss.* p. 821) that, "in their typical character, the sacrifices furnish us with an example of the true signification of *all the institutions* of the Old Testament kingdom of God, while *the latter* exhibit to us in external symbol and type the truly holy people and the Messianic kingdom in its perfection, just as the former set forth the sacrifice of the Messiah." But among these institutions the Israelitish sanctuary (tabernacle or temple) undoubtedly occupied a leading place as a symbolico-typical embodiment of the kingdom of God established in Israel, as is now acknowledged by nearly all the expositors of Scripture who have any belief in revelation. It is not merely the institutions of the old covenant, however, which have a symbolico-typical signification, but this is also the case with the history of the covenant nation of the Old Testament, and the soil in which this history developed itself. This is so obvious, that Auberlen himself (*ut sup.* p. 827) has said that "it is quite a common thing with the prophets to represent the approaching dispersion and enslaving of Israel among the heathen as a renewal of their condition in Egypt, and the eventual restoration of both the people and kingdom as a new exodus from Egypt and entrance into Canaan (Hos. ii. 1, 2 and 16, 17, ix. 3 and 6, xi. 5, 11; Mic. ii. 12, 13,

vii. 15, 16; Isa. x. 24, 26, xi. 11; Jer. xvi. 14, 15, and other passages)." And even Hofmann, who sets aside this typical phraseology of the prophets in Isa. xi. 11-15, where the restoration of Israel from its dispersion throughout all the world is depicted as a repetition of its deliverance from Egypt through the miraculous division of the Red Sea, with the simple remark, "that the names of the peoples mentioned in the 14th as well as in the 11th verse, and the obstacles described in the 15th verse, merely serve to elaborate the thought" (*Schriftbeweis*, II. 2, p. 548), cannot help admitting (at p. 561) "that in Isa. xxxiv. 5 אֱדוֹם is not to be understood as a special prophecy against the Edomitish people, but as a symbolical designation of the world of mankind in its enmity against God." But if *Edom* is a type of the human race in its hostility to God in this threatening of judgment, "the ransomed of Jehovah" mentioned in the corresponding announcement of salvation in Isa. xxxv., who are to "return to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads," cannot be the rescued remnant of the Jewish people, or the Israel of the twelve tribes who will ultimately attain to blessedness, nor can the Zion to which they return be the capital of Palestine. If *Edom* in this eschatological prophecy denotes the world in its enmity against God, the ransomed of Jehovah who return to Zion are the people of God gathered from both Gentiles and Jews, who enter into the blessedness of the heavenly Jerusalem. By adopting this view of *Edom*, Hofmann has admitted the typical use of the ideas, both of the people of Jehovah (Israel) and of Zion, by the prophets, and has thereby withdrawn all firm foundation from his explanation of similar Messianic prophecies when the Jewish nation is concerned. The same rule which applies to Edom and Zion in Isa. xxxiv. and xxxv. must also be applicable in Isa. xl.-lxvi. The prophecy concerning Edom in Isa. xxxv. has its side-piece in Isa. lxiii. 1-6; and, as Delitzsch has said, the announcement of the return of the ransomed of Jehovah to Zion in ch. xxxvi., "as a whole and in every

particular, both in thought and language, is a prelude of this book of consolation for the exiles (*i.e.* the one which follows in Isa. xl.-lxvi)." Ezekiel uses Edom in the same way, in the prediction of the everlasting devastation of Edom and the restoration of the devastated land of Israel, to be a lasting blessing for its inhabitants. As Edom in this case also represents the world in its hostility to God (see the comm. on ch. xxxv. 1-xxxvi. 15), the land of Israel also is not Palestine, but the kingdom of the Messiah, the boundaries of which extend from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the world (Ps. lxxii. 8 and Zech. ix. 10). It is true that in the case of our prophet there is no express mention made of the spread of the kingdom of God over the lands, inasmuch as he is watchman over the house of Israel, and therefore, for the most part, principally speaks of the restoration of Israel; but it is also obvious that this prophetic truth was not unknown to him, from the fact that, according to ch. xlvii. 22, 23, in the fresh division of the land among the tribes by lot, the foreigners as well as the natives are to be reckoned among the children of Israel, and to receive their portion of the land as well, which plainly abolishes the difference in lineal descent existing under the old covenant. Still more clearly does he announce the reception of the heathen nations into the kingdom of God in ch. xvi. 53 sqq., where he predicts the eventual turning of the captivity, not of Jerusalem only, but also of Samaria and Sodom, as the goal of the ways of God with His people. If, therefore, in His pictures of the restoration and glorification of the kingdom of God, he speaks of the land of Israel alone, the reason for this mode of description is probably also to be sought in the fact that he goes back to the fundamental prophecies of the Pentateuch more than other prophets do; and as, on the one hand, he unfolds the fulfilment of the threats in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii.-xxxii. in his threatenings of judgments, so, on the other hand, does he display the fulfilment of the promises of the law in his predictions of salvation. If we bear this in mind, we

must not take his prophecy of the very numerous multiplication of Israel and of the eternal possession of Canaan and its blessings in any other sense than in that of the divine promise in Gen. xvii.; that is to say, we must not restrict the numerous multiplication of Israel to the literal multiplication of the remnant of the twelve tribes, but must also understand thereby the multiplication of the seed of Abraham into peoples in the manner explained above, and interpret in the same way the restoration of Israel to the land promised to the fathers.

This view of the Old Testament prophecy concerning the eventual restoration of Israel on its conversion to Christ is confirmed as to its correctness by the New Testament also; if, for example, we consider the plain utterances of Christ and His apostles concerning the relation of the Israel according to the flesh, *i.e.* of the Jewish nation, to Christ and His kingdom, and do not adhere in a one-sided manner to the literal interpretation of the eschatological pictures contained in the language of the Old Testament prophecy. For since, as Hofmann has correctly observed in his *Schriftbeweis* (II. 2, pp. 667, 668), "the apostolical doctrine of the end of the present condition of things, namely, of the reappearance of Christ, of the glorification of His church, and the resurrection of its dead, or even of the general resurrection of the dead, of the glorification of the material world, the destruction of the present and the creation of a new one, stands in this relation to the Old Testament prophecy of the end of things, that it is merely a repetition of it under the new point of view, which accompanied the appearing and glorification of Jesus and the establishment of His church of Jews and Gentiles;" these eschatological pictures are also clothed in the symbolico-typical form peculiar to the Old Testament prophecy, the doctrinal import of which can only be determined in accordance with the unambiguous doctrinal passages of the New Testament. Of these doctrinal passages the first which presents itself is Rom. xi., where the Apostle Paul tells the Christians at Rome as a *μυστήριον*, that

hardness in part has happened to Israel, till the *pleroma* of the Gentiles has entered into the kingdom of God, and so (*i.e.* after this has taken place) all Israel will be rescued or saved (vers. 25, 26). He then supports this by a scriptural quotation formed from Isa. lix. 20 and xxvii. 9 (LXX.), with an evident allusion to Jer. xxxi. 34 (? 33) also: "there shall come out of Zion the deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob," etc.; whilst he has already shown how, as the fall of Israel, or its *ἀποβολή*, is the riches of the Gentiles and reconciliation of the world, the *πρόσληψις* will be nothing else than life from the dead (*ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν*, vers. 11-15). The apostle evidently teaches here that the partial hardening of Israel, in consequence of which the people rejected the Saviour, who appeared in Jesus, and were excluded from the salvation in Christ, is not an utter rejection of the old covenant nation; but that the hardening of Israel will cease after the entrance of the *pleroma* of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God, and so all Israel (*πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ* in contrast with *ἐκ μέρους*, *i.e.* the people of Israel as a whole) will attain to salvation, although this does not teach the salvation of every individual Jew.¹ But Auberlen (*die mess. Weissagungen*, pp. 801 sqq.) puts too much into these words of the apostle when he combines them with Ex. xix. 5, 6, and from the fact that Israel in the earlier ages of the Old Testa-

¹ "All Israel," says Philippi in the 3d ed. of his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (p. 537), "as contrasted with *ἐκ μέρους* (in part) in ver. 25, and also in the connection in which it stands with the train of thought in ch. ix.-xi., which, as the chapter before us more especially shows, has only to do with the bringing of the nations as a whole to the Messianic salvation, cannot be understood in any other sense than as signifying the people of Israel as a whole (see also vers. 28-32). The explanation of the words as denoting the spiritual Israel, the 'Israel of God' (Gal. vi. 16), according to which all the true children of Abraham and of God are to be saved through the entrance of the chosen Gentiles, and at the same time also of the *ἐκλογὴ* of the Israel that has not been hardened, is just as arbitrary as it is to take 'all Israel' as referring merely to the believing portion of the Jews, the portion chosen by God, who have belonged in all ages to the *λεῖμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος*." But in the appendix to the third edition he has not only given full expression to the opposite view,

ment was once a people and kingdom, but not really a holy and priestly one, and that in the first ages of the New Testament it was once holy and priestly, though not as a people and kingdom, draws the conclusion, not only that the Jewish nation must once more become holy as a people and kingdom, but also that the apostle of the Gentiles here declares "that the promise given to the people of Israel, that it is to be a holy people, will still be fulfilled in its experience, and that in connection with this, after the present period of the kingdom of God, there is a new period in prospect, when the converted and sanctified Israel, being called once for all to be a priestly kingdom, will become the channel of the blessing of fellowship with God to the nations in a totally different and far more glorious manner than before." For if the apostle had intended to teach the eventual accomplishment of this promise in the case of the Israel according to the flesh, he would certainly have quoted it, or at all events have plainly hinted at it, and not merely have spoken of the *σώζεσθαι* of the Israel which was hardened then. There is nothing to show, even in the remotest way, that Israel will eventually be exalted into the holy and priestly people and kingdom for the nations, either in the assurance that "all Israel shall be saved," or in the declaration that the "receiving" (*πρόσληψις*) of Israel will work, or be followed

which Besser in his *Bibelstunden* has supported in the most decided manner, after the example of Luther and many of the Lutheran expositors, but is inclined to give the preference, even above the view which he previously upheld, to the idea that "*all Israel* is the whole of the Israel intended by the prophetic word, and included in the divine word of promise, to which alone the name of Israel truly and justly belongs according to the correct understanding of the Old Testament word of God—that is to say, those lineal sons of Abraham who walk in the footsteps of his faith (ch. iv. 12), those Jews who are so not merely outwardly in the flesh, but also inwardly in the spirit, through circumcision of heart (ch. ii. 28, 29);" and also to the following exposition which Calovius gives of the whole passage, namely, that "it does not relate to a simultaneous or universal conversion of the Israelites, or to the conversion of a great multitude, which is to take place at the last times of the world, and is to be looked forward to still, but rather to successive conversions continuing even to the end of the world."

by, "life from the dead" (ver. 15); and the proposition from which Paul infers the future deliverance of the people of Israel—viz., "if the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches" (ver. 16)—shows plainly that it never entered the apostle's mind to predict for the branches that were broken off the olive tree for a time an exaltation to even greater holiness than that possessed by the root and beginning of Israel when they should be grafted in again.

There is also another way in which Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, II. 2, pp. 96 and 668) makes insertions in the words of the apostle,—namely, when he draws the conclusion from the prophetic quotation in vers. 25, 26, that the apostle takes the thought from the prophetic writings, that Zion and Israel are the place where the final revelation of salvation will be made, and then argues in support of this geographical exposition of the words, "shall come out of Zion," on the ground that in these words we have not to think of the first coming of the Saviour alone, but the apostle extends to the second coming with perfect propriety what the Old Testament prophecy generally affirms with regard to the coming of Christ, and what had already been verified at His first coming. This argument is extremely weak. Even if one would or could insist upon the fact that, when rendering the words *וְיָצֵא מִצִּיּוֹן מְשִׁיחַ* (there will come for Zion a Redeemer), in Isa. lix. 20, by *ἔξει ἐκ Σιών ὁ ρυόμενος* (the Redeemer will come out of Zion), the apostle designedly adopted the expression *ἐκ Σιών*, it would by no means follow "that he meant the material Zion or earthly Jerusalem to be regarded as the final site of the New Testament revelation." For if the apostle used the expression "come out of Zion," with reference to the second coming of the Lord, because it had been verified at the first coming of Jesus, although Jesus did not then come out of Zion, but out of Bethlehem, according to the prophecy of Mic. v. 1 (cf. Matt. i. 5, 6), he cannot have meant the material Mount Zion by *ἐκ Σιών*, but must have taken *Zion* in the prophetico-typical sense of the central

seat of the kingdom of God; a meaning which it also has in such passages in the Psalms as Ps. xiv. 7, liii. 7, and cx. 2, which he appears to have had floating before his mind. It was only by taking this view of Zion that Paul could use *ἐκ Σιών* for the *צִיּוֹן* of Isaiah, without altering the meaning of the prophecy, that the promised Redeemer would come for Zion, *i.e.* for the citizens of Zion, the Israelites. The apostle, when making this quotation from the prophets, had no more intention of giving any information concerning the place where Christ would appear to the now hardened Israel, and prove Himself to be the Redeemer, than concerning the land in which the Israel scattered among the nations would be found at the second coming of our Lord. And there is nothing whatever in the New Testament to the effect that "the Lord will not appear again till He has prepared both Israel and Zion for the scene of His reappearing" (Hofmann, p. 97). All that Christ says is, that the gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world for a witness concerning all nations, and then will the end come (Matt. xxiv. 14). And if, in addition to this, on His departing for ever from the temple, He exclaimed to the Jews who rejected Him, "Your house will be left unto you desolate; for I say unto you, Ye will not see me henceforth; till ye shall say, Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii. 38, 39), all that He means is, that He will not appear to them or come to them before they receive Him with faith, "greet Him as the object of their longing expectation;" and by no means that He will not come till they have been brought back from their dispersion to Palestine and Jerusalem.

Even Matt. xxvii. 53 and Rev. xi. 2, where Jerusalem is called the holy city, do not furnish any tenable proof of this, because it is so called, not with regard to any glorification to be looked for in the future, but as the city in which the holiest events in the world's history had taken place; just as Peter (2 Pet. i. 18) designates the Mount of Transfiguration the holy mount, with

reference to that event, and not with any anticipation of a future glorification of the mountain; and in 1 Kings xix. 8 Horeb is called the Mount of God, because in the olden time God revealed Himself there. "The old Jerusalem is even now the holy city still to those who have directed their hopeful eyes to the new Jerusalem alone" (Hengstenberg). This also applies to the designation of the temple as the "holy place" in Matt. xxiv. 15, by which Hofmann (p. 91) would also, though erroneously, understand Jerusalem.

And the words of Christ in Luke xxi. 24, that Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, ἀχρι πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν, cannot be used as furnishing a proof that the earthly Jerusalem will be occupied by the converted Jews before or at the second coming of the Lord. For if stress be laid upon the omission of the article, and the appointed period be understood in such a manner as to lead to the following rendering, viz.: "till Gentile periods shall be fulfilled," i.e. "till certain periods which have been appointed to Gentile nations for the accomplishment of this judgment of wrath from God shall have elapsed" (Meyer), we may assume, with Hengstenberg (*die Juden und die christl. Kirche*, 3 art.), that these times come to an end when the overthrow of the might of the Gentiles is effected through the judgment of God, and the Christian church takes their place; and we may still further say with him, that "the treading down of Jerusalem by the heathen, among whom, according to the Christian view, the Mahometans also are to be reckoned, has ceased twice already,—namely, in the reign of Constantine, and in the time of the Crusades, when a Christian kingdom existed in Jerusalem. And what then happened, though only in a transient way, will eventually take place again, and that definitively, on the ground of this declaration of the Lord. Jerusalem will become the possession of the Israel of the Christian church." If, on the other hand, we adopt Hofmann's view (pp. 642, 643), that by καιροὶ ἐθνῶν we are to understand the times of the nations, when the

world belongs to them, in accordance with Dan. viii. 14, in support of which Rev. xi. 2 may also be adduced, these times "come to an end when the people of God obtain the supremacy;" and, according to this explanation, it is affirmed "that this treading down of the holy city will not come to an end till the filling up of the time, during which the world belongs to the nations, and therefore not till the end of the present course of this world." But if the treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles lasts till then, even the converted Jews cannot recover possession of it at that time; for at the end of the present course of this world the new creation of the heaven and earth will take place, and the perfected church of Christ, gathered out of Israel and the Gentile nations, will dwell in the heavenly Jerusalem that has come down upon the new earth.—However, therefore, we may interpret these words of the Lord, we are not taught in Luke xxi. 24 any more than in Matt. xxiv. 15 and xxvii. 53, or Rom. xi. 26, that the earthly Jerusalem will come into the possession of the converted Jews after its liberation from the power of the Gentiles, that it will hold a central position in the world, or that the temple will be erected there again.

And lastly, a decisive objection to these Jewish, millenarian hopes, and at the same time to the literal interpretation of the prophetic announcements of the restoration of Israel, is to be found in the fact that the New Testament says nothing whatever concerning a rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple and a restoration of the Levitical worship; but that, on the contrary, it teaches in the most decided manner, that, with the completion of the reconciliation of men with God through the sacrifice of Christ upon Golgotha, the sacrificial and temple service of the Levitical law was fulfilled and abolished (Heb. vii.-x.), on the ground of the declaration of Christ, that the hour cometh, and now is, when men shall worship neither upon Gerizim nor at Jerusalem; but the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth (John iv. 21-24), in accordance with the

direction given by the apostle in Rom. xii. 1. But the prophets of the Old Testament do not merely predict the return of the Israelites to their own land, and their everlasting abode in that land under the rule of the Messiah; but this prediction of theirs culminates in the promise that Jehovah will establish His sanctuary, *i.e.* His temple, in the midst of His redeemed people, and dwell there with them and above them for ever (Ezek. xxxvii. 27, 28), and that all nations will come to this sanctuary of the Lord upon Zion year by year, to worship before the King Jehovah of hosts, and keep the Feast of tabernacles (Zech. xiv. 16; cf. Isa. lxvi. 23). If, then, the Jewish people should receive Palestine again for its possession either at or after its conversion to Christ, in accordance with the promise of God, the temple with the Levitical sacrificial worship would of necessity be also restored in Jerusalem. But if such a supposition is at variance with the teaching of Christ and the apostles, so that this essential feature in the prophetic picture of the future of the kingdom of God is not to be understood literally, but spiritually or typically, it is an unjustifiable inconsistency to adhere to the literal interpretation of the prophecy concerning the return of Israel to Canaan, and to look for the return of the Jewish people to Palestine, when it has come to believe in Jesus Christ.

CHAP. XXXVIII. AND XXXIX. DESTRUCTION OF GOG WITH
HIS GREAT ARMY OF NATIONS.

Gog, in the land of Magog, prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal, will invade the restored land of Israel from the far distant northern land by the appointment of God in the last times, and with a powerful army of numerous nations (ch. xxxviii. 1-9), with the intention of plundering Israel, now dwelling in security, that the Lord may sanctify Himself upon him before all the world (vers. 10-16). But when Gog, of whom earlier prophets have already prophesied, shall fall upon

Israel, he is to be destroyed by a wrathful judgment from the Lord, that the nations may know that God is the Lord (vers. 17-23). On the mountains of Israel will Gog with all his hosts and nations succumb to the judgment of God (ch. xxxix. 1-8). The inhabitants of the cities of Israel will spend seven years in burning the weapons of the fallen foe, and seven months in burying the corpses in a valley, which will receive its name from this, so as to purify the land (vers. 9-16); whilst in the meantime all the birds and wild beasts will satiate themselves with the flesh and blood of the fallen (vers. 17-20). By this judgment will all the nations as well as Israel know that it was on account of its sins that the Lord formerly gave up Israel into the power of the heathen, but that now He will no more forsake His redeemed people, because He has poured out His Spirit upon it (vers. 21-29).

Vers. 1-9. Introduction. Preparation of Gog and his army for the invasion of the restored land of Israel.—Ver. 1. *And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying,* Ver. 2. *Son of man, set thy face toward Gog in the land of Magog, the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal, and prophesy against him,* Ver. 3. *And say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with thee, Gog, thou prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal,* Ver. 4. *And will mislead thee, and will put rings in thy jaws, and lead thee out, and all thine army, horses, and riders, all clothed in perfect beauty, a great assembly, with buckler and shield, all wielding swords ;* Ver. 5. *Persian, Ethiopian, and Libyan with them, all of them with shield and helmet ;* Ver. 6. *Gomer and all his hosts, the house of Togarmah in the uttermost north with all his hosts ; many peoples with thee.* Ver. 7. *Be prepared and make ready, thou and all thine assembly, who have assembled together to thee, and be thou their guard.* Ver. 8. *After many days shalt thou be visited, at the end of the years shalt thou come into the land, which is brought back from the sword, gathered out of many peoples, upon the mountains of Israel, which were constantly laid waste, but now it is brought out of the nations, and they dwell*

together in safety; Ver. 9. And thou shalt come up, come like a storm, like a cloud to cover the land, thou and all thy hosts and many peoples with thee. — Vers. 1 and 2. Command to prophesy against Gog. גֹּג, *Gog*, the name of the prince against whom the prophecy is directed, is probably a name which Ezekiel has arbitrarily formed from the name of the country, *Magog*; although *Gog* does occur in 1 Chron. v. 4 as the name of a Reubenite, of whom nothing further is known. The construction גֹּג אֶרֶץ מָגוֹג, *Gog of the land of Magog*, is an abbreviated expression for “Gog from the land of Magog;” and אֶרֶץ מָגוֹג is not to be taken in connection with שָׁמַיִם פְּנִיךָ, as the local object (“toward Gog, to the land of Magog”), as Ewald and Hävernicks would render it; since it would be very difficult in that case to explain the fact that גֹּג is afterwards resumed in the apposition גֹּג. נְשִׂיא וְנָגִיד, *Magog*, is the name of a people mentioned in Gen. x. 2 as descended from Japhet, according to the early Jewish and traditional explanation, the great Scythian people; and here also it is the name of a people, and is written with the article (הַמְּגִיגִים), to mark the people as one well known from the time of Genesis, and therefore properly the land of the Magog (-people). *Gog* is still further described as the prince of *Rosh*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*. It is true that Ewald follows Aquila, the Targum, and Jerome, and connects רֹאשׁ with נְשִׂיא as an appellative in the sense of *princeps capitis*, chief prince. But the argument used in support of this explanation, namely, that there is no people of the name of *Rosh* mentioned either in the Old Testament or by Josephus, is a very weak one; whilst, on the other hand, the appellative rendering, though possible, no doubt, after the analogy of הַכְּנָעִי in 1 Chron. xxvii. 5, is by no means probable, for the simple reason that the נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ occurs again in ver. 3 and ch. xxxix. 1, and in such repetitions circumstantial titles are generally abbreviated. The Byzantine and Arabic writers frequently mention a people called ‘Pōs, رُوس, *Rūs*, dwelling in the country of the Taurus, and reckoned among the Scythian tribes

(for the passages, see Ges. *Thesaurus*, p. 1253), so that there is no reason to question the existence of a people known by the name of *Rosh*; even though the attempt of Bochart to find a trace of such a people in the *Ῥωξάλαντοι* (Ptol. iii. 5) and *Roxalani* (Plin. *h. n.* iv. 12), by explaining this name as formed from a combination of *Rhos* (*Rhox*) and *Alani*, is just as doubtful as the conjecture, founded upon the investigations of Frähn (Ibn Foslan, *u. a. Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, St. Petersburg 1823), that the name of the Russians is connected with this *Pōs*, *روس*, and our *רֹשׁ*. *Meshech* and *Tubal* (as in ch. xxvii. 13 and xxxii. 26), the *Moschi* and *Tibareni* of classical writers (see the comm. on Gen. x. 2), dwelt, according to the passage before us, in the neighbourhood of Magog. There were also found in the army of Gog, according to ver. 5, *Pharas* (Persians), *Cush*, and *Phut* (Ethiopians and Libyans, see the comm. on ch. xxx. 5 and xxvii. 10), and, according to ver. 6, *Gomer* and the house of *Togarmah*. From a comparison of this list with Gen. x. 2, Kliefoth draws the conclusion that Ezekiel omits all the peoples mentioned in Gen. x. 2 as belonging to the family of Japhet, who had come into historical notice in his time, or have done so since, namely, the Medes, Greeks, and Thracians; whilst, on the other hand, he mentions all the peoples enumerated, who have never yet appeared upon the stage of history. But this remark is out of place, for the simple reason that Ezekiel also omits the Japhetic tribes of Ashkenaz and Riphath (Gen. x. 3), and still more from the fact that he notices not only the *פָּרַס*, or Persians, who were probably related to the *כְּרִי*, but also the Hamitic peoples *Cush* and *Phut*, two African families. Consequently the army of Gog consisted not only of wild Japhetic tribes, who had not yet attained historical importance, but of Hamitic tribes also, that is to say, of peoples living at the extreme north (*יִרְבֵּתִי צִפּוֹן*, ver. 6) and east (Persians) and south (Ethiopians), *i.e.* on the borders of the then known world. These are all summoned by Gog, and gathered together for an

attack upon the people of God. This points to a time when their former foes, Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistines, and Syrians, and the old imperial powers, Egypt, Asshur, Babel, Javan, will all have passed away from the stage of history, and the people of God will stand in the centre of the historical life of the world, and will have spread so widely over the earth, that its foes will only be found on the borders of the civilised world (compare Rev. xx. 8).

Vers. 3-9 contain in general terms the determinate counsel of God concerning Gog. — Vers. 3-6. Jehovah is about to mislead Gog to a crusade against His people Israel, and summons him to prepare for the invasion of the restored land of Israel. The announcement of the purpose for which Jehovah will make use of Gog and his army, and the summons addressed to him to make ready, form two strophes, which are clearly marked by the similarity of the conclusion in vers. 6 and 9. — Ver. 3. God will deal with Gog, to sanctify Himself upon him by means of judgment (cf. ver. 10). He therefore misleads him to an attack upon the people of Israel. שׁוּבֶנָּה, an intensive form from שׁוּב, may signify, as *vox media*, to cause to return (ch. xxxix. 27), and to cause to turn away, to lead away from the right road or goal, to lead astray (Isa. xlvii. 10). Here and in ch. xxxix. 2 it means to lead or bring away from his previous attitude, *i.e.* to mislead or seduce, in the sense of enticing to a dangerous enterprise; according to which the Chaldee has rendered it correctly, so far as the actual sense is concerned, אַלְלִיכָא, *alliciam te*. In the words, "I place rings in thy jaws" (cf. ch. xxix. 4), Gog is represented as an unmanageable beast, which is compelled to follow its leader (cf. Isa. xxxvii. 29); and the thought is thereby expressed, that Gog is compelled to obey the power of God against his will. אֲרִיִּי, to lead him away from his land, or natural soil. The passage in Rev. xx. 8, "to deceive the nations (*πλανῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη*), Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle," corresponds to these words so far as the material sense is concerned; with

this exception, that Satan is mentioned as the seducer of the nations in the Apocalypse, whereas Ezekiel gives prominence to the leading of God, which controls the manifestations even of evil, "so that these two passages stand in the same relation to one another as 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 and 1 Chron. xxi. 1" (Häv.). In vers. 4b-6 the army is depicted as one splendidly equipped and very numerous. For לְבָשִׁי מְלִלִים, see the comm. on ch. xxiii. 12, where the Assyrian satraps are so described. מִתְּחִלָּה רָב, as in ch. xvii. 17. The words buckler and shield are loosely appended in the heat of the discourse, without any logical subordination to what precedes. Besides the defensive arms, the greater and smaller shield, they carried swords as weapons of offence. In the case of the nations in ver. 5, only the shield and helmet are mentioned as their equipment, for the sake of variation, as in ch. xxvii. 10; and in ver. 6 two other nations of the extreme north with their hosts are added. *Gomer*: the Cimmerians; and *the house of Togarmah*: the Armenians (see the comm. on ch. xxvii. 14). For אֲנָפִים, see the comm. on ch. xii. 14. The description is finally rounded off with עֲמִים רַבִּים אִתָּךְ. In ver. 7, the *infin. abs.* נִפְּחוּ הַבּוֹן, which occurs nowhere else except in Amos iv. 12, is used emphatically in the place of the imperative. The repetition of the same verb, though in the imperative *Hiphil*, equip, *i.e.* make ready, *sc.* everything necessary (cf. ch. vii. 14), also serves to strengthen the thought. Be thou to them לְמִשְׁמָר, for heed, or watch, *i.e.* as *abstr. pro concr.*, one who gives heed to them, keeps watch over them (cf. Job vii. 12 and Neh. iv. 3, 16), in actual fact their leader. Vers. 8 and 9 indicate for what Gog was to hold himself ready. The first clause reminds so strongly of יָמִים יִפְקְרוּ in Isa. xxiv. 22, that the play upon this passage cannot possibly be mistaken; so that Ezekiel uses the words in the same sense as Isaiah, though Hävernicks is wrong in supposing that הִפְקִיר is used in the sense of being missed or wanting, *i.e.* of perishing. The word never has the latter meaning; and to be missed does not suit the context either here or in Isaiah, where יִפְקֹר means

to be visited, *i.e.* brought to punishment. And here also this meaning, *visitari* (Vulg.), is to be retained, and that in the sense of a penal visitation. The objection raised, namely, that there is no reference to punishment here, but that this is first mentioned in ver. 16 or 18, loses all its force if we bear in mind that visiting is a more general idea than punishing; and the visitation consisted in the fact of God's leading Gog to invade the land of Israel, that He might sanctify Himself upon him by judgment. This might very fittingly be here announced, and it also applies to the parallel clause which follows: thou wilt come into the land, etc., with which the explanation commences of the way in which God would visit him. The only other meaning which could also answer to the parallelism of the clauses, viz. to be commanded, to receive command (Hitzig and Kliefoth), is neither sustained by the usage of the language, nor in accordance with the context. In the passages quoted in support of this, viz. Neh. vii. 1 and xii. 44, נִפְקֵד merely signifies to be charged with the oversight of a thing; and it never means only to receive command to do anything. Moreover, Gog has already been appointed leader of the army in ver. 7, and therefore is not "to be placed in the supreme command" for the first time after many days. מִיָּמִים רַבִּים, after many days, *i.e.* after a long time (cf. Josh. xxiii. 1), is not indeed equivalent in itself to בְּאַחֲרִית הַשָּׁנִים, but signifies merely the lapse of a lengthened period; yet this is defined here as occurring in the אַחֲרִית הַשָּׁנִים.—אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים (ver. 16), is the end of days, the last time, not the future generally, but the final future, the Messianic time of the completing of the kingdom of God (see the comm. on Gen. xlix. 1). This meaning is also applicable here. For Gog is to come up to the mountains of Israel, which have been laid waste תָּמִיד, continually, *i.e.* for a long time, but are now inhabited again. Although, for example, תָּמִיד signifies a period of time relatively long, it evidently indicates a longer period than the seventy or fifty years' desolation of the land during the Babylonian captivity; more especially

if we take it in connection with the preceding and following statements, to the effect that Gog will come into the land, which has been brought back from the sword and gathered out of many peoples. These predicates show that in אֶרֶץ the idea of the population of the land is the predominant one; for this alone could be gathered out of many nations, and also brought back from the sword, *i.e.* not from the consequences of the calamity of war, *viz.* exile (Rosenmüller), but restored from being slain and exiled by the sword of the enemy. מְשׁוּבָּת, passive participle of the *Pilel* שׁוּבָה, to restore (cf. Isa. lviii. 12); not turned away from the sword, *i.e.* in no expectation of war (Hitzig), which does not answer to the parallel clause, and cannot be sustained by Mic. ii. 8. מֵעַמִּים רַבִּים, gathered out of many peoples, points also beyond the Babylonian captivity to the dispersion of Israel in all the world, which did not take place till the second destruction of Jerusalem, and shows that חֲמִיד denotes a much longer devastation of the land than the Chaldean devastation was. הֵיאֵה introduces a circumstantial clause; and הֵיאֵה points back to אֶרֶץ, *i.e.* to the inhabitants of the land. These are now brought out of the nations, *i.e.* at the time when Gog invades the land, and are dwelling in their own land upon the mountains of Israel in untroubled security. עָלָה signifies the advance of an enemy, as in Isa. vii. 1, etc. שׁוּאָה, a tempest, as in Prov. i. 27, from שָׁאָה, to roar. The comparison to a cloud is limited to the covering; but this does not alter the signification of the cloud as a figurative representation of severe calamity.

Vers. 10-16. Account of the motive by which Gog was induced to undertake his warlike expedition, and incurred guilt, notwithstanding the fact that he was led by God, and in consequence of which he brought upon himself the judgment of destruction that was about to fall upon him.—Ver. 10. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, It shall come to pass in that day, that things will come up in thy heart, and thou wilt devise an evil design,* Ver. 11. *And say, I will go up into the open country, I*

will come upon the peaceful ones, who are all dwelling in safety, who dwell without walls, and have not bars and gates, Ver. 12. To take plunder and to gather spoil, to bring back thy hand against the ruins that are inhabited again, and against a people gathered out of the nations, carrying on trade and commerce, who dwell on the navel of the earth. Ver. 13. Sabaea and Dedan, and the merchants of Tarshish, and all her young lions, will say to thee, Dost thou come to take plunder? Hast thou gathered thy multitude of people to take spoil? Is it to carry away gold and silver, to take possession and gain, to plunder a great spoil? Ver. 14. Therefore prophesy, son of man, and say to Gog, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Is it not so? On that day, when my people Israel dwelleth in security, thou wilt observe it, Ver. 15. And come from thy place from the extreme north, thou and many peoples with thee, all riding upon horses, a great crowd and a numerous army, Ver. 16. And wilt march against my people Israel, to cover the land like a cloud; at the end of the days it will take place; then shall I lead thee against my land, that the nations may know me, when I sanctify myself upon thee before their eyes, O Gog.—In ver. 10 דְּבָרַיִם are not words, but things which come into his mind. What things these are, we learn from vers. 11 and 12; but first of all, these things are described as evil thoughts or designs. Gog resolves to fall upon Israel, now living in peace and security, and dwelling in open unfortified places, and to rob and plunder it. אֶרֶץ פְּרוּת, literally, land of plains, i.e. a land which has no fortified towns, but only places lying quite exposed (see the comm. on Zech. ii. 8); because its inhabitants are living in undisturbed peace and safe repose, and therefore dwell in places that have no walls with gates and bars (cf. Judg. xviii. 7; Jer. xlix. 31). This description of Israel's mode of life also points beyond the times succeeding the Babylonian captivity to the Messianic days, when the Lord will have destroyed the horses and war-chariots and fortresses (Mic. v. 9), and Jerusalem will be inhabited as an open country because of the

multitude of the men and cattle, and the Lord will be a wall of fire round about her (Zech. ii. 8, 9). For ver. 12a, compare Isa. x. 6. **לְהָשִׁיב יָדָךְ** is not dependent upon **אֶעֱלֶה**, like the preceding infinitives, but is subordinate to **אָמַרְתָּ אֵלֶיָּהּ וְגו'**: "thou sayest, I will go up . . . to turn thy hand." **וְהָשִׁיב**, to bring back, is to be explained from the fact that the heathen had already at an earlier period turned their hand against the towns of Israel, and plundered their possessions and goods. **הָרְבוֹת נִשְׁבּוֹת** in this connection are desolate places which are inhabited again, and therefore have been rebuilt (cf. ch. xii. 20, xxvi. 19). **מִקְנֶה** and **קִנְיָן** are synonyms; and **מִקְנֶה** does not mean flocks or herds, but gain, possession (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 6, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 23). One motive of Gog for making the attack was to be found in the possessions of Israel; a second is given in the words: who dwell upon the navel of the earth. This figurative expression is to be explained from ch. v. 5: "Jerusalem in the midst of the nations." The navel is not a figure denoting the high land, but signifies the land situated in the middle of the earth, and therefore the land most glorious and most richly blessed; so that they who dwell there occupy the most exalted position among the nations. A covetous desire for the possessions of the people of God, and envy at his exalted position in the centre of the world, are therefore the motives by which Gog is impelled to enter upon his predatory expedition against the people living in the depth of peace. This covetousness is so great, that even the rich trading populations of Sabaea, Dedan, and Tarshish (cf. ch. xxvii. 22, 20, and 12) perceive it, and declare that it is this alone which has determined Gog to undertake his expedition. The words of these peoples (ver. 13) are not to be taken as expressing their sympathies (Kliefoth), but serve to give prominence to the obvious thirst for booty which characterizes the multitude led by Gog. **בְּפִירֵיהֶם**, their young lions, are the rapacious rulers of these trading communities, according to ch. xix. 3 and xxxii. 2.—Ver. 14 introduces the announcement of the punishment, which consists

of another summary account of the daring enterprise of Gog and his hosts (cf. vers. 14, 15, and 16a with vers. 4-9), and a clear statement of the design of God in leading him against His people and land. יָדַע (ver. 14, close), of which different renderings have been given, does not mean, thou wilt experience, or be aware of, the punishment; but the object is to be taken from the context: thou wilt know, or perceive, *sc.* that Israel dwells securely, not expecting any hostile invasion. The rendering of the LXX. (ἐγερθήσῃ) does not furnish any satisfactory ground for altering יָדַע into תָּעַר = תַּעֲוֹר (Ewald, Hitzig). With the words יְהוָה יֹאמְרֵךְ וגו' (ver. 16b) the opening thought of the whole picture (ver. 4a) is resumed and defined with greater precision, for the purpose of attaching to it the declaration of the design of the Lord in bringing Gog, namely, to sanctify Himself upon him before the eyes of the nations (cf. ver. 23 and ch. xxxvi. 23).

Vers. 17-23. Announcement of the wrathful judgment upon Gog, as a proof of the holiness of the Lord.—Ver. 17. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Art thou he of whom I spoke in the former days through my servants the prophets of Israel, who prophesied for years in those days, that I would bring thee over them?* Ver. 18. *And it cometh to pass in that day, in the day when Gog cometh into the land of Israel, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, that my wrath will ascend into my nose.* Ver. 19. *And in my jealousy, in the fire of my anger, have I spoken, Truly in that day will a great trembling come over the land of Israel;* Ver. 20. *The fishes of the sea, and the birds of heaven, and the beasts of the field, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the ground, and all the men that are upon the ground, will tremble before me; and the mountains will be destroyed, and the rocky heights fall, and every wall will fall to the ground.* Ver. 21. *I will call the sword against him to all my holy mountains, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah: the sword of the one will be against the other.* Ver. 22. *And I will strive with him by pestilence and by blood, and overflowing rain-torrents and hailstones; fire*

and brimstone will I rain upon him and all his hosts, and upon the many peoples that are with him; Ver. 23. And will prove myself great and holy, and will make myself known before the eyes of many nations, that they may know that I am Jehovah.—The announcement of the way in which the Lord will sanctify Himself upon Gog (ver. 16) commences with the statement in ver. 17, that Gog is he of whom God has already spoken by the earlier prophets. This assertion is clothed in the form of a question: *הֲאֵתָהּ*, not *הֲלֵא אֵתָהּ*, which is the interrogative form used for an emphatic assurance; whereas *הֲאֵתָהּ* does not set down the point in question as indisputably certain, but suggests the inquiry for the purpose of giving a definite answer. The affirmative reply to the question asked is contained in the last clause of the verse: “to bring *thee* upon them;” so that *הֲאֵתָהּ הוּא* really means, thou art truly he. The statement, that Gog is he of whom God had already spoken by the earlier prophets, does not mean that those prophets had actually mentioned Gog, but simply that Gog was the enemy of whose rising up against the people of God the prophets of the former time had prophesied, as well as of his destruction by a wrathful judgment of the Lord. *שָׁנִים* (for years, or years long) is an accusative of measure, not asyndeton to *בְּיָמִים*, as the LXX. and many of the commentators down to Hävernicks have taken it to be. The design of this remark is not to accredit the prophecy by referring to the utterances of earlier prophets, but to show that the attack of the peoples gathered together by Gog, upon the land and people of the Lord, is not an unexpected event, or one at variance with the promise of the restoration of Israel as a kingdom of peace. To what utterances of the older prophets these words refer is a question difficult to answer. Zechariah (xii. 2, 3, xiv. 2, 3) is of course not to be thought of, as Zechariah himself did not prophesy till after the captivity, and therefore not till after Ezekiel. But we may recall Joel iv. 2 and 11 sqq.; Isa. xxv. 5, 10 sqq., xxvi. 21; Jer. xxx. 23 and 25; and, in fact, all the earlier prophets who

prophesied of Jehovah's day of judgment upon all the heathen.¹—Vers. 18 and 19 do not contain words which Jehovah spoke through the ancient prophets, and which Ezekiel now transfers to Gog and the time of his appearing (Hitzig and Kliefoth). The perfect *יִפְרֹחַ* in ver. 19 by no means warrants such an assumption; for this is purely prophetic, expressing the certainty of the divine determination as a thing clearly proved. Still less can *נָאֵם אֵד* in ver. 18 be taken as a preterite, as Kliefoth supposes; nor can vers. 18 and 19 be regarded as a thing long predicted, and so be separated from vers. 20-23 as a word of God which is now for the first time uttered. For the anthropopathic expression, "my wrath ascends in my nose," compare Ps. xviii. 9, "smoke ascends in His nose." The outburst of wrath shows itself in the vehement breath which the wrathful man inhales and exhales through his nose (see the comm. on the Psalm, *l.c.*). The bursting out of the wrath of God is literally explained in ver. 19. In the jealousy of His wrath God has spoken, *i.e.* determined, to inflict a great trembling upon the land of Israel. *בְּקִנְיָתִי* (cf. ch. v. 13) is strengthened by *בְּאַשׁ עֲבֹרָתִי* (cf. ch. xxi. 36, xxii. 21). The trembling which will come upon the land of Israel, so that all creatures in the sea, in the air, and upon the ground, tremble before Jehovah (*מִפְנֵי*), who appears to judgment, will rise in nature into an actual earthquake, which overthrows mountains, hills, and walls. *מִדְּרָגָוֹת* are steep heights, which can only be ascended by steps (Song of Sol. ii. 14). This picture of the trembling of the whole world, with all the creatures, before the Lord who is coming to judgment, both here and in Joel iv. 16,

¹ Aug. Kueper (*Jeremias librr. sacrr. interpr. atque vindex*, p. 82) has correctly observed concerning this verse, that "it is evident enough that there is no reference here to prophecies concerning Gog and Magog, which have been lost; but those general prophecies, which are met with on every hand directed against the enemies of the church, are here referred to Gog." And before him, J. F. Starck had already said: "In my opinion, we are to understand all those passages in the prophets which treat of the enemies of the church and its persecutions . . . these afflictions were pre-ludes and shadows of the bloody persecution of Gog."

Zech. xiv. 4, 5, rests upon the fact which actually occurred in connection with the revelation of God upon Sinai, when the whole mountain was made to quake (Ex. xix. 16 sqq.). The inhabitants of the land of Israel tremble at the terrible phenomena attending the revelation of the wrath of God, although the wrathful judgment does not apply to them, but to their enemies, Gog and his hosts. The Lord calls the sword against Gog, that his hosts may wound and slay one another. This feature of the destruction of the enemy by wounds inflicted by itself, which we meet with again in Zech. xiv. 13, has its typical exemplar in the defeat of the Midianites in the time of Gideon (Judg. vii. 22), and also in that of the enemy invading Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 23). In לְכָל־הָרִי the לְ is not distributive, but indicates the direction: "to all my mountains." The overthrow of the enemy is intensified by marvellous plagues inflicted by God—pestilence and blood (cf. ch. xxviii. 23), torrents of rain and hailstones (cf. ch. xiii. 11), and the raining of fire and brimstone upon Gog, as formerly upon Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xix. 24).—Thus will Jehovah prove Himself to be the almighty God by judgment upon His enemies, and sanctify Himself before all the nations (ver. 23, compare ver. 16 and ch. xxxvi. 23).

Ch. xxxix. 1-20. Further description of the judgment to fall upon Gog and his hosts.—Vers. 1-8. General announcement of his destruction.—Ver. 1. *And thou, son of man, prophesy against Gog, and say, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will deal with thee, Gog, thou prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal.* Ver. 2. *I will mislead thee, and conduct thee, and cause thee to come up from the uttermost north, and bring thee to the mountains of Israel;* Ver. 3. *And will smite thy bow from thy left hand, and cause thine arrows to fall from thy right hand.* Ver. 4. *Upon the mountains of Israel wilt thou fall, thou and all thy hosts, and the peoples which are with thee: I give thee for food to the birds of prey of every plumage, and to the beasts of the field.* Ver. 5. *Upon the open field shalt thou fall, for I*

have spoken it, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 6. And I will send fire in Magog, and among those who dwell in security upon the islands, that they may know that I am Jehovah. Ver. 7. I will make known my holy name in the midst of my people Israel, and will not let my holy name be profaned any more, that the nations may know that I am Jehovah, holy in Israel. Ver. 8. Behold, it comes and happens, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah; this is the day of which I spoke.—The further description of the judgment with which Gog and his hosts are threatened in ch. xxxviii. 21-23, commences with a repetition of the command to the prophet to prophesy against Gog (ver. 1, cf. ch. xxxviii. 2, 3). The principal contents of ch. xxxviii. 4-15 are then briefly summed up in ver. 2. שְׁבַבְתִּיךָ, as in ch. xxxviii. 4, is strengthened by שְׁשַׁחֲתִיךָ. אֶשֶׁשׁ, ἀπάξ λεγ., is not connected with שְׁשַׁחֲתִיךָ in the sense of “I leave a sixth part of thee remaining,” or afflict thee with six punishments; but in the Ethiopic it signifies to proceed, or to climb, and here, accordingly, it is used in the sense of leading on (LXX. καθοδηγήσω σε, or, according to another reading, κατὰξω; Vulg. educam). For ver. 2b, compare ch. xxxviii. 15 and 8. In the land of Israel, God will strike his weapons out of his hands, *i.e.* make him incapable of fighting (for the fact itself, compare the similar figures in Ps. xxxvii. 15, xli. 10), and give him up with all his army as a prey to death. עֵיט, a beast of prey, is more precisely defined by צִפּוֹר, and still further strengthened by the genitive בְּלִבְיָנִי: birds of prey of every kind. The judgment will not be confined to the destruction of the army of Gog, which has invaded the land of Israel, but (ver. 6) will also extend to the land of Gog, and to all the heathen nations that are dwelling in security. אֵשׁ, fire, primarily the fire of war; then, in a further sense, a figure denoting destruction inflicted directly by God, as in ch. xxxviii. 22, which is therefore represented in Rev. xx. 9 as fire falling from heaven. *Magog* is the population of the land of Magog (ch. xxxviii. 2). With this the inhabitants of the distant coastlands of the west

(the אֲשֵׁר) are associated, as representatives of the remotest heathen nations. Vers. 7, 8. By this judgment the Lord will make known His holy name in Israel, and show the heathen that He will not let it be blasphemed by them any more. For the fact itself, compare ch xxxvi. 20 For ver. 8, compare ch. xxi. 12, and for אֲשֵׁר, see ch. xxxviii. 18, 19.

Vers. 9–20 Total destruction of Gog and his hosts.—Ver. 9. *Then will the inhabitants of the cities of Israel go forth, and burn and heat with armour and shield and target, with bow and arrows and hand-staves and spears, and will burn fire with them for seven years; Ver. 10 And will not fetch wood from the field, nor cut wood out of the forests, but will burn fire with the armour, and will spoil those who spoiled them, and plunder those who plundered them, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 11. And it will come to pass in that day, that I will give Gog a place where his grave in Israel shall be, the valley of the travellers on the front of the sea; and it will stop the way to the travellers, and there will they bury Gog and all his multitude, and will call it the valley of Gog's multitude. Ver 12 They of the house of Israel will bury them, to purify the land for seven months. Ver. 13. And all the people of the land will bury, and it will be to them for a name on the day when I glorify myself, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 14. And they will set apart constant men, such as rove about in the land, and such as bury with them that rove about those who remain upon the surface of the ground, to cleanse it, after the lapse of seven months will they search it through. Ver. 15. And those who rove about will pass through the land; and if one sees a man's bone, he will set up a sign by it, till the buriers of the dead bury it in the valley of the multitude of Gog. Ver. 16. The name of a city shall also be called Hamonah (multitude). And thus will they cleanse the land. Ver 17. And thou, son of man thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Say to the birds of every plumage, and to all the beasts of the field, Assemble yourselves, and come; gather together from round about to my sacrifice, which I slaughter for you, to a great sacrifice upon the mountains of*

Israel, and eat flesh and drink blood. Ver. 18. Flesh of heroes shall ye eat, and drink blood of princes of the earth; rams, lambs, and he-goats, bullocks, all fattened in Bashan. Ver. 9. And ye shall eat fat to satiety, and drink blood to intoxication, of my sacrifice which I have slaughtered for you. Ver. 20. And ye shall satiate yourselves at my table with horses and riders, heroes and all kinds of men of war, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—To show how terrible the judgment upon Gog will be, Ezekiel depicts in three special ways the total destruction of his powerful forces. In the *first* place, the burning of all the weapons of the fallen foe will furnish the inhabitants of the land of Israel with wood for firing for seven years, so that there will be no necessity for them to fetch fuel from the field or from the forest (vers. 9 and 10). But Hävernicks is wrong in supposing that the reason for burning the weapons is that, according to Isa. ix. 5, weapons of war are irreconcilable with the character of the Messianic times of peace. This is not referred to here; but the motive is the complete annihilation of the enemy, the removal of every trace of him. The prophet therefore crowds the words together for the purpose of enumerating every kind of weapon that was combustible, even to the hand-staves which men were accustomed to carry (cf. Num. xxii. 27). The quantity of the weapons will be so great, that they will supply the Israelites with all the fuel they need for seven years. The number seven in the seven years as well as in the seven months of burying (ver. 11) is symbolical, stamping the overthrow as a punishment inflicted by God, the completion of a divine judgment.—With the gathering of the weapons for burning there is associated the plundering of the fallen foe (ver. 10*b*), by which the Israelites do to the enemy what he intended to do to them (ch. xxxviii. 12), and the people of God obtain possession of the wealth of their foes (cf. Jer. xxx. 16). In the *second* place, God will assign a large burying-place for the army of Gog in a valley of Israel, which is to be named in consequence “the

multitude of Gog;" just as a city in that region will also be called *Hamonah* from this event. The Israelites will bury the fallen of Gog there for seven months long, and after the expiration of that time they will have the land explored by men specially appointed for the purpose, and bones that may still have been left unburied will be sought out, and they will have them interred by buriers of the dead, that the land may be thoroughly cleansed (vers. 11-16). **מְקוֹם שֵׁם קָבֵר**, a place where there was a grave in Israel, *i.e.* a spot in which he might be buried in Israel. There are different opinions as to both the designation and the situation of this place. There is no foundation for the supposition that **בְּאֵר הַעֲבָרִים** derives its name from the mountains of *Abarim* in Num. xxvii. 12 and Deut. xxxii. 49 (Michaelis, Eichhorn), or that it signifies valley of the haughty ones (Ewald), or that there is an allusion to the valley mentioned in Zech. xiv. 4 (Hitzig), or the valley of Jehoshaphat (Kliefoth). The valley cannot even have derived its name (**בְּאֵר הַעֲבָרִים**) from the **עֲבָרִים**, who passed through the land to search out the bones of the dead that still remained unburied, and have them interred (vers. 14, 15). For **בְּאֵר הַעֲבָרִים** cannot have any other meaning here than that which it has in the circumstantial clause which follows, where those who explored the land cannot possibly be intended, although even this clause is also obscure. The only other passage in which **הָסָם** occurs is Deut. xxv. 4, where it signifies a muzzle, and in the Arabic it means to obstruct, or cut off; and hence, in the passage before us, probably, to stop the way. **בְּאֵר הַעֲבָרִים** are not the Scythians (Hitzig), for the word **עָבַר** is never applied to their invasion of the land, but generally the travellers who pass through the land, or more especially those who cross from Peraea to Canaan. The valley of **בְּאֵר הַעֲבָרִים** is no doubt the valley of the Jordan above the Dead Sea. The definition indicates this, *viz.* **קִרְמַת הַיָּם**, on the front of the sea; not to the east of the sea, as it is generally rendered, for **קִרְמַת** never has this meaning (see the comm. on Gen. ii. 14). By **הַיָּם** we cannot understand "the Mediterranean," as the

majority of the commentators have done, as there would then be no meaning in the words, since the whole of the land of Israel was situated to the east of the Mediterranean Sea. הַיָּם is the Dead Sea, generally called הַיָּם הַקָּדְמוֹנִי (ch. xlvii. 18); and קִדְמַת הַיָּם, "on the front side of the (Dead) Sea," as looked at from Jerusalem, the central point of the land, is probably the valley of the Jordan, the principal crossing place from Gilead into Canaan proper, and the broadest part of the Jordan-valley, which was therefore well adapted to be the burial-place for the multitude of slaughtered foes. But in consequence of the army of Gog having there found its grave, this valley will in future block up the way to the travellers who desire to pass to and fro. This appears to be the meaning of the circumstantial clause.—From the fact that Gog's multitude is buried there, the valley itself will receive the name of *Hamon-Gog*. The Israelites will occupy seven months in burying them, so enormously great will be the number of the dead to be buried (ver. 12), and this labour will be for a name, *i.e.* for renown, to the whole nation. This does not mean, of course, "that it will be a source of honour to them to assist in this work;" nor is the renown to be sought in the fact, that as a privileged people, protected by God, they can possess the grave of Gog in their land (Hitzig),—a thought which is altogether remote, and perfectly foreign to Israelitish views; but the burying of Gog's multitude of troops will be for a name to the people of Israel, inasmuch as they thereby cleanse the land and manifest their zeal to show themselves a holy people by sweeping all uncleanness away. יוֹם is an accusative of time: on the day when I glorify myself.—Vers. 14, 15. The effort made to cleanse the land perfectly from the uncleanness arising from the bones of the dead will be so great, that after the great mass of the slain have been buried in seven months, there will be men specially appointed to bury the bones of the dead that still lie scattered here and there about the land. אֲנָשֵׁי תָמִיד are people who have a permanent duty to discharge. The participles עֹבְרִים and

מְקַבְּרִים are co-ordinate, and are written together *asyndetos*, men who go about the land, and men who bury with those who go about. That the words are to be understood in this sense is evident from ver 15, according to which those who go about do not perform the task of burying, but simply search for bones that have been left, and put up a sign for the buriers of the dead. רָצָה, with the subject indefinite; if one sees a human bone, he builds (erects) a צֵיָה, or stone, by the side of it (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 17).—Ver 16. A city shall also receive the name of *Hamonah*, i.e. multitude or tumult. To שָׁם-עִיר we may easily supply יְהִיָה from the context, since this puts in the future the statement, “the name of the city is,” for which no verb was required in Hebrew. In the last words, וַיִּמְהַר הָאָרֶץ, the main thought is finally repeated and the picture brought to a close.—Vers. 17–20. In the *third* place, God will provide the birds of prey and beasts of prey with an abundant meal from this slaughter. This cannot be understood as signifying that only what remain of the corpses, and have not been cleared away in the manner depicted in vers. 11–16, will become the prey of wild beasts; but the beasts of prey will make their meal of the corpses before it is possible to bury them, since the burying cannot be effected immediately or all at once.—The several features in the picture, of the manner in which the enemies are to be destroyed till the last trace of them is gone, are not arranged in chronological order, but according to the subject-matter; and the thought that the slaughtered foes are to become the prey of wild beasts is mentioned last as being the more striking, because it is in this that their ignominious destruction culminates. To give due prominence to this thought, the birds and beasts of prey are summoned by God to gather together to the meal prepared for them. The picture given of it as a sacrificial meal is based upon Isa. xxxiv. 6 and Jer. xlv. 10. In harmony with this picture the slaughtered foes are designated as fattened sacrificial beasts, rams, lambs, he-goats, bullocks; on which Grotius has correctly remarked,

that "these names of animals, which were generally employed in the sacrifices, are to be understood as signifying different orders of men, chiefs, generals, soldiers, as the Chaldee also observes."

Vers. 21-29. The result of this judgment, and the concluding promise.—Ver. 21. *Then will I display my glory among the nations, and all nations shall see my judgment which I shall execute, and my hand which I shall lay upon them.* Ver. 22. *And the house of Israel shall know that I am Jehovah their God from this day and forward.* Ver. 23. *And the nations shall know that because of their wickedness the house of Israel went into captivity; because they have been unfaithful toward me, I hid my face from them, and gave them into the hand of their oppressors, so that they all fell by the sword.* Ver. 24. *According to their uncleanness, and according to their transgressions, I dealt with them, and hid my face from them.* Ver. 25. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Now will I bring back the captivity of Jacob, and have pity upon all the house of Israel, and be jealous for my holy name.* Ver. 26. *Then will they bear their reproach and all their faithlessness which they have committed toward me when they dwell in their land in security, and no one alarms them;* Ver. 27. *When I bring them back out of the nations, and gather them out of the lands of their enemies, and sanctify myself upon them before the eyes of the many nations.* Ver. 28. *And they will know that I, Jehovah, am their God, when I have driven them out to the nations, and then bring them together again into their land, and leave none of them there any more.* Ver. 29. *And I will not hide my face from them any more, because I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*—The terrible judgment upon Gog will have this twofold effect as a revelation of the glory of God—*first*, Israel will know that the Lord is, and will always continue to be, its God (ver. 22); *secondly*, the heathen will know that He gave Israel into their power, and thrust it out of its own land, not from weakness, but to punish it for its faithless

apostasy (vers. 23 and 24; compare ch. xxxvi. 17 sqq.) **וַיִּשְׁחָ** **אֶתְּ** (ver. 24), as in ch. vii. 27, etc. But because this was the purpose of the Lord with His judgments, He will now bring back the captives of Israel, and have compassion upon all His people. This turn of the prophecy in ver. 25 serves to introduce the promise to Israel with which the prophecy concerning Gog and the whole series of prophecies, contained in ch. xxxv. 1 onwards, are brought to a close (vers. 25–29). This promise reverts in **וַיָּחֵד אֶתְּ** **וְנָח** to the prophet's own time, to which Ezekiel had already gone back by mentioning the carrying away of Israel in vers. 23 and 24. The restoration of the captives of Jacob commences with the liberation of Israel from the Babylonian exile, but is not to be restricted to this. It embraces all the deliverances which Israel will experience from the termination of the Babylonian exile till its final gathering out of the nations on the conversion of the remnant which is still hardened and scattered. **לָכֵן**, therefore, *sc.* because God will prove Himself to be holy in the sight of the heathen nations by means of the judgment, and will make known to them that He has punished Israel solely on account of its sins, and therefore will He restore His people and renew it by His Spirit (ver. 29).—In what the jealousy of God for His holy name consists is evident from ver. 7, and still more plainly from ch. xxxvi. 22, 23, namely, in the fact that by means of the judgment He manifests Himself as the holy God. **וַיִּשְׁחָ** is not to be altered into **וְנָשִׁי**, “they will forget,” as Dathe and Hitzig propose, but is a defective spelling for **וְנִשְׁחָ** (like **מָלָה** for **מָלָה** in ch. xxviii. 16): they will bear their reproach. The thought is the same as in ch. xvi. 54 and 61, where the bearing of reproach is explained as signifying their being ashamed of their sins and their consequences, and feeling disgust thereat. They will feel this shame when the Lord grants them lasting peace in their own land. Raschi has correctly explained it thus: “When I shall have done them good, and not rewarded them as their iniquity deserved, they will be filled with shame, so that

they will not dare to lift up their face."—Ver. 27 is only a further expansion of ver. 26*b*. For the fact itself, compare ch. xxxvi. 23, 24, xx. 41, etc. And not only will Israel then be ashamed of its sins, but (vers. 28, 29) it will also know that Jehovah is its God from henceforth and for ever, as was affirmed in ver. 22, when He shall fully restore to their own land the people that was thrust into exile, and withdraw His favour from it no more, because He has poured out His Spirit upon it, and thereby perfectly sanctified it as His own people (cf. ch. xxxvi. 27).

The promise with which the prophecy concerning the destruction of Gog is brought to a close, namely, that in this judgment all nations shall see the glory of God, and all Israel shall know that henceforth Jehovah will be their God, and will no more hide His face from them, serves to confirm the substance of the threat of punishment; inasmuch as it also teaches that, in the destruction of Gog and his gathering of peoples, the last attack of the heathen world-power upon the kingdom of God will be judged and overthrown, so that from that time forth the people of God will no more have to fear a foe who can disturb its peace and its blessedness in the everlasting possession of the inheritance given to it by the Lord. Gog is not only depicted as the last foe, whom the Lord Himself entices for the purpose of destroying him by miracles of His almighty power (ch. xxxviii. 3, 4, 19-22), by the fact that his appearance is assigned to the end of the times, when all Israel is gathered out of the nations and brought back out of the lands, and dwells in secure repose in the open and unfortified towns of its own land (ch. xxxviii. 8, 11, 12); but this may also be inferred from the fact that the gathering of peoples led by Gog against Israel belongs to the heathen nations living on the borders of the known world, since this points to a time when not only will the ancient foes of the kingdom of Gog, whose destruction was predicted in ch. xxv.-xxxii., have departed from the stage of history and perished, but the boundaries of Israel will also

stretch far beyond the limits of Palestine, to the vicinity of these hordes of peoples at the remotest extremities on the north, the east, and the south of the globe.—So much may be gathered from the contents of our prophecy in relation to its historical fulfilment. But in order to determine with greater precision what is the heathen power thus rising up in Gog of Magog against the kingdom of God, we must take into consideration the passage in the Apocalypse (Rev. xx. 8 and 9), where our prophecy is resumed. Into this, however, we will not further enter till after the exposition of ch. xl.-xlviii., when we shall take up the question as to the historical realization of the new temple and kingdom of God which Ezekiel saw.

CHAP. XL.-XLVIII.—THE NEW KINGDOM OF GOD.

The last nine chapters of Ezekiel contain a magnificent vision, in which the prophet, being transported in an ecstatic state into the land of Israel, is shown the new temple and the new organization of the service of God, together with the new division of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, who have been brought back from among the nations. This last section of our book, which is perfectly rounded off in itself, is indeed sharply distinguished by its form from the preceding prophecies; but it is closely connected with them so far as the contents are concerned, and forms the second half of the entire book, in which the announcement of salvation for Israel is brought to its full completion, and a panoramic vision displays the realization of the salvation promised. This announcement (ch. xxxiv.-xxxvii.) commenced with the promise that the Lord would bring back all Israel from its dispersion into the land of Canaan given to the fathers, and would cause it to dwell there as a people renewed by His Spirit and walking in His com-

mandments; and closed with the assurance that He would make an eternal covenant of peace with His restored people, place His sanctuary in the midst of them, and there dwell above them as their God for ever (ch. xxxvii. 26-28). The picture shown to the prophet in the chapters before us, of the realization of this promise, commences with the description and measuring of the new sanctuary (ch. xl.-xlii.), into which the glory of the Lord enters with the assurance, "This is the place of my throne, where I shall dwell for ever among the sons of Israel" (ch. xliii. 1-12); and concludes with the definition of the boundaries and the division of Canaan among the twelve tribes, as well as of the extent and building of the new Jerusalem (ch. xlvii. 13-xlviii. 35). The central portion of this picture is occupied by the new organization of the service of God, by observing which all Israel is to prove itself to be a holy people of the Lord (ch. xliii. 13-xlvi. 24), so as to participate in the blessing which flows like a river from the threshold of the temple and spreads itself over the land (ch. xlvii. 1-12).

From this brief sketch of these nine chapters, it is evident that this vision does not merely treat of the new temple and the new order of the temple-worship, although these points are described in the most elaborate manner; but that it presents a picture of the new form assumed by the whole of the kingdom of God, and in this picture exhibits to the eye the realization of the restoration and the blessedness of Israel. The whole of it may therefore be divided into three sections: viz. (a) the description of the new temple (ch. xl.-xliii. 12); (b) the new organization of the worship of God (ch. xliii. 13-xlvi. 24); (c) the blessing of the land of Canaan, and the partition of it among the tribes of Israel (ch. xlvii. 1-xlviii. 35); although this division is not strictly adhered to, inasmuch as in the central section not only are several points relating to the temple—such as the description of the altar of burnt-offering (ch. xliii. 13-17), and the kitchens for the sacrifices (ch. xlvii. 19-24)—repeated, but the *therumah* to be set apart as holy on

the division of the land, and the prince's domain, are also mentioned and defined (ch. xlv. 1-8).

CHAP. XL.-XLIII. 12. THE NEW TEMPLE.

After a short introduction announcing the time, place, and design of the vision (ch. xl. 1-4), the picture of the temple shown to the prophet commences with a description of the courts, with their gates and cells (ch. xl. 5-47). It then turns to the description of the temple-house, with the porch and side-building, of the erection upon the separate place (ch. xl. 48-xli. 26), and also of the cells in the outer court set apart for the sacrificial meals of the priests, and for the custody of their official robes; and proceeds to define the extent of the outer circumference of the temple (ch. xlii.). It closes with the consecration of the temple, as the place of the throne of God, by the entrance into it of the glory of the Lord (ch. xliii. 1-12).¹

Chap. xl. 1-4. *Introduction.*

Ver. 1. *In the five and twentieth year of our captivity, at the beginning of the year, on the tenth of the month, in the fourteenth*

¹ For the exposition of this section, compare the thorough, though critically one-sided, work of Jul. Fr. Böttcher (*Exegetisch kritischer Versuch über die ideale Beschreibung der Tempelgebäude Ezech. ch. xl.-xlii., xlv. 19-24*) in the *Proben alttestamentlicher Schrifterklärung*, Lpz. 1833, pp. 218-365, with two plates of illustrations.—On the other hand, the earlier monographs upon these chapters: Jo. Bapt. Villalpando, *de postrema Ezechielis visione, Pars II. of Pradi et Villalpandi in Ezech. explanatt.*, Rom. 1604; Matth. Hafenreffer, *Templum Ezechielis s. in IX. postr. prophetiae capita*, Tüb. 1613; Leonh. Cph. Sturm, *Sciagraphia templi Hierosol. . . . praesertim ex visione Ezech.*, Lips. 1694; and other writings mentioned in Rosenmüller's *Scholia ad Ez. XL.*, by no means meet the scientific demands of our age. This also applies to the work of Dr. J. J. Balmer-Rinck, with its typographical beauty, *Des Propheten Ezechiel Ansicht vom Tempel, mit 5 Tafeln und 1 Karte*, Ludwigsb. 1858, and to the description and engraving of Ezekiel's temple in Gust. Unruh's *das alte Jerusalem und seine Bauwerke*, Langensalza 1861.

year after the city was smitten, on this same day the hand of Jehovah came upon me, and He brought me thither. Ver. 2. In visions of God He brought me into the land of Israel, and set me down upon a very high mountain; and upon it there was like a city-edifice toward the south. Ver. 3. And He brought me thither, and behold there was a man, his appearance like the appearance of brass, and a flaxen cord in his hand, and the measuring-rod; and he stood by the gate. Ver. 4. And the man spake to me: Son of man, see with thine eyes, and hear with thine ears, and set thy heart upon all that I show thee; for thou art brought hither to show it thee. Tell all that thou seest to the house of Israel.—

The twofold announcement of the time when the prophet was shown the vision of the new temple and the new kingdom of God points back to ch. i. 1 and xxxiii. 21, and places this divine revelation concerning the new building of the kingdom of God in a definite relation, not only to the appearance of God by which Ezekiel was called to be a prophet (ch. i. 1, 3), but also to the vision in ch. viii.-xi., in which he was shown the destruction of the ancient, sinful Jerusalem, together with its temple. The twenty-fifth year of the captivity, and the fourteenth year after the city was smitten, *i.e.* taken and reduced to ashes, are the year 575 before Christ. There is a difference of opinion as to the correct explanation of בְּרֵאשִׁית הַשָּׁנָה, at the beginning of the year; but it is certainly incorrect to take the expression as denoting the beginning of the economical or so-called civil year, the seventh month (*Tishri*). For, in the first place, the custom of beginning the year with the month *Tishri* was introduced long after the captivity, and was probably connected with the adoption of the era of the Seleucidae; and, secondly, it is hardly conceivable that Ezekiel should have deviated from the view laid down in the *Torah* in so important a point as this. The only thing that could render this at all probable would be the assumption proposed by Hitzig, that the year 575 B.C. was a year of jubilee, since the year of jubilee did commence with the day of atonement on the tenth of the

seventh month. But the supposition that a jubilee year fell in the twenty-fifth year of the captivity cannot be raised into a probability. We therefore agree with Hävernicks and Kliefoth in adhering to the view of the older commentators, that ראש השנה is a contracted repetition of the definition contained in Ex. xii. 2, ראש החודש ראשון לחודשי השנה, and signifies the opening month of the year, *i.e.* the month *Abib* (*Nisan*). The tenth day of this month was the day on which the preparations for the Passover, the feast of the elevation of Israel into the people of God, were to commence, and therefore was well adapted for the revelation of the new constitution of the kingdom of God. On that day was Ezekiel transported, in an ecstatic state, to the site of the smitten Jerusalem. For היתה עלי יר"י, compare ch. xxxvii. 1 and i. 3. שמה evidently points back to העיר in ver. 2b: thither, where the city was smitten. מראות אלהים, as in ch. i. 1. יניחני אל הר ג': he set me down upon (not by) a very high mountain (אל for על, as in many other instances; *e.g.* ch. xviii. 6 and xxxi. 12). The very high mountain is Mount Zion, which is exalted above the tops of all the mountains (Mic. iv. 1; Isa. ii. 2),—the mountain upon which, according to what follows, the new temple seen in the vision stood, and which has already been designated as the lofty mountain of Israel in ch. xvii. 22, 23.¹ Upon this mountain Ezekiel saw something like a city-edifice toward the south (*lit.* from the south hither). מבנה עיר is not the building of the new Jerusalem (Hävernicks, Kliefoth, etc.). For even if what was to be seen as a city-edifice really could be one, although no tenable proof can be adduced of this use of כ *simil.*, nothing is said about the city till ch. xlv. 6 and xlviii. 15 and 30 sqq., and even there it is only in combination with the measuring and dividing of the land; so that Hävernicks's remark, that "the

¹ J. H. Michaelis has already explained it correctly, viz.: "The *highest mountain*, such as Isaiah (ii. 2) had also predicted that Mount Zion would be, not physically, but in the eminence of gospel dignity and glory; cf. Rev. xxi. 10."

revelation has reference to the sanctuary and the city; these two principal objects announce themselves at once as such in the form of vision," is neither correct nor conclusive. The revelation has reference to the temple and the whole of the holy land, including the city; and the city itself does not come at all into such prominence as to warrant us in assuming that there is already a reference made to it here in the introduction. If we look at the context, the man with the measure, whom Ezekiel saw at the place to which he was transported, was standing at the gate (ver. 3). This gate in the wall round about the building was, according to vers. 5, 6, a temple gate. Consequently what Ezekiel saw as a city-edifice can only be the building of the new temple, with its surrounding wall and its manifold court buildings. The expressions עֲלִי and מִנֶּנֶב can both be brought into harmony with this. עֲלִי refers to the very high mountain mentioned immediately before, to the summit of which the prophet had been transported, and upon which the temple-edifice is measured before his eyes. But מִנֶּנֶב does not imply, that as Ezekiel looked from the mountain he saw *in the distance*, toward the south, a magnificent building like a city-edifice; but simply that, looking from his standing-place in a southerly direction, or southwards, he saw this building upon the mountain,—that is to say, as he had been transported from Chaldea, *i.e.* from the north, into the land of Israel, he really saw it before him towards the south; so that the rendering of מִנֶּנֶב by ἀπέναντι in the Septuagint is substantially correct, though without furnishing any warrant to alter מִנֶּנֶב into מִנְנֵר. In ver. 3a, וַיְבִיֵא אוֹתִי שָׁמָּה is repeated from the end of ver. 1, for the purpose of attaching the following description of what is seen, in the sense of, "when He brought me thither, behold, there (was) a man." His appearance was like the appearance of brass, *i.e.* of shining brass (according to the correct gloss of the LXX. χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος = כְּהִשְׁתָּ קָלָל, ch. i. 7). This figure suggests a heavenly being, an angel, and as he is called Jehovah in ch. xliv. 2, 5, the angel of Jehovah.

Kliefoth's opinion, that in ch. xlv. 2, 5, it is not the man who is speaking, but that the prophet is there addressed directly by the apparition of God (ch. xliii. 2 sqq.), is proved to be untenable by the simple fact that the speaker (in ch. xlv.) admonishes the prophet in ver. 5 to attend, to see, and to hear, in the same words as the man in ver. 4 of the chapter before us. This places the identity of the two beyond the reach of doubt. He had in his hand a flaxen cord for measuring, and the measuring rod,—that is to say, two measures, because he had to measure many and various things, smaller and larger spaces, for the former of which he had the measuring rod, for the latter the measuring line. The gate at which this man stood (ver. 3) is not more precisely defined, but according to ver. 5 it is to be sought for in the wall surrounding the building; and since he went to the east gate first, according to ver. 6, it was not the east gate, but probably the north gate, as it was from the north that Ezekiel had come.

Vers. 5–27. *The Outer Court, with Boundary Wall, Gate-Buildings, and Cells.*

Ver. 5.—**THE SURROUNDING WALL.**—*And, behold, a wall (ran) on the outside round the house; and in the man's hand was the measuring rod of six cubits, each a cubit and a handbreadth; and he measured the breadth of the building a rod, and the height a rod.*—The description of the temple (for, according to what follows, יְהוָה is the house of Jehovah) (cf. ch. xliii. 7) commences with the surrounding wall of the outer court, whose breadth (*i.e.* thickness) and height are measured (see the illustration, Plate I. *a a a a*), the length of the measuring rod having first been given by way of parenthesis. This was six cubits (*sc.* measured) by the cubit and handbreadth—that is to say, six cubits, each of which was of the length of a (common) cubit and a handbreadth (cf. ch. xliii. 13); in all, therefore, six cubits and six handbreadths. The ordinary or common cubit, judging from the statement in 2 Chron. iii. 3,

that the measure of Solomon's temple was regulated according to the earlier measure, had become shorter in the course of time than the old Mosaic or sacred cubit. For the new temple, therefore, the measure is regulated according to a longer cubit, in all probability according to the old sacred cubit of the Mosaic law, which was a handbreadth longer than the common cubit according to the passage before us, or seven handbreadths of the ordinary cubit. מַנְיָן, the masonry, is the building of the wall, which was one rod broad, *i.e.* thick, and the same in height. The length of this wall is not given, and can only be learned from the further description of the whole wall (see the comm. on ch. xl. 27).

Vers. 6-16. THE BUILDINGS OF THE EAST GATE.—(See Plate II. 1).—Ver. 6. *And he went to the gate, the direction of which was toward the east, and ascended the steps thereof, and measured the threshold of the gate one rod broad, namely, the first threshold one rod broad,* Ver. 7. *And the guard-room one rod long and one rod broad, and between the guard-rooms five cubits, and the threshold of the gate by the porch of the gate from the temple hither one rod.* Ver. 8. *And he measured the porch of the gate from the temple hither one rod.* Ver. 9. *And he measured the porch of the gate eight cubits, and its pillars two cubits; and the porch of the gate was from the temple hither.* Ver. 10. *And of the guard-rooms of the gate toward the east there were three on this side and three on that side; all three had one measure, and the pillars also one measure on this side and on that.* Ver. 11. *And he measured the breadth of the opening of the gate ten cubits, the length of the gate thirteen cubits.* Ver. 12. *And there was a boundary fence before the guard-rooms of one cubit, and a cubit was the boundary fence on that side, and the guard-rooms were six cubits on this side and six cubits on that side.* Ver. 13. *And he measured the gate from the roof of the guard-rooms to the roof of them five and twenty cubits broad, door against door.* Ver. 14. *And he fixed the pillars at sixty cubits, and the court round about the gate reached to the pillars.* Ver. 15.

And the front of the entrance gate to the front of the porch of the inner gate was fifty cubits. Ver. 16. And there were closed windows in the guard-rooms, and in their pillars on the inner side of the gate round about, and so also in the projections of the walls; there were windows round about on the inner side, and palms on the pillars.—יָבֹא אֶל שַׁעַר is not to be rendered, “he went in at the gate.” For although this would be grammatically admissible, it is not in harmony with what follows, according to which the man first of all ascended the steps, and then commenced the measuring of the gate-buildings with the threshold of the gate. The steps (*B* in the illustration) are not to be thought of as in the surrounding wall, but as being outside in front of them; but in the description which follows they are not included in the length of the gate-buildings. The number of steps is not given here, but they have no doubt been fixed correctly by the LXX. at seven, as that is the number given in vers. 22 and 26 in connection with both the northern and southern gates. From the steps the man came to the threshold (*C*), and measured it. “The actual description of the first building, that of the eastern gate, commences in the inside; first of all, the entire length is traversed (vers. 6–9), and the principal divisions are measured on the one side; then (vers. 10–12) the inner portions on both sides are given more definitely as to their character, number, and measure; in vers. 13–15 the relations and measurement of the whole building are noticed; and finally (ver. 16), the wall-decorations observed round about the inside. The exit from the gate is first mentioned in ver. 17; consequently all that is given in vers. 6–16 must have been visible within the building, just as in the case of the other gates the measurements and descriptions are always to be regarded as given from within” (Böttcher). The threshold (*C*) was a rod in breadth,—that is to say, measuring from the outside to the inside,—and was therefore just as broad as the wall was thick (ver. 5). But this threshold was the one, or first threshold, which had to be crossed by any one who

entered the gate from the outside, for the gate-building had a second threshold at the exit into the court, which is mentioned in ver. 7. Hence the more precise definition $\text{וַיֵּאָתָר סָף אֶחָד}$, "and that the one, i.e. first threshold," in connection with which the breadth is given a second time. אֶחָד is neither *nota nominativi*, nor is it used in the sense of אֶחָד ; but it is *nota accus.*, and is also governed by וַיֵּאָתָר . And אֶחָד is not to be taken in a pregnant sense, "only one, i.e. not broken up, or composed of several" (Böttcher, Hävernicks), but is employed, as it frequently is in enumeration, for the ordinal number: *one* for the first (*vid. e.g.* Gen. i. 5, 7). The length of the threshold, i.e. its measure between the two door-posts (from north to south), is not given; but from the breadth of the entrance door mentioned in ver. 11, we can infer that it was ten cubits. Proceeding from the threshold, we have next the measurement of the guard-room (*G*), mentioned in ver. 7. According to 1 Kings xiv. 28, סָדֵק is a room constructed in the gate, for the use of the guard keeping watch at the gate. This was a rod in length, and the same in breadth. A space of five cubits is then mentioned as intervening between the guard-rooms. It is evident from this that there were several guard-rooms in succession; according to ver. 10, three on each side of the doorway, but that instead of their immediately joining one another, they were separated by intervening spaces (*H*) of five cubits each. This required two spaces on each side. These spaces between the guard-rooms, of which we have no further description, must not be thought of as open or unenclosed, for in that case there would have been so many entrances into the court, and the gateway would not be closed; but we must assume "that they were closed by side walls, which connected the guard-rooms with one another" (Kliefoth).—After the guard-rooms there follows, thirdly, the threshold of the gate on the side of, or near the porch of, the gate "in the direction from the house," i.e. the second threshold, which was at the western exit from the gate-buildings near the porch (*D*); in other words, which

stood as you entered immediately in front of the porch leading out into the court (*C C*), and was also a cubit in breadth, like the first threshold at the eastern entrance into the gate. מִהַבִּית, "in the direction from the house," or, transposing it into our mode of viewing and describing directions, "going toward the temple-house." This is added to אֶלֶם הַשַּׁעַר to indicate clearly the position of this porch as being by the inner passage of the gate-buildings leading into the court, so as to guard against our thinking of a porch erected on the outside in front of the entrance gate. Böttcher, Hitzig, and others are wrong in identifying or interchanging מִהַבִּית with מַבִּית, inwardly, *intrinsecus* (ch. vii. 15; 1 Kings vi. 15), and taking it as referring to הַבַּיִת, as if the intention were to designate this threshold as the inner one lying within the gate-buildings, in contrast to the first threshold mentioned in ver. 6.

In vers. 8 and 9 two different measures of this court-porch (*D*) are given, viz. first, one rod = six cubits (ver. 8), and then eight cubits (ver. 9). The ancient translators stumbled at this difference, and still more at the fact that the definition of the measurement is repeated in the same words; so that, with the exception of the Targumists, they have all omitted the eighth verse; and in consequence of this, modern critics, such as Houbigant, Ewald, Böttcher, and Hitzig, have expunged it from the text as a gloss. But however strange the repetition of the measurement of the porch with a difference in the numbers may appear at the first glance, and however naturally it may suggest the thought of a gloss which has crept into the text through the oversight of a copyist, it is very difficult to understand how such a gloss could have been perpetuated; and this cannot be explained by the groundless assumption that there was an unwillingness to erase what had once been erroneously written. To this must be added the difference in the terms employed to describe the dimensions, viz. first, a rod, and then eight cubits, as well as the circumstance that in ver. 9, in addition to the measure of the porch, that of the pillars adjoin-

ing the porch is given immediately afterwards. The attempts of the earlier commentators to explain the two measurements of the porch have altogether failed; and Kliefoth was the first to solve the difficulty correctly, by explaining that in ver. 8 the measurement of the porch is given in the clear, *i.e.* according to the length within, or the depth (from east to west), whilst in ver. 9 the external length of the southern (or northern) wall of the porch (from east to west) is given. Both of these were necessary, the former to give a correct idea of the inner space of the porch, as in the case of the guard-rooms in ver. 7; the latter, to supply the necessary data for the entire length of the gate-buildings, and to make it possible to append to this the dimensions of the pillars adjoining the western porch-wall. As a portion of the gate-entrance or gateway, this porch was open to the east and west; and toward the west, *i.e.* toward the court, it was closed by the gate built against it. Kliefoth therefore assumes that the porch-walls on the southern and northern sides projected two cubits toward the west beyond the inner space of the porch, which lay between the threshold and the gate that could be closed, and was six cubits long, and that the two gate-pillars, with their thickness of two cubits each, were attached to this prolongation of the side walls. But by this supposition we do not gain a porch (פֶּתַח), but a simple extension of the intervening wall between the third guard-room and the western gate. If the continuation of the side walls, which joined the masonry bounding the western threshold on the south and north, was to have the character of a porch, the hinder wall (to the east) could not be entirely wanting; but even if there were a large opening in it for the doorway, it must stand out in some way so as to strike the eye, whether by projections of the wall at the north-east and south-east corners, or what may be more probable, by the fact that the southern and northern side walls receded at least a cubit in the inside, if not more, so that the masonry of the walls of the porch was weaker (thinner) than that at the side of the threshold and by

the pillars, and the porch in the clear from north to south was broader than the doorway. The suffix attached to אִלָּי is probably to be taken as referring to הַשָּׁעַר הַלְלוֹם, and not merely to שַׁעַר, and the word itself to be construed as a plural (אִלָּי): the pillars of the gate-porch (*E*) were two cubits thick, or strong. This measurement is not to be divided between the two pillars, as the earlier commentators supposed, so that each pillar would be but one cubit thick, but applies to each of them. As the pillars were sixty cubits high (according to ver. 14), they must have had the strength of at least two cubits of thickness to secure the requisite firmness. At the close of the ninth verse, the statement that the gate-porch was directed towards the temple-house is made for the third time, because it was this peculiarity in the situation which distinguished the gate-buildings of the outer court from those of the inner; inasmuch as in the case of the latter, although in other respects its construction resembled that of the gate-buildings of the outer court, the situation was reversed, and the gate-porch was at the side turned away from the temple toward the outer court, as is also emphatically stated three times in vers. 31, 34, and 37 (Kliefoth).

On reaching the gate-porch and its pillars, the measurer had gone through the entire length of the gate-buildings, and determined the measure of all its component parts, so far as the length was concerned. Having arrived at the inner extremity or exit, the describer returns, in order to supply certain important particulars with regard to the situation and character of the whole structure. He first of all observes (in ver. 10), with reference to the number and relative position of the guard-houses (*G*), that there were three of them on each side opposite to one another, that all six were of the same measure, *i.e.* one rod in length and one in breadth (ver. 7); and then, that the pillars mentioned in ver. 9, the measurement of which was determined (*E*), standing at the gate-porch on either side, were of the same size. Many of the commentators have erroneously imagined that by אִלָּי we are to understand the walls between the guard-

rooms or pillars in the guard-rooms. The connecting walls could not be called אֵילִים; and if pillars belonging to the guard-rooms were intended, we should expect to find לְאֵילֵי.—In ver. 11 there follow the measurements of the breadth and length of the doorway. The breadth of the opening, *i.e.* the width of the doorway, was ten cubits. “By this we are naturally to understand the breadth of the whole doorway in its full extent, just as the length of the two thresholds and the seven steps, which was not given in vers. 6 and 7, is also fixed at ten cubits” (Kliefoth).—The measurement which follows, *viz.* “the length of the gate, thirteen cubits,” is difficult to explain, and has been interpreted in very different ways. The supposition of Lyra, Kliefoth, and others, that by the *length* of the gate we are to understand the *height* of the trellised gate, which could be opened and shut, cannot possibly be correct. אָרָךְ, length, never stands for קוֹמָה, height; and הַשַּׁעַר in this connection cannot mean the gate that was opened and shut. הַשַּׁעַר, as distinguished from פֶּתַח הַשַּׁעַר, can only signify either the whole of the gate-building (as in ver. 6), or, in a more limited sense, that portion of the building which bore the character of a gate in a conspicuous way; primarily, therefore, the masonry enclosing the threshold on the two sides, together with its roof; and then, generally, the covered doorway, or that portion of the gate-building which was roofed over, in distinction from the uncovered portion of the building between the two gates (Böttcher, Hitzig, and Hävernick); inasmuch as it cannot be supposed that a gate-building of fifty cubits long was entirely roofed in. Now, as there are two thresholds mentioned in vers. 6 and 7, and the distinction in ver. 15 between the (outer) entrance-gate and the porch of the inner gate implies that the gate-building had two gates, like the gate-building of the city of Mahanaim (2 Sam. xviii. 24), one might be disposed to distribute the thirteen cubits’ length of the gate between the two gates, because each threshold had simply a measurement of six cubits. But such a supposition as this, which is not very probable in

itself, is proved to be untenable, by the fact that throughout the whole description we never find the measurements of two or more separate portions added together, so that no other course is open than to assume, as Böttcher, Hitzig, and Hävernicks have done, that the length of thirteen cubits refers to one covered doorway, and that, according to the analogy of the measurements of the guard-rooms given in ver. 7, it applies to the second gateway also; in which case, out of the forty cubits which constituted the whole length of the gate-building (without the front porch), about two-thirds (twenty-six cubits) would be covered gateway (*b b*), and the fourteen cubits between would form an uncovered court-yard (*c c*) enclosed on all sides by the gate-buildings. Consequently the roofing of the gate extended from the eastern and western side over the guard-room, which immediately adjoined the threshold of the gate, and a cubit beyond that, over the wall which intervened between the guard-rooms, so that only the central guard-room on either side, together with a portion of the walls which bounded it, stood in the uncovered portion or court of the gate-building.—According to ver. 12, there was a גִּבּוֹל, or boundary, in front of the guard-rooms, *i.e.* a boundary fence of a cubit in breadth, along the whole of the guard-room, with its breadth of six cubits on either side. The construction of this boundary fence or barrier (*a*) is not explained; but the design of it is clear, namely, to enable the sentry to come without obstruction out of the guard-room, to observe what was going on in the gate both on the right and left, without being disturbed by those who were passing through the gate. These boundary fences in front of the guard-rooms projected into the gateway to the extent described, so that there were only eight (10 – 2) cubits open space between the guard-rooms, for those who were going out and in. In ver. 12 we must supply קִפּוֹת after the first אֲזִיָּת because of the parallelism. Ver. 12*b* is a substantial repetition of ver. 7*a*.—In ver. 13 there follows the measure of the breadth of the gate-building. From the roof of the one guard-room to the roof of the other

guard-room opposite (לְגִנָּה) is an abbreviated expression for (לְגִנָּה וְלִנְיָה) the breadth was twenty-five cubits, "door against door." These last words are added for the sake of clearness, to designate the direction of the measurement as taken right across the gateway. The door of the guard-room, however, can only be the door in the outer wall, by which the sentries passed to and fro between the room and the court. The measurement given will not allow of our thinking of a door in the inner wall, *i.e.* the wall of the barrier of the gateway, without touching the question in dispute among the commentators, whether the guard-rooms had walls toward the gateway or not, *i.e.* whether they were rooms that could be closed, or sentry-boxes open in front. All that the measuring from roof to roof presupposes as indisputable is, that the guard-rooms had a roof. The measurement given agrees, moreover, with the other measurements. The breadth of the gateway with its ten cubits, added to that of each guard-room with six, and therefore of both together with twelve, makes twenty-two cubits in all; so that if we add three cubits for the thickness of the two outer walls, or a cubit and a half each, that is to say, according to ver. 42, the breadth of one hewn square stone, we obtain twenty-five cubits for the breadth of the whole gate-building, the dimension given in vers. 21, 25, and 29.

There is a further difficulty in ver. 14. The אֵילִים, whose measurement is fixed in the first clause at sixty cubits, can only be the gate-pillars (אֵילִי) mentioned in ver. 9; and the measurement given can only refer to their height. The height of sixty cubits serves to explain the choice of the verb יָעֵשׂ, in the general sense of *constituit*, instead of יָסַד, inasmuch as such a height could not be measured from the bottom to the top with the measuring rod, but could only be estimated and fixed at such and such a result. With regard to the offence taken by modern critics at the sixty cubits, Kliefoth has very correctly observed, that "if it had been considered that our church towers have also grown out of gate-pillars, that we may see for

ourselves not only in Egyptian obelisks and Turkish minarets, but in our own hollow factory-chimneys, how pillars of sixty cubits can be erected upon a pedestal of two cubits square; and lastly, that we have here to do with a colossal building seen in a vision,—there would have been no critical difficulties discovered in this statement as to the height." Moreover, not only the number, but the whole text is verified as correct by the Targum and Vulgate, and defended by them against all critical caprice; whilst the verdict of Böttcher himself concerning the Greek and Syriac texts is, that they are senselessly mutilated and disfigured.—In the second half of the verse **וְהַיְצֵר** stands in a collective sense: "and the court touched the pillars." **וְהַיְצֵר** is not a court situated within the gate-building (Hitzig, Hävernicks, and others), but the outer court of the temple. **וְהַיְצֵר** is an accusative, literally, with regard to the gate round about, *i.e.* encompassing the gate-building round about, that is to say, on three sides. These words plainly affirm what is implied in the preceding account, namely, that the gate-building stood within the outer court, and that not merely so far as the porch was concerned, but in its whole extent.—To this there is very suitably attached in ver. 15 the account of the length of the whole building. The words, "at the front of the entrance gate to the front of the porch of the inner gate," are a concise topographical expression for "from the front side of the entrance gate to the front side of the porch of the inner gate." At the starting-point of the measurement **מִן** (**מֵעַל**) was unnecessary, as the point of commencement is indicated by the position of the word; and in **עַל** **לְפָנַי**, as distinguished from **עַל** **פָּנָי**, the direction toward the terminal point is shown, so that there is no necessity to alter **עַל** into **עַד**, since **עַל**, when used of the direction in which the object aimed at lies, frequently touches the ordinary meaning of **עַד** (*cf.* **עַל** **קְצוֹתָם**, Ps. xix. 7, and **עַל** **תְּבִלְיָתָם**, Isa. x. 25); whilst here the direction is rendered perfectly plain by the **ל** (**לְפָנַי**). The *Chetib* **הַיְצֵר**, a misspelling for **הַיְצֵת**, we agree with Gesenius and others in regarding as a substantive: "entrance." The entrance gate

is the outer gate, at the flight of steps leading into the gate-building. Opposite to this was the "inner gate" at the end of the gate-building, by the porch leading into the court. The length from the outer to the inner gate was fifty cubits, which is the resultant obtained from the measurements of the several portions of the gate-building, as given in vers. 6-10; namely, six cubits the breadth of the first threshold, $3 \times 6 = 18$ cubits that of the three guard-rooms, $2 \times 5 = 10$ cubits that of the spaces intervening between the guard-rooms, 6 cubits that of the inner threshold, 8 cubits that of the gate-porch, and 2 cubits that of the gate-pillars ($6+18+10+6+8+2 = 50$).

Lastly, in ver. 16, the windows and decorations of the gate-buildings are mentioned. חֲלוֹנוֹת אֲטָמוֹת, closed windows, is, no doubt, a contracted expression for חֲלוֹנֵי שָׁקָפִים אֲטָמוֹת (1 Kings vi. 4), windows of closed bars, *i.e.* windows, the lattice-work of which was made so fast, that they could not be opened at pleasure like the windows of dwelling-houses. But it is difficult to determine the situation of these windows. According to the words of the text, they were in the guard-rooms and in אֲלִיּוֹמָהּ and also לְאִלְמוֹת, and that לְפָנֶימָה לְשַׁעַר into the interior of the gate-building, *i.e.* going into the inner side of the gateway קָבִיב קָבִיב, round about, *i.e.* surrounding the gateway on all sides. To understand these statements, we must endeavour, first of all, to get a clear idea of the meaning of the words אֵילִים and אִלְמוֹת. The first occurs in the singular אֵיל, not only in vers. 14, 16, and ch. xli. 3, but also in 1 Kings vi. 31; in the plural only in this chapter and in ch. xli. 1. The second אֵילִם or אִלִּם is met with only in this chapter, and always in the plural, in the form אִלְמוֹת only in vers. 16 and 30, in other cases always אֵילִמִּים, or with a suffix אֵילִמֵּי, after the analogy of תְּמָחַת in ver. 12 by the side of תְּמָחִים in vers. 7 and 16, תְּמָחֵי in ver. 10, and תְּמָחֵי or תְּמָחֵי in vers. 21, 29, 33, 36, from which it is apparent that the difference in the formation of the plural (אֵילִמִּים and אִלְמוֹת) has no influence upon the meaning of the word. On the other hand, it is evident from our verse (ver. 16), and still

more so from the expression **אֵילִי וְאֵלָמִי**, which is repeated in vers. 21, 24, 29, 33, and 36 (cf. vers. 26, 31, and 34), that **אֵלִים** and **אֵלָמִים** must signify different things, and are not to be identified, as Böttcher and others suppose. The word **אֵיל**, as an architectural term, never occurs except in connection with doors or gates. It is used in this connection as early as 1 Kings vi. 31, in the description of the door of the most holy place in Solomon's temple, where **אֵילֵי הַפֶּתַח** signifies the projection on the door-posts, i.e. the projecting portion of the wall in which the door-posts were fixed. Ezekiel uses **אֵיל הַפֶּתַח** in ch. xli. 3 in the same sense in relation to the door of the most holy place, and in an analogous manner applies the term **אֵלִים** to the pillars which rose up to a colossal height at or by the gates of the courts (vers. 9, 10, 14, 21, 24, etc.), and also of the pillars at the entrance into the holy place (ch. xli. 1). The same meaning may also be retained in ver. 16, where pillars (or posts) are attributed to the guard-rooms, since the suffix in **אֵלֵי הַמִּקְוָה** can only be taken as referring to **הַתְּאִים**. As these guard-rooms had doors, the doors may also have had their posts. And just as in ver. 14 **אֵלֵי-אֵלֵי** points back to the **אֵלִים** previously mentioned, and the singular is used in a collective sense; so may the **אֵלֵי** in ver. 16 be taken collectively, and referred to the pillars mentioned before.—There is more difficulty in determining the meaning of **אֵלִים** (plural **אֵלָמִים** or **אֵלִמוֹת**), which has been identified sometimes with **אֵלָם**, sometimes with **אֵלִים**. Although etymologically connected with these two words, it is not only clearly distinguished from **אֵלִים**, as we have already observed, but it is also distinguished from **אֵלָם** by the fact that, apart from ch. xli. 15, where the plural **אֵלִמֵי** signifies the front porches in all the gate-buildings of the court, **אֵלָם** only occurs in the singular, because every gate-building had only one front porch, whereas the plural is always used in the case of **אֵלָמִים**. So far as the form is concerned, **אֵלִים** is derived from **אֵל**; and since **אֵל** signifies the projection, more especially the pillars on both sides of the doors and gates, it has apparently

the force of an abstract noun, projecting work; but as distinguished from the prominent pillars, it seems to indicate the projecting works or portions on the side walls of a building of large dimensions. If, then, we endeavour to determine the meaning of **אֵלֶּיךָ** more precisely in our description of the gate-building, where alone the word occurs, we find from ver. 30 that there were **אֵלֶּיךָ** round about the gate-buildings; and again from vers. 16 and 25, that the **אֵלֶּיךָ** had windows, which entered into the gateway; and still further from vers. 22 and 26, that when one ascended the flight of steps, they were **לְפָנֵי**, "in front of them." And lastly, from vers. 21, 29, and 33, where guard-rooms, on this side and on that side, pillars (**אֵלֶּיךָ**), and **אֵלֶּיךָ** are mentioned as constituent parts of the gate-building or gateway, and the length of the gateway is given as fifty cubits, we may infer that the **אֵלֶּיךָ**, with the guard-rooms and pillars, formed the side enclosures of the gateway throughout its entire length. Consequently we shall not be mistaken, if we follow Kliefoth in understanding by **אֵלֶּיךָ** those portions of the inner side walls of the gateway which projected in the same manner as the two pillars by the porch, namely, the intervening walls between the three guard-rooms, and also those portions of the side walls which enclosed the two thresholds on either side. For "there was nothing more along the gateway, with the exception of the portions mentioned," that projected in any way, inasmuch as these projecting portions of the side enclosures, together with the breadth of the guard-rooms and the porch, along with its pillars, made up the entire length of the gateway, amounting to fifty cubits. This explanation of the word is applicable to all the passages in which it occurs, even to vers. 30 and 31, as the exposition of these verses will show.—It follows from this that the windows mentioned in ver. 16 can only be sought for in the walls of the guard-rooms and the projecting side walls of the gateway; and therefore that **וְאֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ** is to be taken as a more precise definition of **אֵלֶּיךָ**: "there were windows in the guard-rooms, and, indeed

(that is to say), in their pillars," *i.e.* by the side of the pillars enclosing the door. These windows entered into the interior of the gateway. It still remains questionable, however, whether these windows looked out of the guard-rooms into the court, and at the same time threw light into the interior of the gateway, because the guard-rooms were open towards the gateway, as Böttcher, Hitzig, Kliefoth, and others assume; or whether the guard-rooms had also a wall with a door opening into the gateway, and windows on both sides, to which allusion is made here. The latter is by no means probable, inasmuch as, if the guard-rooms were not open towards the gateway, the walls between them would not have projected in such a manner as to allow of their being designated as אֶלְמֹת. For this reason we regard the former as the correct supposition. There is some difficulty also in the further expression כָּבִיב כָּבִיב; for, strictly speaking, there were not windows round about, but simply on both sides of the gateway. But if we bear in mind that the windows in the hinder or outer wall of the guard-rooms receded considerably in relation to the windows in the projecting side walls, the expression כָּבִיב כָּבִיב can be justified in this sense: "all round, wherever the eye turned in the gateway." כָּבִיב לְאֶלְמֹת, likewise in the projecting walls, *sc.* there were such windows. כָּבִיב implies not only that there were windows in these walls, but also that they were constructed in the same manner as those in the pillars of the guard-rooms. It was only thus that the gateway came to have windows round about, which went inwards. Consequently this is repeated once more; and in the last clause of the verse it is still further observed, that אֶלְמֹת, *i.e.*, according to ver. 15, on the two lofty pillars in front of the porch, there were תְּמָרִים added, *i.e.* ornaments in the form of palms, not merely of palm branches or palm leaves.—This completes the description of the eastern gate of the outer court. The measuring angel now leads the prophet over the court to the other two gates, the north gate and the south gate. On the way, the outer court is described and measured.

Vers 17-19. THE OUTER COURT DESCRIBED AND MEASURED.—Ver. 17. *And he led me into the outer court, and behold there were cells and pavement made round the court; thirty cells on the pavement.* Ver. 18. *And the pavement was by the side of the gates, corresponding to the length of the gates, (namely) the lower pavement.* Ver. 19. *And he measured the breadth from the front of the lower gate to the front of the inner court, about a hundred cubits on the east side and on the north side.*—Ezekiel having been led through the eastern gate into the outer court, was able to survey it, not on the eastern side only, but also on the northern and southern sides; and there he perceived cells and רִצְפָה, *pavimentum*, mosaic pavement, or a floor paved with stones laid in mosaic form (2 Chron. vii. 3; Esth. i. 6), made round the court; that is to say, according to the more precise description in ver. 18, on both sides of the gate-buildings, of a breadth corresponding to their length, running along the inner side of the wall of the court, and consequently not covering the floor of the court in all its extent, but simply running along the inner side of the surrounding wall as a strip of about fifty cubits broad, and that not uniformly on all four sides, but simply on the eastern, southern, and northern sides, and at the north-west and south-west corners of the western side, so far, namely, as the outer court surrounded the inner court and temple (see Plate I. *b b b*); for on the western side the intervening space from the inner court and temple-house to the surrounding wall of the outer court was filled by a special building of the separate place. It is with this limitation that we have to take פָּכִיב פָּכִיב עָשִׂי. פָּכִיב עָשִׂי may belong either to לְשִׁבוֹת וְרִצְפָה or merely to רִצְפָה, so far as grammatical considerations are concerned; for in either case there would be an irregularity in the gender, and the participle is put in the singular as a neuter. If we look fairly at the fact itself, not one of the reasons assigned by Kliefoth, for taking עָשִׂי as referring to רִצְפָה only, is applicable throughout. If the pavement ran round by the side of the gate-buildings on three sides

of the court, and the cells were by or upon the pavement, they may have stood on three sides of the court without our being forced to assume, or even warranted in assuming, that they must of necessity have filled up the whole length on every side from the shoulder of the gate-building to the corner, or rather to the space that was set apart in every corner, according to ch. xlvi. 21-24, for the cooking of the sacrificial meals of the people. We therefore prefer to take עָשִׂי as referring to the cells and the pavement; because this answers better than the other, both to the construction and to the fact. In ver. 18 the pavement is said to have been by the shoulder of the gates. הַשְּׁעָרִים is in the plural, because Ezekiel had probably also in his mind the two gates which are not described till afterwards. בְּתֵרָה, the shoulder of the gate-buildings regarded as a body, is the space on either side of the gate-building along the wall, with the two angles formed by the longer side of the gate-buildings and the line of the surrounding wall. This is more precisely defined by לְעַמֹּת אֶרֶץ הַשֵּׁ, alongside of the length of the gates, i.e. running parallel with it (cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 13), or stretching out on both sides with a breadth corresponding to the length of the gate-buildings. The gates were fifty cubits long, or, deducting the thickness of the outer wall, they projected into the court to the distance of forty-four cubits. Consequently the pavement ran along the inner sides of the surrounding wall with a breadth of forty-four cubits. This pavement is called the lower pavement, in distinction from the pavement or floor of the inner court, which was on a higher elevation. All that is said concerning the לְשֹׁכוֹת is, that there were thirty of them, and that they were אֶל הַרְצָפָה (see Plate I. C). The dispute whether אֶל signifies *by* or *upon* the pavement has no bearing upon the fact itself. As Ezekiel frequently uses אֶל for עַל, and *vice versâ*, the rendering *upon* can be defended; but it cannot be established, as Hitzig supposes, by referring to 2 Kings xvi. 17. If we retain the literal meaning of אֶל, *at* or *against*, we cannot picture to our-

selves the position of the cells as projecting from the inner edge of the pavement into the unpaved portion of the court; for in that case, to a person crossing the court, they would have stood in front of (לפני) the pavement rather than against the pavement. The prep. ל, *against*, rather suggests the fact that the cells were built near the surrounding wall, so that the pavement ran along the front of them, which faced the inner court in an unbroken line. In this case it made no difference to the view whether the cells were erected upon the pavement, or the space occupied by the cells was left unpaved, and the pavement simply joined the lower edge of the walls of the cells all round. The text contains no account of the manner in which they were distributed on the three sides of the court. But it is obvious from the use of the plural לשבות, that the reference is not to thirty entire buildings, but simply to thirty rooms, as לשבה does not signify a building consisting of several rooms, but always a single room or cell in a building. Thus in 1 Sam. ix. 22 it stands for a room appointed for holding the sacrificial meals, and that by no means a small room, but one which could accommodate about thirty persons. In Jer. xxxvi. 12 it is applied to a room in the king's palace, used as the chancery. Elsewhere לשבה is the term constantly employed for the rooms in the court-buildings and side-buildings of the temple, which served partly as a residence for the officiating priests and Levites, and partly for the storing of the temple dues collected in the form of tithes, fruits, and money (*vid.* 2 Kings xxiii. 11; Jer. xxxv. 4, xxxvi. 10; 1 Chron. ix. 26; Neh. x. 38-40). Consequently we must not think of thirty separate buildings, but have to distribute the thirty cells on the three sides of the court in such a manner that there would be ten on each side, and for the sake of symmetry five in every building, standing both right and left between the gate-building and the corner kitchens.—In ver. 19 the size or compass of the outer court is determined. The breadth from the front of the lower gate to the front of the inner court was 100 cubits.

הַשַּׁעַר הַתַּחְתּוֹנָה, the gate of the lower court, *i.e.* the outer gate, which was lower than the inner. הַתַּחְתּוֹנָה is not an adjective agreeing with שַׁעַר, for apart from Isa. xiv. 31 שַׁעַר is never construed as a feminine; but it is used as a substantive for הַצֵּד הַתַּחְתּוֹנָה, the lower court, see the comm. on ch. viii. 3. מִלְּפָנַי denotes the point from which the measuring started, and לְפָנַי הַתַּחְתּוֹנָה the direction in which it proceeded, including also the terminus: "to before the inner court," equivalent to "up to the front of the inner court." The terminal point is more precisely defined by מִחוּץ, from without, which Hitzig proposes to erase as needless and unusual, but without any reason. For, inasmuch as the gateways of the inner court were built into the outer court, as is evident from what follows, מִחוּץ simply affirms that the measuring only extended to the point where the inner court commenced within the outer, namely, to the front of the porch of the gate, not to the boundary wall of the inner court, as this wall stood at a greater distance from the porch of the outer court-gate by the whole length of the court-gate, that is to say, as much as fifty cubits. From this more precise definition of the terminal point it follows still further, that the starting-point was not the boundary-wall, but the porch of the gate of the outer court; in other words, that the hundred cubits measured by the man did not include the fifty cubits' length of the gate-building, but this is expressly excluded. This is placed beyond all doubt by vers. 23 and 27, where the distance of the inner court-gate from the gate (of the outer court) is said to have been a hundred cubits.—The closing words הַקִּדְרִים וְהַצִּפּוֹן have been very properly separated by the Masoretes from what precedes, by means of the *Athnach*, for they are not to be taken in close connection with וַיִּמָּד; nor are they to be rendered, "he measured . . . toward the east and toward the north," for this would be at variance with the statement, "to the front of the inner court." They are rather meant to supply a further appositional definition to the whole of the preceding clause: "he measured from . . . a hundred

cubits," relating to the east side and the north side of the court, and affirm that the measuring took place from gate to gate both on the eastern and on the northern side; in other words, that the measure given, a hundred cubits, applied to the eastern side as well as the northern; and thus they prepare the way for the description of the north gate, which follows from ver. 20 onwards.

Vers. 20-27. THE NORTH GATE AND THE SOUTH GATE OF THE OUTER COURT (1 Plate I. A).—The description of these two gate-buildings is very brief, only the principal portions being mentioned, coupled with the remark that they resembled those of the east gate. The following is the description of the north gate.—Ver. 20. *And the gate, whose direction was toward the north, touching the outer court, he measured its length and its breadth*, Ver. 21. *And its guard-rooms, three on this side and three on that, and its pillars and its wall-projections. It was according to the measure of the first gate, fifty cubits its length, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.* Ver. 22. *And its windows and its wall-projections and its palms were according to the measure of the gate, whose direction was toward the east; and by seven steps they went up, and its wall-projections were in front of it.* Ver. 23. *And a gate to the inner court was opposite the gate to the north and to the east; and he measured from gate to gate a hundred cubits.*—With the measuring of the breadth of the court the measuring man had reached the north gate, which he also proceeded to measure now. In ver. 20 the words וְהַשְׁעָרָה הַצָּפוֹנָה are written absolutely; and in ver. 21 the verb וַיִּמְדָּ does not belong to the objects previously enumerated, viz. guard-rooms, pillars, etc., but these objects are governed by וַיִּמְדָּ, and וַיִּמְדָּ points back to the principal subject of the two verses, וְהַשְׁעָרָה: it (the gate) was according to the measure . . . (cf. vers. 15 and 13). For the use of בַּ in definitions of measurement, "בַּאֲמָתָה 25" (*by the cubit, sc. measured*), as in Ex. xxvii. 18, etc., see Gesenius, § 120. 4,

Anm. 2. The "first gate" is the east gate, the one first measured and described. In ver. 23^b the number of steps is given which the flight leading into the gateway had; and this of course applies to the flight of steps of the east gate also (ver. 6). In ver. 22, כַּמֶּדֶת is not to be regarded as doubtful, as Hitzig supposes, or changed into 2; for even if the windows of the east gate were not measured, they had at all events a definite measurement, so that it might be affirmed with regard to the windows of the north gate that their dimensions were the same. This also applies to the palm-decorations. With regard to the אֵלִיִּים (ver. 21), however, it is simply stated that they were measured; but the measurement is not given. לַפְּנִיָּהִם (ver. 22, end) is not to be altered in an arbitrary and ungrammatical way into לַפְּנִיָּמָה, as Böttcher proposes. The suffix הֶם refers to the steps. *Before* the steps there were the אֵלִיִּים of the gate-building. This "before," however, is not equivalent to "outside the flight of steps," as Böttcher imagines; for the measuring man did not go out of the inside of the gate, or go down the steps into the court, but came from the court and ascended the steps, and as he was going up he saw in front (*vis-à-vis*) of the steps the אֵלִיִּים of the gate, *i.e.* the wall-projections on both sides of the threshold of the gate. In ver. 23 it is observed for the first time that there was a gate to the inner court opposite to the northern and the eastern gate of the outer court already described, so that the gates of the outer and inner court stood *vis-à-vis*. The distance between these outer and inner gates is then measured, viz. 100 cubits, in harmony with ver. 19^b.

In vers. 24–27 the south gate is described with the same brevity. Ver. 24. *And he led me toward the south, and behold there was a gate toward the south, and he measured its pillars and its wall-projections according to the same measures.* Ver. 25. *And there were windows in it and its wall-projections round about like those windows; fifty cubits was the length, and the breadth five and twenty cubits.* Ver. 26. *And seven steps were its ascent and its wall-projections in the front of them,*

and it had palm-work, one upon this side and one upon that on its pillars. Ver. 27. And there was a gate to the inner court toward the south, and he measured from gate to gate toward the south a hundred cubits. — This gate also was built exactly like the two others. The description simply differs in form, and not in substance, from the description of the gate immediately preceding. *בַּמִּדּוֹת הָאֵלֶּה*, “like those measures,” is a concise expression for “like the measures of the pillars already described at the north and east gates.” For ver. 25, compare vers. 16 and 21*b*; and for ver. 26*a*, *vid.* ver. 22*b*. Ver. 26*b* is clearly explained from ver. 16*b*, as compared with ver. 9*b*. And lastly, ver. 27 answers to the 23*d* verse, and completes the measuring of the breadth of the court, which was also a hundred cubits upon the south side, from the outer gate to the inner gate standing opposite, as was the case according to ver. 19 upon the eastern side. Hävernicks has given a different explanation of ver. 27, and would take the measurement of a hundred cubits as referring to the distance between the gates of the inner court which stood opposite to each other, because in ver. 27 we have *מִשְׁעָר* in the text, and not *בֵּין הַשְּׁעָרִים*; so that we should have to render the passage thus, “he measured from a gate to the gate toward the south a hundred cubits,” and not “from the gate (already described) of the outer court,” but from another gate, which according to the context of the verse must also be a gate of the inner court. But it is precisely the context which speaks decidedly against this explanation. For since, according to ver. 18, the measuring man did not take the prophet into the inner court, for the purpose of measuring it before his eyes, till after he had measured from (a) gate to the south gate of the inner court, the distance which he had previously measured and found to be a hundred cubits is not to be sought for within the inner court, and therefore cannot give the distance between the gates of the inner court, which stood opposite to one another, but must be that from the south gate of the outer

court to the south gate of the inner. This is the case not only here, but also in ver. 23, where the north gate is mentioned. We may see how little importance is to be attached to the omission of the article in מִשְׁעָר אֶל מִשְׁעָר from the expression מִשְׁעָר אֶל מִשְׁעָר in ver. 23, where neither the one gate nor the other is defined, because the context showed which gates were meant. Hävernick's explanation is therefore untenable, notwithstanding the fact that, according to ver. 47, the size of the inner court was a hundred cubits both in breadth and length.—From the distance between the gates of the outer court and the corresponding gates of the inner, as given in vers. 27, 23, and 19, we find that the outer court covered a space of two hundred cubits on every side,—namely, fifty cubits the distance which the outer court building projected into the court, and fifty cubits for the projection of the gate-building of the inner court into the outer court, and a hundred cubits from one gate-porch to the opposite one ($50 + 50 + 100 = 200$).

Consequently the full size of the building enclosed by the wall (ch. xl. 5), *i.e.* of the temple with its two courts, may also be calculated, as it has been by many of the expositors. If we proceed, for example, from the outer north gate to the outer south gate upon the ground plan (Plate I.), we have, to quote the words of Kliefoth, “first the northern breadth of the outer court (*D*) with its two hundred cubits; then the inner court, which measured a hundred cubits square according to ch. xl. 47 (*E*), with its hundred cubits; and lastly, the south side of the outer court with two hundred cubits more (*D*); so that the sanctuary was five hundred cubits broad from north to south. And if we start from the entrance of the east gate of the court (*A*), we have first of all the eastern breadth of the outer court, *viz.* two hundred cubits; then the inner court (*E*) with its hundred cubits; after that the temple-buildings, which also covered a space of a hundred cubits square according to ch. xli. 13, 14, including the open space around them (*G*), with another hundred cubits; and lastly, the הַיְּזָרָה (*J*), which was

situated to the west of the temple-buildings, and also covered a space of a hundred cubits square according to ch. xli. 13, 14, with another hundred cubits; so that the sanctuary was also five hundred cubits long from east to west, or, in other words, formed a square of five hundred cubits."

Vers. 28-47. *The Inner Court, with its Gates, Cells, and Slaughtering-Tables.*

Vers. 28-37. THE GATES OF THE INNER COURT.—(Vid. Plate I. B and Plate II. II.)—Ver. 28. *And he brought me into the inner court through the south gate, and measured the south gate according to the same measures; Ver. 29. And its guard-rooms, and its pillars, and its wall-projections, according to the same measures; and there were windows in it and in its wall-projections round about: fifty cubits was the length, and the breadth five and twenty cubits. Ver. 30. And wall-projections were round about, the length five and twenty cubits, and the breadth five cubits. Ver. 31. And its wall-projections were toward the outer court; and there were palms on its pillars, and eight steps its ascendings. Ver. 32. And he led me into the inner court toward the east, and measured the gate according to the same measures; Ver. 33. And its guard-rooms, and its pillars, and its wall-projections, according to the same measures; and there were windows in it and its wall-projections round about: the length was fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits. Ver. 34. And its wall-projections were toward the outer court; and there were palms on its pillars on this side and on that side, and eight steps its ascent. Ver. 35. And he brought me to the north gate, and measured it according to the same measures; Ver. 36. Its guard-rooms, its pillars, and its wall-projections; and there were windows in it round about: the length was fifty cubits, and the breadth five and twenty cubits. Ver. 37. And its pillars stood toward the outer court; and palms were upon its pillars on this side and on that; and its ascent was eight steps.—*In ver. 27 the measuring man had measured the distance from

the south gate of the outer court to the south gate of the inner court, which stood opposite to it. He then took the prophet through the latter (ver. 28) into the inner court, and measured it as he went through, and found the same measurements as he had found in the gates of the outer court. This was also the case with the measurements of the guard-rooms, pillars, and wall-projections, and with the position of the windows, and the length and breadth of the whole of the gate-building (ver. 29); from which it follows, as a matter of course, that this gate resembled the outer gate in construction, constituent parts, and dimensions. This also applied to both the east gate and north gate, the description of which in vers. 32-37 corresponds exactly to that of the south gate, with the exception of slight variations of expression. It is true that the porch is not mentioned in the case of either of these gates; but it is evident that this was not wanting, and is simply passed over in the description, as we may see from ver. 39, where the tables for the sacrifices are described as being in the porch (בִּמְנוּחַיִם). There are only two points of difference mentioned in vers. 31, 34, and 37, by which these inner gates were distinguished from the outer. In the first place, that the flights of steps to the entrances to these gates had eight steps according to the closing words of the verses just cited, whereas those of the outer gates had only seven (cf. vers. 22 and 26); whilst the expression also varies, מַעְלֵי being constantly used here instead of עֲלוֹתָיו (ver. 26). עֲלוֹת, from עָלָה, the ascending, are literally ascents, i.e. places of mounting, for a flight of steps or staircase. מַעְלֵי, the plural of מַעְלָה, the ascent (not a singular, as Hitzig supposes), has the same meaning. The second difference, which we find in the first clause of the verses mentioned, is of a more important character. It is contained in the words, "and its אֵלִיּוֹת (the projecting portions of the inner side-walls of the gateway) were directed toward the outer court" (אֵל and לְ indicating the direction). The interpretation of this somewhat obscure statement is facilitated by the fact that in ver. 37 אֵלָיו stands in the

place of **אַיִלָּו** (vers. 31 and 34). **אַיִלָּו** are the two lofty gate-pillars by the porch of the gate, which formed the termination of the gate-building towards the inner court in the case of the outer gates. If, then, in the case of the inner gates, these pillars stood toward the outer court, the arrangement of these gates must have taken the reverse direction to that of the outer gates; so that a person entering the gate would not go from the flight of steps across the threshold to the guard-rooms, and then across the second threshold to the porch, but would first of all enter the porch by the pillars in front, and then go across the threshold to the guard-rooms, and, lastly, proceed across the second threshold, and so enter the inner court. But if this gate-building, when looked at from without, commenced with the porch-pillars and the front porch, this porch at any rate must have been situated outside the dividing wall of the two courts, that is to say, must have been within the limits of the outer court. And further, if the **אַיִלָּוִים**, or wall-projections between the guard-rooms and by the thresholds, were also directed toward the outer court, the whole of the gate-building must have been built within the limits of that court. This is affirmed by the first clauses of vers. 31, 34, and 37, which have been so greatly misunderstood; and there is no necessity to alter **אַיִלָּו** in ver. 37 into **אַיִלָּוִים**, in accordance with vers. 31 and 34. For what is stated in vers. 31 and 34 concerning the position or direction of the **אַיִלָּוִים**, also applies to the **אַיִלָּוִים**; and they are probably mentioned in ver. 37 because of the intention to describe still further in ver. 38 what stood near the **אַיִלָּוִים**. Kliefoth very properly finds it incomprehensible, "that not a few of the commentators have been able, in spite of these definite statements in vers. 31, 34, and 37, to adopt the conclusion that the gate-buildings of the inner gates were situated within the inner court, just as the gate-buildings of the outer gates were situated within the outer court. As the inner court measured only a hundred cubits square, if the inner gates had stood within the inner court, the north and south gates of

the inner court would have met in the middle, and the porch of the east gate of the inner court would have stood close against the porches of the other two gates. It was self-evident that the gate-buildings of the inner gates stood within the more spacious outer court, like those of the outer gates. Nevertheless, the reason why the situation of the inner gates is so expressly mentioned in the text is evidently, that this made the position of the inner gates the reverse of that of the outer gates. In the case of the outer gates, the first threshold was in the surrounding wall of the outer court, and the steps stood in front of the wall; and thus the gate-building stretched into the outer court. In that of the inner gates, on the contrary, the second threshold lay between the surrounding walls of the inner court, and the gate-building stretched thence into the outer court, and its steps stood in front of the porch of the gate. Moreover, in the case of the east gates, for example, the porch of the outer gate stood toward the west, and the porch of the inner gate toward the east, so that the two porches stood opposite to each other in the outer court, as described in vers. 23 and 27."

In ver. 30 further particulars respecting the *אֵילָמִים* are given, which are apparently unsuitable; and for this reason the verse has been omitted by the LXX., while J. D. Michaelis, Böttcher, Ewald, Hitzig, and Maurer, regard it as an untenable gloss. Hävernicks has defended its genuineness; but inasmuch as he regards *אֵילָמִים* as synonymous with *אֵילָם*, he has explained it in a most marvellous and decidedly erroneous manner, as Kliefoth has already proved. The expression *כָּבִיב קָבִיב*, and the length and breadth of the *אֵילָמוֹת* here given, both appear strange. Neither the length of twenty-five cubits nor the breadth of five cubits seems to tally with the other measures of the gate-building. So much may be regarded as certain, that the twenty-five cubits' length and the five cubits' breadth of the *אֵילָמוֹת* cannot be in addition to the total length of the gate-building, namely fifty cubits, or its total breadth of twenty-five cubits, but must be included in them. For the *אֵילָמוֹת* were

simply separate portions of the side-enclosure of the gateway, since this enclosure of fifty cubits long consisted of wall-projections (אַלְמֹת), three open guard-rooms, and a porch with pillars. The open space of the guard-rooms was $3 \times 6 = 18$ cubits, and the porch was six cubits broad in the clear (vers. 7 and 8), and the pillars two cubits thick. If we deduct these $18 + 6 + 2 = 26$ cubits from the fifty cubits of the entire length, there remain twenty-four cubits for the walls by the side of the thresholds and between the guard-rooms, namely, $2 \times 5 = 10$ cubits for the walls between the three guard-rooms, $2 \times 6 = 12$ cubits for the walls of the threshold, and 2 cubits for the walls of the porch; in all, therefore, twenty-four cubits for the אַלְמֹת; so that only one cubit is wanting to give us the measurement stated, viz. twenty-five cubits. We obtain this missing cubit if we assume that the front of the wall-projections by the guard-rooms and thresholds was a handbreadth and a half, or six inches wider than the thickness of the walls, that is to say, that it projected three inches on each side in the form of a moulding. —The breadth of the אַלְמֹת in question, namely five cubits, was the thickness of their wall-work, however, or the dimension of the intervening wall from the inside to the outside on either side of the gateway. That the intervening walls should be of such a thickness will not appear strange, if we consider that the surrounding wall of the court was six cubits thick, with a height of only six cubits (ver. 5). And even the striking expression פָּכִיב פָּכִיב becomes intelligible if we take into consideration the fact that the projecting walls bounded not only the entrance to the gate, and the passage through it on the two sides, but also the inner spaces of the gate-building (the guard-rooms and porch) on all sides, and, together with the gates, enclosed the gateway on every side. Consequently ver. 30 not only has a suitable meaning, but furnishes a definite measurement of no little value for the completion of the picture of the gate-buildings. The fact that this definite measure was not given in connection with the gates of the outer court, but was only

supplemented in the case of the south gate of the inner court, cannot furnish any ground for suspecting its genuineness, as several particulars are supplemented in the same manner in this description. Thus, for example, the number of steps in front of the outer gates is first given in ver. 22, where the north gate is described. Still less is there to surprise us in the fact that these particulars are not repeated in the case of the following gates, in which some writers have also discovered a ground for suspecting the genuineness of the verse.

From the south gate the measuring man led the prophet (ver. 32) into the inner court toward the east, to measure for him the inner east gate, the description of which (vers. 33 and 34) corresponds exactly to that of the south gate. Lastly, he led him (ver. 35) to the inner north gate for the same purpose; and this is also found to correspond to those previously mentioned, and is described in the same manner. The difficulty which Hitzig finds in אֶל־הַחֲצֵר הַפְּנִימִי דֶרֶךְ הַקָּדִים in ver. 32, and which drives him into various conjectures, with the assistance of the LXX., vanishes, if instead of taking דֶרֶךְ הַקָּדִים along with אֶל־הַחֲצֵר הַפְּנִימִי as a further definition of the latter, we connect it with וַיְבִיֵאֵנִי as an indication of the direction taken: he led me into the inner court, the way (or direction) toward the east, and measured the gate (situated there). The words, when taken in this sense, do not warrant the conclusion that he had gone out at the south gate again.—וַיֵּצֵא in ver. 35 is an Aramaic form for וַיֵּצֵא in vers. 32 and 28.

Vers. 38–47. THE CELLS AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SACRIFICIAL WORSHIP BY AND IN THE INNER COURT.—

Ver. 38. *And a cell with its door was by the pillars at the gates; there they had to wash the burnt-offering.* Ver. 39. *And in the porch of the gate were two tables on this side and two tables on that, to slay thereon the burnt-offering, the sin-offering, and the trespass-offering.* Ver. 40. *And at the shoulder outside, to one going up to the opening of the gate toward the north, stood*

two tables; and at the other shoulder, by the porch of the gate, two tables. Ver. 41. Four tables on this side and four tables on that side, at the shoulder of the gate; eight tables on which they were to slaughter. Ver. 42. And four tables by the steps, hewn stone, a cubit and a half long, and a cubit and a half broad, and a cubit high; upon these they were to lay the instruments with which they slaughtered the burnt-offerings and other sacrifices. Ver. 43. And the double pegs, a span long, were fastened round about the house; but the flesh of the sacrifice was placed upon the tables. Ver. 44. And outside the inner gate were two cells in the inner court, one at the shoulder of the north gate, with its front side toward the south; one at the shoulder of the south gate, with the front toward the north. Ver. 45. And he said to me, This cell, whose front is toward the south, is for the priests who attend to the keeping of the house; Ver. 46. And the cell whose front is toward the north is for the priests who attend to the keeping of the altar. They are the sons of Zadok, who draw near to Jehovah of the sons of Levi, to serve Him. Ver. 47. And he measured the court, the length a hundred cubits, and the breadth a hundred cubits in the square, and the altar stood before the house.—The opinions of modern commentators differ greatly as to the situation of the cells mentioned in ver. 38, since Böttcher and Hitzig have adjusted a text to suit their own liking, founded upon the Septuagint and upon decidedly erroneous suppositions. The dispute, whether *בַּאֵילִים* is to be rendered *in* or *by* the *אֵילִים*, may be easily set at rest by the simple consideration that the *אֵילִים* in front of the porch of the gate were pillars of two cubits long and the same broad (ver. 9), in which it was impossible that a room could be constructed. Hence the *לְשַׁבָּה* could only be *by* (near) the pillars of the gate. To *בַּאֵילִים* there is also added *וּבַשְּׁעָרִים* (by the gates) in loose co-ordination (*vid.* Ewald, § 293e), not for the purpose of describing the position of the pillars more minutely, which would be quite superfluous after ver. 9, but to explain the plural *אֵילִים*, and extend it to the pillars of all the three inner gates, so that

we have to assume that there was a *לְשֹׁכָה* by the pillars of all these gates (Plate I. O). This is also demanded by the purpose of these cells, viz. "for the cleansing or washing of the burnt-offering." As the sacrifices were not taken through one gate alone, but through all the gates, the Sabbath-offering of the prince being carried, according to ch. xlvi. 1, 2, through the east gate, which was closed during the week, and only opened on the Sabbath, there must have been a cell, not by the north gate alone (Böttcher, Hävernicks), or by the east gate only (Ewald, Hitzig), but by every gate, for the cleansing of the burnt-offering. Hävernicks, Hitzig, and others are wrong in supposing that *הַעֹלָה* is a synecdochical designation applied to every kind of animal sacrifice. This is precluded not only by the express mention of the burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, and trespass-offerings (ver. 39), and by the use of the word *קִרְבָּן* in this sense in ver. 43, but chiefly by the circumstance that neither the Old Testament nor the Talmud makes any allusion to the washing of every kind of flesh offered in sacrifice, but that they merely speak of the washing of the entrails and legs of the animals sacrificed as burnt-offerings (Lev. i. 9), for which purpose the basins upon the *mechonoth* in Solomon's temple were used (2 Chron. iv. 6, where the term *רְחֵץ* used in Lev. i. 9 is interpreted by the apposition *יְדֵי וְיָרְכֵי בָם*). A room at every gate (not by every pillar) was sufficient for this purpose. If there had been a *לְשֹׁכָה* of this kind on each side of the gate, as many have assumed on symmetrical grounds, this would have been mentioned, just as in the case of the slaughtering-tables (vers. 39–42). The text furnishes no information as to the side of the doorway on which it stood, whether by the right or the left pillar. On the ground plan we have placed the one at the east gate, on the right side, and those by the north and south gates on the western side (Plate I. O O O).

Moreover, according to vers. 39–41, there were twice two tables on each side, eight therefore in all, which served for slaughtering. Two pairs stood "in the porch of the gate," *i.e.*

in the inner space of the porch, one pair on this side, the other pair on that, *i.e.* on the right and left sides to a person entering the porch, probably near the wall (see Plate II. II. *ff*). The expression *לְשִׁחֹת אֵלֵיהֶם*, to slaughter at the tables (vers. 39 and 40), stands for "to use when slaughtering"—that is, for the purpose of laying the slaughtered flesh upon. This is apparent from the fact itself in ver. 39. For the slaughtering was not performed within the front porch, but outside, and somewhere near it. The front porch of the gate-building was not a slaughter-house, but the place where those who entered the gate could assemble. The only purpose, therefore, for which the tables standing here could be used was to place the sacrificial flesh upon when it was prepared for the altar, that the priests might take it thence and lay it upon the altar. *בְּאֵלֶם הַשַּׁעַר* is to be understood as signifying the inner space of the porch; this is required by the antithesis in ver. 40, where two pair of tables outside the porch are mentioned. Two of these stood "by the shoulder outside to one going up to the gate opening, the northern" (Plate II. II. *dd*). The meaning of these not very intelligible words is apparent from the second half of the verse, which adds the correlative statement as to the two opposite tables. When it is said of these tables that they stood by the other shoulder (*אֵל־הַפֶּתַח הָאֲחֵרָה*) which the porch of the gate had, not only is *לְפֶתַח הַשַּׁעַר* of the first hemistich more precisely defined hereby as the gate-porch, but *הַצִּפוֹנִי* is also rendered intelligible, namely, that as it corresponds to *הָאֲחֵרָה*, it is an adjective belonging to *אֵל־הַפֶּתַח*, "at the northern shoulder outside to a person going up the steps to the opening of the gate" (*מִחוּצָה*, the outer side, in contrast to the inside of the porch, *בְּאֵלֶם*, ver. 39). The shoulder of the gate, or rather of the porch of the gate, is the side of it, and that the outer side. Consequently these four tables stood by the outer sides of the porch, two by the right wall and two by the left. In ver. 41, what has already been stated concerning the position of the tables mentioned in vers. 39 and 40 is summed up: Four

tables stood on each side of the porch, two inside, and two against the outer wall, eight tables in all, which were used for slaughtering purposes. There is nothing strange in לְבִתָּהּ הַשְּׁעָר as an abbreviated expression for לְבִתָּהּ אֲשֶׁר לְאַלְמֵם הַשְּׁעָר in ver. 40, as want of clearness was not to be feared after ver. 40. In addition to these there were four other tables (וְאַרְבָּעָה, and four, ver. 42) of stone, from which it may be inferred that the four already mentioned were of wood. The four stone tables stood לְעוֹלָה, i.e. at (near) the flight of steps (cf. לְפִי קִרְתִּי, at the entrance to the city, Prov. viii. 3), and were of hewn square stones, as no doubt the steps also were (see Plate II. II. *e e*). It yields no sense whatever to render לְעוֹלָה “for the burnt-offering” (LXX. and others); and the expression עֲלֹת in ver. 26 thoroughly warrants our translating עוֹלָה, a flight of steps or staircase). These stone tables served as flesh-benches, on which the slaughtering tools were laid. וְאֵלֵיהֶם וַיָּנִיחוּ belong together, the ו being inserted “as if at the commencement of a new sentence after a pause in the thought” (cf. Prov. xxiii. 24, xxx. 28; Gen. xl. 9, Böttcher). It is not expressly stated, indeed, that these four tables were distributed on the two sides of the steps; but this may be inferred with certainty from the position of the other tables. Moreover, the twelve tables mentioned were not merely to be found at one of the gate-porches, but by all three of the inner gates, as was the case with the washing-cells (ver. 38), for sacrificial animals were taken to the altar and slaughtered at every gate; so that what is stated in vers. 39–42 with reference to one porch, namely, the porch of the east gate, to judge from הַצִּפוֹנִית in ver. 40, is applicable to the porches of the south and north gates also.

In ver. 43 another provision for the slaughtering of the sacrificial animals is mentioned, concerning which the opinions of the older translators and commentators are greatly divided. But the only explanation that can be sustained, so far as both the usage of the language and the facts are concerned, is that adopted by the Chaldee, viz. קְבִיעִין בְּעֶמְדֵי. פֶּשֶׁן חֵר קְבִיעִין בְּעֶמְדֵי. וְעִנְקֵלִין נִפְקִין

בֵּית כְּטֻבְחָיָא, *et uncini egrediebantur (longitudine) unius palmi defixi in columnis domus macelli*, to which not only Böttcher, but Roediger (*Ges. Thes.* p. 1470) and Dietrich (*Lex.*) have given their adhesion. For שְׁפָתַיִם, from שָׁפַת, to set or stand (act.), signifies stakes or pegs (in Ps. lxxviii. 14, the folds constructed of stakes), here pegs a span long on the wall, into which they were inserted, and from which they projected to the length of a span. In the *dual* it stands for double pegs, forked pegs, upon which the carcasses of the beasts were hung for the purpose of flaying, as Dav. Kimchi has interpreted the words of the Chaldee. The article indicates the kind, viz. the pegs required for the process of slaughtering. This explanation is also in harmony with the verb מִוְכָּנִים, *Hophal* of בָּן, fastened, which by no means suits the rendering originated by the LXX., viz. ledges round the edge or the rim of the table. The only remaining difficulty is the word בְּבֵית, which Böttcher interprets as signifying "in the interior of the gate-porch and pillars" (Roediger, *in interiore parte, nempe in ea atrii parte, ubi hostiae mactandae essent*), on the just ground that the interior of the front porch could not be the place for slaughtering, but that this could only be done outside, either in front of or near the porch. But even *in interiore parte atrii* is not really suitable, and at all events is too indefinite for מִוְכָּנִים. It would therefore be probably more correct to render it "fastened against the house," i.e. to the outer walls of the gate-porch buildings, so that בְּבֵית would stand for buildings in the sense of בְּנֵיָה, although I cannot cite any passage as a certain proof of the correctness of this rendering. But this does not render the explanation itself a doubtful one, as it would be still more difficult to interpret בְּבֵית if שְׁפָתַיִם were explained in any other way. כְּבֵיב כְּבֵיב refers to the three outer sides of the porch. The description of the slaughtering apparatus closes in ver. 43b with the words, "and upon the tables (mentioned in vers. 39-42) came the flesh of the offering." קֶרְבֵּן, the general word for sacrificial offerings, as in Lev. i. 2 sqq.

In vers. 44-46 we have a description of cells for the officiating

priests, and in vers. 45 and 46 two such cells are plainly mentioned according to their situation and purpose (*vid.* Plate I. *F F*). But it is impossible to bring the Masoretic text of ver. 44 into harmony with this, without explaining it in an arbitrary manner. For, in the first place, the reference there is to לְשִׁכּוֹת שָׂרִים, cells of the singers; whereas these cells, according to vers. 45 and 46, were intended for the priests who performed the service in the temple-house and at the altar of burnt-offering. The attempt of both the earlier and the more recent supporters of the Masoretic text to set aside this discrepancy, by arguing that the priests who had to attend to the service in the temple and at the altar, according to vers. 45 and 46, were singers, is overturned by the fact that in the Old Testament worship a sharp distinction is made between the Levitical singers and the priests, *i.e.* the Aaronites who administered the priesthood; and Ezekiel does not abolish this distinction in the vision of the temple, but sharpens it still further by the command, that none but the sons of Zadok are to attend to the priestly service at the sanctuary, while the other descendants of Aaron, *i.e.* the Aaronites who sprang from Ithamar, are only to be employed in watching at the gate of the house, and other non-priestly occupations (ch. xliv. 10 sqq.). Consequently Ezekiel could not identify the priests with the singers, or call the cells intended for the officiating priests singers' cells. Moreover, only two cells, or cell-buildings, are mentioned in vers. 45 and 46, and their position is described in the same words as that of the cells mentioned in ver. 44, so that there can be no doubt as to the identity of the former and the latter cells. In ver. 44 the supposed singers' cells are placed at the north gate, with the front toward the south, which only applies, according to ver. 45, to the one cell intended for the priests who attended to the service in the holy place; and again, in ver. 44, another cell is mentioned at the east gate, with the front toward the north, which was set apart, according to ver. 46, for the priests who attended to the altar service. Conse-

quently, according to our Masoretic text of the 44th verse, there would be first singers' cells (in the plural), and then one cell, at least three cells therefore; whereas, according to vers. 45 and 46, there were only two. And lastly, the אֶחָד in ver. 44b can only be understood by our taking it in the sense of "another," in opposition to the usage of the language. For these reasons we are compelled to alter שָׂרִים into שְׁתֵּים , and אֶחָד into אֶחָת , after the LXX., and probably also הַקָּדִים into הַקָּדִים , and in consequence of this to adopt the pointing לְשִׁבוֹת , and to read פְּנִיָּה instead of פְּנִיָּהֶם . Further alterations are not requisite or indicated by the LXX., as the rest of the deviations in their text are to be explained from their free handling of the original. According to the text with these alterations, even in ver. 44 there are only two cells mentioned. They were situated "outside the inner gate." This definition is ambiguous, for you are outside the inner gate not only before entering the gate, *i.e.* while in the outer court, but also after having passed through it and entered the inner court. Hence there follows the more precise definition, "in the inner court." If, then, we read אֶחָת for אֶחָד , there follows, in perfect accordance with the fact, a more precise statement as to the situation of both the one and the other of these cells, אֶחָת and אֶחָת corresponding to one another. The second אֶחָד , instead of אֶחָת , which is grammatically the more correct, is to be attributed to a *constructio ad sensum*, as the לְשִׁבוֹת were not separate rooms, but buildings with several chambers. One cell stood by the shoulder (side) of the north gate, with the front (פְּנִיָּה) toward the south; the other at the shoulder of the south gate, with the front toward the north. They stood opposite to one another, therefore, with their fronts facing each other. Instead of the *south* gate, however, the Masoretic text has שַׁעַר הַקָּדִים , the east gate; and ver. 46 contains nothing that would be expressly at variance with this, so that הַקָּדִים could be defended in case of need. But only in case of need—that is to say, if we follow Kliefoth in assuming that it stood on the left of the gateway to persons entering

through the east gate, and explaining the fact that its front turned toward the north, on the ground that the priests who resided in it were charged with the duty of inspecting the sacrifices brought through the east gate, or watching the bringing in of the sacrifices, so that this cell was simply a watchman's cell after all. But this assumption is founded upon a misinterpretation of the formula *שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, to keep the keeping of the altar. This formula does not mean to watch and see that nothing unlawful was taken to the altar, but refers to the altar service itself, the observance of everything devolving upon the servants of the altar in the performance of the sacrificial worship, or the offering of the sacrifices upon the altar according to the precepts of the law. If, then, this duty was binding upon the priests who resided in this cell, it would have been very unsuitable for the front of the cell to be turned toward the north, in which case it would have been absolutely impossible to see the altar from the front of the cell. This unsuitability can only be removed by the supposition that the cell was built at the south gate, with the front toward the north, *i.e.* looking directly toward the altar. For this reason we must also regard *הַקִּירִים* as a corruption of *הַדְּרוֹם*, and look for this second cell at the south gate, so that it stood opposite to the one built at the north gate.—All that remains doubtful is, whether these two cells were on the east or the west side of the south and north gates, a point concerning which we have no information given in the text. In our sketch we have placed them on the west side (*vid.* Plate I. *F*), so that they stood in front of the altar and the porch-steps. The concluding words of ver. 46, in which *הַכֹּהֲנִים* refers to the priests mentioned in vers. 45 and 46, state that in the new sanctuary only priests of the sons of Zadok were to take charge of the service at the altar and in the holy place; and this is still further expanded in ch. xlv. 10 sqq.—Finally, in ver. 47 the description of the courts is concluded with the account of the measure of the inner court, a hundred cubits long and the same in breadth,

according to which it formed a perfect square surrounded by a wall, according to ch. xlii. 10. The only other observation made is, that it was within this space that the altar of burnt-offering stood, the description of which is given afterwards in ch. xliii. 13 sqq. (see Plate I. *H*).

Chap. xl. 48—xli. 26. *The Temple-house, with the Porch, Side-storeys, and Back-building.*

Chap. xl. 48, 49. THE TEMPLE-PORCH (See Plate III. *A*). —The measuring angel conducts the prophet still farther to the porch of the temple, and measures its breadth and length. —Ver. 48. *And he led me to the porch of the house, and measured the pillar of the porch, five cubits on this side and five cubits on that side; and the breadth of the gate, three cubits on this side and three cubits on that side.* Ver. 49. *The length of the porch was twenty cubits, and the breadth eleven cubits, and that by the steps by which one went up; and columns were by the pillars, one on this side and one on that side.* —**הַיְיָ** is the temple in the more restricted sense of the word, the temple-house, as in 1 Kings vi. 2, etc.; and **דָּבָר**, the porch before the entrance into the holy place (cf. 1 Kings vi. 3). The measurements in vers. 48 and 49, which are apparently irreconcilable with one another, led the LXX. to the adoption of arbitrary interpolations and conjectures in ver. 49,¹ in accordance with which Böttcher, Hitzig, and others have made corrections in the text, which have a plausible justification in the many artificial and for the most part mistaken interpretations that have been given of the text. The measures in ver. 49a are perfectly plain, namely, the length of the porch twenty cubits, and the breadth eleven cubits; and there is no question

¹ The text of the LXX. reads thus: . . . και διεμέτρησε τὸ αἶλ τοῦ αἰλάμ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ πλάτος ἔνθεν καὶ πηχῶν πέντε ἔνθεν, καὶ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ θυρώματος πηχῶν δεκατεσσάρων, καὶ ἱσωμίδες τῆς θυρᾶς τοῦ αἰλάμ πηχῶν τριῶν ἔνθεν καὶ πηχῶν τριῶν ἔνθεν. Καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ αἰλάμ πηχῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τὸ εὖρος πηχῶν δάδεκα· καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἀναβαθμῶν ἀνέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτό κ.τ.λ.

that these measurements are to be understood in the clear, that is to say, as referring to the internal space, excluding the side-walls, as in the case of the holy place, the most holy place, and the inner court. The only question is whether the length signifies the dimension from east to west, *i.e.* the distance which had to be traversed on entering the temple, and therefore the breadth, the extent from north to south; or whether we are to understand by the length the larger dimension, and by the breadth the smaller, in which case the measurement from north to south, which formed the breadth of the house, would be designated the length of the porch, and that from east to west the breadth. Nearly all the commentators have decided in favour of the latter view, because, in the porch of Solomon's temple, the length of twenty cubits was measured according to the breadth of the house. But the fact has been overlooked, that in 1 Kings vi. 3 the length given is more precisely defined by the clause, "in front of the breadth of the house." There is no such definition here, and the analogy of the building of Solomon's temple is not sufficient in itself to warrant our regarding the construction of the porch in the temple seen by Ezekiel as being precisely the same; since it was only in the essential portions, the form of which was of symbolical significance (the holy place and the most holy), that this picture of a temple resembled the temple of Solomon, whereas in those which were less essential it differed from that temple in various ways. At the very outset, therefore, the more probable assumption appears to be, that just as in the case of the holy place and the holy of holies, so also in that of the porch, we are to understand by the length, the distance to be traversed (from east to west), and by the breadth, the extension on either side (*i.e.* from south to north). If, then, we understand the measurements in ver. 49 in this way, the measures given in ver. 48 may also be explained without any alterations in the text. The measuring of the pillar of the porch on either side, and of the gate on this side and that (ver. 48), is sufficient of

itself to lead to the conclusion that the front turned toward a person entering is the breadth from south to north. This breadth presented to the eye a pillar on this side and one on that,—two pillars, therefore, each five cubits broad ($c\ c$), and a breadth of gate of three cubits on this side and three on that, six cubits in all (b), that is to say, a total breadth ($k-k$) of $5 + 3 + 3 + 5 = 16$ cubits. The only thing that can surprise one here is the manner in which the breadth of the gate is defined: three cubits on this side and that, instead of simply six cubits. But the only reason in all probability is, that the pillars on either side are mentioned just before, and the gate of six cubits' breadth consisted of two halves, which had their hinges fastened to the adjoining pillars, so that each half was measured by itself from the pillar to which it was attached. The breadth of front mentioned, viz. sixteen cubits, agrees very well with the breadth of the porch inside, *i.e.* eleven cubits ($m-m$), for it allows a thickness of two cubits and a half for each side wall (a), and this was sufficient for the walls of a porch. The pillars, which were five cubits broad on the outer face, were therefore only half that breadth ($2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits) in the inner side within the porch, the other two cubits and a half forming the side wall. All the particulars given in ver. 48 may be explained in this way without any artifice, and yield a result the proportions of which are in harmony with those of the entire building. For the porch, with an external breadth of sixteen cubits, was half as broad as the house, which had a breadth of twenty cubits in the clear, and side walls of six cubits in thickness (ch. xli. 5), so that when measured on the outside it was $6 + 20 + 6 = 32$ cubits broad. The breadth of the interior also is apparently perfectly appropriate, as the porch was not intended either for the reception of vessels or for the abode of individuals, but was a simple erection in front of the entrance into the holy place, the door of which (d) was ten cubits broad (ch. xli. 2), that is to say, half a cubit narrower on either side than the porch-way leading to it. And lastly, the

length of the porch was also in good proportion to the holy place, which followed the porch; the porch being twenty cubits long, and the holy place forty cubits. If we add to this the front wall, with a thickness of two cubits and a half, corresponding to that of the side walls, we obtain an external length of twenty-two cubits and a half for the porch. In front were the steps by which one went up to the porch (*l*). It is generally supposed that there were ten steps, the אֲשֶׁר after בַּמַּעֲלֹת being changed into עָשָׂר (ten) after the example of the LXX. But however this alteration may commend itself when the facts of the case are considered, ten steps in front of the porch answering very well to the eight steps before the gateway of the inner court, and to the seven steps in front of the gateway of the outer court, it is not absolutely necessary, and in all probability is merely a conjecture of the Seventy, who did not know what to do with אֲשֶׁר, and possibly it is not even correct (see at ch. xli. 8). The words אֲשֶׁר יַבְמַעֲלֹת אֲשֶׁר can be attached without difficulty to the preceding account of the breadth: "the breadth was eleven cubits, and that at the steps by which they went up to it," *i.e.* when measured on the side on which the flight of steps stood. If the words are taken in this way, they serve to remove all doubt as to the side which is designated as the breadth, with special reference to the fact that the porch of Solomon's temple was constructed in a different manner. The number of steps, therefore, is not given, as was also the case with the east gate of the outer court (ch. xl. 6), because it was of no essential importance in relation to the entire building. The last statement, "and there were columns by the pillars on this side and on that," is free from difficulty, although there is also a difference of opinion among the commentators as to the position of these columns. וְהָאֵילִים points back to אֵיל אֶלֶם (ver. 48). The preposition לְ does not imply that the columns stood close to the pillars, and had the form of half-columns, but simply that they stood near the pillars (see Plate III. *K*), like the columns Jachin and Boaz in Solomon's temple, to which they correspond.

Chap. xli. 1-4. THE INNER SPACE OF THE TEMPLE (see Plate III. *B* and *C*).—Ver. 1. *And he led me into the temple, and measured the pillars, six cubits breadth on this side and six cubits breadth on that side, with regard to the breadth of the tent.* Ver. 2. *And the breadth of the door was ten cubits; and the shoulders of the door, five cubits on this side, and five cubits on that: and he measured its length, forty cubits; and the breadth, twenty cubits.* Ver. 3. *And he went within and measured the pillar of the door, two cubits; and the door, six cubits; and the breadth of the door, seven cubits.* Ver. 4. *And he measured its length, twenty cubits; and the breadth, twenty cubits, toward the temple; and said to me, This is the holy of holies.*—Vers. 1 and 2 give the measurements of the holy place. הַיְקֵל is used here in the more restricted sense for the nave of the temple, the holy place (*B*), without the porch and the holy of holies (cf. 1 Kings vi. 17). The measuring commences with the front (eastern) wall, in which there was the entrance door. This wall had pillars (*e e*) of six cubits breadth on either side (on the right hand and the left), and between the pillars a door (*d*) ten cubits broad, with door-shoulders (*e e*) of five cubits on this side and that (ver. 2*a*). These measurements ($6 + 6 + 10 + 5 + 5$) yield for the front wall a total breadth of thirty-two cubits. This agrees with the measurements which follow: twenty cubits, the (internal) breadth of the holy place, and six cubits the thickness of the wall (*e*) on either side (ver. 5). The only remaining difficulty is in the very obscure words appended, רֹחַב הָאֵתֶלֶת, in which Ewald and Hitzig propose to alter הָאֵתֶלֶת into הָאֵתֶלֶת, because the LXX. have substituted τοῦ αἶλᾶμ, but without making any improvement, as הָאֵתֶלֶת is still more inexplicable. Kliefoth, after examining the various attempts to explain these words, comes to the conclusion that no other course is left than to take הָאֵתֶלֶת as signifying the inner space of Ezekiel's temple, consisting of the holy place and the holy of holies, which was the same in the entire building as the tabernacle had been,—viz. the tent of God's meeting with His

people, and which is designated as אֹהֶל to show the substantial identity of this space and the tabernacle. The clause רֹחַב הָאֹהֶל is thus attached to the preceding double מִפֶּה (*i.e.* to the measurement of the two pillars bounding the holy space), in an elliptical manner, in the following sense: "he measured the breadth of the pillars, on this side and that, which marked off the breadth of the tent, on the outside, that is to say, of the inner space of the holy place which resembled the tabernacle;" so that this clause formed a loose apposition, meaning, "with regard to the breadth of the tent." בְּתֵפֹת הַפֶּתַח are the walls on both sides of the door (*e e*), between the door and the boundary pillars.—The internal length and breadth of the holy place are the same as in the holy place of Solomon's temple (1 Kings vi. 2, 17).—Vers. 3 and 4 refer to the holy of holies (*c*). "He went within." We have וָכָא (for וַיָּכֹא) and not וַיָּבִיֵא (ver. 1), because the prophet was not allowed to tread the most holy place, and therefore the angel went in alone. פְּנִימָה is defined in ver. 4 as the holy of holies. The measurements in ver. 3 refer to the partition wall between the holy place and the most holy (*g*). אֵיל הַפֶּתַח, the pillar-work of the door, stands for the pillars on both sides of the door; and the measurement of two cubits no doubt applies to each pillar, denoting, not the thickness, but the breadth which it covered on the wall. There is a difficulty in the double measurement which follows: the door six cubits, and the breadth of the door seven cubits. As the latter is perfectly clear, and also apparently in accordance with the fact, and on measuring a door the height is the only thing which can come into consideration in addition to the breadth, we agree with Kliefoth in taking the six cubits as a statement of the height. The height of six cubits bears a fitting proportion to the breadth of seven cubits, if there were folding-doors; and the seven is significant in the case of the door to the holy of holies, the dwelling of God. The Seventy, however, did not know what to do with this text, and changed רֹחַב הַפֶּתַח שְׁבַע אַמּוֹת into τὰς ἐπωμίδας

τοῦ θυρώματος πηχῶν ἐπὶ ἂ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, in which they have been followed by Böttcher, Hitzig, and others. But it is obvious at once that the Seventy have simply derived these *data* from the measurements of the front of the holy place (ver. 2), and have overlooked the fact, that in the first place, beside the measure of the הַפֶּתַח הַבְּחוּת, *i.e.* ἐπωμίδες τοῦ πυλῶνος, the הַפֶּתַח הָרֹחַב, or *breadth* of the door, is also expressly measured there, whereas here, on the contrary, it is preceded by הַפֶּתַח alone, without רֹחַב; and secondly, as the measurement of the אֵילִים given in ver. 1 indicates their breadth (from south to north), in the present instance also the measure ascribed to the אֵיל הַפֶּתַח can only refer to the breadth of the אֵיל, and not to its thickness (from east to west). But if we explain the first clause of ver. 3 in this manner, as both the language and the fact require, the reading of the LXX. is proved to be a false correction, by the fact that it yields a breadth of twenty-two or twenty-four cubits ($2 + 2 + 6 + 7 + 7$), whereas the holy of holies, like the holy place, was only twenty cubits broad. The dimensions of the holy of holies also correspond to the space covered by the holy of holies in Solomon's temple (1 Kings vi. 20). The expression אֶל-פְּנֵי הַהֵיכָל, "toward the holy place," is to be explained by the supposition that the measuring angel, after he had proceeded to the western end of the holy of holies for the purpose of measuring the length, turned round again to measure the breadth, so that this breadth lay "toward the holy place."

Vers. 5-11. THE WALL AND THE SIDE-BUILDING. — Ver. 5. *And he measured the wall of the house six cubits, and the breadth of the side storey four cubits round the house round about.* Ver. 6. *And of the side-rooms there were room upon room three, and that thirty times, and they came upon the wall, which the house had by the side-rooms round about, so that they were held, and yet they were not held in the wall of the house.* Ver. 7. *And it spread out, and was surrounded upwards more*

and more to the side-rooms, for the enclosure of the house went upwards more and more round about the house; therefore the house received breadth upwards; and so the lower ascended to the upper after the proportion of the central one. Ver. 8. And I saw in the house a height round about, with regard to the foundations of the side-rooms a full rod, six cubits to the joint. Ver. 9. The breadth of the wall, which the side storey had on the outside, was five cubits, and so also what was left free was by the side-chamber building of the house. Ver. 10. And between the cells was a breadth of twenty cubits round the house round about. Ver. 11. And the door of the side-chamber building led toward what was left free, one door toward the north and one door toward the south, and the breadth of the space left free was five cubits round about.—From the interior of the sanctuary the measuring man turned to the outer work, and measured, first of all, the wall of the house (ver. 5), *i.e.* the wall commencing with the pillars in the front (ver. 1), which surrounded the holy place and the holy of holies on the north, the west, and the south (*e*). This was six cubits thick. He then measured the breadth of the חֲצַיִם, *i.e.* of the building consisting of three storeys of side-rooms, which was erected against the north, west, and south sides of the sanctuary (*h*). For חֲצַיִם signifies not only a single side-room, but collectively the whole range of these side-chambers, the entire building against the sides of the temple house, called חֲצַיִם in 1 Kings vi. 5, 6, with which חֲצַיִם (ver. 8) is also used alternately there (see the comm. on 1 Kings vi. 5).—The breadth of the side-building was four cubits in the clear, that is to say, the space from the temple wall to the outer wall of the side-building (*f*), which was five cubits thick (ver. 9), and that uniformly all round the temple.—The further particulars concerning the side-rooms in vers. 6 and 7 are very obscure, so that they can only be made perfectly intelligible by comparing them with the description of the similar building in Solomon's temple. According to this, ver. 6a is to be taken thus: "and as for the

side-rooms, there were room upon room (לָּ for עַל) three, and (that) thirty times," and understood as signifying that there were three side-rooms standing one above another, and that this occurred thirty times, so that the side-building had three storeys, each containing thirty rooms (chambers), so that there were thirty times three rooms standing one above another (*h h h*). There is no necessity, therefore, for the transposition of שְׁלֹשׁ into שְׁלֹשִׁים, which Böttcher, Hitzig, and Hävernicks have adopted from the LXX., because of their having taken לָּ in the sense of against, room against room thirty, and that three times, which yields the same thought, no doubt, but not so clearly, inasmuch as it remains indefinite whether the three times thirty rooms were above one another or side by side. Nothing is said about the distribution of the thirty rooms in each storey; but it is very probable that the distribution was uniform, so that on each of the longer sides, *i.e.* against the northern and southern walls of the temple, there were twelve rooms, and six against the shorter western wall. The northern and southern walls were sixty cubits, *plus* six cubits the thickness of the wall, *plus* four cubits the breadth of the side building against the western wall ($60+6+4$), in all therefore seventy cubits, or, deducting five cubits for the thickness of the outer wall at the front of the building, sixty-five cubits long; and the western wall was $20 + 2 \times 6$ (the thickness of the side wall), *i.e.* thirty-two cubits long. If, therefore, we fix the length of each side-room at $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, there remain five cubits against the western wall for the seven party walls required, or five-sevenths of a cubit for each, and against the northern and southern walls eleven cubits for party walls and staircase, and reckoning the party walls at four-sevenths of a cubit in thickness, there are left four cubits and a seventh for the space for the stairs, quite a sufficient space for a winding staircase.—The clauses which follow relate to the connection between these side-rooms and the temple house. בָּאוֹת בְּקִיר, they were coming (going) upon the wall. בָּאוּ, generally *intrare in locum*, here,

on account of what follows, to tread upon the wall; that is to say, they were built against the wall in such a manner that the beams of the floors of the three storeys rested on the temple wall on the inner side, *i.e.* were held or borne by it, but not so as to be inserted in the wall and held fast thereby. The only way in which this could be effected was by so constructing the temple wall that it had a ledge at every storey on which the beams of the side storeys could rest, *i.e.* by making it recede half a cubit, or become so much thinner on the outer side, so that if the thickness of the wall at the bottom was six cubits, it would be five cubits and a half at the first storey, five cubits at the second, and four and a half at the third. In this way the side-rooms were supported by the temple wall, but not in such a manner that the beams laid hold of the walls of the sanctuary, or were dovetailed into them, which would have done violence to the sanctity of the temple house; and the side storeys appeared as, what they should be, an external building, which did not interfere with the integrity of the sanctuary. That this is the meaning of the words is rendered certain by a comparison with 1 Kings vi. 6, where the ledges on the temple wall are expressly mentioned, and the design of these is said to be *לְבִלְתִּי אֲחוּזִים בְּקִירוֹת*, that the beams might not be fastened in the walls of the house, to which the last words of our verse, *וְלֹא־יִהְיוּ אֲחוּזִים בְּקִיר הַבַּיִת*, refer. Kliefoth's rendering of *בְּאֹחֹת בְּקִיר*, "they went against the wall," is grammatically untenable, as *בוא* with *ב* does not mean to go against anything. *אֲשֶׁר לְבַיִת לְצִלְעוֹת*, which the (temple) house had toward the side-rooms. *סָבִיב סָבִיב*, round about, *i.e.* on all three sides of the temple. The peculiarity of the storeys, arising from this resting upon the temple, is described in ver. 7, of which different explanations have been given, but the general meaning of which is that it occasioned a widening of the side-rooms proceeding upwards from storey to storey, as is plainly stated in 1 Kings vi. 6. The words *וַיִּרְחֲבֶה וַיִּנְסָבֶה* are not to be taken together, as expressing one idea, *viz.* "it spread round about"

(De Wette), but contain two different assertions, which are more precisely defined in what follows by the substantives מִסְבֵּה and רִחֵב. Neither קִיר הַצֵּלֵעַ nor קִיר הַצֵּלֵעַ is to be taken as the subject; but the verbs are to be regarded as impersonal: "there spread out and surrounded," i.e. a widening and a surrounding took place. The double לְמַעַלָּה has been correctly explained by Bochart, viz. "by continued ascending," i.e. the higher one went the more extension and compass did one find, with regard to, i.e. according to the measure of, the side-rooms or side-storeys. לְצִלְעוֹת belongs to לְמַעַלָּה, and is added for the purpose of defining more precisely how the widening took place, not gradually, but at each storey; for "these צִלְעוֹת are the three rooms standing one above another, spoken of in ver. 6" (Kliefoth). This statement is explained, and the reason assigned, in the clause introduced with כִּי, the meaning of which depends upon the explanation of the word מִסְבֵּה. This word may mean a way round, and a surrounding. The Rabbins, whom Hävernicks follows, understand by מִסְבֵּה a winding staircase, the לִלְיִם mentioned in 1 Kings vi. 8, which led from the lower storey to the upper ones. This is decidedly wrong; for apart from the question whether this meaning can be grammatically sustained, it is impossible to attach any rational meaning to the words, "a winding staircase of the house was upwards more and more round about the house," since a winding staircase could never run round about a building seventy cubits long and forty cubits broad, but could only ascend at one spot, which would really give it the character of a winding staircase. Böttcher's explanation is equally untenable: "for the winding round of the interior was upwards more and more round and round inwards." For, in the first place, הַבְּיִת does not mean the interior, and לְבֵיִת does not mean inwards; and secondly, "winding round" is not equivalent to an alteration of form in the shape of the rooms, through which those in the bottom storey were oblongs running lengthwise, those in the central storey squares, and those in the third oblongs running inwards, which Böttcher imagines to

have been the case. It would be much easier to adopt the explanation of Kliefoth and others, who take מִסָּבִיחַ in the sense of a way round, and regard it as signifying a passage running round the house in the form of a gallery, by which one could walk all round the house, and so reach the rooms in the upper storeys. This, as Kliefoth still further remarks, was the reason why the surrounding of (circuit round) the house was greater the higher one ascended, and also the reason why it became wider up above in the upper storeys, as the words, "therefore the breadth of the house increased upwards," affirm. In these words Kliefoth finds a distinct assertion "that there is no foundation for the assumption that the widening upwards was occasioned by the receding of the temple walls; but that the widening of the building, which took place above, arose from the passages round that were attached to the second and third storeys, and that these passages ran round the building, and consequently were attached to the outside in the form of galleries." But we are unable to see how this can be *distinctly* asserted in the words רָחֵב לְבֵיתָ לְמַעְלָה. Even if הַבֵּית, in connection with מִסָּבִיחַ, signified the side-building, including the temple house, the only thought contained in the words would be, that the side-building became broader at each storey as you ascended, *i.e.* that the breadth of the side-building increased with each storey. But even then it would not be stated in what manner the increase in breadth arose; whether in consequence of the receding of the temple wall at each storey, or from the fact that the side-rooms were built so as to project farther out, or that the side-storeys were widened by the addition of a passage in the form of a gallery. And the decision in favour of one or other of these possibilities could only be obtained from the preceding clause, where it is stated that מִסָּבִיחַ הַבֵּית went round about the side-building, and that in favour of the last. But, in the first place, the assumption that הַבֵּית and לְבֵיתָ denote the side-building, to the exclusion of the temple house, is extremely harsh, as throughout the whole section הַבֵּית

signifies the temple house; and in ver. 6 לְבֵית is used again in this sense. If we understand, however, by מִוֶּסֶב הַבֵּית a passage or a surrounding all round the temple house, the words by no means imply that there were outer galleries running round the side-rooms. In the second place, it is extremely harsh to take מִוֶּסֶב in the sense of a passage round, if the preceding נִסְבָּה is to signify surrounded. As מִוֶּסֶב takes up the word נִסְבָּה again, and "precisely the same thing is signified by the two verbs נִסְבָּה וְנִסְבָּה as by the substantives רֶחֶב and מִוֶּסֶב afterwards," we cannot render נִסְבָּה by surrounded, and מִוֶּסֶב by a passage round. If, therefore, מִוֶּסֶב signified a passage, a gallery running round the building, this would necessarily be expressed in the verb נִסְבָּה, which must be rendered, "there went round," i.e. there was a passage round, more and more upwards, according to the measure of the storeys. But this would imply that the passage round existed in the case of the bottom storey also, and merely increased in breadth in the central and upper storeys. Now a gallery round the bottom storey is shown to be out of the question by the measurements which follow. From this we may see that the supposition that there were galleries on the outside round the second and third storeys is not required by the text, and possibly is irreconcilable with it; and there is not even a necessity to adduce the further argument, that Kliefoth's idea, that the entire building of three storeys was simply upheld by the outer wall, without any support to the beams from the wall of the temple, is most improbable, as such a building would have been very insecure, and useless for the reception of any things of importance. We therefore take נִסְבָּה and מִוֶּסֶב in the sense of surrounded and surrounding. In this case, ver. 7 simply affirms that the surrounding of the house, i.e. the side-building round about the temple house, became broader toward the top, increasing (more and more) according to the measure of the storeys; for it increased the more in proportion to the height against the temple house, so that the house became broader as you ascended.

To this there is appended by means of וְכֵן the last statement of the verse : "and so the lower ascended to the upper after the measure of the central one." This clause is taken by the majority of the commentators to mean : thus they ascended from the lower to the upper after the central one. But many have observed the folly of an arrangement by which they ascended a staircase on the outside from the lower storey to the upper, and went from that into the central one, and have therefore followed the LXX. in changing וְכֵן into וְכֵן and לְתִיכּוֹנָה into בְּתִיכּוֹנָה, "and from the lower (they ascended) to the upper through the central one." But there is no apparent necessity for these alterations of the text, as the reading in the text yields a good sense, if we take הַתְּחִתּוֹנָה as the subject to יַעֲלֶה : and thus the lower storey ascended to the upper after the measure of the central one,—a rendering to which no decisive objection can be urged on the ground of the difference of gender (the masc. יַעֲלֶה). וְכֵן affirms that the ascent took place according to the mode of widening already mentioned.

In the 8th verse we have a further statement concerning the side-rooms, as we may see from the middle clause; but it has also been explained in various ways. Böttcher, for example, renders the first clause thus : "and I saw what the height round about was in an inwardly direction;" but this is both grammatically false and senseless, as לְבֵית does not mean inwardly, and "in an inwardly direction" yields no conceivable sense. Kliefoth adopts the rendering : "I fixed my eyes upon the height round about to the house;" but this is also untenable, as רָאָה does not mean to fix the eyes upon, in the sense of measuring with the eyes, and in this case also the article could hardly be omitted in the case of נֹכַח. The words run simply thus : "I saw in the house a height" = an elevation round about. What this means is shown in the following words : the side-rooms had foundations a full rod, *i.e.* the foundation of the rooms was a full rod (six cubits) high. מִסְדּוֹת is not a substantive מִסְדּוֹת, but a participle *Pual* מִסְדּוֹת; and the *Keri* is substantially

correct, though an unnecessary correction ; מָלוּ for מְלוֹא (compare ch. xxviii. 16, מָלוּ for מְלוֹא). The side-building did not stand on level ground, therefore, but had a foundation six cubits high. This is in harmony with the statement in ch. xl. 49, that they ascended by steps to the temple porch, so that the temple house with its front porch was raised above the inner court. As this elevation was a full rod or six cubits, not merely for the side-building, but also for the temple porch, we may assume that there were twelve steps, and not ten after the LXX. of ch. xl. 49, as half a cubit of Ezekiel's measurement was a considerable height for steps.—The expression which follows, “six cubits אֶצִּילָה,” is obscure, on account of the various ways in which אֶצִּילָה may be understood. So much, however, is beyond all doubt, that the words cannot contain merely an explanation of the length of the rod measure : “six cubits (measured) to the wrist,” because the length of the rod has already been fixed in ch. xl. 5, and therefore a fresh definition would be superfluous, and the one given here would contradict that of ch. xl. 5. אֶצִּיל signifies connection or joint, and when applied to a building can hardly mean anything else than the point at which one portion of the building joins on to the other. Hävernicks and Kliefoth therefore understand by אֶצִּיל the point at which one storey ends and another begins, the connecting line of the rooms standing one above another ; and Hävernicks takes the clause to be a more precise definition of מִסְדֵּרוֹת הַצֵּד, understanding by מִסְדֵּרוֹת the foundations of the rooms, i.e. the floors. Kliefoth, on the other hand, regards the clause as containing fresh information, namely, concerning the height of the storeys, so that according to the statement in this verse the side-building had a foundation of six cubits in height, and each of the storeys had also a height of six cubits, and consequently the whole building was twenty-four cubits high, reckoning from the ground. So much is clear, that מִסְדֵּרוֹת does not signify the floors of the rooms, so that Hävernicks's explanation falls to the ground. And Kliefoth's view is also open to this objection, that

if the words gave the height of the storeys, and therefore supplied a second measurement, the copula ו could hardly fail to stand before them. The absence of this copula evidently leads to the conclusion that the "six cubits" אַרְבָּעָה are merely intended to furnish a further substantial explanation as to the foundation, which was a full rod high, the meaning of which has not yet been satisfactorily cleared up, as all the explanations given elsewhere are still further from the mark.

In ver. 9 there follow two further particulars with reference to the side-building. The wall of it without, *i.e.* on the outside (*f*), was five cubits thick or broad, and therefore one cubit thinner than the temple wall. The מִנְחָה in the side-building was just the same breadth. In the clause beginning with וְאִשֶּׁר the measure (five cubits) given in the first clause is to be repeated, so that we may render וְ by "*and also*," and must take the words in the sense of "just as broad." מִנְחָה, the *Hophal* participle of מִנַּח, to let alone, in the case of a building, is that portion of the building space which is not built upon like the rest; and in ver. 11, where it is used as a substantive, it signifies the space left open by the sides of the building (Plate I. *i*). The Chaldee rendering is אֲתֵר שְׁבִיטָא, *locus relictus*. בֵּית צִלְעוֹת is an adverbial or locative accusative: against the house of side-chambers, or all along it; and אֲשֶׁר לְבֵית is an appositional explanation: "which was to the temple," *i.e.* belonged to it, was built round about it.—Consequently there is no necessity for any alteration of the text, not even for changing בֵּית into בֵּין in order to connect together ver. 9b and ver. 10 as one clause, as Böttcher and Hitzig propose; though all that they gain thereby is the discrepancy that in vers. 9b and 10 the space left open between the side-rooms against the temple house and between the cells against the wall of the court is said to have been twenty cubits broad, whereas in ver. 12 the breadth of this *munḥāh* is set down as five cubits.—There follows next in ver. 10 the account of the breadth between the temple-building and the cells against the wall of the inner

court, and then in ver. 11 we have further particulars concerning the side-building and the space left open. הַלְשָׁבוֹת (ver. 10) are the cell buildings, more fully described in ch. xlii. 1 sqq., which stood along the wall dividing the inner court from the outer on the west of the north and south gates of the inner court, and therefore opposite to the temple house (Plate I. *L L*). To the expression, "and between the cells there was a breadth," there has to be supplied the correlative term from the context, namely, the space between the מִנְחָה and the לְשָׁבוֹת had a breadth of twenty cubits round about the house, *i.e.* on the north, west, and south sides of the temple house.—The description of this space closes in ver. 11 with an account of the entrances to the side-building. It had a door toward the space left open, *i.e.* leading out into this space, one to the north and one to the south (Plate III. *i i*), and the space left open was five cubits broad round about, *i.e.* on the north, west, and south sides of the temple-building. מְקוֹם הַמִּנְחָה, the place of that which remained open, *i.e.* the space left open.

If, then, in conclusion, we gather together all the measurements of the temple house and its immediate surroundings, we obtain (as is shown in Plate I.) a square of a hundred cubits in breadth and a hundred cubits in length, exclusive of the porch. The temple (*G*) was twenty cubits broad in the inside (ver. 2); the wall surrounding the sanctuary was six cubits (ver. 5), or (for the two walls) $2 \times 6 = 12$ cubits. The side-buildings being four cubits broad in the clear on each side (ver. 5), make $2 \times 4 = 8$ cubits. The outside walls of these buildings, five cubits on each side (ver. 9), make $2 \times 5 = 10$ cubits. The מִנְחָה (*i*), five cubits round about (ver. 11), makes $2 \times 5 = 10$ cubits. And the space between this and the cells standing by the wall of the court (*e-g-h-f*), twenty cubits round about (ver. 10), makes $2 \times 20 = 40$ cubits. The sum total therefore is $20 + 12 + 8 + 10 + 10 + 40 = 100$ cubits, in perfect harmony with the breadth of the inner court given in ch. xl. 47. The length was as follows: forty cubits the holy

place, and twenty cubits the holy of holies (vers. 2 and 4); the western wall, six cubits; the side-rooms on the west, four cubits; and their wall, five cubits; the מִזְבֵּחַ, on the west, five cubits; and the space to the cells, twenty cubits; in all, $40 + 20 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 5 + 20 = 100$ cubits, as stated in ver. 13. The porch and the thickness both of the party-wall between the holy place and the most holy, and also of the front (eastern) wall of the holy place, are not taken into calculation here. The porch is not included, because the ground which it covered belonged to the space of the inner court into which it projected. The party-wall is not reckoned, because it was merely a thin wooden partition, and therefore occupied no space worth notice. But it is difficult to say why the front wall of the holy place is not included. As there was no room for it in the square of a hundred cubits, Kliefoth assumes that there was no wall whatever on the eastern side of the holy place, and supposes that the back wall (*i.e.* the western wall) of the porch supplied its place. But this is inadmissible, for the simple reason that the porch was certainly not of the same height as the holy place, and according to ch. xl. 48 it had only sixteen cubits of external breadth; so that there would not only have been an open space left in the upper portion of the front, but also an open space of two cubits in breadth on either side, if the holy place had had no wall of its own. Moreover, the measurement both of the pillars on both sides of the front of the הֵיכָל (ver. 1), and of the shoulders on both sides of the door (ver. 2), presupposes a wall or partition on the eastern side of the holy place, which cannot be supposed to have been thinner than the side-walls, that is to say, not less than six cubits in thickness. We are shut up, therefore, to the conjecture that the forty cubits' length of the holy place was measured from the door-line, which was ten cubits broad, and that the thickness of the door-shoulders on the two sides is included in these forty cubits, or, what is the same thing, that they were not taken into account in the measurement. The objection raised to this, namely, that the

space within the holy place would thereby have lost a considerable portion of its significant length of forty cubits, cannot have much weight, as the door-shoulders, the thickness of which is not reckoned, were only five cubits broad on each side, and for the central portion of the holy place, which was occupied by the door, and was ten cubits broad, the length of forty cubits suffered no perceptible diminution. Just as the pillars of the door of the holy of holies with the party-wall are reckoned in the 40+20 cubits' length of the sanctuary, and are not taken into consideration; so may this also have been the case with the thickness of wall of the door-shoulders of the holy place. The measurements of the space occupied by the holy place and holy of holies, which have a symbolical significance, cannot be measured with mathematical scrupulosity.

Vers. 12-14. THE SEPARATE PLACE, AND THE EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF THE TEMPLE.—Ver. 12. *And the building at the front of the separate place was seventy cubits broad on the side turned toward the west, and the wall of the building five cubits broad round about, and its length ninety cubits.* Ver. 13. *And he measured the (temple) house: the length a hundred cubits; and the separate place, and its building, and its walls: the length a hundred cubits.* Ver. 14. *And the breadth of the face of the (temple) house, and of the separate place toward the east, a hundred cubits.*—The explanation of these verses depends upon the meaning of the word **פְּנִיָּה**. According to its derivation from **פָּרַץ**, to cut, to separate, **פְּנִיָּה** means that which is cut off, or separated. Thus **אֶרֶץ פְּנִיָּה** is the land cut off, the desert, which is not connected by roads with the inhabited country. In the passage before us, **פְּנִיָּה** signifies a place on the western side of the temple, i.e. behind the temple, which was separated from the sanctuary (Plate I. J), and on which a building stood, but concerning the purpose of which nothing more definite is stated than we are able to gather, partly from the name and situation of the place in question, and partly from such passages as

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1 Chron. xxvi. 18 and 2 Kings xxiii. 11, according to which, even in Solomon's temple, there was a similar space at the back of the temple house with buildings upon it, which had a separate way out, the gate שַׁלְכָה, namely, that "this space, with its buildings, was to be used for the reception of all refuse, sweepings, all kinds of rubbish,—in brief, of everything that was separated or rejected when the holy service was performed in the temple,—and that this was the reason why it received the name of the separate place" (Kliefoth). The building upon this space was situated אֶל-פְּנֵי-הַנִּזְוָה, in the front of the *gizrah* (that is to say, as one approached it from the temple); and that פָּאֵת יְרֵדָה-הַיָּם, on the side of the way to the sea, *i.e.* on the western side, *sc.* of the temple, and had a breadth of seventy cubits (from north to south), with a wall round about, which was five cubits broad (thick), and a length of ninety cubits. As the thickness of the wall is specially mentioned in connection with the breadth, we must add it both to the breadth and to the length of the building as given here; so that, when looked at from the outside, the building was eighty cubits broad and a hundred cubits long. In ver. 13b this length is expressly attributed to the separate place, and (*i.e.* along with) its building, and the walls thereof. But the length of the temple house has also been previously stated as a hundred cubits. In ver. 14 the breadth of both is also stated to have been a hundred cubits,—namely, the breadth of the outer front, or front face of the temple, was a hundred cubits; and the breadth of the separate place לְקִדְמָה toward the east, *i.e.* the breadth which it showed to the person measuring on the eastern side, was the same. If, then, the building on the separate place was only eighty cubits broad, according to ver. 12, including the walls, whilst the separate place itself was a hundred cubits broad, there remains a space of twenty cubits in breadth not covered by the building; that is to say, as we need not hesitate to put the building in the centre, open spaces of ten cubits each on the northern and southern sides were left as approaches

to the building on both sides (*K*), whereas the entire length of the separate place (from east to west) was covered by the building.—All these measurements are in perfect harmony. As the inner court formed a square of a hundred cubits in length (ch. xl. 47), the temple house, which joined it on the west, extended with its appurtenances to a similar length; and the separate place behind the temple also covered a space of equal size. These three squares, therefore, had a length from east to west of three hundred cubits. If we add to this the length of the buildings of the east gates of the inner and outer courts, namely fifty cubits for each (ch. xl. 15, 21, 25, 29, 33, 36), and the length of the outer court from gate to gate a hundred cubits (ch. xl. 19, 23, 27), we obtain for the whole of the temple building the length of five hundred cubits. If, again, we add to the breadth of the inner court or temple house, which was one hundred cubits, the breadths of the outer court, with the outer and inner gate-buildings, viz. two hundred cubits on both the north and south sides, we obtain a total breadth of $100 + 200 + 200 = 500$ (say five hundred) cubits; so that the whole building covered a space of five hundred cubits square, in harmony with the calculation already made (at ch. xl. 24-27) of the size of the surrounding wall.

Vers. 15-26. SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE MEASUREMENT, THE CHARACTER, AND THE SIGNIFICANT ORNAMENTS OF THE PROJECTING PORTIONS OF THE TEMPLE BUILDING.—Ver. 15. *And thus he measured the length of the building in the front of the separate place which was at the back thereof, and its galleries on this side and that side, a hundred cubits, and the inner sanctuary, and the porches of the court; Ver. 16. The thresholds, and the closed windows, and the galleries round about all three—opposite to the thresholds was wainscoting wood round about, and the ground up to the windows; but the windows were covered—Ver. 17. (The space) above the doors, both to the inner temple and outside, and on all the wall round about, within and without,*

had its measures. Ver. 18. And cherubs and palms were made, a palm between every two cherubs; and the cherub had two faces; Ver. 19. A man's face toward the palm on this side, and a lion's face toward the palm on that side: thus was it made round about the whole house. Ver. 20. From the floor to above the doors were the cherubs and palms made, and that on the wall of the sanctuary. Ver. 21. The sanctuary had square door-posts, and the front of the holy of holies had the same form. Ver. 22. The altar was of wood, three cubits high, and its length two cubits; and it had its corner-pieces and its stand, and its walls were of wood: and he said to me, This is the table which stands before Jehovah. Ver. 23. And the holy place and the holy of holies had two doors. Ver. 24. And the doors had two wings, two turning leaves; the one door two, and the other two leaves. Ver. 25. And there were made upon them, upon the doors of the sanctuary, cherubs and palms, as they were made upon the walls; and a moulding of wood was on the front of the porch outside. Ver. 26. And there were closed windows and palms on this side and on that, on the side-walls of the porch, and the side-rooms of the house, and the beams.—

Ver. 15 is the commencement of a comprehensive enumeration of particular features in the building, the greater part of which have not been mentioned before; so that *וַיִּמְדָּר* (for *וַיִּמְדֵּר*) is to be rendered, "and thus he measured." The circumstance that another measurement follows in ver. 15*a*, whereas no further numbers are given from ver. 15*b* onwards, does not warrant us in assuming that ver. 15*a* is to be joined on to ver. 14, and ver. 15*b* to be taken in connection with ver. 16. The absence of the cop. ו before *הַפְּסִיִּם* in ver. 16*a* is sufficient to preclude the latter, showing as it does that *הַפְּסִיִּם* commences a fresh statement; and the words *וַיְהִיכֵל וְנֹו'* in ver. 15*b* are still governed by the verb *וַיִּמְדָּר* in ver. 15*a*. The contents of ver. 15 are also decisive against the separation mentioned. If, for instance, we connect ver. 15*a* with ver. 14, the first clause contains a pure tautology, as the length of the building has

been already measured, and the result is given in ver. 13. The tautology does not exist, if the summary statements of the measurement of different portions of the whole temple building commence with ver. 15; and in connection with these a supplementary account is given of various details not mentioned before. The contents of the second clause, namely, what is stated concerning the **אַתִּיקִים**, belong directly to the latter. The building in front of the separate place, which was measured by the man, is more precisely defined, so far as its situation is concerned, by the words **אֲשֶׁר עַל־אַחֲרֶיהָ**. The feminine suffix in **הַגִּזְרָה** points back to **הַגִּזְרָה**; consequently **אֲשֶׁר** can only refer to **הַבִּנְיָן**: “the building . . . which was at the back of the *gizrah*.” This is not at variance with the situation indicated in **אֶל־פְּנֵי הַגִּזְרָה**, but serves as a more exact definition of this statement, showing that the building which stood at the front of the *gizrah* occupied the hinder part of it, *i.e.* extended in length from the front of the *gizrah* to the back.—The meaning of **אַתִּיקִים** or **אַתִּיקִים**, here (*Keri*) and in ver. 16, ch. xlii. 3 and 5, the only other passages in which it occurs, is involved in obscurity. Even Raschi confesses that he does not know what it means, and the older translators have simply resorted to vague conjectures for their renderings; the LXX. here, *ἀπόλοιπα*, in ch. xlii. 3 and 5 *περίστυλον* and *στοαί*; the Vulgate, here, *ethecas* (the Hebrew word Latinized), in ch. xlii. *porticus*; Targum, in the London Polyglot, ver. 15, **וַיִּיָּתֶה**; ver. 16, **אַתִּיקִים**; ch. xlii. 3, **וַיִּיָּתֶה**; and xlii. 5, **וַיִּיָּתֶה**. There is no root **תִּיק** in Hebrew; and the derivation of the word from **עָתַק** is not only uncertain, but furnishes us with nothing that can be used for tracing the architectural signification of the word. Even the context in vers. 15 and 16 of this chapter supplies nothing, for in both verses the meaning of the clauses in which **אַתִּיקִים** stands is a matter of dispute. It is only in ch. xlii. 3 and 5 that we find any clue. According to ch. xlii. 3, in the three-storied cell-building there was **אַתִּיקִים אֶל־פְּנֵי אַתִּיקִים** on the third storey; and according to ver. 5 the cells of the upper storey in

this building were shorter than those of the lower and central storey, because אַתִּיקִים took space away from them; and the reason for this, again, was, that the three-storied cells had no pillars. From this we may infer with certainty that the אַתִּיקִים were galleries or passages running along the outer walls of the building, which were not supported by pillars, and therefore necessarily rested upon ledges obtained by the receding of the rooms of the upper storey. This meaning also suits the present chapter. The suffix in אַתִּיקֵהָ (an Aramaic form for אַתִּיקָהּ) points back, not to בִּנְיָן, but to הַבְּנִיָּה in ver. 13; for the words, “and its galleries on this side and on that,” *i.e.* on the north and south sides of the building, are not dependent upon אֶרֶץ הַבְּנִיָּה, in the sense of “the length of the building, with its galleries on this side and on that,” as וְאֶת־הָאֶרֶץ is too widely separated from אֶרֶץ הַבְּנִיָּה for this. וְאֶת־הָאֶרֶץ is rather a second object to מָדַד: he measured (1) the length of the building; (2) its galleries on this side and that—a hundred cubits; (3) the inner temple, etc. The hundred cubits do not refer to the length of the building, but to the galleries on both sides, which were of the same length as the building, and therefore ran along its entire length,—a fact which it was not superfluous to mention, as they might possibly have been shorter. הַהֵיכָל הַפְּנִימִי is the temple house, with the buildings against it, within the inner court. In addition to these, there are also mentioned the porches of the court, *i.e.* at the gate-buildings of the inner and outer courts, as the projecting portions of these buildings. These three works mentioned in ver. 15 comprise the whole of the buildings, the measurements of which have been mentioned in the previous description—viz. the building to the west of the temple, in vers. 12–14; the inner temple, in vers. 1–11; the porches of the courts, to which the temple porch in front of the holy place is to be added, as having been reckoned in the measurement as belonging to the inner court, in ch. xli.—Thus the contents of our verse (ver. 15) plainly show that it not only is an indivisible whole, but forms a conclusion in

which the foregoing measurements are all summed up, and which serves as an introduction, in accordance with this, to the following summary of various additional features in the temple buildings which are also worthy of mention.

In this summary there are five points noticed: (a) the fact that all parts of the buildings had their measurements (vers. 16 and 17); (b) the significant ornamentation of the inner walls of the sanctuary (vers. 18-21); (c) the altar in the holy place (ver. 22); (d) the character and decoration of the doors of the sanctuary (vers. 23-25a); (e) the style of the porch and of the side-buildings against the temple (vers. 25, 26). —Vers. 16 and 17 form one period, enlarged by the parenthetical insertion of explanatory statements, similar to the construction in vers. 18 and 19. The predicate to the three subjects—the thresholds, the closed windows, and the galleries—is not to be sought for either in *לְשַׁלְשֵׁתָם* or in *הֵפֶּה וְהָיָה*. The latter construction, adopted by Böttcher and Hävernick, yields the unmeaning assertion that the thresholds lay across in front of the threshold. The former gives the apparently bald thought, that thresholds, windows, and galleries were round about; in which the use of the article, *the* thresholds, *the* windows, is exceedingly strange. The predicate to *הֵפֶּה וְהָיָה* is *מִדּוֹת* at the end of ver. 17: the thresholds, etc., had measurements; and the construction is so far anakolouthistic, that the predicate *מִדּוֹת*, strictly speaking, belongs to the things mentioned in ver. 17 alone, and the subjects mentioned in ver. 16 are to be regarded as absolute nominatives. The words *לְשַׁלְשֵׁתָם* belong to the three preceding subjects, as a further definition, the thresholds, windows, and galleries (which were) against these three round about. The suffix to *לְשַׁלְשֵׁתָם*, “*their* triad,” refers to the three buildings mentioned in ver. 15: the one upon the separate place, the temple building, and the porches of the court; and the appositional *מִבְּיָב* is not to be so pressed as to lead to the conclusion that all three buildings, and therefore the porches of the court also, had *אֶתְיָקִים* round about. As

the **לְשִׁלְשָׁתָם סָבִיב** is affirmed of the thresholds, and the windows, and the galleries, and these three objects are introduced by the article, as well known, *i.e.* as already mentioned and described in the preceding verses, the more precise definition (*resp.* limitation) of the apposition, "round about these three," is to be taken from the preceding description of these three buildings, and we are simply to assume the existence of thresholds, windows, and galleries in these buildings in those cases in which they have been mentioned in that description; so that the only place in which there were galleries was the building upon the separate place. But before the intended information is given concerning the thresholds, etc., a remark is introduced, with the words from **נֶגֶד הַפֶּתַח** to **סָבִיב**, as to the construction of the thresholds: viz. that opposite to the threshold (**הַפֶּתַח** being used in a general sense for every threshold) there was **שְׂחִיף עֵץ**, a thin covering of wood, or wainscoting. **נֶגֶד** does not mean across the front (Böttcher), but "opposite;" and the part opposite to the threshold of a door is, strictly speaking, the lintel. Here, however, the word is probably used in the broader sense for the framework of the door, above and on the two sides, as is shown by **סָבִיב סָבִיב** which follows. With **הָאָרֶץ** a fresh object is introduced. **הָאָרֶץ** is a nominative, like **הַפִּסְפִּים**, etc.; and the thought of supplying **מִן**, "from the ground," has originated in a faulty interpretation of the words. The idea is this: as the thresholds, the windows, etc., so also the ground up to the windows, *i.e.* the space between the ground and the windows, had measurements. The allusion to the windows is followed by the remark, in the form of a circumstantial clause, that "the windows were covered." **מִבְּפֹתַי** is apparently only a substantial explanation of **בְּמִמּוֹתַי** (see the comm. on ch. xl. 16). In ver. 17 two further objects are mentioned as having measurements; not, however, in the logical position of subjects, but with prepositions **עַל** and **אֵל**: upon that which was above the opening of the door . . . and (what was) on all the walls, *i.e.* the space above the doors and on all the walls. To this

periphrasis of the subject, through עַל and אֵל , there is attached the predicate מִדּוֹת , which belongs to all the subjects of vers. 16 and 17, in the sense of, "on all the walls there were measures." The meaning is, that all the parts of the building which have been named had their definite measurements, were carefully measured off. In order to express this thought in as general and comprehensive a manner as possible, the ideas contained in the subjects in ver. 17 are expanded by means of appositions: that of the space above, over the entrance door, by $\text{וְעַד הַבֵּית הַזֶּה}$ and $\text{וְלַחֲוֵץ$, both ($\text{ו-י} = \text{et-et}$) into the inner temple, *i.e.* both the inside of the temple throughout, and also to the outside. The idea of the whole wall is expressed by "round about, in the inside and on the outside." — Thus everything in vers. 16 and 17 is clear, and in accordance with fact; and there is no necessity either for the critical scissors of Ewald and Hitzig, who cut out all that they do not understand as glosses, or for the *mal*-emendation of Böttcher, who changes מִדּוֹת into מִקְלָעוֹת (1 Kings vi. 18), and thus finds it good to ornament the temple with sculptures, even on the outsides of all the walls.

Vers. 18-21 treat of the ornamenting of the inside of the sanctuary, *i.e.* of the holy place and the holy of holies. Vers. 18 and 19 form, like vers. 16 and 17, a period extended by parentheses. The predicate עָשׂוּי , standing at the beginning of ver. 18, is resumed in ver. 19b, and completed by אֶל-כָּל-הַבֵּית 'ס' 'ס'. That the cherubim and palms were executed in sculpture or carving, is evident from the resemblance to Solomon's temple. They were so distributed that a cherub was followed by a palm, and this by a cherub again, so that the palm stood between the two cherubim, and the cherub turned one of its two faces to the palm on this side, and the other to the palm upon that side. In sculpture only two faces could be shown, and consequently these cherubic figures had only two faces, and not four, like those in the vision. This sculpture was placed round about the whole house, and that, as is added in ver. 20 by way of explanation, from the ground even to up above

the door, namely, on the inner wall of the sanctuary (הַהֵיכָל). פֶּל־הַבַּיִת is hereby limited to the הֵיכָל, the holy place and the holy of holies. וְיָקִיר is a local accusative. To this there is appended the further notice in ver. 21, that the sanctuary had door-posts in a square form. The loose arrangement of the words, "the sanctuary post work of square form," is a concise form of expression after the manner of brief topographical notices. מְנוּחָה invariably signifies, wherever it occurs, the door-posts, i.e. the projecting framework of the entrances. רְבִיעִי, "foured," does not mean four-cornered merely, but really square (Ex. xxvii. 1 and xxviii. 16). Consequently the words, "the door-posts of the holy place were of a square shape," might be understood as signifying not merely that the door-posts were beams cut square, but, as Kliefoth supposes, that the post work surrounding the door was made of a square form, that is to say, was of the same height as breadth, which would be quite in keeping with the predominance of the square shape, with its symbolical significance, in this picture of a temple. But the statement in the second half of the verse can hardly be reconciled with this; for whatever diversity there may be in the interpretation of this verse in particular points, it is certain that it does contain the general assertion that the doorway of the holy of holies was also shaped in the same way. But the door of the holy of holies, instead of being square, was (according to ver. 3) six cubits high and seven cubits broad. הַקֹּדֶשׁ, as distinguished from הַהֵיכָל, is the holy of holies, which ver. 23 places beyond all doubt (for this use of הַקֹּדֶשׁ, see Lev. xvi. 2, 3, 16). פְּנֵי-הַקֹּדֶשׁ, the face of the holy of holies, the front which met the eye of a person entering the holy place. הַמִּצְחָה הַמִּצְחָה is the predicate, which is attached as loosely as in the first hemistich. The front of the holy of holies had the appearance like the appearance (just described), i.e. like the appearance of the הֵיכָל; in fact, it had also a doorway with four-cornered posts. J. F. Starck has already given this explanation of the words: *Eadem facies et aspectus erat utriusque portae*

templi et adyti, utraque quadrata et quadratis postibus conspicua erat. The proposal of Ewald, on the other hand, to connect פִּמְרָאָה with the following word הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, "in front of the holy of holies there was something to be seen like the shape of the altar" (LXX., Syr.), has the article in הַפִּמְרָאָה against it (Böttcher).

Ver. 22. THE ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING in the holy place (see Plate III. n). "The abrupt style of writing is still continued." The altar wood for the altar was of wood three cubits high; its length, *i.e.* the expanse of the wall from one corner to the other, was two cubits; the breadth (thickness), which is not expressly mentioned, was the same, because the square form is presupposed from the shape of this altar in the tabernacle and Solomon's temple. Under the term מְקַצְעוֹתָיו, its corner-pieces, the horns projecting at the corners, or the horn-shaped points, are probably included, as the simple mention of the corners appears superfluous, and the horns, which were symbolically significant features in the altar, would certainly not have been wanting. There is something strange in the occurrence of זָאֲרָכוֹ before and along with קִירוֹת, as the length is already included in the walls, and it could not be appropriately said of the length that it was of wood. זָאֲרָכוֹ is therefore certainly a copyist's error for זָאֲדָנוֹ, ἡ βάσις αὐτοῦ (LXX.), its stand or pedestal. The angel describes this altar as the "table which stands before Jehovah"—in perfect harmony with the epithet already applied to the sacrifices in the Pentateuch, the "bread (לֶחֶם) of God," though not "because the altar table was intended to combine the old table of shewbread and the altar of incense" (Böttcher). The table of shewbread is not mentioned any more than the candlestick and other portions of the temple furniture.—The altar of burnt-offering stood before Jehovah, *i.e.* before the entrance into the holy of holies. This leads in vers. 23 sqq. to the notice of the doors of the sanctuary, the character of which is also described as simply openings (פֶּתָח), since the doorway had been mentioned before. דֶּלֶת signifies a

moveable door, and the plural דְּלָתוֹת, doors, whether they consist of one leaf or two, *i.e.* whether they are single or folding doors. Here the דְּלָתוֹת in vers. 23 and 24 (לְדִלְתוֹת) are folding doors; on the other hand, the first דְּלָתוֹת in ver. 24 and דְּלָת *ibid.* are used for the wings of the door, and מַסְבּוֹת דְּלָתוֹת for the swinging portions (leaves) of the separate wings. The meaning is this: the holy place (הַיֵּכָל) and the holy of holies (הַקֹּדֶשׁ) had two folding doors (*i.e.* each of these rooms had one). These doors had two wings, and each of these wings, in the one door and in the other, had two reversible door-leaves, so that when going in and out there was no necessity to throw open on every occasion the whole of the wing, which was at least three or four cubits broad. There is no foundation for the objection raised by Kliefoth to the interpretation of לְהֵיכָל וּלְקֹדֶשׁ as signifying the holy place and the holy of holies; since he cannot deny that the two words are so used, הַיֵּכָל in 1 Kings vi. 5, 17, 31, 33, and קֹדֶשׁ in Lev. xvi. 2, 3, etc. And the artificial explanation, “to the temple space, and indeed to the holy place,” not only passes without notice the agreement between our verses and 1 Kings vi. 31–34, but gains nothing further than a side door, which does violence to the dignity of the sanctuary, a passage from the side chambers into the holy place, with which Böttcher has presented Solomon’s temple.—These doors were ornamented, like the walls, with figures of cherubim and palms.—Other remarks are added in vers. 25*b* and 26 concerning the porch in front of the holy place. The first is, that on the front of the porch outside there was עֵץ עֶזְרָא. The only other passage in which the word עֶזְרָא occurs in a similar connection is 1 Kings vii. 6, where it refers to wood-work in front of the *Ulam* of Solomon’s porch of pillars; and it cannot be determined whether it signifies threshold, or moulding, or threshold-mouldings. On the shoulders, *i.e.* on the right and left side walls of the front porch, there were closed windows and figures of palms. The cherubim were omitted here.—The last words of ver. 26 are very obscure. וַיִּצְלַעוּת הַבַּיִת may be

taken in connection with the preceding clause, "and on the side-rooms of the temple," as there is no necessity to repeat the preposition in the case of closely continuous clauses (*vid.* Ewald, § 351a); and the side-rooms not only must have had windows, but might also be ornamented with figures of palms. But if the words be taken in this sense, the יָמֵי must also signify something which presented, like the walls of the porch and of the side chambers, a considerable extent of surface capable of receiving a similar decoration; although nothing definite has hitherto been ascertained with regard to the meaning of the word, and our rendering "beams" makes no pretension to correctness.

Chap. xlii. *The Holy Cells in the Court, and the Extent of the Holy Domain around the Temple.*

VERS. 1-14. THE CELL-BUILDINGS IN THE OUTER COURT FOR HOLY USE.—Ver. 1. *And he brought me out into the outer court by the way toward the north, and brought me to the cell-building, which was opposite to the separate place, and opposite to the building toward the north,* Ver. 2. *Before the long side of a hundred cubits, with the door toward the north, and the breadth fifty cubits,* Ver. 3. *Opposite to the twenty of the inner court and opposite to the stone panement of the outer court; gallery against gallery was in the third storey.* Ver. 4. *And before the cells a walk, ten cubits broad; to the inner a way of a hundred cubits; and their doors went to the north.* Ver. 5. *And the upper cells were shortened, because the galleries took away space from them, in comparison with the lower and the central ones in the building.* Ver. 6. *For they were three-storied, and had no columns, like the columns of the courts; therefore a deduction was made from the lower and from the central ones from the ground.* Ver. 7. *And a wall outside parallel with the cells ran toward the outer court in front of the cells; its length fifty cubits.* Ver. 8. *For the length of the cells of the outer court was fifty cubits, and, behold, against the sanctuary it was a hundred cubits.* Ver. 9. *And out*

from underneath it rose up these cells ; the entrance was from the east, when one went to them from the outer court. Ver. 10. In the breadth of the court wall toward the south, before the separate place and before the building, there were cells, Ver. 11. With a way before them, like the cells, which stood toward the north, as according to their length so according to their breadth, and according to all their exits as according to all their arrangements. And as their doorways, Ver. 12. So were also the doorways of the cells, which were toward the south, an entrance at the head of the way, of the way opposite to the corresponding wall, of the way from the east when one came to them. Ver. 13. And he said to me, The cells in the north, the cells in the south, which stood in front of the separate place, are the holy cells where the priests, who draw near to Jehovah, shall eat the most holy thing ; there they shall place the most holy thing, both the meat-offering and the sin-offering and the trespass-offering ; for the place is holy. Ver. 14. When they go in, the priests, they shall not go out of the holy place into the outer court ; but there shall they place their clothes, in which they perform the service, for they are holy ; they shall put on other clothes, and so draw near to what belongs to the people.

It is evident from vers. 13 and 14, which furnish particulars concerning the cells already described, that the description itself refers to two cell-buildings only, one on the north side and the other on the south side of the separate place (see Plate I. *L*). Of these the one situated on the north is described in a more circumstantial manner (vers. 1-9) ; that on the south, on the contrary, is merely stated in the briefest manner to have resembled the other in the main (vers. 10-12). That these two cell-buildings are not identical either with those mentioned in ch. xl. 44 sqq. or with those of ch. xl. 17, as Hävernicks supposes, but are distinct from both, is so obvious that it is impossible to understand how they could ever have been identified. The difference in the description is sufficient to show that they are not the same as those in ch. xl. 44 sqq. The cells men-

tioned in ch. xl. 44 were set apart as dwelling-places for the priests during their administration of the service in the holy place and at the altar; whereas these serve as places for depositing the most holy-sacrificial gifts and the official dresses of the priests. To this may be added the difference of situation, which distinguishes those mentioned here both from those of ch. xl. 44 seq., and also from those of ch. xl. 17. Those in ch. xl. 44 were in the inner court, ours in the outer. It is true that those mentioned in ch. xl. 17 were also in the latter, but in entirely different situations, as the description of the position of those noticed in the chapter before us indisputably proves. Ezekiel is led out of the inner court into the outer, by the way in the direction toward the north, to הַלְשָׁכָה, the cell-building (that הַלְשָׁכָה is used here in a collective sense is evident from the plural לְשָׁכוֹת in vers. 4, 5). This stood opposite to the *gizrah*, i.e. the separate space behind the temple house (ch. xli. 12 sqq.), and opposite to the בִּנְיָן, i.e. neither the outer court wall, which is designated as בִּנְיָן in ch. xl. 5, but cannot be intended here, where there is no further definition, nor the temple house, as Kliefoth imagines, for this is invariably called הַבַּיִת. We have rather to understand by הַבִּנְיָן the building upon the *gizrah* described in ch. xli. 12 sqq., to which no valid objection can be offered on the ground of the repetition of the relative וְאֵשֶׁר, as it is omitted in ver. 10, and in general simply serves to give greater prominence to the second definition in the sense of “and, indeed, opposite to the building (*sc.* of the separate place) toward the north.” As אֶל-הַצָּפוֹן belongs to וְאֵשֶׁר as a more precise definition of the direction indicated by בִּנְיָן, the אֶל-פָּנֵי א' which follows in ver. 2 depends upon וְיָבִיאוּנִי, and is co-ordinate with אֶל-הַלְשָׁכָה, defining the side of the cell-building to which Ezekiel was taken: “to the face of the length,” i.e. to the long side of the building, which extended to a hundred cubits. The article in הַפְּתָח requires that the words should be connected in this manner, as it could not be used if the words were intended to mean “on the sur-

face of a length of a hundred cubits." Since, then, the separate place was also a hundred cubits, that is to say, of the same length as the cell-building opposite to it, we might be disposed to assume that as the separate place reached to the outer court wall on the west, the cell-building also extended to the latter with its western narrow side. But this would be at variance with the fact that, according to ch. xlvi. 19, 20, the sacrificial kitchens for the priests stood at the western end of this portion of the court, and therefore behind the cell-building. The size of these kitchens is not given; but judging from the size of the sacrificial kitchens for the people (ch. xlvi. 22), we must reserve a space of forty cubits in length; and consequently the cell-building, which was a hundred cubits long, if built close against the kitchens, would reach the line of the back wall of the temple house with its front (or eastern) narrow side, since, according to the calculation given in the comm. on ch. xli. 1-11, this wall was forty cubits from the front of the separate place, so that there was no prominent building standing opposite to the true sanctuary on the northern or southern side, by which any portion of it could have been concealed. And not only is there no reason for leaving a vacant space between the sacrificial kitchens and the cell-buildings, but this is precluded by the fact that if the kitchens had been separated from the cell building by an intervening space, it would have been necessary to carry the holy sacrificial flesh from the kitchen to the cell in which it was eaten, after being cooked, across a portion of the outer court. It is not stated here how far this cell-building was from the northern boundary of the *gizrah*, and the open space (חֲצֵצָה) surrounding the temple house; but this may be inferred from ch. xli. 10, according to which the intervening space between the *munnach* and the cells was twenty cubits. For the cells mentioned there can only be those of our cell-building, as there were no other cells opposite to the northern and southern sides of the temple house. But if the distance of the southern longer side of the cell-building, so far as it

stood opposite to the temple house, was only twenty cubits, the southern wall of the cell-building coincided with the boundary wall of the inner court, so that it could be regarded as a continuation of that wall.—The further definition **פֶּתַח הַצֶּפֶן**, door to the north, is to be taken as subordinate to the preceding clause, in the sense of “with the door to the north,” because it would otherwise come in between the accounts of the length and breadth of the building, so as to disturb the connection. The breadth of the building corresponds to the breadth of the gate-buildings of the inner court.

The meaning of the third verse is a subject of dispute. “**הָעֲשָׂרִים**,” says Böttcher, “is difficult on account of the article as well as the number, inasmuch as, with the exception of the twenty cubits left open in the temple ground (ch. xli. 10), there are no **עֲשָׂרִים** mentioned as belonging to the actual **הָיֵצֵר הַפְּנִי**, and the numeral does not stand with sufficient appropriateness by the side of the following **רִצְפָּה**.” But there is not sufficient weight in the last objection to render the reference to the twenty cubits a doubtful one, since the “twenty cubits” is simply a contracted form of expression for “the space of twenty cubits,” and this space forms a fitting antithesis to the pavement (**רִצְפָּה**), i.e. the paved portion of the court. Moreover, it is most natural to supply the missing substantive to the “twenty” from the **אַמּוֹת** mentioned just before,—much more natural certainly than to supply **לְשִׁכּוֹת**, as there is no allusion either before or afterwards to any other cells than those whose situation is intended to be defined according to the twenty. We therefore agree with J. H. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Hävernick, and Hitzig, that the only admissible course is to supply **אַמּוֹת**; for the description of the priests’ cells in ch. xl. 44, to which Kliefoth imagines that **הָעֲשָׂרִים** refers, is far too distant for us to be able to take the word **לְשִׁכּוֹת** thence and supply it to **הָעֲשָׂרִים**. And again, the situation of these priests’ cells to the east of the cell-building referred to here does not harmonize with the **בְּיָד**, as the second definition introduced by the correlative

וַיִּנָּה points to the stone pavement on the north. East and north do not form such a *vis-à-vis* as the double נִיָּה requires.—Our view of the הַעֲשָׂרִים is also in harmony with the explanatory relative clause, “which were to the inner court,” *i.e.* belonged to it. For the open space of twenty cubits’ breadth, which ran by the long side of the temple house between the *munnach* belonging to the temple and the wall of the inner court, formed the continuation of the inner court which surrounded the temple house on the north, west, and south.¹ If, therefore, this first definition of the נִיָּה refers to what was opposite to the cell-building on the south, the second נִיָּה defines what stood opposite to it on the northern side. There the portion of the outer court which was paved with stones ran along the inner side of the surrounding wall. This serves to define as clearly as possible the position of the broad side of the cell-building. For Kliefoth and Hitzig are right in connecting these definitions with ver. 26, and taking the words from אֶת־הַיָּסָד onwards as introducing a fresh statement. Even the expression itself אֶת־הַיָּסָד does not properly harmonize with the combination of the two halves of the third verse as one sentence, as Böttcher proposes, thus: “against the twenty cubits of the inner court and against the pavement of the outer court there ran gallery in front of gallery threefold.” For if the galleries of the building were opposite to the pavement on the north, and to the space in front of the temple on the south of the building, they must of necessity have run along the northern and southern walls of the building in a parallel direction, and אֶת־הַיָּסָד is not the correct expression for this. אֶת־לִפְנֵי, to the front—that is to say, one gallery to the front of the other, or up to the other. This could only be the case if the galleries surrounded the

¹ The statement of Kliefoth, that “this space of twenty cubits in breadth did not belong to the inner court at all,” cannot be established from ch. xl. 47, where the size of the inner court is given as a hundred cubits in length and the same in breadth. For this measurement simply refers to the space in front of the temple.

building on all four sides, or at any rate on three; for with the latter arrangement, the gallery upon the eastern side would terminate against those on the southern and northern sides. Again, the rendering "threefold," or into the threefold, cannot be defended either from the usage of the language or from the facts. The only other passage in which the plural שְׁלִשִּׁים occurs is Gen. vi. 16, where it signifies chambers, or rooms of the third storey, and the singular שְׁלִשִּׁי means the third. Consequently בְּשִׁלְשִׁים is "in the third row of chambers or rooms," *i.e.* in the third storey. And so far as the fact is concerned, it does not follow from the allusion to upper, central, and lower cells (vers. 5 and 6), that there were galleries round every one of the three storeys.

Ver. 4. "Before the cells there was a walk of ten cubits' breadth" (*m*). In what sense we are to understand לְפָנַי, "before," whether running along the northern longer side of the building, or in front of the eastern wall, depends upon the explanation of the words which follow, and chiefly of the words דֶּרֶךְ אַמָּה אַחַת, by which alone the sense in which אֶל-הַפְּנִימִיָּה is to be understood can also be determined. Hävernicks and Kliefoth take דֶּרֶךְ אַמָּה אַחַת, "a way of one cubit," in the sense of "the approaches (entrances into the rooms) were a cubit broad." But the words cannot possibly have this meaning; not only because the collective use of דֶּרֶךְ after the preceding מִהֶלֶךְ, which is not collective, and with the plural פְּתִיחֵיהֶם following, is extremely improbable; if not impossible; but principally because דֶּרֶךְ, a way, is not synonymous with מְבוֹא, an entrance, or פֶּתַח, a doorway. Moreover, an entrance, if only a cubit in breadth, to a large building would be much too narrow, and bear no proportion whatever to the walk of ten cubits in breadth. It is impossible to get any suitable meaning from the words as they stand, "a way of one cubit;" and no other course remains than to alter אַמָּה into מֵאָה, after the ἐπὶ πηχέις ἑκατόν of the Septuagint. There is no question that we have such a change of אַמָּה into מֵאָה in ver. 16, where even the Rabbins acknowledge that it

has occurred. And when once **מֵאָה** had been turned into **אָמָה**, this change would naturally be followed by the alteration of **אָמָה** into a numeral—that is to say, into **אַחַת**. The statement itself, “a way of a hundred cubits” (in length), might be taken as referring to the length of the walk in front of the cells, as the cell-building was a hundred cubits long. But **אֶל-הַפְּנִימִיָּה** is hardly reconcilable with this. If, for example, we take these words in connection with the preceding clause, “a walk of ten cubits broad into the interior,” the statement, “a way of a hundred cubits,” does not square with this. For if the walk which ran in front of the cells was a hundred cubits long, it did not lead into the interior of the cell-building, but led past it to the outer western wall. We must therefore take **אֶל-הַפְּנִימִיָּה** in connection with what follows, so that it corresponds to **לְפָנֵי הַתְּשֻׁבוֹת**: in front of the cells there was a walk of ten cubits in breadth, and to the inner there led a way of a hundred cubits in length. **הַפְּנִימִיָּה** would then signify, not the interior of the cell-building, but the inner court (**הַחֲצֵר הַפְּנִימִיָּה**, ch. xliv. 17, xxi. 27, etc.). This explanation derives its principal support from the circumstance that, according to vers. 9 and 11, a way ran from the east, *i.e.* from the steps of the inner court gates, on the northern and southern sides, to the cell-buildings on the north and south of the separate place, the length of which, from the steps of the gate-buildings already mentioned to the north-eastern and south-eastern corners of our cell-buildings, was exactly a hundred cubits, *as we may see from the plan in Plate I.* This way (*l*) was continued in the walk in front of the cells (*m*), and may safely be assumed to have been of the same breadth as the walk.—The last statement of the fourth verse is perfectly clear; the doorways to the cells were turned toward the north, so that one could go from the walk in front of the cells directly into the cells themselves.—In vers. 5 and 6 there follow certain statements concerning the manner in which the cells were built. The building contained upper, lower, and middle cells; so that it was three-storied. This is expressed in

the words *כִּי מִשְׁלָשׁוֹת הָיָה*, "for the cells were tripled;" three rows stood one above another. But they were not all built alike; the upper ones were shortened in comparison with the lower and the central ones, *i.e.* were shorter than these (*מִן* before *הַתְּחִתִּיּוֹת* and *הַתְּיָכוֹנוֹת* is comparative); "for galleries ate away part of them"—that is to say, took away a portion of them (*יֹאכְלֵי* for *יֹאכְלֵי*, in an architectural sense, to take away from). How far this took place is shown in the first two clauses of the sixth verse, the first of which explains the reference to upper, lower, and middle cells, while the second gives the reason for the shortening of the upper in comparison with the lower and the central ones. As the three rows of cells built one above another had no columns on which the galleries of the upper row could rest, it was necessary, in order to get a foundation for the gallery of the third storey, that the cells should be thrown back from the outer wall, or built as far inwards as the breadth of the gallery required. This is expressly stated in the last clause, *נִנְאָצַל*, *עַל־פִּנְּנֵי נִנְאָצַל וְנֹ*, with an indefinite subject: there was deducted from the lower and the middle cells from the ground, *sc.* which these rooms covered. *מִהָאָרֶץ* is added for the purpose of elucidation. From the allusion to the columns of the courts we may see that the courts had colonnades, like the courts in the Herodian temple, and probably also in that of Solomon, though their character is nowhere described, and no allusion is made to them in the description of the courts.

The further statements concerning this cell-building in vers. 7-9 are obscure. *וְנִרְ* is a wall serving to enclose courtyards, vineyards, and the like. The predicate to *וְנִרְ* follows in *אֶל־פְּנֵי*: a boundary wall ran along the front of the cells (*אֶל־פְּנֵי* stands for *עַל־פְּנֵי*, as the corresponding *הַיִּכָּל* in ver. 8 shows). The course of this wall (*n*) is more precisely defined by the relative clause, "which ran outwards parallel with the cells in the direction of the outer court," *i.e.* toward the outer court. The length of this wall was fifty cubits. It is evident from this that the wall did not run along the north side of the

building,—for in that case it must have been a hundred cubits in length,—but along the narrow side, the length of which was fifty cubits. Whether it was on the western or eastern side cannot be determined with certainty from ver. 7, although אֶפְרַיִם favours the eastern, *i.e.* the front side, rather than the western side, or back. And what follows is decisive in favour of the eastern narrow side. In explanation of the reason why this wall was fifty cubits long, it is stated in ver. 8 that “the length of the cells, which were to the outer court, was fifty cubits; but, behold, toward the temple front a hundred cubits.” Consequently “the cells which the outer court had” can only be the cells whose windows were toward the outer court—that is to say, those on the eastern narrow side of the building; for the sacrificial kitchens were on the western narrow side (ch. xlv. 19, 20). The second statement in ver. 8, which is introduced by הִנֵּה as an indication of something important, is intended to preclude any misinterpretation of אֶרְבֵּי הַלֵּשׁ, as though by *length* we must necessarily understand the extension of the building from east to west, as in ver. 2 and most of the other measurements. The use of אֶרְבֵּי for the extension of the narrow side of the building is also suggested by the אֶרְבֵּי, “length of the wall,” in ver. 7, where רֵחַב would have been inadmissible, because רֵחַב, the breadth of a wall, would have been taken to mean its thickness. פְּנֵי הַחֵיצוֹן is the outer side of the temple house which faced the north.—A further confirmation of the fact that the boundary wall was situated on the eastern narrow side of the building is given in the first clause of the ninth verse, in which, however, the reading fluctuates. The *Chetib* gives מִתְחַתָּהּ לְשִׁבּוֹת, the *Keri* מִתְחַתָּהּ הַלְשִׁבוֹת. But as we generally find, the *Keri* is an alteration for the worse, occasioned by the objection felt by the Masoretes, partly to the unusual circumstance that the singular form of the suffix is attached to תַּחַת, whereas it usually takes the suffixes in the plural form, and partly to the omission of the article from לְשִׁבּוֹת by the side of the demonstrative הַזֶּה, which is defined by the article. But these two deviations from

the ordinary rule do not warrant any alterations, as there are analogies in favour of both. תַּחַת has a singular suffix not only in תַּחַתָּהּ (Gen. ii. 21) and תַּחַתַּי (2 Sam. xxii. 37, 40, and 48), instead of תַּחַתִּי (Ps. xviii. 37, 40, 48), which may undoubtedly be explained on the ground that the direction whither is thought of (Ges. § 103. 1, Anm. 3), but also in תַּחַתָּם, which occurs more frequently than תַּחַתֵּיהֶם, and that without any difference in the meaning (compare, for example, Deut. ii. 12, 21, 22, 23, Josh. v. 7, Job xxxiv. 24, and xl. 12, with 1 Kings xx. 24, 1 Chron. v. 22, 2 Chron. xii. 10). And לְשֹׁבוֹת הָאֵלֶּה is analogous to הָרַר הַזֶּה in Zech. iv. 7, and many other combinations, in which the force of the definition (by means of the article) is only placed in the middle for the sake of convenience (*vid.* Ewald, § 293a). If, therefore, the *Chetib* is to be taken without reserve as the original reading, the suffix in תַּחַתָּהּ can only refer to נָרִי, which is of common gender: from underneath the wall were these cells, *i.e.* the cells turned toward the outer court; and the meaning is the following: toward the bottom these cells were covered by the wall, which ran in front of them, so that, when a person coming toward them from the east fixed his eyes upon these cells, they appeared to rise out of the wall. Kliefoth, therefore, who was the first to perceive the true meaning of this clause, has given expression to the conjecture that the design of the wall was to hide the windows of the lower row of cells which looked toward the east, so that, when the priests were putting on their official clothes, they might not be seen from the outside.—הַמָּכּוֹנָה commences a fresh statement. To connect these words with the preceding clause ("underneath these cells was the entrance from the east"), as Böttcher has done, yields no meaning with which a rational idea can possibly be associated, unless the מֵן in מִתַּחַתָּהּ be altogether ignored. The LXX. have therefore changed וּמִתַּחַתָּהּ, which was unintelligible to them, into καὶ αἱ θύραι (וּפְתָחֵי), and Hitzig has followed them in doing so. No such conjecture is necessary if וּמִתַּחַתָּהּ be rightly interpreted, for in that case

הַמִּבְנוֹא must be the commencement of a new sentence. הַמִּבְנוֹא (by the side of which the senseless reading of the *Keri* הַמִּבְנוֹא cannot be taken into consideration for a moment) is the approach, or the way which led to the cells. This was from the east, from the outer court, not from the inner court, against the northern boundary of which the building stood. מִהַחֲצֵר הַחֲצֵנָה is not to be taken in connection with לָהֶנָּה בָּבֶלָא, but is co-ordinate with מִהַקְרִים, of which it is an explanatory apposition.

In vers. 10–12 the cell-building on the south of the separate place is described, though very briefly; all that is said in addition to the notice of its situation being, that it resembled the northern one in its entire construction. But there are several difficulties connected with the explanation of these verses, which are occasioned, partly by an error in the text, partly by the unmeaning way in which the Masoretes have divided the text, and finally, in part by the brevity of the mode of expression. In the first clause of ver. 10, הַקְרִים is a copyist's error for הַדְרוֹם, which has arisen from the fact that it is preceded by מִהַקְרִים (ver. 9). For there is an irreconcilable discrepancy between הַדְרוֹם הַקְרִים and אֶל-פְּנֵי הַחוּצָה, which follows. The building stood against, or upon, the broad side (רוֹחַב) of the wall of the court, i.e. the wall which separated the inner court from the outer, opposite to the separate place and the building upon it (אֶל פְּנֵי, from the outer side hither, is practically equivalent to נֶגֶד in ver. 1; and הַפָּנִין is to be taken in the same sense here and there). The relation in which this cell-building stands to the separate place tallies exactly with the description given of the former one in ver. 2. If, then, according to ver. 2, the other stood to the north of the separate place, this must necessarily have stood to the south of it,—that is to say, upon the broad side of the wall of the court, not in the direction toward the east (הַדְרוֹם הַקְרִים), but in that toward the south (הַדְרוֹם הַדְרוֹם), as is expressly stated in vers. 12 and 13 also. Kliefoth has affirmed, it is true, in opposition to this, that “the *breadth* of the wall enclosing the inner court must, as a matter of course,

have been the eastern side of the inner court;” but on the eastern side of the wall of the inner court there was not room for a cell-building of a hundred cubits in length, as the wall was only thirty-seven cubits and a half long (broad) on each side of the gate-building. If, however, one were disposed so to dilute the meaning of *בִּרְחֹב נֶדֶר הַח'* as to make it affirm nothing more than that the building stood upon, or against, the breadth of the wall of the court to the extent of ten or twenty cubits, and with the other eighty or ninety cubits stood out into the outer court, as Kliefoth has drawn it upon his “ground plan;” it could not possibly be described as standing *אֶל־פְּנֵי הַנִּזְוֶה*, because it was not opposite to (in face of) the *gizrah*, but was so far removed from it, that only the north-west corner would be slightly visible from the south-east corner of the *gizrah*. And if we consider, in addition to this, that in vers. 13 and 14, where the intention of the cell-buildings described in vers. 1-12 is given, only cells on the north and on the south are mentioned as standing *אֶל־פְּנֵי הַנִּזְוֶה*, there can be no doubt that by *רחב* we are to understand the broad side of the wall which bounded the inner court on the south side from east to west, and that *הַדָּרֶה הַקָּדָם* should be altered into *הַדָּרֶה הַחֲדָשׁ*.—In ver. 11 the true meaning has been obscured by the fact that the Masoretic verses are so divided as to destroy the sense. The words *וְהָדָרֶה לְפָנֵיהֶם* belong to *לְשָׁכוֹת* in ver. 10: “cells and a way before them,” *i.e.* cells with a way in front. *הַדָּרֶה* corresponds to the *מַהֲלָק* in ver. 4.—*בְּמִרְאָהּ*, like the appearance=appearing, or constructed like, does not belong to *הַדָּרֶה* in the sense of made to conform to the way in front of the cells, but to *לְשָׁכוֹת*, cells with a way in front, conforming to the cells toward the north. The further clauses from *כִּי אֶרְבֵּן* to *וּבְמִשְׁפָּטֵיהֶן* are connected together, and contain two statements, loosely subordinated to the preceding notices, concerning the points in which the cells upon the southern side were made to conform to those upon the northern; so that they really depend upon *בְּמִרְאָהּ*, and to render them intelligible in German (English tr.) must

be attached by means of a preposition: "with regard to," or "according to" (*secundum*). Moreover, the four words contain two co-ordinated comparisons; the first expressed by כִּן . . . כִּן, the second simply indicated by the particle כִּ before מִשְׁפָּטֵיהֶן (cf. Ewald, § 360a). The suffixes of all four words refer to the cells in the north, which those in the south were seen to resemble in the points referred to. The meaning is this: the cells in the south were like the cells in the north to look at, as according to their length so according to their breadth, and according to all their exits as according to their arrangements (מִשְׁפָּטִים, lit. the design answering to their purpose, *i.e.* the manner of their arrangement and their general character: for this meaning, compare Ex. xxvi. 30; 2 Kings i. 7). The last word of the verse, וּבִפְתָּחֵיהֶן, belongs to ver. 12, viz. to הַלֵּשׁ, the comparison being expressed by וּבִכ־כִּ, as in Josh. xiv. 11; Dan. xi. 29; 1 Sam. xxx. 24 (cf. Ewald, *l.c.*). Another construction also commences with כַּפְתָּחֵיהֶן. וּבִפְתָּחֵיהֶן is a nominative: and like their doors (those of the northern cells), so also were the doors of the cells situated toward the south. Consequently there is no necessity either to expunge וּבִפְתָּחֵיהֶן arbitrarily as a gloss, for which procedure even the LXX. could not be appealed to, or to assent to the far-fetched explanation by which Kliefoth imagines that he has discovered an allusion to a third cell-building in these words.—Light is thrown upon the further statements in ver. 12 by the description of the northern cells. "A door was at the head," *i.e.* at the beginning of the way. דֶּרֶךְ corresponds to the way of a hundred cubits in ver. 4, and רֹאשׁ דֶּרֶךְ is the point where this way, which ran to the southern gate-building of the inner court, commenced—that is to say, where it met the walk in front of the cells (ver. 4). The further statement concerning this way is not quite clear to us, because the meaning of the ἀπ. λεγ. הַגִּינָה is uncertain. In the Chaldee and Rabbinical writings the word signifies *decens*, *conveniens*. If we take it in this sense, הַגִּנְרֶת הַגִּינָה is the wall corresponding (to these cells), *i.e.* the wall which ran in front

of the eastern narrow side of the building parallel to the cells, the wall of fifty cubits in length described in ver. 7 in connection with the northern building (for the omission of the article before הַיְיָ after the substantive which it defines, compare ch. xxxix. 27; Jer. ii. 21, etc.). בִּפְנֵי, *in conspectu*, which is not perfectly synonymous with לִפְנֵי, also harmonizes with this. For the way referred to was exactly opposite to this wall at its upper end, inasmuch as the wall joined the way at right angles. The last words of ver. 12 are an abbreviated repetition of ver. 9b; הַמִּבְנוֹת מִהַקְדָּשִׁים is equivalent to הַדֶּרֶךְ הַקָּדָשׁ, the way from the east on coming to them, *i.e.* as one went to these cells.

According to vers. 13 and 14, these two¹ cell-buildings were set apart as holy cells, in which the officiating priests were to deposit the most holy sacrifices, and to eat them, and to put on and off the sacred official clothes in which they drew near to the Lord. הַקֹּדֶשֶׁת were that portion of the meat-offering which was not burned upon the altar (Lev. ii. 3, 10, vi. 9-11, x. 12; see my *Bibl. Archäologie*, I. § 52), and the flesh of all the sin- and trespass-offerings, with the exception of the sin-offerings offered for the high priest and all the congregation, the flesh of which was to be burned outside the camp (cf. Lev. vi. 19-23, vii. 6). All these portions of the sacrifices were called most holy, because the priests were to eat them as the representatives of Jehovah, to the exclusion not only of all the laity, but also of their own families (women and children; see my *Archäol.* I. §§ 45 and 47). The depositing (וַיִּחַד) is distinguished from the eating (וַיֵּאָכְלוּ) of the most holy portions of the sacrifices; because neither the meal of the meat-offering, which was mixed with oil, nor the flesh of the sin- and trespass-offerings, could be eaten by the priests immediately after the offering of the sacri-

¹ For no further proof is needed after what has been observed above, that the relative clause, "which were in front of the separate place," belongs to the two subjects: cells of the north and cells of the south, and does not refer to a third cell-building against the eastern wall, as Kliefoth supposes.

fice ; but the former had first of all to be baked, and the latter to be boiled, and it was not allowable to deposit them wherever they liked previous to their being so prepared. The putting on and off, and also the custody of the sacred official clothes, were to be restricted to a sacred place. בְּבָאֵם, on their coming, *sc.* to the altar, or into the holy place, for the performance of service. Their not going out of the holy place into the outer court applies to their going into the court among the people assembled there ; for in order to pass from the altar to the sacred cells, they were obliged to pass through the inner gate and go thither by the way which led to these cells (Plate I. 7).

Vers. 15–20. EXTENT OF THE HOLY DOMAIN AROUND THE TEMPLE.—Ver. 15. *And when he had finished the measurements of the inner house, he brought me out by the way of the gate, which is directed toward the east, and measured there round about.* Ver. 16. *He measured the eastern side with the measuring rod five hundred rods by the measuring rod round about ;* Ver. 17. *He measured the northern side five hundred rods by the measuring rod round about ;* Ver. 18. *The southern side he measured five hundred rods by the measuring rod ;* Ver. 19. *He turned round to the western side, measured five hundred rods by the measuring rod.* Ver. 20. *To the four winds he measured it. It had a wall round about ; the length was five hundred and the breadth five hundred, to divide between the holy and the common.*—There has been a division of opinion from time immemorial concerning the area, the measuring of which is related in these verses, and the length and breadth of which are stated in ver. 20 to have been five hundred ; as the Seventy, and after them J. D. Michaelis, Böttcher, Maurer, Ewald, and Hitzig, understand by this the space occupied by the temple with its two courts. But as that space was five hundred cubits long and five hundred broad, according to the sum of the measurements given in ch. xl.–xlii. 15, the LXX. have omitted the word קִימָם in vers. 16, 18, and 19, whilst they have changed it into πῆχυν

in ver. 17, and have also attached this word to the numbers in ver. 20. According to this, only the outer circumference of the temple area would be measured in our verses, and the wall which was five hundred cubits long and five hundred cubits broad (ver. 20) would be the surrounding wall of the outer court mentioned in ch. xl. 5. Ver. 15 could certainly be made to harmonize with this view. For even if we understood by the "inner house" not merely the temple house, which the expression primarily indicates, but the whole of the inner building, *i.e.* all the buildings found in the inner and outer court, and by the east gate the eastern gate of the outer court; the expression מָדָדוֹ סָבִיב, "he measured it round about," merely affirms that he measured something round about outside this gate. The suffix in מָדָדוֹ is indefinite, and cannot be taken as referring to any of the objects mentioned before, either to הַשַּׁעַר or to הַבַּיִת הַפְּנִימִי. The inner house he had already measured; and the measurements which follow are not applicable to the gate. Nor can the suffix be taken as referring to הַבַּיִת, *illam sc. aedem* (Ros.); or at any rate, there is nothing in ver. 20 to sustain such a reference. Nevertheless, we might think of a measuring of the outer sides of the whole building comprehended under the idea of the inner house, and regard the wall mentioned in ver. 20 as that which had been measured round about on the outer side both in length and breadth. But it is difficult to reconcile this view even with ver. 20; and with the measurements given in vers. 16-19 it is perfectly irreconcilable. Even if we were disposed to expunge קָנִים as a gloss in vers. 16, 17, 18, and 19, the words, "he measured the east side with the measuring rod, five hundred by the measuring rod," are equivalent to five hundred rods, according to the well-known Hebrew usage; just as indisputably as מֵאָה בְּאַמָּה, a hundred by the cubit, is equivalent to a hundred cubits (see the comm. on ch. xl. 21 at the close). The rejection of קָנִים as an imaginary gloss is therefore not only arbitrary, but also useless; as the appended words בְּקִנְיָה הַמִּדָּה, even without קָנִים, affirm that the

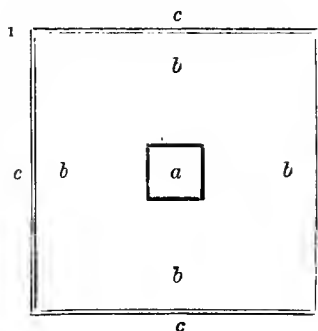
five hundred were not cubits, but rods.¹ The כָּבִיב in vers. 16 and 17 is not to be understood as signifying that on the east and north sides he measured a square on each side of five hundred rods in length and breadth, but simply indicates that he measured on all sides, as is obvious from ver. 20. For according to this, the space which was measured toward every quarter at five hundred rods had a boundary wall, which was five hundred rods long on every side. This gives an area of 250,000 square rods; whereas the temple, with the inner and outer courts, covered only a square of five hundred cubits in length and breadth, or 250,000 square cubits. It is evident from this that the measuring related in vers. 15-20 does not refer to the space occupied by the temple and its courts, and therefore that the wall which the measured space had around it (ver. 20) cannot be the wall of the outer court mentioned in ch. xl. 5, the sides of which were not more than five hundred cubits long. The meaning is rather, that around this wall, which enclosed the temple and its courts, a further space of five hundred rods in length and breadth was measured off "to separate between the holy and profane," i.e. a space which was intended to form a separating domain between the sanctuary and the common land. The purpose thus assigned for the space, which was measured off on all four sides of the "inner house," leaves no doubt remaining that it was not the length of the surrounding wall of the outer court that was

¹ The חֲמִשׁ מֵאוֹת for חֲמִשׁ אַמּוֹת in ver. 16 is utterly useless as a proof that cubits and not rods are intended; as it is obviously a copyist's error, a fact which even the Masoretes admit. Rabbi ben-Asher's view of this writing is an interesting one. Prof. Dr. Delitzsch has sent me the following, taken from a fragment in his possession copied from a codex of the Royal Library at Copenhagen. R. ben-Asher reckons אַמּוֹת among the מוֹקְרִים וּמֵאוֹת, i.e. words written ὑστερον προτερον, of which there are forty-seven in the whole of the Old Testament, the following being quoted by ben-Asher (*l.c.*) by way of example: נֶלְאֵן, Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 27; יִיקָלְהוּ, 2 Sam. xx. 14; בְּעֵבְרוֹת, 2 Sam. xv. 28; וְהִימִשְׁנִי, Judg. xvi. 26; וְהִרְאֵנָה, 1 Sam. xiv. 27.

measured, but a space outside this wall. The following clause *חֹמָה לוֹ סָבִיב*, “a wall was round about it,” is irreconcilable with the idea that the suffix in *מִדְּרוֹ* (vers. 20 and 15) refers to this wall, inasmuch as the *לוֹ* can only refer to the object indicated by the suffix attached to *מִדְּרוֹ*. This object, *i.e.* the space which was five hundred rods long and the same broad round about, *i.e.* on every one of the four sides, had a wall enclosing it on the outside, and forming the partition between the holy and the common. *הַבַּיִת הַפְּנִימִי הַקָּדָשׁ* is therefore “the inner house;” but this is not the temple house with its side-building, but the sanctuary of the temple with its two courts and their buildings, which was measured in ch. xl. 5-xlii. 12.

The arguments which have been adduced in opposition to this explanation of our verses,—the only one in harmony with the words of the text,—and in vindication of the alterations made in the text by the LXX., are without any force. According to Böttcher (p. 355), Hitzig, and others, *קָנִים* is likely to be a false gloss, (1) “because *בְּקִנְיָה הַמִּדְּרָה* stands close to it; and while this is quite needless after *קָנִים*, it may also have occasioned the gloss.” But this tells rather against the suspicion that *קָנִים* is a gloss, since, as we have already observed, according to the Hebrew mode of expression, the “five hundred” would be defined as rods by *בְּקִנְיָה הַמִּדְּרָה*, even without *קָנִים*. Ezekiel, however, had added *בְּקִנְיָה הַמִּדְּרָה* for the purpose of expressing in the clearest manner the fact that the reference here is not to cubits, but to a new measurement of an extraordinary kind, to which nothing corresponding could be shown in the earlier temple. And the Seventy, by retaining this clause, *ἐν καλάρμφ τοῦ μέτρου*, have pronounced sentence upon their own change of the rods into cubits; and it is no answer to this that the Talmud (*Midd. c. ii. note 5*) also gives only five hundred cubits to the *הַר הַבַּיִת*, since this Talmudic description is treating of the historical temple and not of Ezekiel’s prophetic picture of a temple, although the Rabbins have transferred various statements from the latter to the former. The second

and third reasons are weaker still—viz. “because there is no other instance in which the measurement is expressed by rods in the plural; and, on the other hand, מִזְבֵּחַ is frequently omitted as being the ordinary measurement, and therefore taken for granted.” For the first assertion is proved to be erroneous, not only by our verses, but also by ch. xlv. 1 sqq. and xlviii. 16 sqq., whilst there is no force whatever in the second. The last argument employed is a more plausible one—namely, that “the five hundred rods are not in keeping with the sanctuary, because the edifice with the courts and gates would look but a little pile according to the previous measurements in the wide expanse of 20,000 (?) rods.” But although the space measured off around the temple-building for the separation between the holy and the profane was five times as long and five times as broad, according to the Hebrew text, or twenty-five times as large as the whole extent of the temple and its courts,¹ the appearance of the temple with its courts is not diminished in consequence, because the surrounding space was not covered with buildings; on the contrary, the fact that it was separated from the common by so large a surrounding space, would rather add to the importance of the temple with its courts. This broad separation is peculiar to Ezekiel’s temple, and serves, like many other arrangements in the new sanctuary and worship, to symbolize the inviolable holiness of that sanctuary.



(a) Area of the temple with the two courts, 500 cubits square.

(b) Surrounding space, five hundred rods = 3000 cubits square.

(c) Circuit of fifty cubits in breadth around the surrounding space.—Ch. xlv. 2.

The earlier sanctuary had nothing answering to this; and Kliefoth is wrong in supposing that the outer court served the same purpose in the tabernacle and Solomon's temple, whereas in the temple of Ezekiel this had also become part of the sanctuary, and was itself holy. The tabernacle had no outer court at all, and in Solomon's temple the outer court did form a component part of the sanctuary. The people might enter it, no doubt, when they desired to draw near to the Lord with sacrifices and gifts; but this continued to be the case in Ezekiel's temple, though with certain restrictions (cf. ch. xlv. 9 and 10). Only, in the case of Solomon's temple, the outer court bordered directly upon the common soil of the city and the land, so that the defilement of the land produced by the sin of the people could penetrate directly even into the holy space of the courts. In the sanctuary of the future, a safeguard was to be placed against this by the surrounding space which separated the holy from the common. It is true that the surface of Moriah supplied no room for this space of five hundred rods square; but the new temple was not to be built upon the real Moriah, but upon a very high mountain, which the Lord would exalt and make ready for the purpose when the temple was erected. Moreover, the circumstance that Moriah was much too small for the extent of the new temple and its surroundings, cannot furnish any argument against the correctness of our view of the verses in question, for the simple reason that in ch. xlv. and xlviii. there follow still further statements concerning the separation of the sanctuary from the rest of the land, which are in perfect harmony with this, and show most indisputably that the temple seen by Ezekiel was not to have its seat in the ancient Jerusalem.

Chap. xliii. 1-12. *Entrance of the Glory of the Lord
into the New Temple.*

Ver. 1. *And he led me to the gate, the gate which looked toward the east: Ver. 2. And behold the glory of the God of*

Israel came from the east, and its sound was like the sound of many waters, and the earth shone with His glory. Ver. 3. And the appearance which I saw, was to look at like the appearance which I saw when I came to destroy the city ; and (there were) appearances like the appearance which I had seen by the river Chebar ; and I fell down upon my face. Ver. 4. And the glory of Jehovah came into the house by the way of the gate, the direction of which is toward the east. Ver. 5. And wind lifted me up and brought me into the inner court ; and, behold, the glory of Jehovah filled the house. Ver. 6. And I heard one speaking to me from the house, and there was a man standing by me. Ver. 7. And he said to me, Son of man, the place of my throne and the place of the soles of my feet, where I shall dwell in the midst of the sons of Israel for ever ; and the house of Israel will no more defile my holy name, they and their kings, through their whoredom and through the corpses of their kings, their high places, Ver. 8. When they set their threshold by my threshold, and their door-posts by my door-posts, and there was only the wall between me and them, and they defiled my holy name by their abominations which they did, so that I destroyed them in my wrath. Ver. 9. Now will they remove their whoredom and the corpses of their kings from me, and I shall dwell in the midst of them for ever. Ver. 10. Thou, son of man, show to the house of Israel this house, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities, and may measure the well-measured building. Ver. 11. And when they are ashamed of all that they have done, show them the picture of the house and its arrangement, and its goings out and in, and all its forms and all its statutes, and all its forms and all its laws ; and write it before their eyes, that they may keep all its form and all its statutes and do them. Ver. 12. This is the law of the house : Upon the top of the mountain all its territory round about is most holy. Behold, this is the law of the house.— The angel had shown the prophet the new sanctuary as already completed, and had measured it in his presence according to its several parts. But this building only became the house of God

when Jehovah as the God of Israel consecrated it, to be the dwelling-place of His divine and gracious presence in the midst of His people, by the entrance of His divine glory into the house.¹ The description of the new temple closes, therefore, with this act of consecration. That the prophet might see this act of divine grace with his own eyes, the measuring man led him from the ground surrounding the temple (ch. xlii. 15-20) back again to the east gate (ver. 1). The allusion is to the eastern gate of the outer court; for it is not till ver. 5 that Ezekiel is taken into the inner court, and, according to ch. xliv. 1, he was brought *back* to the east gate of the outer court. Standing in front of this gate, he sees the glory of the God of Israel come by the way from the east with a great noise, and lighting up the earth with its splendour. The coming of the theophany from the east points back to ch. x. 19, xi. 1 and 23, where the Shechinah, when leaving the ancient temple, went out at the east gate and ascended to the summit of the mountain, which was situated on the east of Jerusalem. It was from the east, therefore, that it returned to enter the new temple. This fact is sufficient of itself to show that the present entrance of the divine glory into the new temple did not lay the foundation for a new and more exalted bond of grace, but was simply intended to restore the relation which had existed before the removal of Israel into captivity. The tabernacle and Solomon's temple had both been consecrated by Jehovah in the same manner as the seat of His throne of grace in Israel (compare Ex. xl. 34, 35; 1 Kings viii. 10, 11; and 2 Chron. v. 13, 14, and vii. 1-3, from which the expression מָלֵא כְבוֹד־יְהוָה אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה in ver. 5 has been borrowed). It is true that Hävernick, Kliefoth, and others find, along with this agreement, a difference in the fact that the glory of Jehovah appeared in the cloud in both the tabernacle and

¹ "The Lord appears, and fills the house with His own glory; showing that the house will not only be built, but will be filled with the power of God" (Theodoret).

Solomon's temple; whereas here, on the contrary, it appeared in that peculiar form which Ezekiel had already repeatedly seen. But it does not follow that there was really a difference, because the cloud is not mentioned in the verses before us; for it is evident that the cloud was not wanting, even in the manifestation of the glory of God seen by Ezekiel, from the words found in Ezek. x. 3: "The *cloud* filled the inner court, and the glory of Jehovah had risen up from the cherubim to the threshold of the house, *and the house was filled with the cloud*, and the court was full of the splendour of the glory of Jehovah." If, therefore, it is expressly attested in ver. 3, as even Kliefoth admits, that the appearance of God which entered the temple was like the appearance which Ezekiel saw by the Chaboras and before the destruction of the temple, and in connection with the last-mentioned appearance the cloud was visible along with the brilliant splendour of the divine *doxa*, the cloud will certainly not have been wanting when it entered the new temple; and the only reason why it is not expressly mentioned must be, that it did not present a contrast to the brilliant splendour, or tend to obscure the light of the glory of God, but as a shining cloud was simply the atmospheric clothing of the theophany. If, then, the cloud did not present a contrast to the brilliancy of the divine glory, it cannot be inferred from the words, "and the earth shone with His glory," that there was any difference between this and the earlier manifestations of the divine glory at the consecration of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple; more especially as these words do not affirm that it became light on earth, but simply that the earth shone with the glory of God,—that is to say, that it threw a bright light upon the earth as it passed along,—so that this remark simply serves to indicate the intensity of the brightness of this theophany. The words קול בְּקוֹל וְגו' are not to be understood, as we may learn from ch. i. 24, as referring to a voice of the coming God, but describe the loud noise made by the moving of the theophany on account of the

rustling of the wings of the cherubim. This resembled the roaring of mighty waves. In ver. 3, the expression **בְּמֵרָאָה . . . וּבְמֵרָאָה הַמֵּרָאָה** is somewhat heavy in style, but is correct Hebrew; and the remark with which Hitzig seeks to justify his alteration of **וּבְמֵרָאָה** into **וּמֵרָאָה**,—namely, that **בְּמֵרָאָה** “would signify ‘so the appearance,’ whereas Ezekiel intends to explain the present appearance from the well-known earlier one,”—is false so far as the usage of the language is concerned. When the Hebrew uses two **כִּי** in cases of comparison, which we are accustomed to express in German by *so . . . wie* (so . . . as), he always commences with the thing to which he compares another, and lets the thing which is to be compared follow afterwards. Thus, for example, in Gen. xviii. 25, **וְהָיָה בְּצִדִּיק כְּרָשָׁע** does not affirm that it happens as to the righteous so to the wicked, but *vice versâ*, that it happens to the righteous as to the wicked; and in Gen. xlv. 18, **כִּי כַמּוֹד כְּפָרְעֹה** does not mean, for like thee so is Pharaoh, but “for thou art like Pharaoh.” According to this genuine Hebrew expression, the present appearance of the divine glory is mentioned first in the verse before us, and then in the earlier one which the present resembled. And even the apparent pleonasm **מֵרָאָה הַמֵּרָאָה** vanishes if we render **מֵרָאָה** by “look,”—the look of the apparition which I saw was just like the apparition, etc. **בְּבֹאִי לְשִׁיחַת וְגוֹ'** refers to the ecstatic transportation of the prophet to Jerusalem (ch. viii.—xi.), to witness the destruction of the city (see more particularly ch. viii. 4, ix. 1 sqq.). “The prophet destroyed the city ideally by his prophecy, of which the fulfilment simply forms the objective reverse side” (Hitzig). **וּמֵרָאָה** is appended in loose apposition,—there were appearances, visions,—and the plural is to be taken as in **מֵרָאָה אֱלֹהִים** in ch. i. 1, xl. 2. For what follows, compare ch. iii. 23, x. 15. For ver. 5a, compare ch. iii. 14, xi. 24.

In vers. 6 and 7 the question arises, who it is who is speaking to the prophet; whether it is Jehovah, who has entered the temple, or the man who is standing by Ezekiel in the inner court?

There can be no doubt that מַדְבֵּר אֱלִי is Jehovah here, as in ch. ii. 2; though the commentators are divided in opinion whether Jehovah spoke directly to the prophet, or through the medium of the man who stood by his side. Hävernicks presses the *Hithpael* מִדְבֵּר, and imagines that Ezekiel heard God conversing within the sanctuary, in consequence of which the angel stood by his side; so that the words of God consisted chiefly in the command to communicate to Ezekiel the divine revelation which follows in ver. 7. But this view is proved to be erroneous by the expression אֱלִי which follows מִדְבֵּר, and which Hävernicks has overlooked. Kliefoth, on the other hand, is of opinion that the words contained in ver. 7, which proceeded from the מַדְבֵּר, were addressed to the prophet directly by God Himself; for he heard them before anything was said by the man, and neither here nor in what follows is the man said to have spoken. On the contrary, both here and in what follows, even in ch. xvi. 20, 24, xlvii. 6, 7, it is always God Himself who appears as the speaker, and the man simply as the prophet's guide. But this is also not correct. Such passages as ch. xvi. 20 and 24 compared with vers. 19 and 21, and ch. xlvii. 6, 8, compared with vers. 1 and 4, show undeniably that the man who conducted the prophet also talked with him. Consequently, in the case referred to in the verse before us, we must also conclude that he who spoke to the prophet from the temple addressed him through the medium of the man who stood by his side, and that אֱלִי is the subject to וַיֹּאמֶר in ver. 7; from which, however, it by no means follows that the מַדְבֵּר was also an angel, who spoke to the prophet, not from the most holy place, but simply from within the house, as Hitzig explains the matter. The meaning is rather, that Ezekiel heard God conversing with him from the sanctuary, whilst a man, *i.e.* an angel, stood by his side and spoke to him as follows. אֱלִי is in that case not some angel merely who spoke in the name of Jehovah, but the angel of Jehovah, God's own speaker, ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ (John i. 1 sqq.). But according to his outward *habitus*,

this angel of the Lord, who is designated as שׂכֵן , is identical with the angel who showed the prophet the temple, and measured it (ch. xl. 3 onwards). For according to ch. xlvii. 1 sqq. this שׂכֵן had also a measuring rod, and measured. The absence of the article from שׂכֵן in ver. 6, which prevents Kliefoth from admitting this identity, does not indicate decidedly that a different man from the one mentioned before is introduced here as the prophet's attendant, but simply leaves the identity of this שׂכֵן with the former indefinite, so that it can only be inferred from the further course of events; because the point of importance here was neither to establish this identity by employing the article, nor to define the medium of the word of God more precisely, but simply to introduce the words which follow as the words of God Himself. The address commences with an explanation on the part of God that the temple into which the glory of the Lord had entered was the place of His throne, where He would dwell for ever among the sons of Israel. The אֶת־מְקוֹם is a concise expression, in which אֶת is *nota accus.*, and we have to supply in thought either רִאֵה or הִנֵּה : "behold the place." $\text{מְקוֹם בְּפִיט רַגְלִי}$, the place of the soles of my feet (cf. Isa. lx. 13), is equivalent to the footstool of my feet in Isa. lxvi. 1. The ark of the covenant is called the footstool of God in 1 Chron. xxviii. 2 and Ps. cxxxii. 7; compare Ps. xcix. 5 and Lam. ii. 1, where this epithet may possibly be used to designate the temple. This also applies to the throne of Jehovah, since God was enthroned above the cherubim of the ark in the holy of holies (cf. Ex. xxv. 22; 1 Sam. iv. 4, etc.). In the sanctuary which Ezekiel saw, no reference is made to the ark of the covenant, and the silence with regard to this is hardly to be regarded as a mere omission to mention it, inasmuch as none of the things contained in the temple are mentioned with the exception of the altars, not even the table of shew-bread or the candlestick. The ark of the covenant is not mentioned, because, as is stated in Jer. iii. 16, in the Messianic times the ark of the covenant will not be remembered, neither

will it be missed. לְעוֹלָם, as in ch. xxxvii. 26 and 28. The promise culminates in this. לְעוֹלָם does not apply either to the tabernacle or to Solomon's temple, in which Jehovah also had His dwelling-place, though not for ever. These sanctuaries He left, and gave them up to destruction, because the Israelites had profaned His holy name by their idolatry. This will not take place any more after the erection of the new sanctuary. לֹא יִמָּאֵס is not imperative, but a simple future: "they will no more defile," because they come to a knowledge of their sins through the punitive judgment of exile, so that they become ashamed of them, and because the Lord will have poured out His Spirit upon them (cf. ch. xxxvii. 23 sqq., xxxix. 29).—Formerly, however (ver. 7b), they profaned the holy name of God by their spiritual whoredom (cf. ch. xvi.) and by dead idols, for which they erected high places in the immediate neighbourhood of the dwelling-place of Jehovah, that is to say, even in the temple courts, so that Jehovah was only separated from the idols by a wall. This is the general meaning of vers. 7b and 8, in which the exposition of פְּגַרֵי מַלְכֵיהֶם is difficult. Rosenmüller, Hävernicks, and others understand by the "corpses of their kings," the dead idols. Ewald, Hitzig, and Kliefoth, on the other hand, take the expression in a literal sense, as referring to the corpses of kings which had been buried near to the temple, so that the temple had been defiled by the proximity of these graves. But the latter view is precluded by the fact that not a single instance can be adduced of the burial of a king in the vicinity of the temple, since Neh. iii. 15 contains no allusion to anything of the kind, and the tombs of the kings upon Zion were not so near to the temple that it could possibly be defiled in consequence. Moreover, בְּמוֹתָם cannot be reconciled with this view; and for that reason Ewald and Hitzig propose to read בְּמוֹתָם, "in their death." The attempt of Kliefoth, however, to defend the reading בְּמוֹתָם, by taking it as in apposition to בְּנִיחָתָם and not to וּבְפְגַרֵי מַלְכֵיהֶם, is a desperate remedy, which clearly shows the impossibility of connecting בְּמוֹתָם with the

“corpses of the kings.” We therefore understand by פְּגָרֵי the dead idols, in accordance with Lev. xxvi. 30 (cf. Jer. xvi. 18); but by מַלְכֵיהֶם we understand, not the idols, but the Israelitish kings, as in the case of the preceding מַלְכֵיהֶם; partly because it cannot be shown that the plural מְלָכִים is ever used in the sense of idols (though the singular מֶלֶךְ is used of Baal in Zeph. i. 5 and Amos v. 26), and partly on account of the harshness involved in interpreting the two מַלְכֵיהֶם when standing so close together, in the first instance of the kings, and in the second of the idols of Israel. The corpses of the kings are therefore the dead idols, for which the kings (for example, Manasseh) had built altars or high places (בָּמוֹת) in the sanctuary, *i.e.* in the courts of the temple (2 Kings xxi. 4, 5-7). The objection that פְּגָרִים without anything further, such, for instance, as נְלִילִים in Lev. xxvi. 30, cannot signify the dead idols, will not bear examination, as the more precise definition which is wanting is supplied by the context, where idolatry is the point in question. בָּמוֹת without the preposition ב is a loosely attached apposition to בְּפִגְרֵי מַלְכֵיהֶם and בְּזִנוּתָם, which defines more precisely in what way the whoredom of the nation and the dead idols of the kings had amounted to a defiling of the house of the Lord, namely, from the fact that the people and the kings had erected temples of high places (*bāmoth*) for dead idols by the side of the temple of the living God, and had placed them so close that the threshold and door-posts of these idol-temples touched the threshold and door-posts of the temple of Jehovah, and there was nothing but the wall of the temple (חֲקִיר) between Jehovah and the carcase-gods. בָּמוֹת is explained in this way in ver. 8a, and then the defiling of the holy name of the Lord is mentioned again for the purpose of appending, by means of וְאֵכָל (imperf. *Piel* of אָכַל), the allusion to the penal judgment which they had thereby brought upon themselves. Ver. 9. Such profanation as this will not take place any more in time to come, and Jehovah will dwell for ever in the midst of Israel.

To lead Israel to this goal, Ezekiel is to show them the house

(*i.e.* the temple). In this way are the further words of God in vers. 10–12 attached to what goes before. הַגִּיד אֶת־הַבַּיִת, show or make known the house, is equivalent to proclaim to the people the revelation concerning the new temple. In this were the Israelites to discern the magnitude of the grace of God, that they might blush at their evil deeds, and measure the well-measured building (תִּכְנִית, as in ch. xxviii. 12), *i.e.* carefully consider and ponder what the Lord had bestowed upon His people through this sanctuary, so that they might suffer themselves to be brought to repentance by means of its glory. And if they felt shame and repentance on account of their transgressions, Ezekiel was to show them the shape and arrangement of the sanctuary, with all its forms and ordinances, and write them out before their eyes, that they might have the picture of it impressed upon their minds, and keep the statutes thereof. In ver. 11 the words are crowded together, to indicate that all the several parts and arrangements of the new temple are significant and worthy of being pondered and laid to heart. צִוְרָה is the shape of the temple generally, its external form; תִּכְנִינָה, the internal arrangement as a whole. Both of these are noticed specifically by the allusion to the goings out and in, as well as to the forms (צִוְרוֹת) of the separate parts, and their statutes and laws. הַקּוֹדֹשׁ are the precepts concerning the things to be observed by Israel when appearing before the Lord in the temple, the regulations for divine worship. תּוֹרוֹת, the instructions contained in these statutes for sanctification of life. The second וְכָל־צִוְרוֹתָיו is omitted in the LXX. and some of the Hebrew *Codd.*, and has therefore been expunged as a gloss by Dathe, Hitzig, and other critics; but it is undoubtedly genuine, and in conformity with the intentional crowding together of words.—The admonition to keep and to observe everything carefully is closed in ver. 12 with a statement of the fundamental law of the temple; that upon the lofty mountain the whole of its domain round about is to be most holy. עַל־רֹאשׁ הָהָר does not belong to הַבַּיִת in the sense of the house which is to

be built upon the top of the mountain, but to the contents of the *thorâh* of this house. It is to stand upon the top of the mountain, and to be most holy in all its domain. רֹאשׁ הָהָר is to be understood in accordance with ch. xl. 2; and נִבְלָה points back to הִכְנִית. Both by its situation upon a very high mountain, and also by the fact that not merely the inner sanctuary, and not merely the whole of the temple house, but also the whole of its surroundings (all its courts), are to be most holy, the new sanctuary is to be distinguished from the earlier one. What has been already stated—namely, that the temple shall not be profaned any more—is compressed into this clause; and by the repetition of the words, “this is the law of the house,” the first section of this vision, viz. the description of the temple, is rounded off; whilst the command given to the prophet in vers. 10 and 11, to make known all the statutes and laws of this temple to the house of Israel, forms at the same time the transition to the section which follows.

CHAP. XLIII. 13—XLVI. 24. THE NEW ORDINANCES OF DIVINE WORSHIP.

With the entrance of the divine glory into the new temple, which Ezekiel saw in the spirit (ch. xliii. 1–5), the Lord God entered once more into the covenant relation of grace toward the tribes of Israel. But if the abode of Jehovah in the midst of His people was to have an eternal duration, Israel must turn in uprightness of heart to its God, and suffer itself to be renewed and sanctified in heart, mind, and spirit from within the sanctuary, through the mercy of the Lord and His Spirit. It must entirely renounce the idols to which it was formerly attached, and cherish with willingness of heart fellowship with its God in the temple, through the faithful fulfilment of all that He required of His people. The description and consecration of the new temple, as the site of the throne of Jehovah in Israel, is therefore followed by the precepts con-

cerning the manner in which Israel was to serve its God in the sanctuary, and to sanctify His name. These precepts commence with the description and ritual of the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering, at which the people was to approach the Lord with sacrifices, to seek and obtain from Him grace, sanctification, and blessing (ch. xliii. 13-27). To these there are appended regulations,—(1) concerning the access to the sanctuary, for the prince (ch. xliv. 1-4), also for the ministers of the altar and of the holy place, the Levites and the priests, their duties and privileges (ch. xliv. 5-31); (2) concerning the attitude of all the people toward the sanctuary and its ministers, or concerning the holy portion to be set apart to the Lord for His sanctuary, and its ministers, priests, Levites, and princes on the division of the land (ch. xlv. 1-12), and also concerning the heave-offerings, which all Israel was to bring to the prince to supply the sacrifices binding upon him (ch. xlv. 13-17); (3) concerning the offerings which were to be brought on the Sabbaths, the new moons, the yearly festivals, and every day (ch. xlv. 18-xlvi. 15); and lastly, (4) by way of appendix, precepts concerning the landed property of the prince (ch. xlvi. 16-18), and the sacrificial kitchens (ch. xlvi. 19-24).

Vers. 13-27. *Description and Consecration of the Altar of Burnt-Offering.*

Vers. 13-17. DESCRIPTION OF THE ALTAR (see the illustration on Plate III.).—Ver. 13. *And these are the measures of the altar in cubits: The cubit a cubit and a handbreadth; a ground-framework of a cubit (in height), and a cubit in breadth, and its moulding on its border round about a span. This is the base of the altar.* Ver. 14. *And from the ground-framework of earth to the lower enclosure, two cubits (in height), and a cubit in breadth; and from the small enclosure to the greater enclosure, four cubits (in height), and one cubit in breadth.* Ver. 15. *And the mount of God, four cubits; and from the hearth of God upwards, the four horns.* Ver. 16. *And the hearth of God,*

twelve cubits in length by twelve cubits in breadth; squared on its four sides. Ver. 17. And the enclosure, fourteen cubits in length by fourteen cubits in breadth on its four sides; and the moulding round about it, half a cubit; and the ground-framework of it, a cubit round about: and its steps faced the east.—To the heading, “these are the measures of the altar in (according to) cubits,” there is once more appended, as in ch. xl. 5, in connection with the measuring of the temple, the length of the cubit measure. The description commences with the foundation of the altar, and, proceeding upwards, gives the height and breadth of the several gradations of the walls of the altar, up to the horns at the four corners (vers. 13-15). It then passes from above downwards, to supply the length and breadth, or the circumference of the different stages (vers. 16 and 17). As the first, or lowest part, the *חֵיק* is mentioned, literally, the bosom or lap; then by transference, the hollow formed by the sides of a chariot (1 Kings xxii. 35); here the lower hollow or base of the altar (*p*), formed by a border of a definite height, not merely “a frame running round, a stand in which the altar stood” (Hitzig), nor merely “the hollow filled with earth” (Kliefoth), but both together. This ground-framework (*p*) was a cubit (*sc.* high) and a cubit broad. That *הָאֶמָּה* is to be taken as referring to the height, is evident from the statement of the breadth which follows. *חֵיק הָאֶמָּה* is not to be altered into *חֵיקָה אֶמָּה*, as Ewald proposes, nor is *הָאֶמָּה* to be changed into *בָּאֶמָּה* (Hitzig); but Hävernicks explanation is to be adopted: “and a bosom (was there) the cubit,” *i.e.* of the height of the cubit just described. *רָחֵב*, breadth, is the extent to which the bosom projected beyond the next enclosure (*q*) on every side, and formed a support, the circumference of which was a cubit more than the lower cube of the altar on every side. This is shown by the measurements in vers. 16 and 17. The *חֵיק* had a *גִּבֹּל* on its *שֹׁפָה* of a span (half a cubit) in height (*o*). *שֹׁפָה*, lip, is the rim (1 Kings vii. 26; Gen. xxii. 17); and *גִּבֹּל*, the bordering on the rim, is a moulding. The feminine

suffixes attached to **נִבְלָה** and **שִׁפְתָּהּ** refer to **חֵיק**, which is of the masculine gender, no doubt, when used in its literal sense of bosom or lap, but is construed as a feminine in the tropical sense of an inanimate object. The ground-framework, with its moulding, formed the **נֶבֶל** of the altar. **נֶבֶל**, the arched, then a hump or back, signifies here the support of the altar. Upon this support the altar rose in a cubical enclosure or frame, which diminished in circumference by ledges or steps. The enclosure resting upon the support, and therefore the lowest enclosure (*q*), is mentioned in ver. 14*a*; and the one which followed (*r*) in ver. 14*b*. The word **עֲוֶרָה**, which has probably sprung from **עָצַר** by the softening of **צ** into **ו**, signifies enclosure, surrounding, and is mostly used for the outer court of the temple; here it is applied to the altar, and signifies the enclosure or framework of the kernel of the altar, consisting of earth. As the altar rose in steps, a distinction is made between the lower or smaller, and the (upper or) greater **עֲוֶרָה**. The identity of the lower **עֲוֶרָה** and the smaller one (**הַקְטָנָה**) is so evident from the course of the description, that it is universally admitted by modern expositors. The lower one (*q*) is called the small one, in comparison with the large one which stood above it, from the fact that its height was smaller, as it was only two cubits high, whereas the upper one (*r*) was four. When, therefore, the measurement of the greater one is given in this way in ver. 14*b*: "from the small enclosure to the great enclosure, four cubits," this statement cannot be understood in any other way than as meaning, that this enclosure or frame had a height of four cubits from the lower to the upper end,—that is to say, in other words, that the lower ledge was four cubits from the upper. Consequently the statement in ver. 14*a*, "from the ground-framework of earth to the lower enclosure, two cubits," can also have no other meaning than that the lower enclosure, from the lower edge by the moulding to the upper edge, at which the second enclosure commenced, was two cubits high. This height is reckoned from the upper edge of the **חֵיק**, or from

the first (lowest) ledge. The height of these three portions taken together, therefore, was $(1 + 2 + 4)$ seven cubits. To this the mount of God (*s*), which was four cubits (ver. 15), has to be added, making in all eleven cubits. In ver. 14 הָיָה is followed by הָאָרֶץ: the הָיָה consisting of earth, or filled with earth. But the הָיָה, with its moulding, is designated נֶבֶל, the back or support of the altar, and is thereby distinguished from the altar itself; so that, for the height of the altar, we have only to reckon the two enclosures, with the mount of God, which amount to ten cubits. Upon the basis of the הָיָה, with its moulding, and the two enclosures (עֲוֶרָה), there rose the true altar, with its hearth, and the horns at the four corners, noticed in ver. 15. A distinction is here made between הָרִאֵל, *i.e.* mount of God, and אֲרִיאֵל; and they are not to be identified, as they have been by many of the commentators, down to Hitzig, after the example of the LXX. אֲרִיאֵל (as the word is to be written according to the *Keri*) does not mean "lion of God," but "hearth of God" (אֶרֶץ, from אָרָה, to burn), as in Isa. xxix. 1, 2. The hearth of God is the surface of the altar, its fire-hearth (*t*); whereas הָרִאֵל, mount of God (*s*), was the basis or foundation of the hearth. This was four cubits high, whereas no height is mentioned in connection with the hearth of God; but it is simply stated that four horns went upward from it, namely, at the four corners. With the horns of the altar, the size and height of which are not given, and which cannot be reckoned at three cubits, the description of all the parts, from the bottom to the top, is given; and all that remains to complete the measurements, is to describe the circumference of the several parts which rose one above another in the form of steps. This follows in vers. 16 and 17. The hearth of God is twelve cubits long and twelve cubits broad, and is therefore רִבְעִי, square, of the same length and breadth on its four sides. Going downwards, there follow in ver. 17a the length and breadth of the עֲוֶרָה, with fourteen cubits, as it was a cubit broader on every side according to ver. 14. It is very strange,

however, that the length and breadth of only one עֲזָרָה are given here, as there are two of different heights mentioned in ver. 14. Many of the commentators have therefore identified the mount of God with the great עֲזָרָה, and attribute only a height of seven cubits to the altar; whereas Kliefoth regards both the עֲזָרָה of ver. 17 and the נָבִיל and חֵיק of ver. 15 as different from the parts mentioned by the same name in vers. 13 and 14, and takes them as referring to an enclosure and a barrier of the mount of God. One is as arbitrary as the other, as the words of the text do not require either of these assumptions. The difficulty, that only one עֲזָרָה is mentioned in ver. 17, is easily solved, if we consider that in ver. 15 only the height of the mount of God is given, and no breadth is mentioned as in the case of the עֲזָרָה in ver. 14. We may see from this that the mount of God had the same breadth or the same circumference as the upper עֲזָרָה (see *r* and *s* in the illustration). In that case the length and breadth of all the parts of the altar were given, when, in addition to the length and breadth of the hearth of God (*t*), those of one עֲזָרָה, and that the lower, were given, as this alone was longer and broader than the hearth of God and the mount of God; whereas the length and breadth of the upper עֲזָרָה were identical with those of the circumference of the mount of God.

The altar, therefore, upon the upper surface, the hearth of God, was a square, of twelve cubits in length and breadth. The mount of God and the upper enclosure had the same length and breadth. The lower enclosure, on the other hand, was fourteen cubits long and broad; and the support, finally, without the moulding, was sixteen cubits in length and breadth. The height of the altar was as follows: the support, with the moulding, a cubit and a half; the lower enclosure, two cubits; the upper, four; and the mount of God, with the hearth, also four cubits in height; whereas the altar in Solomon's temple was ten cubits high, and at its lower basis twenty cubits long and broad (2 Chron. iv. 1).—The description closes in ver. 17b

with an allusion to steps, which the altar of Ezekiel had upon the eastern side; whereas, in the case of the tabernacle, steps were not allowed to be placed by the altar (Ex. xx. 23). The form זֶבֶחַ is taken by Kimchi as a noun. Others regard it as an *infin. nominasc.*; whilst Hitzig proposes to point it as a participle זֶבֶחֶת.

Vers. 18-27. CONSECRATION OF THE ALTAR.—Ver. 18. *And he said to me, Son of man, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, These are the statutes of the altar in the day when it is erected, to offer burnt-offerings upon it, and to sprinkle blood thereon.* Ver. 19. *Thou shalt give to the priests of the tribe of Levi who are of the seed of Zadok, who draw near to me, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, a bullock, a young ox, for a sin-offering.* Ver. 20. *And thou shalt take of its blood, and put it upon its four horns, and upon the four corners of the enclosure, and upon the moulding round about; and so absolve and expiate it.* Ver. 21. *And thou shalt take the bullock of the sin-offering, and burn it at the appointed place of the house, outside the sanctuary.* Ver. 22. *And on the second day thou shalt offer a faultless he-goat for a sin-offering, that they may absolve the altar, as they absolved it with the bullock.* Ver. 23. *When thou hast completed the absolution, thou shalt offer a bullock, a young ox, without fault, and a faultless ram of the flock;* Ver. 24. *And shalt bring them before Jehovah, and the priests shall throw salt upon them, and sacrifice them as burnt-offering to Jehovah.* Ver. 25. *Seven days shalt thou offer a sin-offering goat daily and a bullock, a young ox, and a ram of the flock without fault shall they prepare.* Ver. 26. *Seven days shall they expiate the altar, and cleanse it, and fill its hand.* Ver. 27. *And when they have completed these days, it shall come to pass on the eighth day and henceforward, that the priests place your burnt-offerings and your peace-offerings upon the altar, and I will accept you with delight, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.*

As the altar of the tabernacle and that of Solomon's temple
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were consecrated before they were used (Lev. viii. 11, 15, 19, 33; 1 Kings viii. 62-66; 2 Chron. vii. 4-10), and God commanded and regulated this consecration of the altar of the tabernacle (Ex. xxix. 10 sqq.), so also is the altar of burnt-offering in the new sanctuary to be consecrated before it is used. This command is given to Ezekiel, and the consecration enjoined upon him, not as the representative of the nation, but as a prophet, upon whom, as is frequently the case in the prophetic narratives, those things are said to be enjoined, which are to be set in operation through his proclamation. This commission is given to him, however, for the day (the time) when the altar will be made or restored, from which alone we may see that the execution of the command belongs to the future, in which the temple shown him in the spirit is to be erected, and that it will take place in a manner corresponding to the realization of the temple; so that we cannot infer from this command alone that the reference is to the building of a temple and altar of stone, metal, and wood. **הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַחֲדָשׁ** are not the regulations prescribed for the altar service generally, but simply those relating to its consecration. If we compare these with the account of the consecration of the altars of the earlier sanctuaries, we find that no detailed description is given of the consecration of the altar of Solomon's temple, but that it is simply stated that it lasted seven days (2 Chron. vii. 9). The consecration of the altar of the tabernacle lasted just the same time (Ex. xxix. 37; Lev. viii. 33). And the same period is appointed here (ver. 26). But the consecration of the altar of the tabernacle was associated with the consecration of the priests. Here, on the contrary, the existence of the priesthood is presupposed, and only the altar is consecrated. The consecration of the Mosaic altar commenced with the anointing of the altar and all its utensils, by the sprinkling of it seven times by Moses with the holy anointing oil, for the purpose of sanctifying it (Lev. viii. 11). Here, on the other hand, nothing is said about the anointing of the altar; only the

absolving of it by sacrifice is mentioned, which followed the anointing in the case of the Mosaic altar. At the altar in the tabernacle Moses performed the whole act of consecration, as the mediator of the covenant, the anointing as well as the preparation of the sacrifices. Here, however, the priests already consecrated for their service are to complete the sacrificial ceremony. It is true that the expressions used in ver. 20, "take of its blood," etc., and in ver. 21, "take the bullock of the sin-offering," etc., apparently indicate that the prophet was to perform the sprinkling of the blood and the burning of the sin-offering. But it is obvious that this is only to be understood as signifying that he was to do it through the medium of the priests, *i.e.* was to enjoin the performance of it upon them, from the use of the plural יִפְּאוּ in ver. 22*b*: "they shall absolve the altar, as they have absolved it with the bullock." It is not all the priests of the tribe of Levi, however, who are to perform this service, but simply those of the family of Zadok, who alone are selected in the new temple for specifically priestly service (cf. ch. xl. 46 and xlv. 15 sqq.).—The sacred ceremony commences with the offering of a young ox as a sin-offering; vers. 19, 20, as in Lev. viii. 14, compared with Ex. xxix. 1, 10. The blood of the ox is to be put upon the four horns and the four corners of the enclosure, and upon the moulding below it round about; and the flesh is to be burned at an appointed place outside the sanctuary. For the article in הַפֶּר הַחֲטָאת (ver. 21), see Ewald, § 290*b*. The pouring out of the blood—that was not used for smearing the places indicated—at the foot of the altar is not mentioned, nor the burning of the fat portions of the sacrifice upon the altar. We cannot infer, from the omission of the latter circumstance, that the fat was not consumed upon the altar, but was burned, with the flesh, skin, and bones of the animal, outside the sanctuary, as Kliefoth supposes. Without the burning of certain definite portions of the victim upon the altar, the slaughtering of the animal would not have been a complete sacrifice at all; the smearing of the

blood upon the altar would not have sufficed for this. And the fact that in ver. 21 the command is given, "take the bullock and burn it," does not prove that the animal was to be burned along with those fat portions which were to be consumed upon the altar in the case of every sin-offering. In Lev. viii. 17 also, אֶת־בֶּשֶׁר הַפָּר stands in the place of אֶת־הַפָּר, Ex. xxix. 14. Ezekiel generally presupposes that the sacrificial ritual is well known, and therefore mentions only those points in which deviations from the ordinary ritual took place in connection with this sacrifice, such as the sprinkling of the blood, because the blood was to be smeared on particular parts of the altar, and the burning of the flesh, on account of the place where this was to be done. In the case of the burnt-offering in ver. 23, no directions are given concerning the ceremonial; because this was to be in conformity with the standing ritual, with the exception of the sprinkling with salt, which was not to be performed in the same manner as in the ordinary sacrifices. The burning is to take place בְּמִקְדָּשׁ הַבַּיִת, outside the sanctuary. מִקְדָּשׁ is a place commanded or appointed; and הַבַּיִת is a place in the temple set apart for that purpose. It follows from this that the place in question, since it belonged to the house, *i.e.* to the temple, is to be sought for within the square of five hundred cubits in extent, which was covered by the temple and its courts; and at the same time that it was outside the מִקְדָּשׁ, *i.e.* upon a spot which did not form part of the sanctuary in the stricter sense of the word. Kliefoth therefore thinks of a spot within the *gizrah* (ch. xli. 12), the name of which implies that the space which it covered did not belong to the true מִקְדָּשׁ. This view is the most probable one; whereas Ewald's conjecture, that the place intended is the locality of the sacrificial kitchens of the priests described in ch. xli. 19, is decidedly erroneous, as these kitchens, which were set apart for the cooking of the holy sacrificial flesh to be eaten by the priests alone, were certainly reckoned as forming part of the מִקְדָּשׁ.—Ver. 22. On the second day, a he-goat

was to be brought for a sin-offering, and the altar was to be cleansed from sin with this just as with the bullock on the first day; which implies that the same ceremonial was to be observed with this sacrifice as with that of the sin-offering.

After the completion of the expiation a burnt-offering was to be presented to the Lord of a bullock and a ram (vers. 23 and 24). There is a difference of opinion as to the meaning of *בְּלֹוֹתָהּ* *מִחֲטָאֵה* in these verses. Hitzig and Kliefoth suppose that the expiation was only completed on the second day, with the offering of the he-goat as a sin-offering. They both of them lay stress upon the fact that, on the one hand, in vers. 23 and 24 the offering of the burnt-offering is mentioned on the second day, and not on the first day also; and, on the other hand, in ver. 25, for the seven days of consecration, only the preparation of a he-goat for the sin-offering and the preparation of the two animals appointed for the burnt-offering are mentioned. Hitzig also adduces the fact that in ver. 26 there is no further reference to *חַטָּא*, but simply to *כֹּפֶר* and *טָהֵר*, and draws the conclusion from this, that the sin attaching to the altar was removed with two sin-offerings on two days, and then through seven days further by means of burnt-offerings the anger of God which followed the sin was appeased (*כֹּפֶר*), and the uncleanness or profane character of the altar was expunged (*טָהֵר*), so that the seven days of ver. 25 are not to be dated from ver. 19 onwards. According to this view, the consecration of the altar lasted nine days, and not seven, and the eighth day mentioned in ver. 27 would really be the tenth day, reckoning from the commencement of the consecration. To carry out this view, Hitzig is obliged to erase not only the *וּבְפָרִיתָהּ* of ver. 20, but also the first half of ver. 25 as glosses; a fact which carries its condemnation with it, as even the Septuagint furnishes no warrant for the erasure of ver. 25a. Moreover, the distinction which Hitzig draws between *חַטָּא* on the one hand, and *כֹּפֶר* and *טָהֵר* on the other, is quite erroneous. Purification (*טָהֵר*) is never mentioned in the law as the effect pro-

duced by a burnt-offering. A sin-offering followed by a burnt-offering is invariably prescribed for the removal of uncleanness; for "reconciliation and purification take place through the absolution effected by the sin-offering; and to such a sin-offering and its purifying operation the burnt-offering is then added to secure the good pleasure of God for that which has been already cleansed" (Kliefoth).—But we cannot regard even Kliefoth's view as well founded, namely, that on the first day a sin-offering alone was presented, and it was only from the second day onwards that a sin-offering and burnt-offering were presented, and this lasted for seven days, so that the consecration of the altar continued fully eight days, and on the ninth day (not the eighth, as stated in ver. 27) the regular use of the altar commenced. Kliefoth bases this conclusion principally upon the fact that vers. 19–21 attribute only the sin-offering of a bullock to the first day; and that, on the other hand, vers. 25 and 26 extend in all its details to seven days the very same ceremony as vers. 22–24 assign to the second day, whereas they do not contain a syllable to the effect that the sin-offering of the bullock was to be repeated every day, or that the sacrifices described in vers. 22–24 were also to be offered on the first day. The sinew of this demonstration consists in *silentio*, therefore; and this precarious basis of argument crumbles here, as in most other cases, as is evident from the words of ver. 26: "seven days shall ye reconcile the altar, and purify it." This perfectly general statement, which is not connected with ver. 25 by any *Vav copul.*, or placed in subordination to it, affirms in the clearest manner that the consecration of the altar was to last seven days, neither more nor less; so that if these seven days are to be reckoned from the second day, the sin-offering of the bullock upon the first day must be deprived of its reconciling and purifying worth, in direct contradiction not only to ver. 20, according to which the altar was to be absolved and reconciled through the sin-offering of the bullock to be offered on the first day, but also to ver. 22,

according to which they were to absolve the altar by the sin-offering of the he-goat, in just the same manner as they had absolved it by the sin-offering of the bullock (on the first day). To take the **כִּפָּר** and **מִיָּהֵר** in ver. 26 merely as the effect produced by the sacrifices mentioned in ver. 25, renders the **שְׁבַעַת** **יָמִים** standing at the head of ver. 26 an impossibility. Unless, therefore, we would impose upon the words of the prophet a gross contradiction, we must lay no stress either upon the fact that in ver. 23 the offering of the burnt-offering is not mentioned till after the direction concerning the sin-offering to be presented on the second day, or upon the circumstance that in ver. 25 the he-goat is mentioned as a sin-offering for all the seven days, and no allusion is made to the fact that the sin-offering of the first day was a bullock. The former (the reference to the burnt-offering after the sin-offering of the second day) may be explained very simply, on the ground that the sin-offerings of the first two days are mentioned one after the other, because different animals were prescribed for the purpose, and then, first, the burnt-offerings, which were the same for every day. And it is obvious that the explanation is to be sought for in this formal arrangement, and not in the fact that only a sin-offering without a burnt-offering was to be presented on the first day, and consequently that the expression "on the second day" refers solely to the sin-offering of that day, from the words **בַּבֵּלֹתָיִךְ מִיָּהֵר** in ver. 23; since **מִיָּהֵר** cannot be understood in a different sense from that which it bears in ver. 22*b*, the clause immediately preceding, *i.e.* must not be restricted to the sin-offering of the second day, but must be taken as referring to the sin-offerings of both the first and second days. The meaning of the words is therefore this: when the absolution by means of the sin-offering on the first and on the second day is ended, then shalt thou bring a burnt-offering. But if this is the meaning of the words, the offering of the burnt-offering prescribed in ver. 23 does not fall so exclusively under the definition of time contained in the words

“on the second day,” as to warrant our assigning it to the second day alone, and concluding that no such offering was presented on the first day. There was no necessity for Ezekiel to express himself more clearly on this point, as there was no fear of any misunderstanding on the part of those who were acquainted with the law; since every Israelite who had been instructed in the law knew full well that no sin-offering could ever be presented without being followed by a burnt-offering, that in fact the burnt-offering was indispensable to the accomplishment of the *כִּפּוּרִים*, for which the sin-offering was presented. And in ver. 25 also, Ezekiel had no occasion to fear that the somewhat loose expression, “seven days shalt thou prepare a he-goat sin-offering for the day,” would be misunderstood; as he had already stated that a bullock was to be taken for the sin-offering of the first day, and the period of seven days was so universally prescribed in the law for every act of consecration which lasted more than one day, that he would have indicated in a clearer manner any deviation from this rule. We therefore regard the change of the seven days devoted to the consecration of the altar into eight as being just as groundless as that into nine, and adhere to the traditional explanation of these verses, namely, that the consecration of the altar lasted only seven days, and that on every one of these days a sin-offering and a burnt-offering were to be presented, the sin-offering on the first day being a bullock, and on the other days a he-goat, whilst the burnt-offerings were to consist on all seven days of a young ox and a ram.—With regard to the burnt-offering, the direction given, that the priests are to throw or pour (*הִשָּׁלִיךְ*), and not merely to strew or sprinkle, salt upon it, is to be regarded as significant. According to Lev. ii. 13, salt was to be added to every *קָרְבַּן* (bloody or bloodless) sacrifice. The express allusion to the salting of these consecrating burnt-offerings, and also the choice of the verb *הִשָּׁלִיךְ*, point to a copious strewing with salt for the purpose of giving greater intensity to the force of these sacrifices. On the significance of salt in relation to

there consists in a ram every day, here in a bullock and a ram daily; (5) on the other hand, the ram offered as a sacrifice of consecration in the Mosaic ceremony, which was specially connected with the institution of the priests in their office, is omitted here, as the priests were already holding their office; so that the sacrifice of consecration might be said to be here absorbed into the burnt-offering. All essential differences therefore reduce themselves to the fact that in Ezekiel the anointing of the altar is wanting, and the sin-offering of the last six days is diminished by the selection of an inferior animal, in place of which the burnt-offering is considerably intensified by the demand of a bullock and a ram for this, the same thing being also indicated by the copious pouring of salt thereon.—For the symbolical meaning of these sacrifices, compare the commentary on Lev. viii.—The consecration of the altar was completed in seven days; and from the eighth day onwards the priests were to offer the regular sacrifices upon it (ver. 27); whereas at the Mosaic consecration of the altar and priests, the constant altar service of the priests was still further inaugurated by a solemn sacrifice on the eighth day (Lev. ix.). Burnt-offerings and peace-offerings are mentioned in ver. 27 *instar omnium* as being the principal and most frequent sacrifices, whilst sin-offerings and meat-offerings are implied therein.

Chap. xliv. *Position of the different Classes of the People in relation to the New Sanctuary.*

With the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering the way is opened for the congregation of Israel to appear in the sanctuary before the Lord, to serve Him with sacrifices. If, however, the use of the new house of God was to be in harmony with the holiness of the God who dwelt therein, it was requisite that still further directions should be given concerning the entering of the people into it, and the character of the servants of both the altar and the sanctuary. These directions

follow in the chapter before us,—first, as to the place which the prince was to occupy at the service in the temple (vers. 1-3); secondly, as to the admission of foreigners and the appointment of Levites and priests for the service (vers. 4-16); and lastly, as to the conditions requisite for the administration of the priest's office, and the duties and privileges of that office (vers. 17-31).

Vers. 1-3. THE PLACE OF THE PRINCE IN THE SANCTUARY.

—Ver. 1. *And he brought me back by the way to the outer gate of the sanctuary, which looked toward the east; and it was shut.*

Ver. 2. *And Jehovah said to me, This gate shall be shut, shall not be opened, and no one shall enter thereby; because Jehovah, the God of Israel, has entered by it, it shall be shut.*

Ver. 3. *As for the prince, as prince he shall sit therein, to eat bread before Jehovah; from the way to the porch of the gate shall he go in, and from its way shall he go out.*—

From the inner court where Ezekiel had received the measurements of the altar of burnt-offering and the instructions concerning its consecration (ch. xliii. 5 sqq.), he is taken back to the east gate of the outer court, and finds this gate, which formed the principal entrance to the temple, closed. Jehovah explains this fact to him through the angel (יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה is to be understood according to ch. xliii. 6 and 7) thus: "this gate is to be shut, because Jehovah, the God of Israel, has entered into the temple thereby," as we have already learned from ch. xliii. 2. Only the prince, as prince, was allowed to sit in it for the purpose of holding sacrificial meals there. So far the meaning of the words is clear and indisputable. For there can be no doubt whatever that ver. 3 introduces a more precise statement concerning the closing of the gate; in other words, that the right of sitting in the gate to eat bread before Jehovah, which is conceded to the priest, is intended as an explanation, *resp.* modification and limitation, of the statement וְהָיָה כֹהֵן (ver. 2). On the other hand, the more precise definition of

the prerogative granted to the prince in ver. 3 is not quite clear, and therefore open to dispute. Such a prerogative is already indicated in the prominence expressly given to the prince, consisting partly in the fact that **אֶת־הַנָּשִׂיא** is written first in an absolute form, and partly in the expression **נָשִׂיא הוּא**, which is repeated in the form of a circumstantial clause, "prince is he," equivalent to "because he is prince, he is to sit there." **נָשִׂיא** is neither the high priest, as many of the older commentators supposed, nor a collective term for the civil authorities of the people of Israel in the Messianic times (Hävernicks), but the David who will be prince in Israel at that time, according to ch. xxxiv. 23, 24, and xxxvii. 24. "To eat bread before Jehovah" signifies to hold a sacrificial meal at the place of the divine presence, *i.e.* in the temple court, and is not to be restricted, as Kliefoth supposes, to that sacrificial meal "which was held after and along with the bloodless sacrifices, *viz.* the *minchoth*, and the shew-breads, and the sweet loaves of the Passover." There is no authority in the usage of the language for this literal interpretation of the expression "to eat bread," for **אָכַל לֶחֶם** means in general to partake of a meal, compare Gen. xxxi. 54, etc., and especially Ex. xviii. 12, where Jethro "eats bread before God" with Aaron and the elders of Israel, that is to say, joins in a sacrificial meal composed of **זִבְחִים** or slain-offerings. According to this view, which is the only one supported by usage, the prerogative secured to the **נָשִׂיא** of the future is not "that of participating in the sacrificial meals (of the priests), which were to be held daily with the *minchoth* and shew-bread, in opposition to the law which prevailed before" (Kliefoth), but simply that of holding his sacrificial meals in the gate, *i.e.* in the porch of the gate, whereas the people were only allowed to hold them in the court, namely, in the vicinity of the sacrificial kitchens.

There is also a difference of opinion concerning the meaning of the second statement in ver. 3: "from the way of the porch

of the gate shall he enter in, and thence shall he go out." The suffix in מִדְּרָכּוֹ can only refer to אֵילָם, "from the way from which he came (entered), from this way shall he go out again." Hitzig follows the Rabbins, who understand the passage thus: "as the gate is to remain shut, he must go by the way to the porch which is directed inwardly, toward the court (ch. xl. 9). He must have gone into the outer court through the north or the south gate, and by the way by which he came he also went back again." But Kliefoth argues, in objection to this, that "if the prince was to eat the bread in the porch, the entrance through the south or the north gate would be of no use to him at all; as the gate which could be shut was at that door of the porch which was turned toward the outer court." Moreover, he affirms that it is not at all the meaning of the text that he was to eat the bread in the porch, but that he was to eat it in the gate-building, and he was to come thither מִדְּרָכּוֹ אֵילָם הַשְּׂעִיר, i.e. "from the place which served as a way to the gate porch, that is to say, the walk from the eastern entrance of the gate-building to the front of the porch, and from that was he to go out again." The prince, therefore, was "to go into the gate-building as far as the front of the porch through the eastern entrance, there to eat his bread before Jehovah, and to come out again from thence, so that the gate at the western side of the gate porch still remained shut." But we cannot regard either of these views as correct. There is no firm foundation in the text for Kliefoth's assertion, that he was not to eat the bread in the porch, but in the gate-building. It is true that the porch is not expressly mentioned as the place where the eating was to take place, but simply the gate (בֵּי); yet the porch belonged to the gate as an integral part of the gate-building; and if מִדְּרָכּוֹ אֵילָם is the way to the porch, or the way leading to the porch, the words, "by the way to the porch shall he enter in," imply clearly enough that he was to go into the porch and to eat bread there. This is also demanded by the circumstances, as the meaning of the words

cannot possibly be that the prince was to hold his sacrificial meal upon the threshold of the gate, or in one of the guard-rooms, or in the middle of the gateway; and apart from the porch, there were no other places in the gate-building than those we have named. And again, the statement that the gate on the western side of the gate porch was to be shut, and not that against the eastern wall, is also destitute of proof, as דָּרָךְ אֶל־הַפֶּתַח, the way to the porch, is not equivalent to the way "up to the front of the porch." And if the prince was to hold the sacrificial meal behind the inner gate, which was closed, how was the food when it was prepared to be carried into the gate-building? Through a door of one of the guard-rooms? Such a supposition is hardly reconcilable with the significance of a holy sacrificial meal. In fact, it is a question whether eating in the gate-building with the inner door closed, so that it was not even possible to look toward the sanctuary, in which Jehovah was enthroned, could be called eating לֶפְנֵי יְהוָה.—Hitzig's explanation of the words is not exposed to any of these difficulties, but it is beset by others. At the outset it is chargeable with improbability, as it is impossible to see any just ground why the prince, if he was to hold the sacrificial meal in the porch of the east gate, should not have been allowed to enter through this gate, but was obliged to take the circuitous route through the south or the north gate. Again, it is irreconcilable with the analogous statements in ch. xlvi. According to ch. xlvi. 1 sqq., the east gate of the inner court was to be shut, namely, during the six working days; but on the Sabbath and on the new moon it was to be opened. Then the prince was to come by the way of the gate porch from without, and during the preparation of his sacrifice by the priests to stand upon the threshold of the gate and worship. This same thing was to take place when the prince desired to offer a freewill offering on any of the weekdays. The east gate was to be opened for him to this end; but after the conclusion of the offering of sacrifice it was to be closed again, whereas on the Sabbaths and new moons it was to

stand open till the evening (ch. xlv. 12 compared with ver. 2). It is still further enjoined, that when offering these sacrifices the prince is to enter by the way of the gate porch, and to go out again by the same way (vers. 2 and 8); whereas on the feast days, on which the people appear before Jehovah, every one who comes, the priest along with the rest, is to go in and out through the north or the south gate (vers. 9 and 10). If, therefore, on the feast days, when the people appeared before Jehovah, the prince was to go into the temple in the midst of the people through the north or the south gate to worship, whereas on the Sabbaths and new moons, on which the people were not required to appear before the Lord, so that the prince alone had to bring the offerings for himself and the people, he was to enter by the way of the porch of the east gate, and to go out again by the same, and during the ceremony of offering the sacrifice was to stand upon the threshold of the inner east gate, it is obvious that the going in and out by the way of the porch of the gate was to take place by a different way from that through the north or the south gate. This other way could only be through the east gate, as no fourth gate existed.—The conclusion to which this brings us, so far as the passage before us is concerned, is that the shutting of the east gate of the outer court was to be the rule, but that there were certain exceptions which are not fully explained till ch. xlv., though they are hinted at in the chapter before us in the directions given there, that the prince was to hold the sacrificial meal in this gate.—The outer east gate, which was probably the one chiefly used by the people when appearing before the Lord in the earlier temple, both for going in and coming out, is to be shut in the new temple, and not to be made use of by the people for either entrance or exit, because the glory of the Lord entered into the temple thereby. This reason is of course not to be understood in the way suggested by the Rabbins, namely, that the departure of the Shechinah from the temple was to be prevented by the closing of the gate; but the thought is this:

because this gateway had been rendered holy through the entrance of the Shechinah into the temple thereby, it was not to remain open to the people, so as to be desecrated, but was to be kept perpetually holy. This keeping holy was not prejudiced in any way by the fact that the prince held the sacrificial meal in the gate, and also entered the court through this gateway for the purpose of offering his sacrifice, which was made ready by the priests before the inner gate, and then was present at the offering of the sacrifice upon the altar, standing upon the threshold of the inner gate-building. דֶּרֶךְ אֵלִים הַשְּׁעָרַיִם is therefore the way which led from the outer flight of steps across the threshold past the guard-rooms to the gate porch at the inner end of the gate-building. By this way the priest was to go into the gate opened for him, and hold the sacrificial meal therein, namely, in the porch of this gate. That the offering of the sacrifice necessarily preceded the meal is assumed as self-evident, and the law of sacrifice in ch. xlvi. first prescribes the manner in which the prince was to behave when offering the sacrifice, and how near to the altar he was to be allowed to go.

Vers. 4-16. THE POSITION OF FOREIGNERS, LEVITES, AND PRIESTS IN RELATION TO THE TEMPLE AND THE TEMPLE SERVICE.—The further precepts concerning the approach to the sanctuary, and the worship to be presented there, are introduced with a fresh exhortation to observe with exactness all the statutes and laws, in order that the desecration of the sanctuary which had formerly taken place might not be repeated, and are delivered to the prophet at the north gate in front of the manifestation of the glory of God (vers. 4-8). — Ver. 4. *And he brought me by the way of the north gate to the front of the house; and I looked, and behold the glory of Jehovah filled the house of Jehovah, and I fell down upon my face.* Ver. 5. *And Jehovah said to me, Son of man, direct thy heart and see with thine eyes and hear with thine ears all that I say to thee with regard to*

all the statutes of the house of Jehovah and all its laws, and direct thy heart to the entering into the house through all the exits of the house, Ver. 6. And say to the rebellious one, to the family of Israel, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Let it be sufficient for you, of all your abominations, O house of Israel, Ver. 7. In that ye brought in foreigners, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to desecrate it, my house, when ye offered my food, fat and blood, and so they broke my covenant to all your abominations, Ver. 8. And so ye did not keep the charge of my holy things, but made them keepers of my charge for you in my sanctuary.—From the outer gate to which Ezekiel had been taken, simply that he might be instructed concerning the entering thereby, he is once more conducted, after this has been done, by the way of the north gate to the front of the temple house, to receive the further directions there for the performance of the worship of God in the new sanctuary. The question, whether we are to understand by the north gate that of the outer or that of the inner court, cannot be answered with certainty. Hitzig has decided in favour of the latter, Kliefoth in favour of the former. The place to which he is conducted is אֶל־פְּנֵי הַבַּיִת, *ad faciem domus*, before the temple house, so that he had it before his eyes, *i.e.* was able to see it. As the gateway of the inner court was eight steps, about four cubits, higher than the outer court gate, this was hardly possible if he stood at or within the latter. הַבַּיִת, *i.e.* the temple house, could only be distinctly seen from the inner north gate. And the remark that it is more natural to think of the outer north gate, because the next thing said to the prophet has reference to the question who is to go into and out of the sanctuary, has not much force, as the instructions do not refer to the going in and out alone, but chiefly to the charge of Jehovah, *i.e.* to the maintenance of divine worship.—At the fresh standing-place the glory of the Lord, which filled the temple, met the sight of the prophet again, so that he fell down and worshipped once more (cf. ch. xliii. 3, 5). This remark is not intended “to indicate that

now, after the preliminary observations in ch. xliii. 13-xliv. 3, the true *thorah* commences" (Kliefoth), but to show the unapproachable glory and holiness of the new temple. For ver. 5, see ch. xl. 4, xliii. 11, 12. In ver. 6 אֶל-מִרְי is placed at the head in a substantive form for the sake of emphasis, and בֵּית-יִשְׂרָאֵל is appended in the form of an apposition. For the fact itself, see ch. ii. 8. רַב-לָכֶם followed by מֵן, a sufficiency of anything, as in Ex. ix. 28, 1 Kings xii. 28, is equivalent to "there is enough for you to desist from it." The תַּעֲבֹבוּת, from which they are to desist, are more precisely defined in ver. 6. They consisted in the fact that the Israelites admitted foreigners, heathen, uncircumcised in heart and flesh, into the sanctuary, to desecrate it during the offering of sacrifice. It is not expressly stated, indeed, that they admitted uncircumcised heathen to the offering of sacrifice, but this is implied in what is affirmed. The offering of sacrifice in the temple of Jehovah is not only permitted in the Mosaic law to foreigners living in Israel, but to some extent prescribed (Lev. xvii. 10, 12; Num. xv. 13 sqq.). It was only in the paschal meal that no בֶּן-נֶכֶר was allowed to participate (Ex. xii. 43). To do this, he must first of all be circumcised (ver. 44). Solomon accordingly prays to the Lord in his temple-prayer that He will also hearken to the prayer of the foreigner, who may come from a distant land for the Lord's name sake to worship in His house (1 Kings viii. 41 sqq.). The reproof in the verse before us is apparently at variance with this. Raschi would therefore understand by בְּנֵי-נֶכֶר, Israelites who had fallen into heathen idolatry. Rosenmüller, on the other hand, is of opinion that the Israelites were blamed because they had accepted *victimae et libamina* from the heathen, and offered them in the temple, which had been prohibited in Lev. xxv. 22. Hävernicks understands by the sons of the foreigner, Levites who had become apostates from Jehovah, and were therefore placed by Ezekiel on a par with the idolatrous sons of the foreigner. And lastly, Hitzig imagines that they were foreign traders, who had been

admitted within the sacred precincts as sellers of sacrificial animals, incense, and so forth. All these are alike arbitrary and erroneous. The apparent discrepancy vanishes, if we consider the more precise definition of *בְּנִי נָכָר*, viz. "uncircumcised in heart and flesh." Their being uncircumcised in heart is placed first, for the purpose of characterizing the foreigners as godless heathen, who were destitute not only of the uncircumcision of their flesh, but also of that of the heart, *i.e.* of piety of heart, which Solomon mentions in his prayer as the motive for the coming of distant strangers to the temple. By the admission of such foreigners as these, who had no fear of God at all, into the temple during the sacrificial worship, Israel had defiled the sanctuary. *אֶת-בֵּיתִי* is in apposition to the suffix to *הָלָלִי*. The food of Jehovah (*לֶחֶם*) is sacrifice, according to Lev. iii. 11, xxi. 6, etc., and is therefore explained by "fat and blood." *וַיִּפְרֵי*, which the LXX. changed in an arbitrary manner into the second person, refers to the "foreigners," the heathen. By their treading the temple in their ungodliness they broke the covenant of the Lord with His people, who allowed this desecration of His sanctuary. *אֶל כָּל-תּוֹעֵבוֹתָי*, in addition to all your abominations. How grievous a sin was involved in this is stated in ver. 8. The people of Israel, by their unrighteous admission of godless heathen into the temple, not only failed to show the proper reverence for the holy things of the Lord, but even made these heathen, so to speak, servants of God for themselves in His sanctuary. These last words are not to be understood literally, but spiritually. Allowing them to tread the temple is regarded as equivalent to appointing them to take charge of the worship in the temple. For *שָׂמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶתִי*, see Lev. xviii. 30, xxii. 9, and the commentary on Lev. viii. 35.

The Lord would guard against such desecration of His sanctuary in the future. To this end the following precepts concerning the worship in the new temple are given.—Ver. 9. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, shall come into my sanctuary,*

of all the foreigners that are in the midst of the sons of Israel; Ver. 10. But even the Levites, who have gone away from me in the wandering of Israel, which wandered away from me after its idols, they shall bear their guilt. Ver. 11. They shall be servants in my sanctuary, as guards at the gates of the house and serving in the house; they shall slay the burnt-offering and the slain-offering for the people, and shall stand before it to serve them. Ver. 12. Because they served them before their idols, and became to the house of Israel a stumbling-block to guilt, therefore I have lifted my hand against them, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah, that they should bear their guilt. Ver. 13. They shall not draw near to me to serve me as priests, and to draw near to all my holy things, to the most holy, but shall bear their disgrace and all their abominations which they have done. Ver. 14. And so will I make them guards of the charge of the house with regard to all its service, and to all that is performed therein. Ver. 15. But the priests of the tribe of Levi, the sons of Zadok, who have kept the charge of my sanctuary on the wandering of the sons of Israel from me, they shall draw near to me to serve me, and stand before me, offer to me fat and blood, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 16. They shall come into my sanctuary, and they draw near to my table to serve me, and shall keep my charge.

—In order that all desecration may be kept at a distance from the new sanctuary, foreigners uncircumcised in heart and flesh are not to be admitted into it; and even of the Levites appointed for the service of the sanctuary according to the Mosaic law, all who took part in the falling away of the people into idolatry are to be excluded from investiture with the priests' office as a punishment for their departure from the Lord, and only to be allowed to perform subordinate duties in connection with the worship of God. On the other hand, the descendants of Zadok, who kept themselves free from all straying into idolatry, are to perform the specifically priestly service at the altar and in the sanctuary, and they alone. The meaning and design of the command, to shut out the foreigners un-

circumcised in heart from all access to the sanctuary, are not that the intermediate position and class of foreigners living in Israel should henceforth be abolished (Kliefoth); for this would be at variance with ch. xlvii. 22 and 23, according to which the foreigners (גֵּרִים) were to receive a possession of their own in the fresh distribution of the land, which not only presupposes their continuance within the congregation of Israel, but also secures it for the time to come. The meaning is rather this: No heathen uncircumcised in heart, *i.e.* estranged in life from God, shall have access to the altar in the new sanctuary. The emphasis of the prohibition lies here, as in ver. 7, upon their being uncircumcised in heart; and the reason for the exclusion of foreigners consists not so much in the foreskin of the flesh as in the spiritual foreskin, so that not only the uncircumcised heathen, but also Israelites who were circumcised in flesh, were to keep at a distance from the sanctuary if they failed to possess circumcision of heart. The לְ before פְּלִגְּוֹן serves the purpose of comprehension, as in Gen. ix. 10, Lev. xi. 42, etc. (compare *Ewald*, § 310a). Not only are foreigners who are estranged from God to be prevented from coming into the sanctuary, but even the Levites, who fell into idolatry at the time of the apostasy of the Israelites, are to bear their guilt, *i.e.* are to be punished for it by exclusion from the rights of the priesthood. This is the connection between the tenth verse and the ninth, indicated by וְיִאָּמֵר, which derives its meaning, *truly (imo), yea even*, from this connection, as in Isa. xxxiii. 21. הַלְוִיִּם are not the Levites here as distinguished from the priests (Aaronites), but all the descendants of Levi, including the Aaronites chosen for the priests' office, to whom what is to be said concerning the Levites chiefly applies. The division of the Levites into such as are excluded from the service and office of priests (וְהַלְוִיִּם, ver. 13) on account of their former straying into idolatry, and the sons of Zadok, who kept aloof from that wandering, and therefore are to be the only persons allowed to administer the

priests' office for the future, shows very clearly that the threat "they shall bear their guilt" does not apply to the common Levites, but to the Levitical priests. They are to be degraded to the performance of the inferior duties in the temple and at divine worship. The guilt with which they are charged is that they forsook Jehovah when the people strayed into idolatry. Forsaking Jehovah involves both passive and active participation in idolatry (cf. Jer. ii. 5). This wandering of the Israelites from Jehovah took place during the whole time that the tabernacle and Solomon's temple were in existence, though at different periods and with varying force and extent. Bearing the guilt is more minutely defined in vers. 11-13. The Levitical priests who have forsaken the Lord are to lose the dignity and rights of the priesthood; they are not, indeed, to be entirely deprived of the prerogative conferred upon the tribe of Levi by virtue of its election to the service of the sanctuary in the place of the first-born of the whole nation, but henceforth they are merely to be employed in the performance of the lower duties, as guards at the gates of the temple, and as servants of the people at the sacrificial worship, when they are to slaughter the animals for the people, which every one who offered sacrifice was also able to do for himself. Because they have already served the people before their idols, *i.e.* have helped them in their idolatry, they shall also serve the people in time to come in the worship of God, though not as priests, but simply in non-priestly occupations. The words *הָפַח יַעֲמְרוּ וְגו'* are taken from Num. xvi. 9, and the suffixes in *לְפָנֵיהֶם* and *לְשִׁרְתָּם* refer to *עַם*. *מִכְשׁוֹל עֵץ*, as in ch. vii. 19, xiv. 3, xviii. 30. *נִשְׂא יָד*, not to raise the arm to smite, but to lift up the hand to swear, as in ch. xx. 5, 6, etc. *לִגְשֶׁת עַל כָּל-קֹדְשִׁי*, to draw near to all my holy things. *קֹדְשִׁים* are not the rooms in the sanctuary, but those portions of the sacrifices which were sacred to the Lord. They are not to touch these, *i.e.* neither to sprinkle blood nor to burn the portions of fat upon the altar, or perform anything connected therewith. This

explanation is required by the apposition **אֶל־קֳדְשֵׁי הַקֳּדָשִׁים**, which (in the plural) does not mean the most holy place at the hinder part of the temple, but the most holy sacrificial gifts (cf. ch. xlii. 13). **נִשָּׂא כִלְמָה**, as in ch. xvi. 52. In ver. 14 it is once more stated in a comprehensive manner in what the bearing of the guilt and shame was to consist: God would make them keepers of the temple with regard to the inferior acts of service. The general expression **שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת הַבַּיִת**, which signifies the temple service universally, receives its restriction to the inferior acts of service from **לְכָל עֲבֹדָתוֹ וְגו'**, which is used in Num. iii. 26, iv. 23, 30, 32, 39, 47, for the heavy duties performed by the Merarites and Gershonites, in distinction from the **עֲבֹדָה** of the Kohathites, which consisted in **שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת** (Num. iii. 28) and **עֲשׂוֹת מְלָאכָה בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** (Num. iv. 3). The priestly service at the altar and in the sanctuary, on the other hand, was to be performed by the sons of Zadok alone, because when the people went astray they kept the charge of the sanctuary, *i.e.* performed the duties of the priestly office with fidelity. *Zadok* was the son of Ahitub, of the line of Eleazar (1 Chron. v. 34, vi. 37, 38), who remained faithful to King David at the rebellion of Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 24 sqq.), and also anointed Solomon as king in opposition to Adonijah the pretender (1 Kings i. 32 sqq.); whereas the high priest Abiathar, of the line of Ithamar, took part with Adonijah (1 Kings i. 7, 25), and was deposed from his office by Solomon in consequence, so that now the high-priesthood was in the sole possession of Zadok and his descendants (1 Kings ii. 26, 27, and 35). From this attitude of Zadok toward David, the prince given by the Lord to His people, it may be seen at once that he not only kept aloof from the wandering of the people, but offered a decided opposition thereto, and attended to his office in a manner that was well-pleasing to God. As he received the high-priesthood from Solomon in the place of Abiathar for this fidelity of his, so shall his descendants only be invested with the priestly office in the new temple. For

the correct explanation of the words in these verses, however, we must pay particular regard to the clause, "who have kept the charge of my sanctuary." This implies, for example, that lineal descent from Zadok alone was not sufficient, but that fidelity in the service of the Lord must also be added as an indispensable requisite. In vers. 15*b* and 16 the priestly service is described according to its principal functions at the altar of burnt-offering, and in the holy place at the altar of incense. שֻׁלְחָנִי is the altar of incense (see ch. xli. 22).

Vers. 17-31. REQUISITES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PRIESTS' OFFICE, AND THE OBLIGATIONS AND PRIVILEGES OF THAT OFFICE.—Ver. 17. *And it shall come to pass, when they go to the gates of the inner court, they shall put on linen clothes, and no wool shall lie upon them, when they serve in the gates of the inner court and serve toward the house.* Ver. 18. *Linen turbans shall be upon their head, and linen drawers upon their hips: they shall not gird themselves in sweat.* Ver. 19. *And when they go out into the outer court, into the outer court to the people, they shall take off their clothes in which they have ministered, and put them in the holy cells, and put on other clothes, that they may not sanctify the people with their clothes.* Ver. 20. *And they shall not shave their head bald, nor let their hair grow freely; they shall cut the hair of their head.* Ver. 21. *And they shall not drink wine, no priest, when they go into the inner court.* Ver. 22. *And a widow and a divorced woman they shall not take as wives, but virgins of the seed of the house of Israel, and the widow who has become the widow of a priest they may take.* Ver. 23. *And they shall teach my people, make known to them the difference between holy and common, and between unclean and clean.* Ver. 24. *And they shall stand to judge concerning disputes; and they shall observe my laws and my statutes at all my feasts, and sanctify my Sabbaths.* Ver. 25. *And one shall not go to any corpse of a man to defile himself; only for father and mother, for son and daughter, for brother,*

for sister who had no husband, may they defile themselves. Ver. 26. And after his purification shall they reckon seven days more to him; Ver. 27. And on the day when he comes to the holy place, into the inner court, to serve in the holy place, he shall offer his sin-offering, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.—Ver. 28. And so shall it be with their inheritance, that I am their inheritance, ye shall not give them a possession in Israel: I am their possession. Ver. 29. The meat-offering, and the sin-offering, and the trespass-offering, these shall they eat, and every-thing banned in Israel shall belong to them. Ver. 30. And the firstlings of all the first-fruits of everything, and every heave-offering of everything, of all your heave-offerings, shall belong to the priests; and the firstlings of all your ground meal shall ye give to the priest, that a blessing may come down upon thy house. Ver. 31. No carrion nor anything torn in pieces of fowl and of beast shall the priests eat.—To the directions, who are to perform the service in the new temple, there are appended corresponding instructions concerning the bodily condition in which this service is to be performed, as the bodily condition shadows forth the state of the soul, or the spiritual constitution of the servants of God. The dress prescribed in Ex. xxviii. for the priests to wear during the holy service had this signification. The same rule is here pre-supposed as still in force; and it is simply renewed and partially emphasized by the enumeration of some of the leading points. At the service at the altar and in the holy place the priests are to wear linen clothes, and, after the performance of the service, they are to take them off again when they go into the outer court (vers. 17-19). In the Mosaic law, *שֵׁשׁ*, white byssus, or *לִבְנָי*, white linen, is mentioned as the material used for the priests' clothing (Ex. xxviii. 39, 42); here the material is more distinctly designated as *פִּשְׁתִּים*, flax linen; and *צֶמֶר*, animal wool, is expressly forbidden, the motive being assigned for this regulation, namely, that the priest is not to cause himself to sweat by wearing woollen clothing. Sweat produces uncleanness; and the priest, by keeping his body clean, is to show even out-

wardly that he is clean and blameless. With regard to the putting on and off of the official clothes, the new *thorah* accords with the Mosaic. For we cannot agree with Kliefoth, who detects a deviation in the fact that, according to Ex. xxviii. 43, the priests were to wear the official clothes only when they entered the tabernacle and when approaching the altar, and, according to Lev. vi. 4, xvi. 23, were to take them off when the service was ended; whereas, according to ver. 17 of the chapter before us, they were to put them on as soon as they entered the inner court, and were never to come before the people in the official costume. If, according to the Mosaic law, the priests were to go before the altar of burnt-offering in the court in their holy official dress, and not otherwise, they must have put on this dress on entering the court; for they could not wait till they were in front of the altar before they changed their clothes. For the expression *וְצִאתְךָ אֶל הָעָם* does not imply that, according to Ezekiel, they were never to appear in the presence of the people in their official costume, as it does not mean "come before the people," but "go out to the people," or "walk among the people;" nor is this involved in the words *וְלֹא יִקְדְּשׁוּ וְאוֹ*, they shall not sanctify the people in their clothes (by their clothes). The latter by no means affirms that they are to sanctify the people by intercourse with them, but are not to do this in official costume; the meaning is simply that they are not to move among the people in the outer court while wearing their official clothes, that they may not sanctify them by their holy clothes. This sanctification cannot be understood in any other way than as analogous to the rule laid down in the law, that touching most holy sacrificial flesh would sanctify (Lev. vi. 11, 20), which Ezekiel repeats in ch. xlvi. 20, and which does not stand in anything like an isolated position in the law, but is also affirmed in Ex. xxix. 37 and xxx. 29 of the altar of burnt-offering and the vessels of the sanctuary. The same thing which applied to these vessels—namely, that their holiness passed from them to any one

who touched them—is here predicated of the holy dresses of the priests; and the moving of the priests among the people in their holy clothes is forbidden, because such holiness, acquired by contact with holy objects, imposed upon the person to whom it had passed the obligation to guard against all defilement (Lev. xxi. 1-8), which the people could not avoid in the ordinary relations of life, and thus a weakening or abolition of the distinction between things holy and common would inevitably have ensued. *לְשִׁבוֹת הַקֹּדֶשׁ* are the holy cell-buildings described in ch. xlii. 1-14.—To the clothing there is simply appended in ver. 20 the direction concerning the hair of the head, the natural covering of the head, in relation to which excess on either side is prohibited, either shaving the head bald or wearing the hair uncut. Both of these were forbidden to the priests in the law: shaving in Lev. xxi. 5, and letting the hair grow freely in Lev. x. 6; and the latter was simply imposed upon the Nazarites for the period of their vow (Num. vi. 5). *כָּסָם* only occurs here; but its meaning, to cut the hair, is obvious from the context.—Ver. 21. The prohibition of the drinking of wine when performing service agrees with Lev. x. 9; on the other hand, the instructions concerning the choice of wives are sharpened in ver. 22, as that which only applied to the high priest in the law is here extended to all the priests. In fact, Ezekiel throughout makes no distinction between the high priest and the common priests. In Lev. xxi. 14, marrying a widow is only forbidden to the high priest, who was to marry a virgin of his own people, whereas no such restriction is laid down for the ordinary priests. Here, on the other hand, marrying a widow is forbidden to all the priests, marriage with the widow of a priest being the only one allowed. *מִכֶּהֶן* belongs to *תַּהֲיֶיהָ אֵלְמָנָה*, who has become the widow of a priest.¹

¹ The Rabbins (Targ. Talm. and Masor. according to their accentuation) have endeavoured to obliterate this distinction, by applying the first hemistich to the high priest alone, and explaining the second thus: "The widow, who is really a widow, the priest may take," interpreting *מִכֶּהֶן* by

In vers. 23 and 24 the general official duties of the priests are mentioned, viz. to teach the people, and to instruct them concerning the difference between the holy and the unholy, the clean and the unclean, as in Lev. x. 10 (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 10 and Ezek. xxii. 26); also to administer justice in questions in dispute according to the rights of God,—a duty which had already been committed to the priests in its highest form in Deut. xvii. 8 sqq., xix. 17, and xxi. 5. על ריב, concerning, in the case of, matters in dispute. עָמַד לְשֹׁפֵט, to stand to judge, i.e. to appear or act as judge (compare הָעֵמִיד שֹׁפְטִים, to appoint or institute judges, in 2 Chron. xix. 5). The *Keri* לְמִשְׁפָּט is a needless emendation after 2 Chron. xix. 8. The *Chetib* וְשֹׁפְטֵיהֶם, on the other hand, is a copyist's error for וְשֹׁפְטֵיהֶם. Lastly, at all the feasts they are to observe the laws and statutes of Jehovah, that is to say, to perform all the priestly duties binding upon them at the feasts, and to sanctify the Sabbaths, not merely by offering the Sabbath sacrifices, but also by maintaining the Sabbath rest (cf. Lev. xxiii. 3).—In vers. 25–27 there follow regulations concerning defilement from the dead, and its removal. Ver. 25 is a simple repetition of Lev. xxi. 1–3. But the instructions concerning purification from defilement from the dead are sharpened, inasmuch as not only is the purification prescribed by the law (Num. xix. 1 sqq.), and which lasted seven days, required (this is meant by מִתְהַרְרֵהוּ), but a further period of seven days is appointed after these, at the expiration of which the presentation of a sin-offering is demanded before the service in the sanctuary can be resumed. By this demand for a heightened purification, the approach to a corpse permitted to the priests, which was prohibited to the high priest in the Mosaic law, even in the case of father and mother (Lev. xxi. 11), is tolerably equalized.

quidam sacerdotum, or aliqui ex ordine sacerdotali, or ceteri sacerdotes. But this is contrary to the usage of the language, as כֹּהֲנֵיהֶם cannot possibly be understood in a partitive sense in this passage, where the priests generally are spoken of, and the plural יִקְרָאוּ follows.

For these duties and obligations of service the priests are to receive corresponding emoluments. These are treated of in vers. 28-31. They are not, indeed, to receive any share of the land as their property in time to come any more than in former times; but in the place of this Jehovah will be their property and possession, and give them the necessary room for their dwellings from His own property in the land (ch. xlv. 4), and let them draw their maintenance from His altar (vers. 29 and 30). The promise that Jehovah will be the *נַחֲלָה* and *אֶחָדָה* of the priests is a simple repetition of the regulation in the law (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. xviii. 1, x. 9). So far as the construction in ver. 28a is concerned, the words *אֲנִי נַחֲלָתָם* are really the subject to '*וְהָיְתָה לָהֶם לְנִי*', which we are obliged to render obliquely, "the inheritance for them shall be, I am their inheritance." For the proposal of Hitzig to take the words from *אֲנִי נַחֲלָתָם* to the close of the verse as a parenthesis, and to regard '*וְהָיְתָה לָהֶם לְנִי*' in ver. 29a as the subject to '*וְהָיְתָה לָהֶם לְנִי*', is untenable, not only on account of the great harshness which such a parenthesis would involve, but principally because these portions of the sacrifices and heave-offerings which belonged to the priest were not a *נַחֲלָה*, and are never designated as *נַחֲלָה*, inheritance, *i.e.* property in land. Ver. 28 treats of the property in land, which God assigned to the Levites and priests under the Mosaic economy, by appointing them towns to dwell in, with meadows for the feeding of their cattle, within the territory of the other tribes, but would assign to them in future from the heave-offering set apart from the land for the sanctuary (ch. xlv. 4). It is not till vers. 29 and 30 that the means of support for the priests are spoken of. They are to be supported from the sacrifices and the tithes and first-fruits which Israel has to pay to Jehovah as the lord of the land, and which He transfers to His servants the priests. For the priests' share of the meat-offering, sin-offering, and trespass-offering, see Lev. ii. 3, vi. 9, 11, 19, vii. 6, 7; for that which is put under the ban, Lev. xxvii. 21; for the first-fruits, Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, Deut. xviii. 4, Num. xviii. 13; for the

תְּרוּמָה, Num. xv. 19, xviii. 19; for the רֶאשִׁית עֵרִיסוֹת, Num. xv. 20, 21. In לָהֲנִיחַ וְנָ, “to cause a blessing to rest upon thy house,” the individual Israelite is addressed. For the fact itself, see Mal. iii. 10.—To the enumeration of the means of support there is appended in ver. 31 an emphatic repetition of the command in Lev. xxii. 8, not to eat of any dead thing (*i.e.* anything that has died a natural death), or anything torn to pieces, either of birds or beasts, on account of its defiling (Lev. xvii. 15).

Chap. xlv. 1–17. *The Holy Heave of the Land and the Heave-offerings of the People.*

The determination of the means of support for the priesthood is followed still further by an explanation of the manner in which Jehovah will be their inheritance and possession; in other words, assign to the priests and Levites that portion of the land which was requisite for their abode. This is to be done by His causing a definite tract of land to be set apart for Himself, for the sanctuary, and for His servants, and for the capital, when the country is distributed among the tribes of Israel (vers. 1–8). On both sides of this domain the prince is also to receive a possession in land, to guard against all exaction on the part of the princes in time to come. And everywhere unrighteousness is to cease, just weight and measure are to be observed (vers. 9–12), and the people are to pay certain heave-offerings to provide for the sacrifices binding upon the prince (vers. 13–17).

Vers. 1–8. **THE HOLY HEAVE FROM THE LAND.**—Ver. 1. *And when ye divide the land by lot for an inheritance, ye shall lift a heave for Jehovah as a holy (portion) from the land; five and twenty thousand the length, and the breadth ten (? twenty) thousand. It shall be holy in all its circumference round about.* Ver. 2. *Of this five hundred shall belong to the Holy by five hundred square round about, and fifty cubits open space thereto*

round about. Ver. 3. *And from this measured space thou shalt measure a length of five and twenty thousand, and a breadth of ten thousand, and in this shall be the sanctuary, a holy of holies.* Ver. 4. *A holy (portion) of the land shall this be; to the priests, the servants of the sanctuary, shall it belong who draw near to serve Jehovah, and it shall be to them the place for houses and a sanctuary for the sanctuary.* Ver. 5. *And five and twenty thousand in length and ten thousand in breadth shall belong to the Levites, the servants of the house, for a possession to them as gates to dwell in.* Ver. 6. *And as a possession for the city, ye shall give five thousand in breadth and five and twenty thousand in length, parallel to the holy heave; it shall belong to the whole house of Israel.* Ver. 7. *And to the prince (ye shall give) on both sides of the holy heave and of the possession of the city, along the holy heave and along the possession of the city, on the west side westwards and on the east side eastwards, and in length parallel to one of the tribe-portions, from the western border to the eastern border.* Ver. 8. *It shall belong to him as land, as a possession in Israel; and my princes shall no more oppress my people, but shall leave the land to the house of Israel according to its tribes.*—The domain to be first of all set apart from the land at the time of its distribution among the tribes is called תְּרוּמָה, *heave*, not in the general sense of the lifting or taking of a portion from the whole, but as a portion lifted or taken by a person from his property as an offering for God; for תְּרוּמָה comes from תָּרַם, which signifies in the case of the *minchah* the lifting of a portion which was burned upon the altar as תְּנוּכָה for Jehovah (see the comm. on Lev. ii. 9). Consequently everything that was offered by the Israelites, either voluntarily or in consequence of a precept from the Lord for the erection and maintenance of the sanctuary and its servants, was called תְּרוּמָה (see Ex. xxv. 2 sqq., xxx. 15; Lev. vii. 14; Num. xv. 19, etc.). Only the principal instructions concerning the heave from the land are given here, and these are repeated in ch. xlviii. 8-22, in the section concerning the division of the land, and to some extent expanded

there. The introductory words, "when ye divide the land by lot for an inheritance," point to this. (See the map on Plate IV.) הִפִּיל, *sc.* גִּזַּל (Prov. i. 14), to cast the lot, to divide by lot, as in Josh. xiii. 6. Then shall ye lift, set apart, a heave for Jehovah as a holy (portion) from the land. מִן הָאָרֶץ is to be closely connected with קִרְשׁ, as shown by ver. 4. In the numbers mentioned the measure to be employed is not given. But it is obvious that cubits are not meant, as Böttcher, Hitzig, and others assume, but rods; partly from a comparison of ver. 2 with ch. xlii. 16, where the space of the sanctuary, which is given here as 500 by 500 square, is described as five hundred rods on every side; and partly also from the fact that the open space around the sanctuary is fixed at fifty cubits, and in this case אַמָּה is added, because rods are not to be understood there as in connection with the other numbers. The correctness of this view, which we meet with in Jerome and Raschi, cannot be overthrown by appealing to the excessive magnitude of a τέμενος of twenty-five thousand rods in length and ten thousand rods in breadth; for it will be seen in ch. xlviii. that the measurements given answer to the circumstances in rods, but not in cubits. The אַרְבָּה before and after the number is pleonastic: "as for the length, twenty-five thousand rods in length." Length here is the measurement from east to west, and breadth from north to south, as we may clearly see from ch. xlviii. 10. No regard, therefore, is paid to the natural length and breadth of the land; and the greater extent of the portions to be measured is designated as length, the smaller as breadth. The expression אֶלֶף עֶשְׂרֵה אֲלָפִים is a remarkable one, as עֶשְׂרֵה אֲלָפִים is constantly used, not only in vers. 3 and 5, but also in ch. xlviii. 9, 10, 13, 18. The LXX. have εἴκοσι χιλιάδας, twenty thousand breadth. This reading appears more correct than the Masoretic, as it is demanded by vers. 3 and 5. For according to ver. 3, of the portion measured in ver. 1 twenty-five thousand rods in length and ten thousand in breadth were to be measured for the sanctuary and for the priests' land; and according to ver. 5,

the Levites were also to receive twenty-five thousand rods in length and ten thousand in breadth for a possession. The first clause of ver. 3 is unintelligible if the breadth of the holy *terumah* is given in ver. 1 as only ten thousand rods, inasmuch as one cannot measure off from an area of twenty-five thousand rods in length and ten thousand rods in breadth another space of the same length and breadth. Moreover, ver. 1 requires the reading עֲשָׂרִים אֵלֶּף, as the "holy *terumah*" is not only the portion set apart for the sanctuary and the priests' land, but also that which was set apart for the Levites. According to ch. xlviii. 14, this was also "holy to Jehovah;" whereas the portion measured off for the city was "common" (ch. xlviii. 15). This is borne out by the fact that in the chapter before us the domain appointed for the city is distinguished from the land of the priests and Levites by the verb הִתְּנֵי (ver. 6), whilst the description of the size of the Levites' land in ver. 5 is closely connected with that of the land of the priests; and further, that in ver. 7, in the description of the land of the prince, reference is made only to the holy *terumah* and the possession of the city, from which it also follows that the land of the Levites is included in the holy *terumah*. Consequently ver. 1 treats of the whole of the תְּרוּמַת קֹהֵן, i.e. the land of the priests and Levites, which was twenty-five thousand rods long and twenty thousand rods broad. This is designated in the last clause of the verse as a holy (portion) in its entire circumference, and then divided into two domains in vers. 2 and 3.—Ver. 2. Of this (מִזֶּה, of the area measured in ver. 1) there shall come, or belong, to the holy, i.e. to the holy temple domain, five hundred rods square, namely, the domain measured in ch. xlii. 15-20 round about the temple, for a separation between holy and common; and round this domain there is to be a מִנְיָרֶשׁ, i.e. an open space of fifty cubits on every side, that the dwellings of the priests may not be built too near to the holy square of the temple building.—Ver. 3. הַמִּדָּה הַזֹּאת, this measure (i.e. this measured piece of land), also points back to ver. 1, and מִן can-

not be taken in any other sense than in מִנְיָה (ver. 2). From the whole tract of land measured in ver. 1 a portion is to be measured off twenty-five thousand rods in length and ten thousand rods in breadth, in which the sanctuary, *i.e.* the temple with its courts, is to stand as a holy of holies. This domain, in the midst of which is the temple, is to belong to the priests, as the sanctified portion of the land, as the place or space for their houses, and is to be a sanctuary for the sanctuary, *i.e.* for the temple. Ver. 5. A portion equally large is to be measured off to the Levites, as the temple servants, for their possession. The *Keri* יְהִיָּה is formed after the יְהִיָּה of ver. 4, and the *Chetib* יְהִיָּה is indisputably correct. There is great difficulty in the last words of this verse, עֲשָׂרִים לְשָׁבֶת, “for a possession to them twenty cells;” for which the LXX. give αὐτοῖς εἰς κατάσχεσιν πόλεις τοῦ κατοικεῖν, and which they have therefore read, or for which they have substituted by conjecture, עָרִים לְשָׁבֶת. We cannot, in fact, obtain from the עֲשָׂרִים לְשָׁבֶת of the Masoretic text any meaning that will harmonize with the context, even if we render the words, as Rosenmüller does, in opposition to the grammar, *cum viginti cubiculis*, and understand by לְשָׁבֶת capacious cell-buildings. For we neither expect to find in this connection a description of the number and character of the buildings in which the Levites lived, nor can any reason be imagined why the Levites, with a domain of twenty-five thousand rods in length and ten thousand rods in breadth assigned to them, should live together in twenty cell-buildings. Still less can we think of the “twenty cells” as having any connection with the thirty cells in the outer court near to the gate-buildings (ch. xl. 17, 18), as these temple cells, even though they were appointed for the Levites during their service in the temple, were not connected in any way with the holy *terumah* spoken of here. Hävernicks remark, that “the prophet has in his eye the priests’ cells in the sanctuary,—and the dwellings of the Levites during their service, which were only on the outside of the sanctuary, were to correspond to these,” is not indicated

in the slightest degree by the words, but is a mere conjecture. There is no other course open, therefore, than to acknowledge a corruption of the text, and either to alter עשרים לשבת into לְעָרִים לְשֹׁכֶה, as Hitzig proposes (cf. Num. xxxv. 2, 3; Josh. xxi. 2), or to take עשרים as a mistake for שְׁעָרִים: "for a possession to them as gates to dwell in," according to the frequent use of שְׁעָרִים, gates, for עָרִים, cities, *e.g.* in what was almost a standing phrase, "the Levite who is in thy gates" (= cities; Deut. xii. 18, xiv. 27, xvi. 11; cf. Ex. xx. 10; Deut. v. 14, etc.). In that case the faulty reading would have arisen from the transposition of עש into שע, and the change of כ into כ.

Beside the holy *terumah* for sanctuary, priests, and Levites, they are also (ver. 6) to give a tract of twenty-five thousand rods in length and five thousand rods in breadth as the property of the city (*i.e.* of the capital). לְעִמָּת: parallel to the holy heave, *i.e.* running by the longer side of it. This portion of land, which was set apart for the city, was to belong to all Israel, and not to any single tribe. The more precise directions concerning this, and concerning the situation of the whole *terumah* in the land, are not given till ch. xlviii. 8-22. Here, in the present chapter, this heave is simply mentioned in connection with the privileges which the servants of the Lord and of His sanctuary were to enjoy. These included, in a certain sense, also the property assigned to the prince in ver. 7 as the head of the nation, on whom the provision of the sacrifices for the nation devolved, and who, apart from this, also needed for his subsistence a portion of the land, which should be peculiarly his own, in accordance with his rank. They were to give him as his property (the verb יִתְּנוּ is to be supplied to לְנִשְׂאָה from ver. 6) the land on this side and that side of the holy *terumah* and of the city-possession, and that in front (אֶל־פָּנֵי) of these two tracts of land, that is to say, adjoining them, extending to their boundaries, מִפְּנֵי יָם וְגו', "from" (*i.e.*, according to our view, "upon") the west side westward, and from (upon) the east side eastward; in other words, the land which remained on

the eastern and western boundary of the holy *terumah* and of the city domain, both toward the west as far as the Mediterranean Sea, and toward the east as far as the Jordan, the two boundaries of the future Canaan. The further definition 'וְאָרְךָ לְעִמּוֹת וְגו' is not quite clear; but the meaning of the words is, that "the length of the portions of land to be given to the prince on the east and west side of the *terumah* shall be equal to the length of one of the tribe-portions," and not that the portions of land belonging to the prince are to be just as long from north to south as the length of one of the twelve tribe-possession. "Length" throughout this section is the extent from east to west. It is so in the case of all the tribe-territories (cf. ch. xlviii. 8), and must be taken in this sense in connection with the portion of land belonging to the prince also. The meaning is therefore this: in length (from east to west) these portions shall be parallel to the inheritance of one of the twelve tribes from the western boundary to the eastern. Two things are stated here: first, that the prince's portion is to extend on the eastern and western sides of the *terumah* as far as the boundary of the land allotted to the tribes, *i.e.* on the east to the Jordan, and on the west to the Mediterranean (cf. ch. xlviii. 8); and secondly, that on the east and west it is to run parallel (לְעִמּוֹת) to the length of the separate tribe-territories, *i.e.* not to reach farther toward either north or south than the *terumah* lying between, but to be bounded by the long sides of the tribe-territories which bound the *terumah* on the north and south. וְאָרְךָ is the accusative of direction; אֶחָד, some one (cf. Judg. xvi. 7; Ps. lxxxii. 7).—In ver. 8, לְאֶרֶץ with the article is to be retained, contrary to Hitzig's conjecture לְאֶרֶץ: "to the land belonging to him as a possession shall it (the portion marked off in ver. 7) be to him." אֶרֶץ, as in 1 Kings xi. 18, of property in land. In ver. 8b, the motive for these instructions is given. The former kings of Israel had no land of their own, no domain; and this had driven them to acquire private property by violence and extortion. That this may not occur

any more in the future, and all inducement to such oppression of the people may be taken from the princes, in the new kingdom of God the portion of land more precisely defined in ver. 7 is to be given to the prince as his own property. The plural, "my princes," does not refer to several contemporaneous princes, nor can it be understood of the king and his sons, *i.e.* of the royal family, on account of ch. xlvi. 16 ; but it is to be traced to the simple fact "that Ezekiel was also thinking of the past kings, and that the whole series of princes, who had ruled over Israel, and still would rule, was passing before his mind" (Kliefoth), without our being able to conclude from this that there would be a plurality of princes succeeding one another in time to come, in contradiction to ch. xxxvii. 25.— "And the land shall they (the princes) leave to the people of Israel" (אֶרֶץ in the sense of *concedere* ; and אֶרֶץ, the land, with the exception of the portion set apart from it in vers. 1-7).— The warning against oppression and extortion, implied in the reason thus assigned, is expanded into a general exhortation in the following verses.

Vers. 9-12. GENERAL EXHORTATION TO OBSERVE JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THEIR DEALINGS. — Ver. 9. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Let it suffice you, ye princes of Israel: desist from violence and oppression, and observe justice and righteousness, and cease to thrust my people out of their possession, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.* Ver. 10. *Just scales, and a just ephah, and a just bath, shall ye have.* Ver. 11. *The ephah and the bath shall be of one measure, so that the bath holds the tenth part of the homer, and the ephah the tenth part of the homer: after the homer shall its standard be.* Ver. 12. *And the shekel shall have twenty gerahs; twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels, shall the mina be with you.* —The exhortation in ver. 9 is similar to that in ch. xlv. 6, both in form and substance. As the Levites and priests are to renounce the idolatry to which they have been previously

addicted, and to serve before the Lord in purity and holiness of life, so are the princes to abstain from the acts of oppression which they have formerly practised, and to do justice and righteousness; for example, to liberate the people of the Lord from the *נִרְשָׁה*. *נִרְשָׁה* is unjust expulsion from one's possession, of which Ahab's conduct toward Naboth furnished a glaring example (1 Kings xxi.). These acts of violence pressed heavily upon the people, and this burden is to be removed (*הָרִים מֵעַל*). In vers. 10–12 the command to practise justice and righteousness is expanded; and it is laid as a duty upon the whole nation to have just weights and measures. This forms the transition to the regulation, which follows from ver. 13 onwards, of the taxes to be paid by the people to the prince to defray the expenses attendant upon the sacrificial worship.—For ver. 10, see Lev. xix. 36 and Deut. xxv. 13 sqq. Instead of the *hin* (Lev. xix. 36), the *bath*, which contained six hins, is mentioned here as the measure for liquids. The *בָּת* is met with for the first time in Isa. v. 10, and appears to have been introduced as a measure for liquids after the time of Moses, having the same capacity as the *ephah* for dry goods (see my *Bibl. Archæol.* II. pp. 139 sqq.). This similarity is expressly stated in ver. 11. Both of them, the *ephah* as well as the *bath*, are to contain the tenth of a homer (*לְשֹׂאת*, to carry, for *לְהִכִּיל*, to contain, to hold; compare Gen. xxxvi. 7 with Amos vii. 10), and to be regulated by the homer. Ver. 12 treats of the weights used for money. The first clause repeats the old legal provision (Ex. xxx. 13; Lev. xxvii. 25; Num. iii. 47), that the shekel, as the standard weight for money, which was afterwards stamped as a coin, is to contain twenty *gerahs*. The regulations which follow are very obscure: “twenty shekels, twenty-five shekels, fifteen shekels, shall the mina be to you.” The *mina*, *הַמִּנָּה*, occurs only here and in 1 Kings x. 17; Ezra ii. 69; and Neh. vii. 71, 72,—that is to say, only in books written during the captivity or subsequent to it. If we compare 1 Kings x. 17, according to which three minas of gold

were used for a shield, with 2 Chron. ix. 16, where three hundred (shekels) of gold are said to have been used for a similar shield, it is evident that a mina was equal to a hundred shekels. Now as the talent (תַּנְתַּיִם) contained three thousand (sacred or Mosaic) shekels (see the comm. on Ex. xxxviii. 25, 26), the talent would only have contained thirty minas, which does not seem to answer to the Grecian system of weights. For the Attic talent contained sixty minas, and the mina a hundred drachms; so that the talent contained six thousand drachms, or three thousand didrachms. But as the Hebrew shekel was equal to a δίδραχμον, the Attic talent with three thousand didrachms corresponded to the Hebrew talent with three thousand shekels; and the mina, as the sixtieth part of the talent, with a hundred drachms or fifty didrachms, ought to correspond to the Hebrew mina with fifty shekels, as the Greek name *μνᾶ* is unquestionably derived from the Semitic מִנָּה. The relation between the mina and the shekel, resulting from a comparison of 1 Kings x. 17 with 2 Chron. ix. 16, can hardly be made to square with this, by the assumption that the shekels referred to in 2 Chron. ix. 16 are not Mosaic shekels, but so-called civil shekels, the Mosaic half-shekel, the *beka*, בֶּכָּה, having acquired the name of *shekel* in the course of time, as the most widely-spread silver coin of the larger size. A hundred such shekels or bekas made only fifty Mosaic shekels, which amounted to one mina; while sixty minas also formed one talent (see my *Bibl. Archäol.* II. pp. 135, 136).—But the words of the second half of the verse before us cannot be brought into harmony with this proportion, take them how we will. If, for example, we add the three numbers together, 20 + 25 + 15 shekels shall the mina be to you, Ezekiel would fix the mina at sixty shekels. But no reason whatever can be found for such an alteration of the proportion between the mina and the talent on the one hand, or the shekel on the other, if the shekel and talent were to remain unchanged. And even apart from this, the division of the sixty into twenty, twenty-five, and fifteen still remains

inexplicable, and can hardly be satisfactorily accounted for in the manner proposed by the Rabbins, namely, that there were pieces of money in circulation of the respective weights of twenty, twenty-five, and fifteen shekels, for the simple reason that no historical trace of the existence of any such pieces can be found, apart from the passage before us.¹ And the other attempts that have been made to explain the difficult words are not satisfactory. The explanation given by Cocceius and J. D. Michaelis (*Supplem. ad lex.* p. 1521), that three different minas are mentioned,—a smaller one of fifteen Mosaic shekels, a medium size of twenty shekels, and a large one of twenty-five,—is open to the objection justly pointed out by Bertheau, that in an exact definition of the true weight of anything we do not expect three magnitudes, and the purely arbitrary assumption of three different minas is an obvious subterfuge. The same thing applies to Hitzig's explanation, that the triple division, twenty, twenty-five, and fifteen shekels, has reference to the three kinds of metal used for coinage, viz. gold, silver,

¹ It is true that Const. l'Empereur has observed, in the *Discursus ad Lectorem* prefixed to the *Paraphrasis Joseph. Jachiadae in Daniele*, that "as God desired that justice should be preserved in all things, He noticed the various coins, and commanded that they should have their just weight. One coin, according to Jewish testimony, was of twenty shekels, a second of twenty-five, and a third of fifteen shekels; and as these together made one mina, according to the command of God, in order that it might be manifest that each had its proper quantity, He directed that they should be weighed against the mina, so that it might be known whether each had its own weight by means of the mina, to which they ought to be equal." But the Jewish witnesses (*Judaei testes*) are no other than the Rabbins of the Middle Ages, Sal. Jarchi (Raschi), Dav. Kimchi, and Abrabanel, who attest the existence of these pieces of money, not on the ground of historical tradition, but from an inference drawn from this verse. The much earlier Targumist knows nothing whatever of them, but paraphrases the words thus: "the third part of a mina has twenty shekels; a silver mina, five and twenty shekels; the fourth part of a mina, fifteen shekels; all sixty are a mina; and a great mina (*i.e.* probably one larger than the ordinary, or civil mina) shall be holy to you;" from which all that can be clearly learned is, that he found in the words of the prophet a mina of sixty shekels. A different explanation is given by the LXX., whose rendering, according to the *Cod. Vatic.* (Tischendorf), runs as follows: *πάντε σίκλοι*,

and copper, so that the gold mina was worth, or weighed, twenty shekels; the silver mina, twenty-five; and the copper mina, fifteen,—which has no tenable support in the statement of Josephus, that the shekel coined by *Simon* was worth four drachms; and is overthrown by the incongruity in the relation in which it places the gold to the silver, and both these metals to the copper.—There is evidently a corruption of very old standing in the words of the text, and we are not in possession of the requisite materials for removing it by emendation.

Vers. 13-17. THE HEAVE-OFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE.—

Ver. 13. *This is the heave-offering which ye shall heave: The sixth part of the ephah from the homer of wheat, and ye shall give the sixth part of the ephah from the homer of barley;* Ver. 14. *And the proper measure of oil, from the bath of oil a tenth of the bath from the cor, which contains ten baths or a homer; for ten baths are a homer;* Ver. 15. *And one head from the flock from two hundred from the watered land of Israel, for*

πέντε καὶ σίκλοι, δέκα καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλοι ἢ μὴ ἔσται ὑμῖν; and according to the Cod. Al.: οἱ πέντε σίκλοι πέντε καὶ οἱ δέκα σίκλοι δέκα καὶ πενήκοντα κ.τ.λ. Boeckh (*Metrol. Untersuch.* pp. 54 sqq.) and Bertheau (*Zur Gesch. der Isr.* pp. 9 sqq.) regard the latter as the original text, and punctuate it thus: οἱ πέντε σίκλοι πέντε, καὶ οἱ δέκα σίκλοι δέκα, καὶ πενήκοντα σίκλοι ἢ μὴ ἔσται ὑμῖν,—interpreting the whole verse as follows: “the weight once fixed shall remain unaltered, and unadulterated in its original value: namely, a shekel shall contain ten gerahs; five shekels, or a five-shekel piece, shall contain exactly five; and so also a ten-shekel piece, exactly ten shekels; and the mina shall contain fifty shekels.” But however this explanation may appear to commend itself, and although for this reason it has been adopted by Hävernick and by the author of this commentary in his *Bibl. Archäol.*, after a repeated examination of the matter I cannot any longer regard it as well-founded, but am obliged to subscribe to the view held by Hitzig and Kliefoth, “that this rendering of the LXX. carries on the face of it the probability of its resting upon nothing more than an attempt to bring the text into harmony with the ordinary value of the mina.” For apart from the fact that nothing is known of the existence of five and ten shekel pieces, it is impossible to get any intelligible meaning from the words, that five shekels are to be worth five shekels, and ten shekels worth ten shekels, as it was self-evident that five shekels could not be worth either four shekels or six.

the meat-offering, and for the burnt-offering, and for the peace-offerings, to make atonement for them, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah. Ver. 16. All the people of the land shall be held to this heave-offering for the prince in Israel. Ver. 17. And upon the prince shall devolve the burnt-offerings, and the meat-offering, and the drink-offering at the feasts, the new moons, and the Sabbaths, at all the festivals of the house of Israel; he shall provide the sin-offering, and the meat-offering, and the burnt-offering, and the peace-offerings, to make atonement for the house of Israel.

—The introductory precepts to employ just measures and weights are now followed by the regulations concerning the productions of nature to be paid by the Israelites to the prince for the sacrificial worship, the provision for which was to devolve on him. Fixed contributions are to be levied for this purpose, of wheat, barley, oil, and animals of the flock—namely, according to vers. 13–15, of corn the sixtieth part, of oil the hundredth part, and of the flock the two hundredth head. There is no express mention made of wine for the drink-offering, or of cattle, which were also requisite for the burnt-offering and peace-offering, in addition to animals from the flock. The enumeration therefore is not complete, but simply contains the rule according to which they were to act in levying what was required for the sacrifices. The word שְׁשִׁיָּהֶם in ver. 13 must not be altered, as Hitzig proposes; for although this is the only passage in which שֶׁשֶׁה occurs, it is analogous to שֶׁשֶׁה in Gen. xli. 34, both in its formation and its meaning, “to raise the sixth part.” A sixth of an ephah is the sixtieth part of a homer. הֵךְ, that which is fixed or established, *i.e.* the proper quantity. הַבַּת הַשֶּׁמֶן is in apposition to הַשֶּׁמֶן (for the article, see the comm. on ch. xliii. 21), the fixed quantity of oil, namely of the bath of oil,—*i.e.* the measure of that which is to be contributed from the oil, and that from the bath of oil,—shall be the tenth part of the bath from the cor, *i.e.* the hundredth part of the year’s crop, as the cor contained ten baths. The cor is not mentioned in the preceding words

(ver. 11), nor does it occur in the Mosaic law. It is another name for the homer, which is met with for the first time in the writings of the captivity (1 Kings v. 2, 25; 2 Chron. ii. 9, xxvii. 5). For this reason its capacity is explained by the words which are appended to כִּבּוֹר: עֶשְׂרֵת הַבָּתִּים וְגו': from the cor (namely) of ten baths, one homer; and the latter definition is still further explained by the clause, "for ten baths are one homer."—Ver. 15. כִּמְשֻׁקָּה, from the watered soil (cf. Gen. xiii. 10), that is to say, not a lean beast, but a fat one, which has been fed upon good pasture. לְכַבֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם indicates the general purpose of the sacrifices (*vid.* Lev. i. 4).—Ver. 16. The article in הָעֵם, as in הַבֵּית in ver. 14. הָיָה אֵל, to be, *i.e.* to belong, to anything—in other words, to be held to it, under obligation to do it; הָיָה עָלַי (ver. 17), on the other hand, to be upon a person, *i.e.* to devolve upon him. In בְּכָל-מוֹעֲדֵי the feast and days of festival, which have been previously mentioned separately, are all grouped together. עָשָׂה אֶת הַחֲטָאתָא וְגו', to furnish the sin-offering, etc., *i.e.* to supply the materials for them.

So far as the fact is concerned, the Mosaic law makes no mention of any contributions to the sanctuary, with the exception of the first-born, the first-fruits and the tithes, which could be redeemed with money, however. Besides these, it was only on extraordinary occasions—*e.g.* the building of the tabernacle—that the people were called upon for freewill heave-offerings. But the Mosaic law contains no regulation as to the sources from which the priests were to meet the demands for the festal sacrifices. So far, the instructions in the verses before us are new. What had formerly been given for this object as a gift of spontaneous love, is to become in the future a regular and established duty, to guard against that arbitrary and fitful feeling from which the worship of God might suffer injury.—To these instructions there are appended, from ver. 18 onwards, the regulations concerning the sacrifices to be offered at the different festivals.

Chap. xlv. 18–xlvi. 15. *Instructions concerning the Festal and Daily Sacrifices.*

The series commences with the sin-offerings in the first month (ch. xlv. 18–20). Then follow the sacrifices at the Passover and feast of tabernacles (vers. 21–25), in connection with which a way and a standing-place in the temple are assigned to the prince and the people during the offering of these sacrifices (ch. xlv. 1–3). After these we have the burnt-offerings on the Sabbaths and new moons (ch. xlv. 4–7), and once more a direction with regard to their entrance and exit when the prince and the people come to the temple at the yearly festivals (vers. 8–10); also the meat-offerings at the feasts (ver. 11), to which there is appended a direction with regard to the freewill-offerings of the prince (ver. 12); and, finally, the instructions concerning the daily burnt-offering and meat-offering (vers. 13–15).

Vers. 18–20. **THE SIN-OFFERINGS IN THE FIRST MONTH.**

—Ver. 18. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, In the first (month), on the first of the month, thou shalt take a bullock, a young ox without blemish, and absolve the sanctuary.* Ver. 19. *And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin-offering, and put it upon the door-posts of the house, and upon the four corners of the enclosure of the altar, and upon the door-posts at the gate of the inner court.* Ver. 20. *And so shalt thou do on the seventh of the month, for the sake of erring men and of folly, that so ye may make atonement for the house.*—The Mosaic law had prescribed for the new moons generally the sin-offering of a he-goat, in addition to the burnt-offerings and meat-offerings (Num. xxviii. 15); and, besides this, had also distinguished the new-moon's day of the seventh month by a special feast-offering to be added to the regular new-moon's sacrifices, and consisting of a sin-offering of a he-goat, and burnt-offerings and meat-offerings (Num. xxix. 2–6). This

distinguishing of the seventh month by a special new-moon's sacrifice is omitted in Ezekiel; but in the place of it the first month is distinguished by a sin-offering to be presented on the first and seventh days. Nothing is said in vers. 18-20 about burnt-offerings for these days; but as the burnt-offering is appointed in ch. xlvi. 6, 7 for the new-moon's day without any limitation, and the regulations as to the connection between the meat-offering and the burnt-offerings are repeated in ch. xlvi. 11 for the holy days and feast days (חַגִּים וּמוֹעֲדִים) generally, and the new-moon's day is also reckoned among the מוֹעֲדִים, there is evidently good ground for the assumption that the burnt-offering and meat-offering prescribed for the new moon in ch. xlvi. 6, 7 were also to be offered at the new moon of the first month. On the other hand, no special burnt-offering or meat-offering is mentioned for the seventh day of the first month; so that in all probability only the daily burnt-offering and meat-offering were added upon that day (ch. xlvi. 13 sqq.) to the sin-offering appointed for it. Moreover, the sin-offerings prescribed for the first and seventh days of the first month are distinguished from the sin-offerings of the Mosaic law, partly by the animal selected (a young bullock), and partly by the disposal of the blood. According to the Mosaic law, the sin-offering for the new moons, as well as for all the feast days of the year, the Passover, Pentecost, day of trumpets, day of atonement, and feast of tabernacles (all eight days), was to be a he-goat (Num. xxviii. 15, xxii. 30, xxix. 5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38). Even the sin-offering for the congregation of Israel on the great day of atonement simply consisted in a he-goat (or two he-goats, Lev. xvi. 5); and it was only for the sin-offering for the high priest, whether on that day (Lev. xvi. 3), or when he had sinned so as to bring guilt upon the nation (Lev. iv. 3), or when the whole congregation had sinned (Lev. iv. 14), that a bullock was required. On the other hand, according to Ezekiel, the sin-offering both on the first and seventh days of the first month, and also the one to

be brought by the prince on the fourteenth day of that month, *i.e.* on the day of the feast of Passover (ch. xlv. 22), for himself and for all the people, were to consist of a bullock, and only the sin-offering on the seven days of the feasts of Passover and tabernacles of a he-goat (ch. xlv. 23, 25). The Mosaic law contains no express instructions concerning the sprinkling of the blood of the sin-offering at the new moons and feasts (with the exception of the great atoning sacrifice on the day of atonement), because it was probably the same as in the case of the sin-offerings for the high priest and the whole congregation, when the blood was first of all to be sprinkled seven times against the curtain in front of the capporeth, and then to be applied to the horns of the altar of incense, and the remainder to be poured out at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering (Lev. iv. 6, 7, 17, 18); whereas, in the case of the great atoning sacrifice on the day of atonement, some of the blood was first of all to be sprinkled at or upon the front side of the capporeth and seven times upon the ground, and after that it was to be applied to the horns of the altar of incense and of the altar of burnt-offering (Lev. xvi. 15-17). But according to Ezekiel, some of the blood of the sin-offerings on the first and seventh days of the first month, and certainly also on the same days of the feasts of Passover and tabernacles, was to be smeared upon the posts of the house—that is to say, the posts mentioned in ch. xli. 21, not merely those of the הַיָּכָל, the door into the holy place, but also those of the קִדְשׁ, the door leading into the most holy place, upon the horns and the four corners of the enclosure of the altar of burnt-offering (ch. xliii. 20), and upon the posts of the gate of the inner court. It is a point in dispute here whether שַׁעַר הַחֵצֵר is only one door, and in that case whether the east gate of the inner court is to be understood as in ch. xlv. 2 (מִזְוֶה הַשַּׁעַר), as Hitzig and others suppose, or whether שַׁעַר is to be taken in a collective sense as signifying the three gates of the inner court (Kliefoth and others). The latter view is favoured by the collective use of

the word *מִזֶּנֶה* by itself, and also by the circumstance that if only one of the three gates were intended, the statement which of the three would hardly have been omitted (cf. ch. xlv. 1, xlv. 1, etc.).—According to ver. 18, these sin-offerings were to serve for the absolving of the sanctuary; and according to ver. 20, to make atonement for the temple on account of error or folly. Both directions mean the same thing. The reconciliation of the temple was effected by its absolution or purification from the sins that had come upon it through the error and folly of the people. Sins *בְּשִׁגָּגָה* are sins occasioned by the weakness of flesh and blood, for which expiation could be made by sin-offerings (see the comm. on Lev. iv. 2 and Num. xv. 22 sqq.). *מֵאִישׁ שִׁגָּגָה*, lit. away from the erring man, *i.e.* to release him from his sin. This expression is strengthened by *בְּפִתִּי*, away from simplicity or folly; here, as in Prov. vii. 7, as *abstractum pro concreto*, the simple man.—The great expiatory sacrifice on the day of atonement answered the same purpose, the absolution of the sanctuary from the sins of the people committed *בְּשִׁגָּגָה* (Lev. xvi. 16 sqq.).

Vers. 21-25. SACRIFICES AT THE PASSOVER AND FEAST OF TABERNACLES.—Ver. 21. *In the first (month), on the fourteenth day of the month, ye shall keep the Passover, a feast of a full week; unleavened shall be eaten.* Ver. 22. *And the prince shall prepare on that day for himself and for all the people of the land a bullock as a sin-offering.* Ver. 23. *And for the seven days of the feast he shall prepare as a burnt-offering for Jehovah seven bullocks and seven rams without blemish daily, the seven days, and as a sin-offering a he-goat daily.* Ver. 24. *And as a meat-offering, he shall prepare an ephah for the bullock, and an ephah for the ram, and a hin of oil for the ephah.* Ver. 25. *In the seventh (month), on the fifteenth day of the month, at the feast he shall do the same for seven days with regard to the sin-offering, as also the burnt-offering, and the meat-offering, as also the oil.*—In the words, “shall the

Passover be to you," there lies the thought that the Passover is to be celebrated in the manner appointed in Ex. xii., with the paschal meal in the evening of the 14th Abib.—There is considerable difficulty connected with the following words, חַג שִׁבְעֹת יָמִים, which all the older translators have rendered "a feast of seven days." שִׁבְעֹת signifies periods of seven days or weeks. A feast of heptads of days, or weeks of days, cannot possibly mean a feast which lasted only seven days, or a week. חַג שִׁבְעֹת is used elsewhere for the feast of weeks (Ex. xxxiv. 22; Deut. xvi. 10), because they were to reckon seven weeks from the second day of the Passover, the day of the sheaf of first-fruits, and then to keep the feast of the loaves of first-fruits, or the feast of harvest (Deut. xvi. 9). Kliefoth retains this well-established meaning of the words in this passage also, and gives the following explanation: If the words חַג שִׁבְעֹת stood alone without יָמִים, it would mean that in future the Passover was to be kept like the feast of seven weeks, as the feast of the loaves of first-fruits. But the addition of יָמִים, which is to be taken in the same sense as in Dan. x. 2, 3, Gen. xxix. 14, etc., gives this turn to the thought, that in future the Passover is to be kept as a feast of seven weeks long, "a feast lasting seven weeks." According to this explanation, the meaning of the regulation is, "that in future not only the seven days of sweet loaves, but the whole of the seven weeks intervening between the feast of the wave-sheaf and the feast of the wave-loaves, was to be kept as a Passover, that the whole of the quinquagesima should be one Easter חַג, and the feast of weeks be one with the Passover." To this there is appended the further regulation, that unleavened bread is to be eaten, not merely for the seven days therefore, but for the whole of the seven weeks, till the feast of the loaves of first-fruits. This explanation is a very sagacious one, and answers to the Christian view of the Easter-tide. But it is open to objections which render it untenable. In the first place, that יָמִים, when used in the sense of lasting for days, is not usually connected with the preceding

noun in the construct state, but is attached as an adverbial accusative; compare *שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׁבָעִים יָמִים* in Dan. x. 2, 3, and *שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים* in Gen. xli. 1, Jer. xxviii. 3, 11, etc. But a still more important objection is the circumstance that the words *חַג שָׁבָעוֹת יָמִי הָחֹג* in ver. 23 unquestionably point back to *חַג שָׁבָעוֹת* as there is no other way in which the article in *הָחֹג* can be explained, just as *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא* in ver. 22 points back to the fourteenth day mentioned in ver. 21 as the time of the *pesach* feast. It follows from this, however, that *שָׁבָעוֹת יָמִים* can only signify a seven days' feast. It is true that the plural *שָׁבָעוֹת* appears irreconcilable with this; for Kimchi's opinion, that *שָׁבָעוֹת* is a singular, written with *Cholem* instead of *Patach*, is purely a result of perplexity, and the explanation given by Gussetius, that Ezekiel speaks in the plural of weeks, because the reference is "to the institution of the Passover as an annual festival to be celebrated many times in the series of times and ages," is no better. The plural *שָׁבָעוֹת* must rather be taken as a plural of genus, as in *עָרֵי*, Gen. xiii. 12 and Judg. xii. 7; *בָּתָּה*, Gen. xix. 29; or *בָּנִים*, Gen. xxi. 7, Isa. xxxvii. 3; so that Ezekiel speaks indefinitely of heptads of days, because he assumes that the fact is well known that the feast only lasted one heptad of days, as he expressly states in ver. 23. If this explanation of the plural does not commend itself, we must take *שָׁבָעוֹת* as a copyist's error for *שָׁבָעַת*, feast of a heptad of days, *i.e.* a feast lasting a full week, and attribute the origin of this copyist's error to the fact that *חַג שָׁבָעַת* naturally suggested the thought of *חַג שָׁבָעוֹת*, feast of weeks, or Pentecost, not merely because the feast of Pentecost is always mentioned in the Pentateuch along with the feasts of Passover and tabernacles, but also because the only singular form of *שָׁבָעוֹת* that we meet with elsewhere is *שָׁבִיעַ* (Dan. ix. 27), or in the construct state *שָׁבַעַת* (Gen. xxix. 27), not *שָׁבָעָה* and *שָׁבָעַת*.—The word *הַפֶּסַח* is used here as in Deut. xvi. 1, 2, so that it includes the seven days' feast of unleavened bread. The *Niphal* *יֵאָכֵל* is construed with the accusative in the olden style: *mazzoth* shall men eat.—In

vers. 22 and 23 there follow the regulations concerning the sacrifices of this festival, and first of all concerning the sin-offering to be presented on the fourteenth day, on the evening of which the paschal lamb was slaughtered and the paschal meal was held (ver. 22). The Mosaic legislation makes no allusion to this, but simply speaks of festal sacrifices for the seven days of *mazzoth*, the 15th to the 21st Abib (Lev. xxiii. 5-8; Num. xxviii. 16-25), with regard to which fresh regulations are also given here. The Mosaic law prescribes for each of these seven days as burnt-offerings two bullocks, a ram, and seven yearling lambs, as a meat-offering; three-tenths of an ephah of meal mixed with oil for each bullock, two-tenths for the ram, and one-tenth for each lamb, and a he-goat for the sin-offering (Num. xxviii. 19-22). The new law for the feasts, on the other hand, also requires, it is true, only one he-goat daily for a sin-offering on the seven feast days, but for the daily burnt-offerings seven bullocks and seven rams each; and for the meat-offering, an ephah of meal and a hin of oil for every bullock and for every ram. In the new *thorah*, therefore, the burnt-offerings and meat-offerings are much richer and more copious, and the latter in far greater measure than the former.—Ver. 25. The same number of sacrifices is to be offered throughout the feast of seven days falling upon the fifteenth day of the seventh month. This feast is the feast of tabernacles, but the name is not mentioned, doubtless because the practice of living in tabernacles (booths) would be dropped in the time to come. And even with regard to the sacrifices of this feast, the new *thorah* differs greatly from the old. According to the Mosaic law, there were to be offered, in addition to the daily sin-offering of a he-goat, seventy bullocks in all as burnt-offerings for the seven days; and these were to be so distributed that on the first day thirteen were to be offered, and the number was to be reduced by one on each of the following days, so that there would be only seven bullocks upon the seventh day; moreover, every day two rams and

fourteen yearling lambs were to be offered, together with the requisite quantity of meal and oil for a meat-offering according to the number of the animals (Num. xxix. 12-34). According to Ezekiel, on the other hand, the quantity of provision made for the sacrifices remained the same as that appointed for the feast of Passover; so that the whole cost of the burnt-offerings and meat-offerings did not reach the amount required by the Mosaic law. In addition to all this, there was an eighth day observed as a closing festival in the Mosaic feast of tabernacles, with special sacrifices; and this also is wanting in Ezekiel.—But the following is still more important than the points of difference just mentioned: Ezekiel only mentions the two yearly feasts of seven days in the first and seventh months, and omits not only the Pentecost, or feast of weeks, but also the day of trumpets, on the first of the seventh month, and the day of atonement on the tenth; from which we must infer that the Israel of the future would keep only the two first named of all the yearly feasts. The correctness of this conclusion is placed beyond the reach of doubt by the fact that he practically transfers the feasts of the day of trumpets and of the day of atonement, which were preparatory to the feast of tabernacles, to the first month, by the appointment of special sin-offerings for the first and seventh days of that month (vers. 18-20), and of a sin-offering on the day of the paschal meal (ver. 22). This essentially transforms the idea which lies at the foundation of the cycle of Mosaic feasts, as we intend subsequently to show, when discussing the meaning and significance of the whole picture of the new kingdom of God, as shown in ch. xl.-xlviii.

Chap. xlv. 1-15. *Sacrifices for the Sabbath and New Moon, Freewill-Offerings, and Daily Sacrifices.*

Vers. 1-7. SACRIFICES FOR THE SABBATH AND NEW MOON.—As, according to ch. xlv. 17, it devolved upon the prince to provide and bring the sacrifices for himself and the house of

Israel; after the appointment of the sacrifices to be offered at the yearly feasts (ch. xlv. 18-25), and before the regulation of the sacrifices for the Sabbath and new moon (ch. xlvi. 4-7), directions are given as to the conduct of the prince at the offering of these sacrifices (ch. xlvi. 1-3). For although the slaughtering and preparation of the sacrifices for the altar devolved upon the priests, the prince was to be present at the offering of the sacrifices to be provided by him, whereas the people were under no obligation to appear before the Lord in the temple except at the yearly feasts.

Ver. 1. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, The gate of the inner court, which looks toward the east, shall be shut the six working days, and on the Sabbath it shall be opened, and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened.* Ver. 2. *And the prince shall come by the way to the porch of the gate from without, and stand at the posts of the gate, and the priests shall prepare his burnt-offering and his peace-offerings, and he shall worship on the threshold of the gate and then go out; but the gate shall not be shut till the evening.* Ver. 3. *And the people of the land shall worship at the entrance of that gate on the Sabbaths and on the new moons before Jehovah.* Ver. 4. *And the burnt-offering which the prince shall offer to Jehovah shall consist on the Sabbath-day of six lambs without blemish and a ram without blemish; Ver. 5. And as a meat-offering, an ephah for the ram, and for the lambs as a meat-offering that which his hand may give, and of oil a hin to the ephah (of meal).* Ver. 6. *And on the day of the new moon there shall be a bullock, a young ox without blemish, and six lambs and a ram without blemish; Ver. 7. And he shall put an ephah for the bullock and an ephah for the ram for the meat-offering, and for the lambs as much as his hand affords, and of oil a hin for the ephah.—* Vers. 1-3 supply and explain the instructions given in ch. xlv. 1-3 concerning the outer eastern gate. As the east gate of the outer court (ch. xlv. 1), so also the east gate of the inner court was to remain closed during the six working days, and only to be opened on the Sabbaths and new

moons, when it was to remain open till the evening. The prince was to enter this inner east gate, and to stand there and worship upon the threshold while his sacrifice was being prepared and offered. בּוֹא קִרְךָ אֵלֶיךָ הַשַּׁעַר is to be taken as in ch. xlv. 3; but מִחוּץ, which is appended, is not to be referred to the entrance into the inner court, as the statement would be quite superfluous so far as this is concerned, since any one who was not already in the inner court must enter the gate-building of the inner court from without, or from the outer court. The meaning of מִחוּץ is rather that the prince was to enter, or to go to, the gate porch of the inner court through the outer east gate. There he was to stand at the posts of the gate and worship on the threshold of the gate during the sacrificial ceremony; and when this was over he was to go out again, namely, by the same way by which he entered (ch. xlv. 3). But the people who came to the temple on the Sabbaths and new moons were to worship פֶּתַח, *i.e.* at the entrance of this gate, outside the threshold of the gate. Kliefoth is wrong in taking פֶּתַח in the sense of through the doorway, as signifying that the people were to remain in front of the outer east gate, and to worship looking at the temple through this gate and through the open gate between. For הַשַּׁעַר הַזֶּה, *this gate*, can only be the gate of the inner court, which has been already mentioned. There is no force in the consideration which has led Kliefoth to overlook הַזֶּה, and think of the outer gate, namely, that "it would be unnatural to suppose that the people were to come into the outer court through the outer north and south gates, whilst the outer east gate remained shut (or perhaps more correctly, was opened for the prince), and so stand in front of the inner court," as it is impossible to see what there is that is unnatural in such a supposition. On the other hand, it is unnatural to assume that the people, who, according to ver. 9, were to come through the north and south gates into the outer court at all the מוֹעֲדִים to appear before Jehovah, were not allowed to enter the court upon the Sabbaths and new moons if they should wish to

worship before Jehovah upon these days also, but were to stand outside before the gate of the outer court. The difference between the princes and the people, with regard to visiting the temple upon the Sabbaths and new moons, consisted chiefly in this, that the prince could enter by the outer east gate and proceed as far as the posts of the middle gate, and there worship upon the threshold of the gate, whereas the people were only allowed to come into the outer court through the outer north and south gates, and could only proceed to the front of the middle gate.—Vers. 4 sqq. The burnt-offering for the Sabbath is considerably increased when compared with that appointed in the Mosaic law. The law requires two yearling lambs with the corresponding meat-offering (Num. xxviii. 9); Ezekiel, six lambs and one ram, and in addition to these a meat-offering for the ram according to the proportion already laid down in ch. xlv. 24 for the festal sacrifices; and for the lambs, מִנְחַת יָדָיו, a gift, a present of his hand,—that is to say, not a handful of meal, but, according to the formula used in alternation with it in ver. 7, as much as his hand can afford. For כֶּאֱשֶׁר יִרְאֶה, see Lev. xiv. 30, xxv. 26.—It is different with the sacrifices of the new moon in vers. 6 and 7. The law of Moses prescribed two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, with the corresponding meat-offering, and a he-goat for a sin-offering (Num. xxviii. 11–15); the *thorah* of Ezekiel, on the contrary, omits the sin-offering, and reduces the burnt-offering to one bullock, one ram, and six lambs, together with a meat-offering, according to the proportion already mentioned, which is peculiar to his law. The first תִּמְנִימִים in ver. 6 is a copyist's error for תִּמְנִים.

Vers. 8–12. ON THE OPENING OF THE TEMPLE FOR THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE VOLUNTARY OFFERINGS OF THE PRINCE.—Ver. 8. *And when the prince cometh, he shall go in by the way to the porch of the gate, and by its way shall he go out.* Ver. 9. *And when the people of the land come before*

Jehovah on the feast days, he who enters through the north gate to worship shall go out through the south gate; and he who enters through the south gate shall go out through the north gate: they shall not return through the gate through which they entered, but go out straight forward. Ver. 10. *And the prince shall enter in the midst of them, when they enter; and when they go out, they shall go out (together).* Ver. 11. *And at the feast days and holy days the meat-offering shall be an ephah for the bullock, an ephah for the ram, and for the lambs what his hand may give, and of oil a hin for the ephah.* Ver. 12. *And when the prince prepares a voluntary burnt-offering or voluntary peace-offerings to Jehovah, they shall open the gate that looks to the east, and he shall prepare his burnt-offerings and his peace-offering as he does on the Sabbath day; and when he has gone out they shall shut the gate after his going out.*—The coming of the people to worship before Jehovah has been already mentioned in ver. 3, but only casually, with reference to the position which they were to take behind the prince in case any individuals should come on the Sabbaths or new moons, on which they were not bound to appear. At the high festivals, on the other hand, every one was to come (Deut. xvi. 16); and for this there follow the necessary directions in vers. 9 and 10, to prevent crowding and confusion. For the purpose of linking these directions to what comes before, the rule already laid down in ver. 2 concerning the entrance and exit of the prince is repeated in ver. 8. מוֹעֲדִים is supposed by the commentators to refer to the high festivals of the first and seventh months (ch. xlv. 21 and 25); but מוֹעֲדִים does not apply to the same feasts as those which are called חַגִּים in ver. 11, as we may see from the combination of חַגִּים and מוֹעֲדִים. חַגִּים is the term applied to the greater annual feasts, as distinguished from the Sabbaths, new moons, and the day of atonement. The מוֹעֲדִים, on the contrary, are all the times and days sanctified to the Lord, including even the Sabbath (see the comm. on Lev. xxiii. 2). It is in this sense that מוֹעֲדִים is used here in ver. 9, and not חַגִּים; because what is laid down con-

cerning the entrance and exit of the people, when visiting the temple, is not merely intended to apply to the high festivals, on which the people were bound to appear before Jehovah, but also to such feast days as the Sabbaths and new moons, whenever individuals from among the people were desirous of their own free-will to worship before the Lord. The latter cases were not to be excluded, although, as ver. 10 clearly shows, the great feasts were principally kept in mind. For the entrance and exit of the prince in the midst of the people (ver. 10) apply to the great yearly feasts alone. The *Chetib* חֲתִיב in ver. 9 is to be preferred to the easier *Keri* כָּתִיב, and is not merely the more difficult reading, but the more correct reading also, as two kinds of people are mentioned,—those who entered by the north gate and those who entered by the south. Both are to go out walking straight forward; and neither of them is to turn in the court for the purpose of going out by the gate through which he entered. Even in ver. 10 חֲתִיב is not to be altered, as Hitzig supposes, but to be taken as referring to the prince and the people.—In ver. 11, the instructions given in ch. xlv. 24, xlv. 5, 7, concerning the quantities composing the meat-offering for the different feasts, are repeated here as rules applicable to all festal times. בְּחַגִּים וּבְמוֹעֲדִים has been correctly explained as follows: “at the feasts, and generally at all regular (more correctly, established) seasons,” cf. ch. xlv. 17. Only the daily sacrifices are excepted from this rule, other regulations being laid down for them in ver. 14.—Ver. 12. The freewill-offerings could be presented on any week-day. And the rules laid down in vers. 1 and 2 for the Sabbath-offerings of the prince are extended to cases of this kind, with one modification, namely, that the east gate, which had been opened for the occasion, should be closed again as soon as the sacrificial ceremony was over, and not left open till the evening, as on the Sabbath and new moon. נִדְבָה is a substantive: the freewill-offering, which could be either a burnt-offering or a peace-offering.

Vers. 13-15. **THE DAILY SACRIFICE.**—Ver. 13. *And a yearling lamb without blemish shalt thou prepare as a burnt-offering daily for Jehovah: every morning shalt thou prepare it.* Ver. 14. *And a meat-offering shalt thou add to it every morning, a sixth of an ephah, and oil a third of a hin, to moisten the wheaten flour, as a meat-offering for Jehovah: let these be everlasting statutes, perpetually enduring.* Ver. 15. *And prepare the lamb, and the meat-offering, and the oil, every morning as a perpetual burnt-offering.*—The preparation of the daily sacrifice is not imposed upon the prince, in harmony with ch. xlv. 17; it is the duty of the congregation, which the priests have to superintend. Every morning a yearling lamb is to be brought as a burnt-offering. The Mosaic law required such a lamb both morning and evening (Num. xxviii. 3, 4). The new *thorah* omits the evening sacrifice, but increases the meat-offering to the sixth of an ephah of meal and the third of a hin of oil, against the tenth of an ephah of meal and the fourth of a hin of oil prescribed by the Mosaic law (Num. xxviii. 5). רִם, from רָסַם, ἀπ. λεγ., to moisten (cf. רָסִים, Song of Sol. v. 2). The plural הָקוֹת refers to the burnt-offering and meat-offering. הָמִיר is added to give greater force, and, according to the correct remark of Hitzig, appears to be intended as a substitute for לְדוֹרֵהֶם in Lev. xxiii. 14, 21, 31. The repeated emphasizing of בִּבְקָר בִּבְקָר shows that the silence as to the evening sacrifice is not a mere oversight of the matter, but that in the new order of worship the evening sacrifice is to be omitted. The *Chetib* וְעֵשֶׂי is to be retained, in opposition to the *Keri* וְעֵשֶׂי.

This brings to an end the new order of worship. The verses which follow in the chapter before us introduce two supplementary notices,—namely, a regulation pointing back to ch. xlv. 7-9, concerning the right of the prince to hand down or give away his landed property (vers. 16-18); and a brief description of the sacrificial kitchens for priests and people (vers. 19-24).

Vers. 16–18. ON THE RIGHT OF THE PRINCE TO DISPOSE OF HIS LANDED PROPERTY.—Ver. 16. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, If the prince gives a present to one of his sons, it is his inheritance, shall belong to his sons; it is their possession, in an hereditary way.* Ver. 17. *But if he gives a present from his inheritance to one of his servants, it shall belong to him till the year of liberty, and then return to the prince; to his sons alone shall his inheritance remain.* Ver. 18. *And the prince shall not take from the inheritance of the people, so as to thrust them out of their possession; from his own possession he shall transmit to his sons, that no one of my people be scattered from his possession.*—According to ch. xlv. 7, 8, at the future division of the land among the tribes, a possession was to be given to the prince on both sides of the holy heave and of the city domain, that he might not seize upon a possession by force, as the former princes had done. The prince might give away portions of this royal property, but only within such limits that the design with which a regal possession had been granted might not be frustrated. To his sons, as his heirs, he might make gifts therefrom, which would remain their own property; but if he presented to any one of his servants a portion of his hereditary property, it was to revert to the prince in the year of liberty; just as, according to the Mosaic law, the hereditary field of an Israelite, which had been alienated, was to revert to its hereditary owner (Lev. xxvii. 24, compared with xxv. 10–13). The suffix in נַחֲלָתוֹ (ver. 16) is not to be taken as referring to the prince, and connected with the preceding words in opposition to the accents, but refers to אִישׁ מִבָּנָיו. What the prince gives to one of his sons from his landed property shall be his נַחֲלָה, i.e. his hereditary possession. This is expressed still more generally in the next clause: to his (the prince's) sons shall it (the land presented) belong as their נַחֲלָה, i.e. after the manner of an hereditary possession. On the other hand, what the prince presents to one of his servants shall not become hereditary in his case, but shall revert to the prince in the year of liberty, or

the year of jubilee. The second half of ver. 17 reads verbally thus: "only his inheritance is it; as for his sons, it shall belong to them."—And as the prince was not to break up his regal possession by presents made to servants, so was he (ver. 18) also not to put any one out of his possession by force, for the purpose, say, of procuring property for his own sons; but was to give his sons their inheritance from his own property alone. For הֶזְנָה, compare ch. xlv. 8, and such passages as 1 Sam. viii. 14, xxii. 7. We shall return by and by to the question, how this regulation stands related to the view that the prince is the Messiah.

Vers. 19-24. THE SACRIFICIAL KITCHENS FOR THE PRIESTS AND FOR THE PEOPLE.—Ver. 19. *And he brought me up the entrance by the shoulder of the gate to the holy cells for the priests, which looked to the north; and behold there was a place on the outermost side toward the west.* Ver. 20. *And he said to me, This is the place where the priests boil the trespass-offering and the sin-offering, where they bake the meat-offering that they may not need to carry it out into the outer court, to sanctify the people.* Ver. 21. *And he led me out into the outer court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the court; and behold, in every corner of the court there was again a court.* Ver. 22. *In the four corners of the court were closed courts of forty cubits in length and thirty cubits in breadth; all four corner spaces had one measure.* Ver. 23. *And a row of stands was round about therein in all four, and boiling hearths were under the rows made round about.* Ver. 24. *And he said to me, These are the kitchen-house, where the servants of the house boil the slain-offering of the people.*—In the list and description of the subordinate buildings of the temple, the sacrificial kitchens are passed over; and they are therefore referred to here again in a supplementary manner. Ewald has shifted vers. 19-24, and placed them after ch. xlii. 14, which would certainly have been the most suitable

place for mentioning the sacrificial kitchens for the priests. But it is evident that they stood here originally, and not there; not only from the fact that in ver. 19a the passage to the holy cells (ch. xlii. 1 sqq.) is circumstantially described, which would have been unnecessary if the description of the kitchens had originally followed immediately after ch. xlii. 14, as Ezekiel was then standing by the cells; but also, and still more clearly, from the words that serve as an introduction to what follows, "he led me back to the door of the house" (ch. xlvii. 1), which are unintelligible unless he had changed his standing-place between ch. xlvi. 18 and xlvii. 1, as is related in ch. xlvi. 19 and 21, since Ezekiel had received the sacrificial *thorah* (ch. xliv. 5–xlvi. 18) in front of the house (ch. xliv. 4). If vers. 19–24 had originally stood elsewhere, so that ch. xlvii. 1 was immediately connected with ch. xlvi. 18, the transition-formula in ch. xlvii. 1a would necessarily have read very differently.—But with this section the right of the preceding one, vers. 16–18, which Ewald has arbitrarily interpolated in ch. xlv. between vers. 8 and 9, to hold its present place in the chapter before us as an appendix, is fully vindicated.—The holy cells (ver. 19) are those of the northern cell-building (ch. xlii. 1–10) described in ch. xlii. 1–14 (see Plate I. L). בַּמְּבֹאֵה is the approach or way mentioned in ch. xlii. 9, which led from the northern inner gate to these cells (see Plate I. l); not the place to which Ezekiel was brought (Kliefoth), but the passage along which he was led. The spot to which he was conducted follows in אֶל הַלְשָׁבוֹת (the article before the construct state, as in ch. xliii. 21, etc.). אֶל הַפְּהִינִים is appended to this in the form of an apposition; and here לְשָׁבוֹת is to be repeated in thought: to those for the priests. הַלְשָׁבוֹת הַפְּנֹנֹת צ' belongs to הַלְשָׁבוֹת. There, i.e. by the cells, was a space set apart at the outermost (hindermost) sides toward the west (Plate I. M), for the boiling of the flesh of the trespass-offering and sin-offering, and the baking of the *minchah*,—that is to say, of those portions of the sacrifices which the priests were to eat in their official capacity (see the

comm. on ch. xlii. 13). For the motive assigned in ver. 20b for the provision of special kitchens for this object, see the exposition of ch. xliv. 19.—In addition to these, kitchens were required for the preparation of the sacrificial meals, which were connected with the offering of the *shelamim*, and were held by those who presented them. These sacrificial kitchens for the people are treated of in vers. 20-24. They were situated in the four corners of the outer court (Plate I. *N*). To show them to the prophet, the angel leads him into the outer court. The holy cells (ver. 19) and the sacrificial kitchens for the priests (ver. 20) were also situated by the outside wall of the inner court; and for this reason Ezekiel had already been led out of the inner court, where he had received the sacrificial *thorah*, through the northern gate of the court by the way which led to the holy cells, that he might be shown the sacrificial kitchens. When, therefore, it is stated in ver. 21 that "he led me out into the outer court," וַיֵּצֵאנִי can only be explained on the supposition that the space from the surrounding wall of the inner court to the way which led from the gate porch of that court to the holy cells, and to the passage which continued this way in front of the cells (Plate I. *l* and *m*), was regarded as an appurtenance of the inner court. In every one of the four corners of the outer court there was a (small) courtyard in the court. The repetition of הָיָזַר בְּמִקְצֵעַ הַחֹף has a distributive force. The small courtyards in the four corners of the court were קְטָרוֹת, *i.e.* not "uncovered," as this would be unmeaning, since all courts or courtyards were uncovered; nor "contracted" (Böttcher), for קָטַר has no such meaning; nor "*fumum exhalantia*," as the Talmudists suppose; nor "bridged over" (Hitzig), which there is also nothing in the language to sustain; but in all probability *atria clausa*, *i.e.* *muris cincta et januis clausa* (Ges. *Thes.*), from קָטַר; in Aram. *ligavit*; in Ethiop. *clausit, observavit januam*. The word מְהַקְצֵעוֹת is marked with *puncta extraordinaria* by the Masoretes as a suspicious word, and is also omitted in the Septuagint and Vulgate.

Böttcher and Hitzig have therefore expunged it as a gloss. But even Hitzig admits that this does not explain how it found its way into the text. The word is a *Hophal* participle of קָצַע, in the sense of cornered off, cut off into corners, and is in apposition to the suffix to לְאַרְבַּעָהָם,—literally, one measure was to all four, the spaces or courtyards cut off in the corners. For this appositional use of the participle, compare 1 Kings xiv. 6. There is also a difference of opinion as to the meaning of the word טֹר, which only occurs here and in Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq. and xxxix. 10, where it signifies “row,” and not “enclosure” (Kliefoth). מִירֹת, which follows, is evidently merely the feminine plural, from טֹר, as מִירָה is also derived from טֹר, in the sense of “to encircle” (see the comm. on Ps. lxi. 26). Consequently טֹר does not mean a covering or boundary wall, but a row or shelf of brickwork which had several separate shelves, under which the cooking hearths were placed. מִבְשָׁלוֹת, not kitchens, but cooking hearths; strictly speaking a *partic. Piel*, things which cause to boil.—בֵּית הַמִּבְשָׁלִים, kitchen house. מִשְׁכָּרְתֵי הַבַּיִת, the temple servants, as distinguished from the servants of Jehovah (ch. xlv. 15, 16), are the Levites (ch. xlv. 11, 12). עֲשֵׂי is construed as in ch. xl. 17 and xli. 18, 19.

CHAP. XLVII. AND XLVIII. BLESSING OF THE LAND OF CANAAN,
AND DISTRIBUTION OF IT AMONG THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

After Ezekiel had seen the entrance of the glory of the Lord into the new temple, which was measured before his eyes, and had received the new *thorah* to be announced to the people concerning the service which Israel was to render to its God in the new sanctuary, a stream of living water was shown to him, proceeding from the threshold of the temple, flowing to the Arabah, and emptying itself into the Dead Sea, to fertilize the barren soil, and fill the salt water of the Dead Sea with vital power (ch. xlvii. 1-12); and finally, the command of the Lord is communicated to him concerning the boundaries of the

holy land, its distribution among the twelve tribes of Israel, and the building of the holy city (ch. xlvii. 13-xlviii. 35).

Chap. xlvii. 1-12. *The River of Water of Life.*

When Jehovah shall have judged all the heathen in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and shall dwell as King of His people upon Zion His holy mountain, then will the mountains trickle with new wine, and the hills run with milk, and all the brooks of Judah flow with water; and a spring will proceed from the house of Jehovah, and water the Acacia valley. With these figures Joel (ch. iv. 18) has already described the river of salvation, which the Lord would cause to flow to His congregation in the time when the kingdom of God shall be perfected. This picture of the Messianic salvation shapes itself in the case of our prophet into the magnificent vision contained in the section before us.¹—Ver. 1. *And he led me back to the door of the house, and, behold, water flowed out from under the threshold of the house toward the east, for the front side of the house was toward the east; and the water flowed down from below, from the right shoulder of the house on the south of the altar.* Ver. 2. *And he led me out by the way of the north gate, and caused me to go round about on the outside, to the outer gate of the way to the (gate), looking toward the east; and, behold, waters rippled for the right shoulder of the gate.* Ver. 3. *When the man went out toward the east, he had a measuring line in his hand, and he measured a thousand cubits, and caused me to go through the water—water to the ankles.* Ver. 4. *And he measured a thousand, and caused me to go through the water—water to the knees; and he measured a thousand, and caused me to go through—water to the hips.* Ver. 5. *And he measured a thousand—a river through which I could not walk, for the water was high, water to swim in, a river which could not be forded.* Ver. 6. *And he said to me, Hast thou seen it, son of man? and he led me*

¹ Compare W. Neumann, *Die Wasser des Lebens*. An exegetical study on Ezek. xlvii. 1-12. Berlin, 1848.

back again by the bank of the river. Ver. 7. When I returned, behold, there stood on the bank of the river very many trees on this side and on that. Ver. 8. And he said to me, This water flows out into the eastern circle, and runs down into the plain, and reaches the sea; into the sea is it carried out, that the waters may become wholesome. Ver. 9. And it will come to pass, every living thing with which it swarms everywhere, whither the double river comes, will live, and there will be very many fishes; for when this water comes thither they will become wholesome, and everytlng will live whither the river comes. Ver. 10. And fishermen will stand by it, from Engedi to Eneglaim they will spread out nets; after their kind will there be fishes therein, like the fishes of the great sea, very many. Ver. 11. Its marshes and its swamps, they will not become wholesome, they will be given up to salt. Ver. 12. And by the river will all kinds of trees of edible fruit grow on its bank, on this side and on that; their leaves will not wither, and their fruits will not fail; every moon they will bear ripe fruit, for its water flows out of its sanctuary. And their fruits will serve as food, and their leaves as medicine.

From the outer court, where Ezekiel had been shown the sacrificial kitchens for the people (ch. xlvi. 21 sqq.), he is taken back to the front of the door of the temple house, to be shown a spring of water, flowing out from under the threshold of the temple, which has swollen in the short course of four thousand cubits from its source into a deep river in which men can swim, and which flows down to the Jordan valley, to empty itself into the Dead Sea. In vers. 1 and 2, the origin and course of this water are described; in vers. 3 and 5, its marvellous increase; in ver. 6, the growth of trees on its banks; in vers. 7–12, its emptying itself into the Arabah and into the Dead Sea, with the life-giving power of its water.—Ver. 1. The door of the house is the entrance into the holy place of the temple, and *מִפְתָּח הַבַּיִת* the threshold of this door. *קִרְיָאָה*, not “in the east” (Hitzig), for the following sentence explaining the reason does not require this meaning; but “toward the east” of the

threshold, which lay toward the east, for the front of the temple was in the east. מִתַּחַת is not to be connected with מִבְּתָחָה, but to be taken by itself, only not in the sense of downwards (Hitzig), but from beneath, namely, down from the right shoulder of the house. יָרַד, to flow down, because the temple stood on higher ground than the inner court. The right shoulder is the part of the eastern wall of the holy place between the door and the pillars, the breadth of which was five cubits (ch. xli. 1). The water therefore issued from the corner formed by the southern wall of the porch and the eastern wall of the holy place (see the sketch on Plate I.), and flowed past the altar of burnt-offering on the south side, and crossed the court in an easterly direction, passing under its surrounding wall. It then flowed across the outer court and under the pavement and the eastern wall into the open country, where the prophet, on the outside in front of the gate, saw it rippling forth from the right shoulder of that gate. That he might do this, he was led out through the north gate, because the east gate was shut (ch. xliv. 1), and round by the outside wall to the eastern outer gate. יָרַדָּה חַיִּץ is more minutely defined by אֶל-שַׁעַר הַחַיִּץ, and this, again, by יָרַדָּה הַפּוֹנֶה קָדִים, “by the way to the (gate) looking eastwards.” The ἀπ. λεγ. מִפְּסִים, *Piel* of פָּכָה, related to בָּכָה, most probably signifies to ripple, not to trickle. מֵיִם has no article, because it is evident from the context that the water was the same as that which Ezekiel had seen in the inner court, issuing from the threshold of the temple. The right shoulder is that portion of the eastern wall which joined the south side of the gate.—Vers. 3-5. The miraculous increase in the depth of the water. A thousand cubits from the wall, as one walked through, it reached to the ankles; a thousand cubits further, to the knees; a thousand cubits further, to the hips; and after going another thousand cubits it was impossible to wade through, one could only swim therein. The words מֵיִם אֲפִסִּים are a brief expression for “there was water which reached to the ankles.” אֲפִסִּים is equivalent to

פֶּם, an ankle, not the sole of the foot. In 1 Chron. xi. 13, on the other hand, we have פֶּם רַמִּים for אֶפֶס רַמִּים. The striking expression מִים בְּרָכִים for מֵי בְרָכִים may possibly have been chosen because מֵי בְרָכִים had the same meaning as מֵימֵי in Isa. xxxvi. 12 (*Keri*). The measuring man directed the prophet's attention (ver. 6) to this extraordinary increase in the stream of water, because the miraculous nature of the stream was exhibited therein. A natural river could not increase to such an extent within such short distances, unless, indeed, other streams emptied themselves into it on all sides, which was not the case here. He then directed him to go back again עַל שְׂפַת, along the bank, not "to the bank," as he had never left it. The purpose for which he had been led along the bank was accomplished after he had gone four thousand cubits. From the increase in the water, as measured up to this point, he could infer what depth it would reach in its further course. He is therefore now to return along the bank to see how it is covered with trees. בְּשֹׁבִי cannot be explained in any other way than as an incorrect form for בְּשֹׁבִי, though there are no corresponding analogies to be found.

In vers. 8-12 he gives him a still further explanation of the course of the river and the effect of its waters. The river flows out into הַגִּלְגָּל הַקֶּדְמוֹנִי, the eastern circle, which is identical with הַגִּלְגָּל הַיְרֵדִי, the circle of the Jordan (Josh. xxii. 10, 11), the region above the Dead Sea, where the Jordan valley (Ghor) widens out into a broad, deep basin. הָעֵרְבָה is the deep valley of the Jordan, now called the *Ghor* (see the comm. on Dent. i. 1), of which Robinson says that the greater part remains a desolate wilderness. It was so described in ancient times (see Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7, iv. 8. 2), and we find it so to-day (compare v. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 58). הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ is the Dead Sea, called הַיָּם הַקֶּדְמוֹנִי in ver. 18, and the sea of the Arabah in Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49. We agree with Hengstenberg in taking the words אֶל-הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ as an emphatic summing up of the previous statement concerning the outflow of the water, to which the

explanation concerning its effect upon the Dead Sea is attached, and supply מַצֵּי from the clause immediately preceding: "the waters of the river that have been brought out (come) to the sea, and the waters of the Dead Sea are healed." There is no need, therefore, for the emendation proposed by Hitzig, namely, אֶל הַיָּם הֵם מוֹצֵאִים. So much, however, is beyond all doubt, that הַיָּמָה is no other than the Dead Sea already mentioned. The supposition that it is the Mediterranean Sea (Chald., Ros., Ewald, and others) cannot be reconciled with the words, and has only been transferred to this passage from Zech. xiv. 8. נָרְפָא signifies, as in 2 Kings ii. 22, the healing or rendering wholesome of water that is injurious or destructive to life. The character of the Dead Sea, with which the ancients were also well acquainted, and of which Tacitus writes as follows: *Lacus immenso ambitu, specie maris sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento impellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur* (*Hist. v. c. 6*),—a statement confirmed by all modern travellers (cf. v. Raumer, *Pal.* pp. 61 sqq., and Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*),—is regarded as a disease of the water, which is healed or turned into wholesome water in which fishes can live, by the water of the river proceeding from the sanctuary. The healing and life-giving effect of this river upon the Dead Sea is described in vers. 9 and 10. Whithersoever the waters of the river come, all animated beings will come to life and flourish. In ver. 9 the dual נִחְלָיִים occasions some difficulty. It is not likely that the dual should have been used merely for the sake of its resemblance to נִיִּים, as Maurer imagines; and still less probable is it that there is any allusion to a junction of the river proceeding from the temple at some point in its course with the Kedron, which also flows into the Dead Sea (Hävernicks), as the Kedron is not mentioned either before or afterwards. According to Kliefoth, the dual is intended to indicate a division which takes place in the waters of the river, that have hitherto flowed on together, as soon as they enter the sea. But this would certainly

have been expressed more clearly. Hengstenberg takes the expression "double river" to mean a river with a strong current, and refers to Jer. l. 21 in support of this. This is probably the best explanation; for nothing is gained by altering the text into נַחֲלָם (Ewald) or נַחֲלִים (Hitzig), as נַחֲל does not require definition by means of a suffix, nor does the plural answer to the context. אֶל כָּל-אֲשֶׁר וְגו' is to be taken in connection with אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁרָץ: "wherewith it swarms whithersoever the river comes;" though אֶל does not stand for עַל after Gen. vii. 21, as Hitzig supposes, but is to be explained from a species of attraction, as in Gen. xx. 13. יַחְיֶה is a pregnant expression, to revive, to come to life. The words are not to be understood, however, as meaning that there were living creatures in the Dead Sea before the health-giving water flowed into it; the thought is simply, that whithersoever the waters of the river come, there come into existence living creatures in the Dead Sea, so that it swarms with them. In addition to the שְׂרָץ, the quantity of fish is specially mentioned; and in the second hemistich the reason is assigned for the number of living creatures that come into existence by a second allusion to the health-giving power of the water of the river. The subject to וַיִּרְפָּא, viz. the waters of the Dead Sea, is to be supplied from the context. The great abundance of fish in the Dead Sea produced by the river is still further depicted in ver. 10. Fishermen will spread their nets along its coast from *Engedi* to *Eneghlaim*; and as for their kind, there will be as many kinds of fish there as are to be found in the great or Mediterranean Sea. עֵין גִּדִי, i.e. Goat's spring, now *Ain-Jidi*, a spring in the middle of the west coast of the Dead Sea, with ruins of several ancient buildings (see the comm. on Josh. xv. 62, and v. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 188). עֵין עֵגְלִים has not yet been discovered, though, from the statement of Jerome, "*Engallim* is at the beginning of the Dead Sea, where the Jordan enters it," it has been conjectured that it is to be found in *Ain el-Feshkhah*, a spring at the northern end of the west coast, where there are

also ruins of a small square tower and other buildings to be seen (*vid.* Robinson's *Palestine*, II. pp. 491, 492), as none of the other springs on the west coast, of which there are but few, answer so well as this. לְמִיָּה is pointed without *Mappik*, probably because the Masoretes did not regard the ם as a suffix, as the noun to which it alludes does not follow till afterwards.—Ver. 11 introduces an exception, namely, that notwithstanding this the Dead Sea will still retain marshes or pools and swamps, which will not be made wholesome (בְּצֹחַ for בְּצֹחַ, pools). An allusion to the natural character of the Dead Sea underlies the words. “In the rainy season, when the sea is full, its waters overspread many low tracts of marsh land, which remain after the receding of the water in the form of moist pools or basins; and as the water in these pools evaporates rapidly, the ground becomes covered with a thick crust of salt” (Robinson's *Physical Geography*, p. 215). לְמַלְּחָה נָתַנִּי, they are given up to salt, *i.e.* destined to remain salt, because the waters of the river do not reach them. The light in which the salt is regarded here is not that of its seasoning properties, but, in the words of Hengstenberg, “as the foe to all fruitfulness, all life and prosperity, as Pliny has said (*Hist. Nat.* xxxi. c. 7: *Omnis locus, in quo reperitur sal, sterilis est nihilque gignit*)” (cf. Deut. xxix. 22; Jer. xvii. 6; Zeph. ii. 9; Ps. cvii. 34).—In ver. 12 the effect of the water of the river upon the vegetation of the ground, already mentioned in ver. 7, is still further described. On its coast grow all kinds of trees with edible fruits (עֵץ מִאֲכָל), as in Lev. xix. 23), whose leaves do not wither, and whose fruits do not fail, but ripen every month (בְּכֵר, to produce first-fruits, *i.e.* fresh fruits; and לְחֹדְשִׁים distributive, as in Isa. xlvii. 13), because the waters which moisten the soil proceed from the sanctuary, *i.e.* “directly and immediately from the dwelling-place of Him who is the author of all vital power and fruitfulness” (Hitzig). The leaves and fruits of these trees therefore possess supernatural powers. The fruits serve as food, *i.e.* for the maintenance of the life produced by the river of water;

the leaves as medicine (תְּרִיפָה from רָפָא = רִיף, healing), *i.e.* for the healing of the sick and corrupt (*εἰς θεράπειαν*, Rev. xxii. 2).

In the effect of the water proceeding from the sanctuary upon the Dead Sea and the land on its shores, as described in vers. 8–12, the significance of this stream of water in relation to the new kingdom of God is implied. If, then, the question be asked, what we are to understand by this water, whether we are to take it in a literal sense as the temple spring, or in a spiritual and symbolical sense, the complete answer can only be given in connection with the interpretation of the whole of the temple vision (ch. xl.–xlviii.). Even if we assume for the moment, however, that the description of the new temple, with the worship appointed for it, and the fresh division of Canaan, is to be understood literally, and therefore that the building of an earthly temple upon a high mountain in the most holy *terumah* of the land set apart for Jehovah, and a renewal of the bleeding sacrifices in this temple by the twelve tribes of Israel, when restored to Palestine from the heathen lands, are to be taken for granted, it would be difficult to combine with this a literal interpretation of what is said concerning the effect of the temple spring. It is true that in Volck's opinion "we are to think of a glorification of nature;" but even this does not remove the difficulties which stand in the way of a literal interpretation of the temple spring. According to ver. 12, its waters possess the life-giving and healing power ascribed to them because they issue from the sanctuary. But how does the possession by the water of the power to effect the glorification of nature harmonize with its issuing from a temple in which bullocks, rams, calves, and goats are slaughtered and sacrificed? —Volck is still further of opinion that, with the spiritual interpretation of the temple spring, "nothing at all could be made of the fishermen;" because, for example, he cannot conceive of the spiritual interpretation in any other way than as an allegorical translation of all the separate features of the prophetic picture into spiritual things. But he has failed to consider

that the fishermen with their nets on the shore of the sea, once dead, but now swarming with fish, are irreconcilably opposed to the assumption of a glorification of nature in the holy land, just because the inhabitants of the globe or holy land, in its paradisaically glorified state, will no more eat fish or other flesh, according to the teaching of Scripture, than the first men in Paradise. When once the wolf shall feed with the lamb, the leopard with the kid, the cow with the bear, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, under the sceptre of the sprout from the stem of Jesse, then will men also cease their fishing, and no longer slaughter and eat either oxen or goats. To this the Israelites will form no exception in their glorified land of Canaan.—And if even these features in the vision before us decidedly favour the figurative or spiritual view of the temple spring, the necessity for this explanation is placed beyond the reach of doubt by a comparison of our picture with the parallel passages. According to Joel iv. 18, at the time when a spring issues from the house of Jehovah and the vale of Shittim is watered, the mountains trickle with new wine, and the hills run with milk. If, then, in this case we understand what is affirmed of the temple spring literally, the trickling of the mountains with new wine and the flowing of the hills with milk must be taken literally as well. But we are unable to attain to the belief that in the glorified land of Israel the mountains will be turned into springs of new wine, and the hills into fountains of milk; and in the words of the whole verse we can discern nothing but a figurative description of the abundant streams of blessing which will then pour over the entire land. And just as in Joel the context points indisputably to a non-literal or figurative explanation, so also does the free manner in which Zechariah uses this prophecy of his predecessors, speaking only of living waters which issue from Jerusalem, and flow half into the eastern (*i.e.* the Dead) sea, and half into the western (*i.e.* the Mediterranean) sea (Zech. xiv. 8), show that he was not thinking of an actual spring with earthly water. And here

we are still provisionally passing by the application made of this feature in the prophetic descriptions of the glory of the new kingdom of God in the picture of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxii. 1 and 2).

The figurative interpretation, or spiritual explanation, is moreover favoured by the analogy of the Scriptures. "Water," which renders the unfruitful land fertile, and supplies refreshing drink to the thirsty, is used in Scripture as a figure denoting blessing and salvation, which had been represented even in Paradise in the form of watering (cf. Gen. xiii. 10). In Isa. xii. 3, "and with joy ye draw water from the wells of salvation," the figure is expressly interpreted. And so also in Isa. xlv. 3, "I will pour water upon the thirsty one, and streams upon the desert; I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring:" where the *blessing* answers to the water, the *Spirit* is named as the principal form in which the blessing is manifested, "the foundation of all other salvation for the people of God" (Hengstenberg). This salvation, which Joel had already described as a spring issuing from the house of Jehovah and watering the dry acacia valley, Ezekiel saw in a visionary embodiment as water, which sprang from under the threshold of the temple into which the glory of the Lord entered, and had swollen at a short distance off into so mighty a river that it was no longer possible to wade through. In this way the thought is symbolized, that the salvation which the Lord causes to flow down to His people from His throne will pour down from small beginnings in marvellously increasing fulness. The river flows on into the barren, desolate waste of the Ghor, and finally into the Dead Sea, and makes the waters thereof sound, so that it swarms with fishes. The waste is a figure denoting spiritual drought and desolation, and the Dead Sea a symbol of the death caused by sin. The healing and quickening of the salt waters of that sea, so fatal to all life, set forth the power of that divine salvation which conquers death, and the calling to life of the world sunk in spiritual death.

From this comes life in its creative fulness and manifold variety, as shown both by the figure of the fishermen who spread their nets along the shore, and by the reference to the kinds of fish, which are as manifold in their variety as those in the great sea. But life extends no further than the water of salvation flows. Wherever it cannot reach, the world continues to lie in death. The pools and swamps of the Dead Sea are still given up to salt. And lastly, the water of salvation also possesses the power to produce trees with leaves and fruits, by which the life called forth from death can be sustained and cured of all diseases. This is the meaning, according to the express statement of the text, of the trees with their never withering leaves, upon the banks of the river, and their fruits ripening every month.

Chap. xlvii. 13-xlviii. 35. *Boundaries and Division of the Holy Land. Description of the City of God.*

Chap. xlvii. 13-23. **BOUNDARIES OF THE LAND TO BE DIVIDED AMONG THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL.** (See the map, Plate IV.)—Ver. 13. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, This is the boundary according to which ye shall divide the land among you for an inheritance, for Joseph portions.* Ver. 14. *And ye shall receive it for an inheritance, one as well as another, because I lifted up my hand to give it to your fathers; and thus shall this land fall to you for an inheritance.* Ver. 15. *And this is the boundary of the land: toward the north side, from the great sea onwards by the way to Chetlon, in the direction of Zedad; Ver. 16. Hamath, Berotah, Sibram, which is between the boundary of Damascus and the boundary of Hamath, the central Hazer, which is on the boundary of Hauran.* Ver. 17. *And the boundary from the sea shall be Hazar-Enon, the boundary town of Damascus; and as for the north northwards, Hamath is the boundary. This, the north side.* Ver. 18. *And the east side between Hauran and Damascus and Gilead and the land of Israel, shall be the Jordan; from the boundary to the eastern sea ye shall measure. This, the east side.* Ver. 19. *And the south side*

toward the south; from Tamar to the water of strife, Kadesh, along the brook to the great sea. This, the south side toward the south. Ver. 20. And the west side; the great sea from the boundary to Hamath. This, the west side. Ver. 21. This land shall ye divide among you according to the tribes of Israel. Ver. 22. And it shall come to pass, ye shall divide it by lot among yourselves for an inheritance, and among the foreigners who dwell in the midst of you, who have begotten sons in the midst of you; they shall be to you like natives born among the sons of Israel; they shall cast lots with you for an inheritance among the tribes of Israel. Ver. 23. And it shall come to pass, in the tribe in which the foreigner dwells, there shall ye give him his inheritance, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.

The fixing of the boundary of the land which Israel was to divide in future according to its twelve tribes is commenced (vers. 13 and 14) and concluded (vers. 22 and 23) with certain general statements concerning the distribution. The introductory statements are attached to the heading "this is the boundary," which is therefore repeated in ver. 15. זֶה is evidently a copyist's error for זֶה, which is adopted by all the older translators, contained in some *Codd.*, and demanded by זֶה in ver. 15. כָּל stands here for the whole of the boundary of the land to be distributed; and כְּכִלְכֵּם which follows is an accusative, "according to which."—"According to the twelve tribes,"—for all Israel is to return and dwell as *one* people of God under one prince in its own land (ch. xxxvi. 24 sqq., xxxvii. 21 sqq.). But the division among the twelve tribes is more precisely defined immediately afterwards by the clause abruptly appended, "Joseph portions," i.e. two portions for Joseph. There can be no doubt that this is the meaning of the words in accordance with Gen. xlviii. 22 and Josh. xvii. 14, 17. Hence the notice-like form of the expression, which should not be obliterated by pointing כָּל as a dual, כְּכִלְכֵּם. If the land was to be divided by lot according to twelve tribes, and the tribe of Levi was to receive its portion from the *terumah* which was set apart,

Joseph must necessarily receive two hereditary portions for his sons Ephraim and Manasseh, in accordance with the appointment of the patriarch in Gen. xlviii. 22. The commencement of ver. 14 is not at variance with this, as Hitzig imagines; for the words, "ye shall receive it for an inheritance, one as another," simply affirm, that of the twelve tribes reckoned by Israel in relation to the נחלה, all were to receive equal shares, the one as much as the other. As the reason for this command to divide the land, allusion is made to the oath with which God promised to give this land to the fathers (cf. ch. xx. 28).—The definition of the boundaries commences with ver. 15. In form it differs in many points from Num. xxxiv. 1-15, but in actual fact it is in harmony with the Mosaic definition. In Num. xxxiv. the description commences with the southern boundary, then proceeds to the western and northern boundaries, and closes with the eastern. In Ezekiel it commences with the northern boundary and proceeds to the east, the south, and the west. This difference may be explained in a very simple manner, from the fact that the Israelites in the time of Moses came from Egypt *i.e.* marching from the south, and stood by the south-eastern boundary of the land, whereas at this time they were carried away into the northern lands Assyria and Babylon, and were regarded as returning thence. Again, in Ezekiel the boundaries are described much more briefly than in Num. xxxiv., the northern boundary alone being somewhat more circumstantially described. The course which it takes is represented in a general manner in ver. 15 as running from the great sea, *i.e.* the Mediterranean, by the way to Chetlon, in the direction toward Zedad. In vers. 16 and 17 there follow the places which formed the boundary. The starting-point on the Mediterranean Sea can only be approximately determined, as the places mentioned, Chetlon and Zedad, are still unknown. Not only *Chetlon*, but *Zedad* also, has not yet been discovered. The city of *Sadad* (*Sudud*), to the east of the road leading from Damascus to Hums (*Emesa*), which Robinson and Wetzstein

suppose to be the same, lies much too far toward the east to be used in defining the boundary either here or in Num. xxxiv. 8 (see the comm. on Num. xxxiv. 8). Among the names enumerated in ver. 16, חֲמַת is not the city of *Hamah* on the Orontes, which lay much too far to the north, but the kingdom of *Hamath*, the southern boundary of which formed the northern boundary of Canaan, though it cannot be given with exactness. *Berothah* is probably identical with *Berothai* in 2 Sam. viii. 8, a city of the king of Zobah; but the situation of it is still unknown. *Sibraim* may perhaps be identical with *Ziphron* in Num. xxxiv. 9, which has also not yet been discovered, and is not to be sought for in the ruins of *Zifran*, to the north-east of Damascus, near the road to Palmyra; for that place could not form the boundary of Damascus and Hamath. The situation of the "central *Hazer*" has also not yet been determined. *Hauran*, on the boundary of which it stood, is used here in a more comprehensive sense than *Ἀυρανίτις* in Josephus and other Greek authors, and includes the later *Auranitis*, together with *Gaulanitis* (Golan) and *Batanaea* (Bashan), and probably also *Ituraea*, as only Damascus and Gilead are named in ver. 18 in addition to Hauran, on the east side of the Jordan; so that the whole tract of land between the territory of Damascus and the country of Gilead is embraced by the name Hauran. חֲוֵרָן, Arab. حوران, is derived from the number of caves (חור, חור) in that district, to which Wetzstein (*Reiseber.* p. 92) indeed raises the objection that with the exception of the eastern and south-eastern Hauran, where no doubt most of the volcanic hills have been perforated by troglodytes, the dwellings in caves are by no means common in that region. But the name may have originated in this eastern district, and possibly have included even that portion of Gilead which was situated to the north of the Jabbok, namely, *Erbed* and *Suēt*, the true cave-country. For further remarks concerning these districts, see the comm. on Deut. iii. 4 and 10.

The statement in ver. 17a, "the boundary from the sea shall be *Hazar-Enon*, the boundary of Damascus," cannot have any other meaning than that the northern boundary, which started from the Mediterranean Sea, stretched as far as *Hazar-Enon*, the frontier city of Damascus, or that *Hazar-Enon* formed the terminal point on the east, toward the boundary of Damascus, for the northern boundary proceeding from the sea. הַיָּצֵר עֵינֹן or הַיָּצֵר עֵינָן (Num. xxxiv. 9), i.e. spring-court, we have endeavoured to identify in the comm. on Num. xxxiv. 3 with the spring *Lebweh*, which lies in the *Bekâa* at the watershed between the Orontes and the Leontes; and the designation "the boundary of Damascus" suits the situation very well. Ver. 17b has been aptly explained by Hitzig thus, in accordance with the literal meaning of the words, "and as for the north northwards, *Hamath* is the boundary," which he further elucidates by observing that צְפוֹנָה is intended as a supplementary note to the boundary line from west to east, which is indicated just before. וְאֵת פְּאֵת צָפוֹן is a concluding formula: "this, the north side." But וְאֵת (here and vers. 18 and 19) is not to be altered into זֶאת, after ver. 20 and the Syriac version, as Hitzig supposes, but to be explained, as ver. 18 clearly shows, on the supposition that Ezekiel had תָּמוּדוּרִי, "ye shall measure," floating before his mind, to which 'וְאֵת פ', "and that the northern boundary," would form a correct logical sequel.—The eastern boundary is defined in ver. 18 in the same manner as in Num. xxxiv. 10-12, except that in the latter it is more minutely described above the Lake of Gennesaret by the mention of several localities, whereas Ezekiel only names the Jordan as the boundary.—פְּאֵת קְרִים, with supplementary remarks, is not to be taken as the predicate to the subject הַיָּרְדֵּן, as Hitzig has correctly observed; for the meaning of פְּאֵת does not allow of this. The explanation is rather this: as for the east side, between Hauran, etc. and the land of Israel, is the Jordan. Hauran, Damascus, and Gilead lie on the east side of the Jordan, the land of Israel on the west side. The striking circumstance that Ezekiel commences with Hauran, which lay in

the middle between Damascus and Gilead,—Hauran, Damascus, and Gilead, instead of Damascus, Hauran, and Gilead,—may probably be explained from the fact that the Jordan, which he names as the boundary, for the sake of brevity, did not extend so far upwards as to the territory of Damascus, but simply formed the boundary of the land of Israel between Hauran and Gilead. מִן הַיַּרְדֵּן points back to the northern boundary already mentioned. From this boundary, the eastern terminal point of which was *Hazar-Enon*, they are to measure to the eastern sea, *i.e.* to the Dead Sea.—Ver. 19. The southern boundary toward the south is to proceed from Tamar to the water of strife, Kadesh, (and thence) along the brook to the great (*i.e.* Mediterranean) sea. *Tamar*, a different place from *Hazazon-Tamar*, called *Engedi* in ver. 10 (cf. 2 Chron. xx. 2), is supposed to be the *Thamara* (Θαμαρά),¹ which was a day's journey on the road from Hebron to Aelam (*Aelath*, Deut. ii. 8; 1 Kings ix. 26), according to Eusebius in the *Onomast.* ed. Lars. p. 68, and had a Roman garrison; and Robinson (*Pal.* III. pp. 178 and 186 sqq.) accordingly conjectures that it is to be found in the ruins of *Kurnub*, which lie six hours' journey to the south of *Milh*, toward the pass of *es-Sufâh*. But this conjecture is bound up with various assumptions of a very questionable character, and the situation of *Kurnub* hardly suits the *Tamar* of our passage, which should be sought, not to the west of the southern point of the Dead Sea, but, according to the southern boundary of Canaan as drawn in Num. xxxiv. 3–5, to the south of the Dead Sea. The waters of strife of Kadesh (Num. xx. 1–13), in the desert of *Zin*, were near

¹ The statement runs thus: λέγεται δὲ τις Θαμαρά κάμη διεστώσα Μάψις ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἀπὸ Χεβρών εἰς Αἰλάμ, ἥτις νῦν Φρούριόν ἐστι τῶν στρατιωτῶν. In Jerome: *est et aliud castellum, unius diei itinere a Mampsis oppido separatum, pergentibus Ailam de Chebron, ubi nunc romanum praesidium positum est.* But on account of the Μάψις (*Mampsis*), which is evidently a corruption, the passage is obscure. Robinson's conjecture concerning *Thamara* is founded upon the assumption that the reading should be Μάλις, and that this is the *Malatha* mentioned by later writers as the station of a Roman cohort.

Kadesh-Barnea, which was in the neighbourhood of the spring *in Kades*, discovered by Rowland to the south of *Bir-Seba* and *Khalasa* by the fore-courts of *Jebel Helal*, *i.e.* at the north-west corner of the mountain land of the *Azazimeh* (see the comm. on Num. x. 12, xii. 16, and xx. 16). Instead of מְרִיבוֹת we have the singular מְרִיבָה in ch. xlviii. 28, as in Num. xvii. 14 and Dent. xxxii. 51. נֶחֱלָה is to be pointed נְחֻלָּה, from נָחַ with ה *loc.*; and the reference is to the brook of Egypt; the great wady *el-Arish* (*Πινωκοπούρα*), along which the southern boundary of Canaan ran from Kadesh to the Mediterranean Sea (see the comm. on ch. xxxiv. 5).—Ver. 20. The Mediterranean Sea formed the western boundary. מִנְּבִיל, *i.e.* from the southern boundary mentioned in ver. 19 till opposite (עַד נֶכֶח) to the coming to Hamath, *i.e.* till opposite to the point at which one enters the territory of *Hamath* (Hitzig), *i.e.* the spot mentioned in ver. 20 (? 17) as the commencement of the northern boundary in the neighbourhood of the promontory of *esh-Shūkah*, between Byblus (Geba) and Tripolis.—Ver. 21. This and they are to divide among them according to their tribes. With this remark, which points back to ver. 13, the definition of the boundaries is brought to a close. There is simply added in vers. 22 and 23 a further regulation concerning the foreigners living in Israel. The law of Moses had already repeatedly urged upon the Israelites affectionate treatment of them, and in Lev. xix. 34 the command is given to treat them like natives in this respect, and to love them. But the full right of citizenship was not thereby conceded to them, so that they could also acquire property in land. The land was given to the Israelites alone for an hereditary possession. Foreigners could only be incorporated into the congregation of Israel under the limitations laid down in Dent. xxiii. 2-9, by the reception of circumcision. But in the future distribution of the land, on the contrary, the גֵּרִים were to receive hereditary property like native-born Israelites; and in this respect no difference was to exist between the members of the people of God born of

Abraham's seed and those born of the heathen. At the same time, this right was not to be conferred upon every foreigner who might be only temporarily living in Israel, but to those alone who should beget sons in the midst of Israel, *i.e.* settle permanently in the holy land. The *Kal* יָפַל is not to be altered into the *Hiphil* הִפָּל, as Hitzig proposes, but is used in the sense of receiving by lot, derived from the *Hiphil* signification, "to apportion by lot."

Chap. xlviii. 1-29. DIVISION OF CANAAN AMONG THE TRIBES, AND BOUNDARY OF THE TERUMAH.—The division of the land, like the definition of the boundaries (ch. xlvii. 15), commences in the north, and enumerates the tribes in the order in which they were to receive their inheritances from north to south: first, seven tribes from the northern boundary to the centre of the land (vers. 1-7), where the heave for the sanctuary, with the land of the priests and Levites and the city domain, together with the prince's land on the two sides, was to be set apart (vers. 8-22; and secondly, the other five tribes from this to the southern boundary (vers. 23-29). Compare the map on Plate IV.

Ver. 1. *And these are the names of the tribes: from the north end by the side of the way to Chetlon toward Hamath (and) Hazar-Enon the boundary of Damascus—toward the north by the side of Hamath there shall east side, west side belong to him: Dan one (tribe-lot).* Ver. 2. *And on the boundary of Dan from the east side to the west side: Asher one.* Ver. 3. *And on the boundary of Asher from the east side to the west side: Naphtali one.* Ver. 4. *And on the boundary of Naphtali from the east side to the west side: Manasseh one.* Ver. 5. *And on the boundary of Manasseh from the east side to the west side: Ephraim one.* Ver. 6. *And on the boundary of Ephraim from the east side to the west side: Reuben one.* Ver. 7. *And on the boundary of Reuben from the east side to the west side: Judah one.* Ver. 8. *And on the boundary of Judah from the east side to the*

west side shall be the heave, which ye shall lift (heave) off, five and twenty thousand (rods) in breadth, and the length like every tribe portion from the east side to the west side; and the sanctuary shall be in the midst of it. Ver. 9. The heave which ye shall lift (heave) for Jehovah shall be five and twenty thousand in length and ten thousand in breadth. Ver. 10. And to these shall the holy heave belong, to the priests, toward the north, five and twenty thousand; toward the west, breadth ten thousand; toward the east, breadth ten thousand; and toward the south, length five and twenty thousand; and the sanctuary of Jehovah shall be in the middle of it. Ver. 11. To the priests, whoever is sanctified of the sons of Zadok, who have kept my charge, who have not strayed with the straying of the sons of Israel, as the Levites have strayed, Ver. 12. To them shall a portion lifted off belong from the heave of the land; a most holy beside the territory of the Levites. Ver. 13. And the Levites (shall receive) parallel with the territory of the priests five and twenty thousand in length, and in breadth ten thousand; the whole length five and twenty thousand, and (the whole) breadth ten thousand. Ver. 14. And they shall not sell or exchange any of it, nor shall the first-fruit of the land pass to others; for it is holy to Jehovah. Ver. 15. And the five thousand which remain in the breadth along the five and twenty thousand are common land for the city for dwellings and for open space; and the city shall be in the centre of it. Ver. 16. And these are its measures: the north side four thousand five hundred, the south side four thousand five hundred, the east side four thousand five hundred, and the west side four thousand five hundred. Ver. 17. And the open space of the city shall be toward the north two hundred and fifty, toward the south two hundred and fifty, toward the east two hundred and fifty, and toward the west two hundred and fifty. Ver. 18. And the remainder in length parallel with the holy heave, ten thousand toward the east and ten thousand toward the west, this shall be beside the holy heave, and its produce shall serve the workmen of the city for food. Ver. 19. And as for the workmen of the city, they shall cultivate

it from all the tribes. Ver. 20. The whole of the heave is five and twenty thousand by five and twenty thousand; a fourth of the holy heave shall ye take for the possession of the city. Ver. 21. And the remainder shall belong to the prince on this side and on that side of the holy heave and of the city possession; along the five and twenty thousand of the heave to the eastern boundary, and toward the west along the five and twenty thousand to the western boundary parallel with the tribe portions, it shall belong to the prince; and the holy heave and the sanctuary of the house shall be in the midst. Ver. 22. Thus from the possession of the Levites (as) from the possession of the city shall that which lies in the midst of what belongs to the prince between the territory of Judah and the territory of Benjamin belong to the prince. Ver. 23. And the rest of the tribes are from the east side to the west side: Benjamin one. Ver. 24. And on the boundary of Benjamin from the east side to the west side: Simeon one. Ver. 25. And on the boundary of Simeon from the east side to the west side: Issachar one. Ver. 26. And on the boundary of Issachar from the east side to the west side: Zebulon one. Ver. 27. And on the boundary of Zebulon from the east side to the west side: Gad one. Ver. 28. And on the boundary of Gad on the south side toward the south, the boundary shall be from Tamar to the water of strife from Kadesh along the brook to the great sea. Ver. 29. This is the land which ye shall divide by lot for inheritance to the tribes of Israel; these are their portions, is the saying of the Lord Jehovah.

The new division of the land differs from the former one effected in the time of Joshua, in the first place, in the fact that all the tribe-portions were to extend uniformly across the entire breadth of the land from the eastern boundary to the Mediterranean Sea on the west, so that they were to form parallel tracts of country; whereas in the distribution made in the time of Joshua, several of the tribe-territories covered only half the breadth of the land. For example, Dan received his inheritance on the west of Benjamin; and the territories of

half Manasseh and Asher ran up from the northern boundary of Ephraim to the northern boundary of Canaan; while Issachar, Naphtali, and Zebulun received their portions on the east of these; and lastly, Simeon received his possession within the boundaries of the tribe of Judah. And secondly, it also differs from the former, in the fact that not only are all the twelve tribes located in Canaan proper, between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea; whereas previously two tribes and a half had received from Moses, at their own request, the conquered land of Bashan and Gilead on the eastern side of the Jordan, so that the land of Canaan could be divided among the remaining nine tribes and a half. But besides this, the central tract of land, about the fifth part of the whole, was separated for the holy heave, the city domain, and the prince's land, so that only the northern and southern portions, about four-fifths of the whole, remained for distribution among the twelve tribes, seven tribes receiving their hereditary portions to the north of the heave and five to the south, because the heave was so selected that the city with its territory lay near the ancient Jerusalem.—In vers. 1-7 the seven tribes which were to dwell on the north of the heave are enumerated. The principal points of the northern boundary, viz. the way to Chetlon and Hazar-Enon, the boundary of Damascus, are repeated in ver. 1 from ch. xlvii. 15, 17, as the starting and terminal points of the northern boundary running from west to east. The words **מִן־אֶלְיִד־חֲמַת** fix the northern boundary more precisely in relation to the adjoining territory; and in **לֹא־יָדִיעַ** the enumeration of the tribe-lots begins with that of the tribe of Dan, which was to receive its territory against the northern boundary. **לֹא** refers to the name **דָּן** which follows, and which Ezekiel already had in his mind. **פָּאֵת קָרִים הָיִם** is constructed *asyndetós*; and **פָּאֵת** is to be repeated in thought before **הָיִם**: the east side (and) the west (side) are to belong to it, i.e. the tract of land toward its west and its east side. The words which follow, **דָּן אֲחֵר**, are attached in an anacoluthistic manner: "Dan (is to receive)

one portion," for "one shall belong to Dan." To דָּן we are to supply in thought the substantive לְבֵיטָא, tribe-lot, according to ch. xlvii. 13. "The assumption that one tribe was to receive as much as another (*vid.* ch. xlvii. 14), leads to the conclusion that each tribe-lot was to be taken as a *monas*" (Kliefoth). In this way the names in vers. 2-7, with the constantly repeated דָּן, must also be taken. The same form of description is repeated in vers. 23-28 in the case of the five tribes placed to the south of the heave.—In the order of the several tribe-territories it is impossible to discover any universal principle of arrangement. All that is clear is, that in the case of Dan, Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh, and Ephraim, regard is had to the former position of these tribe-territories as far as the altered circumstances allowed. In the time of the Judges a portion of the Danites had migrated to the north, conquered the city of Laish, and given it the name of Dan, so that from that time forward Dan is generally named as the northern boundary of the land (*e.g.* as early as 2 Sam. iii. 10, and in other passages). Accordingly Dan receives the tract of land along the northern boundary. Asher and Naphtali, which formerly occupied the most northerly portions of the land, follow next. Then comes Manasseh, as half Manasseh had formerly dwelt on the east of Naphtali; and Ephraim joins Manasseh, as it formerly joined the western half Manasseh. The reason for placing Reuben between Ephraim and Judah appears to be, that Reuben was the first-born of Jacob's sons. The position of the *terumah* between Judah and Benjamin is probably connected with the circumstance that Jerusalem formerly stood on the boundary of these two tribes, and so also in the future was to skirt Benjamin with its territory. The other tribes had then to be located on the south of Benjamin; Simeon, whose territory formerly lay to the south; Issachar and Zebulon, for which no room was left in the north; and Gad, which had to be brought over from Gilead to Canaan.

In vers. 8-22, the *terumah*, which has already been described

in ch. xlv. 1-7 for a different purpose, is more precisely defined: first of all, in ver. 8, according to its whole extent—viz. twenty-five thousand rods in breadth (from north to south), and the length the same as any one (= every one) of the tribelots, *i.e.* reaching from the Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea (cf. ch. xlv. 7). In the centre of this separated territory the sanctuary (the temple) was to stand. בְּתוֹכוֹ, the suffix of which refers *ad sensum* to חֶלֶק instead of הָרִמָּה, has not the indefinite meaning “therein,” but signifies “in the centre;” for the priests’ portion, in the middle of which the temple was to stand, occupied the central position between the portion of the Levites and the city possession, as is evident from ver. 22. The circumstance that here, as in ch. xlv. 1 sqq., in the division of the *terumah*, the priests’ portion is mentioned first, then the portion of the Levites, and after this the city possession, proves nothing so far as the local order in which these three portions followed one another is concerned; but the enumeration is regulated by their spiritual significance, so that first of all the most holy land for the temple and priests is defined, then the holy portion of the Levites, and lastly, the common land for the city. The command, that the sanctuary is to occupy the centre of the whole *terumah*, leads to a more minute description in the first place (vers. 9-12) of the priests’ portion, in which the sanctuary was situated, than of the heave to be lifted off for Jehovah. In ver. 10, לְאַלֶּה, which stands at the head, is explained by לְבָהֳנִים which follows. The extent of this holy *terumah* on all four sides is then given; and lastly, the command is repeated, that the sanctuary of Jehovah is to be in the centre of it. In ver. 11, הַמִּקְדָּשׁ is rendered in the plural by the LXX., Chald. and Syr., and is taken in a distributive sense by Kimchi and others: to the priests whoever is sanctified of the sons of Zadok. This is required by the position of the participle between לְבָהֳנִים and מִבְּנֵי צִדְקָה (compare 2 Chron. xxvi. 18, and for the singular of the participle after a previous plural, Ps. viii. 9). The other rendering, “for the priests is it

sanctified, those of the sons of Zadok," is at variance not only with the position of the words, but also with the fact, namely, that the assignment to the priests of a heave set apart for Jehovah is never designated as קֹדֶשׁ, and from the nature of the case could not be so designated. The apodosis to ver. 11a follows in ver. 12, where לְפָנֵיהֶם is resumed in לָהֶם. תְּרוּמָהּ is an adjective formation derived from תְּרוּמָה, with the signification of an abstract: that which is lifted (the lifting) from the heave, as it were "a *terumah* in the second potency" (for these formations, see Ewald, §§ 164 and 165). This *terumiyah* is called most holy, in contrast with the Levites' portion of the *terumah*, which was קֹדֶשׁ (ver. 14). The priests' portion is to be beside the territory of the Levites, whether on the southern or northern side cannot be gathered from these words any more than from the definition in ver. 13: "and the Levites beside (parallel with) the territory of the priests." Both statements simply affirm that the portions of the priests and Levites were to lie side by side, and not to be separated by the town possession.—Vers. 13 and 14 treat of the Levites' portion: ver. 13, of its situation and extent; ver. 14, of its law of tenure. The seemingly tautological repetition of the measurement of the length and breadth, as "all the length and the breadth," is occasioned by the fact "that Ezekiel intends to express himself more briefly here, and not, as in ver. 10, to take all the four points of the compass singly; in 'all the length' he embraces the two long sides of the oblong, and in '(all) the breadth' the two broad sides, and affirms that 'all the length,' *i.e.* of both the north and south sides, is to be twenty-five thousand rods, and 'all the breadth,' *i.e.* of both the east and west sides, is to be ten thousand rods" (Kliefoth). Hitzig has missed the sense, and therefore proposes to alter the text. With regard to the possession of the Levites, the instructions given in Lev. xxv. 34 for the field of the Levites' cities—namely, that none of it was to be sold—are extended to the whole of the territory of the Levites: no part of it is

to be alienated by sale or barter. And the character of the possession is assigned as the reason: the first-fruit of the land, *i.e.* the land lifted off (separated) as first-fruit, is not to pass into the possession of others, because as such it is holy to the Lord. The *Chetib* עֲבֹר is the correct reading: to pass over, *sc.* to others, to non-Levites.

Vers. 15-18 treat of the city possession. As the *terumah* was twenty-five thousand rods in breadth (ver. 8), after measuring off ten thousand rods in breadth for the priests and ten thousand rods in breadth for the Levites from the entire breadth, there still remain five thousand rods עַל פָּנָי, *i.e.* along, the long side, which was twenty-five thousand rods. This remnant was to be חֵל, *i.e.* common (not holy) land for the city (Jerusalem). לְמוֹשָׁב, for dwelling-places, *i.e.* for building dwelling-houses upon; and לְמִנְיָה, for open space, the precinct around the city. The city was to stand in the centre of this oblong. Ver. 16 gives the size of the city: on each of the four sides, four thousand five hundred rods (the חֲמִשָּׁה, designated by the Masoretes as כְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי, has crept into the text through a copyist's error); and ver. 17, the extent of the open space surrounding it: on each side two hundred and fifty rods. This gives for the city, together with the open space, a square of five thousand rods on every side; so that the city with its precinct filled the entire breadth of the space left for it, and there only remained on the east and west an open space of ten thousand rods in length and five thousand rods in breadth along the holy *terumah*. This is noticed in ver. 18; its produce was to serve for bread, *i.e.* for maintenance, for the labourers of the city (the masculine suffix in הַבְּנוֹתָהּ refers grammatically to הַנּוֹתָר). By עֲבָדֵי הָעִיר Hitzig would understand the inhabitants of the city, because one cultivates a piece of land even by dwelling on it. But this use of עֲבָד cannot be established. Nor are עֲבָדֵי הָעִיר the workmen employed in building the city, as Gesenius, Hävernick, and others suppose; for the city was not perpetually being built, so that there

should be any necessity for setting apart a particular piece of land for the builders; but they are the working men of the city, the labouring class living in the city. They are not to be without possession in the future Jerusalem, but are to receive a possession in land for their maintenance. We are told in ver. 19 who these workmen are. Here הַעֲבָדִים is used collectively: as for the labouring class of the city, people out of all the tribes of Israel shall work upon the land belonging to the city. The suffix in יַעֲבֹדוּהָ points back to הַנוֹתָר. The transitive explanation, to employ a person in work, has nothing in the language to confirm it. The fact itself is in harmony with the statement in ch. xlv. 6, that the city was to belong to all Israel. Lastly, in ver. 20 the dimensions of the whole *terumah*, and the relation of the city possession to the holy *terumah*, are given. כָּל-הַתְּרוּמָה is the whole heave, so far as it has hitherto been described, embracing the property of the priests, of the Levites, and of the city. In this extent it is twenty-five thousand rods long and the same broad. If, however, we add the property of the prince, which is not treated of till vers. 21–23, it is considerably longer, and reaches, as has been stated in ver. 8, to the boundaries of the land both on the east and west, the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, as the several tribe-territories do. But if we omit the prince's land, the space set apart for the city possession occupied the fourth part of the holy *terumah*, i.e. of the portion of the priests and Levites. This is the meaning of the second half of ver. 20, which literally reads thus: "to a fourth shall ye lift off the holy *terumah* for the city possession." This is not to be understood as meaning that a fourth was to be taken from the holy *terumah* for the city possession; for that would yield an incorrect proportion, as the twenty thousand rods in breadth would be reduced to fifteen thousand rods by the subtraction of the fourth part, which would be opposed to vers. 9 and 15. The meaning is rather the following: from the whole *terumah* the fourth part of the area of the holy *terumah* is to be taken

off for the city possession, *i.e.* five thousand rods for twenty thousand. According to ver. 15, this was the size of the domain set apart for the city.

In vers. 21-23 the situation and extent of the prince's possession are described. For ver. 21, *vid.* ch. xlv. 7. הַחוּרָה, the rest of the *terumah*, as it has been defined in ver. 8, reaching in length from the Jordan to the Mediterranean. As the holy *terumah* and the city possession were only twenty-five thousand rods in length, and did not reach to the Jordan on the east, or to the sea on the west, there still remained an area on either side whose length or extent toward the east and west is not given in rods, but may be calculated from the proportion which the intervening *terumah* bore to the length of the land (from east to west). אֶל-פָּנָי and אֶל-פָּנָי, in front of, or along, the front of the twenty-five thousand rods, refer to the eastern and western boundaries of the *terumah*, which was twenty-five thousand rods in length. In ver. 21b the statement is repeated, that the holy *terumah* and the sanctuary were to lie in the centre of it, *i.e.* between the portions of land appointed for the prince on either side; and lastly, in ver. 22 it is still further stated, with regard to the prince's land on both sides of the *terumah*, that it was to lie between the adjoining tribe-territories of Judah (to the north) and Benjamin (to the south), so that it was to be bounded by these two. But this is expressed in a heavy and therefore obscure manner. The words בְּתוֹךְ אֲשֶׁר לְנָשִׂיא יְהוָה, "in the centre of that which belongs to the prince," belong to הָעִיר . . . וּבְמִצְחֹתָהּ, and form together with the latter the subject, which is written absolutely; so that כֵּן is not used in a partitive, but in a local sense (from), and the whole is to be rendered thus: And as for that which lies on the side of the possession of the Levites, and of the possession of the city in the centre of what belongs to the prince, (that which lies) between the territory of Judah and the territory of Benjamin shall belong to the prince. Hitzig's explanation—what remains between Judah and Benjamin, from the city territory to the

priests' domain, both inclusive, shall belong to the prince—is arbitrary, and perverts the sense. The periphrastic designation of the *terumah* bounded off between the prince's land by the two portions named together without a copula, viz. "possession of the Levites and possession of the city," is worthy of notice. This periphrasis of the whole by two portions, shows that the portions named formed the boundaries of the whole, that the third portion, which is not mentioned, was enclosed within the two, so that the priests' portion with the sanctuary lay between them.—In vers. 23–27 the rest of the tribes located to the south of the *terumah* are mentioned in order; and in vers. 28 and 29 the account of the division of the land is brought to a close with a repetition of the statement as to the southern boundary (cf. ch. xlvii. 19), and a comprehensive concluding formula.

If now we attempt, in order to form a clear idea of the relation in which this prophetic division of the land stands to the actual size of Canaan according to the boundaries described in ch. xlvii. 15 sqq., to determine the length and breadth of the *terumah* given here by their geographical dimensions, twenty-five thousand rods, according to the metrological calculations of Boeckh and Bertheau, would be 10·70 geographical miles, or, according to the estimate of the Hebrew cubit by Thenius, only 9·75 geographical miles.¹ The extent of Canaan from Beersheba, or Kadesh, up to a line running across from Râs esh-Shukah to the spring El Lebweh, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, *i.e.* fifty geographical miles, ten of which are occupied by the *terumah*, and forty remain for the twelve tribe-territories, so that each

¹ According to Boeckh, one sacred cubit was equal to $234\frac{1}{2}$ Paris lines = 528·62 millimètres; according to Thenius = $214\frac{1}{2}$ P. l. = 481·62 millim. Now as one geographical mile, the 5400th part of the circumference of the globe, which is 40,000,000 metres, is equivalent to 7407·398 metres = 22,803·290 old Paris feet, the geographical mile according to Boeckh is $14,012\frac{1}{10}$ cubits = $2335\frac{1}{2}$ rods (sacred measure); according to Thenius, $15,380\frac{1}{8}$ cubits = $2563\frac{1}{2}$ rods (s. m.), from which the numbers given in the text may easily be calculated.

tribe-lot would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ geographical miles in breadth. If, now, we reckon three geographical miles as the breadth of each of the five tribe-lots to the south of the *terumah*, and as the land becomes broader toward the south a breadth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ geographical miles for the seven tribe-lots to the north, the *terumah* set apart in the centre of the land would extend from the site of Jerusalem to Dothan or Jenin. If, however, we take into consideration the breadth of the land from east to west in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, or where the Jordan enters the Dead Sea, Canaan is eleven geographical miles in breadth, whereas at Jenin it is hardly ten geographical miles broad. If, therefore, the length of the *terumah* (from east to west) was fully ten geographical miles, there would only remain a piece of land of half a mile in breadth on the east and west at the southern boundary, and nothing at all at the northern, for prince's land. We have therefore given to the *terumah* upon the map (Plate IV.) the length and breadth of eight geographical miles, which leaves a tract of two miles on the average for the prince's land, so that it would occupy a fifth of the area of the holy *terumah*, whereas the city possession covered a fourth. No doubt the breadth of the *terumah* from south to north is also diminished thereby, so that it cannot have reached quite down to Jerusalem or quite up to Jenin.—If, now, we consider that the distances of places, and therefore also the measurements of a land in length and breadth, are greater in reality than those given upon the map, on account partly of the mountains and valleys and partly of the windings of the roads, and, still further, that our calculations of the Hebrew cubit are not quite certain, and that even the smaller estimates of Thenius are possibly still too high, the measurements of the *terumah* given by Ezekiel correspond as exactly to the actual size of the land of Canaan as could be expected with a knowledge of its extent obtained not by trigonometrical measurement, but from a simple calculation of the length of the roads.—But this furnishes a confirmation by no means

slight of our assumption, that the lengths and breadths indicated here are measured by rods and not by cubits. Reckoned by cubits, the *terumah* would be only a mile and a half or a mile and two-thirds in length and breadth, and the city possession would be only a third of a mile broad; whereas the prince's land would be more than six times as large as the whole of the *terumah*,—i.e. of the territory of the Levites, the priests, and the city,—thirteen times as large as the priests' land, and from thirty to thirty-two times as large as the city possession = proportions the improbability of which is at once apparent.

Vers. 30–35. SIZE, GATES, AND NAME OF THE CITY.—To complete the whole picture of the future land of Israel, what has been stated in vers. 15 and 16 concerning the size of the holy city is still further expanded here.—Ver. 30. *And these are the outgoings of the city from the north side, four thousand and five hundred (rods) measurement.* Ver. 31. *And the gates of the city according to the names of the tribes of Israel: three gates toward the north; the gate of Reuben one, the gate of Judah one, the gate of Levi one.* Ver. 32. *And on the east side four thousand five hundred (rods): and three gates; namely, the gate of Joseph one, the gate of Benjamin one, the gate of Dan one.* Ver. 33. *And to the south side, four thousand five hundred measurement: and three gates; the gate of Simeon one, the gate of Issachar one, the gate of Zebulon one.* Ver. 34. *To the west side, four thousand five hundred—their gates three; the gate of Gad one, the gate of Asher one, the gate of Naphtali one.* Ver. 35. *Round about, eighteen thousand (rods); and the name of the city: from henceforth Jehovah there.*—The situation of the city of God within the *terumah* and its external dimensions have already been generally indicated in vers. 15, 16. Here the measurement of the several sides is specified with a notice of their gates, and this is preceded by the heading, “the outlets of the city.” מִצְאֵת, the outgoings

(not extensions, for the word never has this meaning) are the furthest extremities in which a city or a tract of land terminates; not outlets or gates, which are expressly distinguished from them, but outgoing sides; hence the definition of the extent or length of the several sides is appended immediately afterwards. The enumeration commences, as above in the case of the land, with the north side. Each side has three gates, so that the whole city has twelve, which bear the names of the twelve tribes, like the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem in Rev. xxi. 12, because it will be the city of the true people of God. Levi is included here, and consequently Ephraim and Manasseh are united in the one tribe of Joseph. The three sons of Leah commence the series with the northern gates. They also stand first in the blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii. 6-8: the first-born in age, the first-born by virtue of the patriarchal blessing, and the one chosen by Jehovah for His own service in the place of the first-born. Then follow, for the eastern gates, the two sons of Rachel, according to their age (thus deviating from Deut. xxxiii. 12 and 13), and, along with them, the elder son of Rachel's maid; for the southern gates, the three other sons of Leah; and lastly, for the western gates, the three other sons of the maids. Being thus indicated by the names of its gates as the city of all Israel, the city itself receives a name, which exalts it into the city of God (Jehovah). But different explanations have been given of the words in ver. 35 which refer to this name. The allusion in מִיּוֹם and the meaning of שָׁמָּה are both disputed points. It is true that the latter literally means "thither;" but Ezekiel also uses it as synonymous with שָׁם, "there," in ch. xxiii. 3 and xxxii. 29, 30, so that the assertion that שָׁמָּה never means "there" is incorrect. מִיּוֹם, from day forward, equivalent to henceforward; but not henceforth and for ever, though this may be implied in the context. Whether מִיּוֹם be taken in connection with the preceding words, "the name of the city will henceforward be," or with those which follow, the name of the city will be, "henceforward

Jehovah there," makes no material difference so far as the thought is concerned, as the city can only bear the name from the time when Jehovah is שָׁמָּה , and can only bear it so long as Jehovah is שָׁמָּה . But so far as the question is concerned, whether שָׁמָּה signifies thither or there in this passage, Hävernicks is of opinion, indeed, that the whole of Ezekiel's vision does not harmonize with the meaning "there," inasmuch as he separates temple and city, so that Jehovah does not properly dwell in Jerusalem, but, in the strictest and highest sense, in His sanctuary, and turns thence to Jerusalem with the fulness of His grace and love. But if Jehovah does not merely direct His love toward the city from afar off, but, as Hävernicks still further says, turns it fully toward it, causes His good pleasure to rest upon it, then He also rules and is in the city with His love, so that it can bear the name "Jehovah thither (there)." In any case, the interpretation, "Jehovah will from henceforth proceed thither, to restore it, to make it a holy city" (Kliefoth), is untenable; for the name is not given to Jerusalem when lying waste, but to the city already restored and fully built, which Ezekiel sees in the spirit. He has therefore before this turned His favour once more to Jerusalem, which was laid waste; and the name יְהוָה שָׁמָּה , given to the new Jerusalem, can only affirm that henceforward it is to be a city of Jehovah, *i.e.* that from this time forth Jehovah will be and rule in her. The rendering "Jehovah thither" does not answer to this, but only the rendering, "Jehovah will be there." Compare Isa. lx. 14, where Jerusalem is called the city of Jehovah, Zion of the Holy One in Israel, because the glory of Jehovah has risen over her as a brilliant light.

Having now completed our exposition in detail, if we take a survey of the substance of the entire vision in ch. xl.-xlviii., on comparing it with the preceding prophecies of the restoration

of Israel (ch. xxxiv.-xxxvii.), we obtain the following picture of the new constitution of the kingdom of God :—When the Lord shall gather the sons of Israel from their banishment among the heathen, and bring them back to Canaan, so that they shall dwell therein as a united people under the rule of His servant David, then shall they, on the fresh distribution of the land according to the full extent to which God promised it to the patriarchs, and indicated the boundaries thereof through Moses (ch. xlvii. 15-20), set apart the central portion of it as a heave for the sanctuary and His servants, the priests and Levites, as well as for the capital and its labourers, and also give to the prince a possession of his own on both sides of this heave. In the central point of the heave, which occupies a square space of twenty-five thousand rods in length and breadth, the temple is to stand upon a high mountain, and cover, with its courts, a space of five hundred cubits square ; and round about it a space of five hundred rods on every side is to form a boundary between the holy and the common. The glory of Jehovah will enter into the temple and dwell therein for ever ; and the temple, in its whole extent, will be most holy (ch. xliii. 1-12). Round about this the priests receive a tract of land of twenty-five thousand rods in length and ten thousand in breadth to dwell in as a sanctuary for the sanctuary ; and by their side, toward the north, the Levites receive an area of similar size for dwelling-places ; but toward the south, a tract of land of twenty-five thousand rods in length and five thousand rods in breadth is to be the property of the city ; and in the centre of this area, the city, with its open space, is to cover a square of five thousand rods in length and breadth ; and the rest of the land on both sides is to be given to the labourers of the city out of all Israel for their maintenance. The land lying on the eastern and western sides of the heave, as far as the Jordan and the Mediterranean, is to be the property of the prince, and to remain the hereditary possession of his sons (ch. xlv. 1-8, xlvii. 16-18, xlviii. 8-22). After the

separation of this heave, which, with the prince's possession, covers about the fifth part of the whole extent of Canaan, the rest of the land on the north and south of the heave is to be divided into equal parts and distributed among the twelve tribes, so that every tribe-territory shall stretch from the Jordan to the Mediterranean,—seven tribes receiving their hereditary portions on the north of the heave and five on the south, whilst the foreigners having their permanent homes among the different tribes are to receive hereditary possessions like the native Israelites (ch. xlvii. 21—xlviii. 7, and xlviii. 23—29).

Israel, thus placed once more in possession of the promised land, is to appear with its prince before the Lord in the temple at the yearly feasts, to worship and to offer sacrifices, the provision of which is to devolve upon the prince at all festal seasons, for which purpose the people are to pay to him the sixtieth part of the corn, the hundredth part of the oil, and the two hundredth head from the flock every year as a heave-offering. The sacrificial service at the altar and in the holy place is to be performed by none but priests of the family of Zadok, who kept the charge of the Lord faithfully when the people wandered into idolatry. All the other descendants of Levi are simply to discharge the inferior duties of the temple service, whilst uncircumcised heathen are not to be admitted into the temple any more, that it may not be defiled by them (ch. xliii. 13—xliv. 31, xlv. 8—xlvi. 15, and 19—24). When Israel shall thus serve the Lord its God, and walk in His commandments and statutes, it will enjoy the richest blessing from God. A spring of living water will issue from the threshold of the temple house, and, swelling after a short course into a mighty river, will flow down to the Jordan valley, empty itself into the Dead Sea, and make the water of that sea so wholesome that it will swarm with living creatures and fishes of every kind; and on the banks of the river fruit-trees will grow with never-withering leaves, which will bear ripe fruit for

food every month, whilst the leaves will serve as medicine (ch. xlvii. 1–12).

As to the Messianic character of the substance of this whole vision, Jewish and Christian commentators are generally agreed; and the opinion which, according to Jerome, many of the Jews entertained, and which has been supported by the rationalistic expositors (Dathe, Eichhorn, Herder, Böttcher, and others), after the example of Grotius,—namely, that Ezekiel describes the temple of Solomon destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar as a model for the rebuilding of it after the return of the Jews from the captivity,—has not found much favour, inasmuch as, apart from all other objections to which it is exposed, it is upset by the fact that not only are its supporters unable to make anything of the description of the spring which issues from the threshold of the temple, flows through the land, and makes the waters of the Dead Sea sound, but they are also unable to explain the separation of the temple from the city of Jerusalem; as it would never have occurred to any Jewish patriot, apart from divine revelation, much less to a priest like Ezekiel, who claims such important prerogatives for the prince of the family of David in relation to the temple, to remove the house of Jehovah from Mount Zion, the seat of the royal house of David, and out of the bounds and territory of the city of Jerusalem. But even if we lay aside this view, and the one related to it,—viz. that the whole vision contains nothing more than ideal hopes and desires of better things belonging to that age, with regard to the future restoration of the destroyed temple and kingdom, as Ewald and others represent the matter,—as being irreconcilable with the biblical view of prophecy, the commentators, who acknowledge the divine origin of prophecy and the Messianic character of the vision in these chapters, differ very widely from one another with reference to the question how the vision is to be interpreted; some declaring themselves quite as decidedly in favour of the literal explanation of the whole picture as others in favour of the figurative

or symbolico-typical view, which they regard as the only correct and scriptural one.—The latter view gained the upper hand at a very early period in the Christian church, so that we find it adopted by Ephraem Syrus, Theodoret, and Jerome;¹ and it prevailed so generally, that Lud. Cappellus, for example, in his *Trisagion s. templi Hierosol. tripl. delin.* (in the *appar. bibl.* of Walton, in the first part of the *London Polyglot*, p. 3), says: “In this passage God designs to show by the prophet that He no more delights in that carnal and legal worship which they have hitherto presented to Him; but that He demands from them another kind of worship very different from that, and more pleasing to Him (a spiritual worship, of which they have a type in the picture and all the rites of this temple, which differ greatly from those of Moses), and that He will establish it among them when He shall have called them to Himself through the Messiah. And that this spiritual worship is set before them in shadows and figures, there is not a Christian who denies; nor any Jew, unless prejudiced and very obdurate,

¹ Ephraem Syrus, on ch. xli., not only interprets the windows of the temple and even the measuring rod allegorically, but says expressly: “It is evident that the rest of the things shown to the prophet in the building of the new temple pertain to the church of Christ, so that we must hold that the priests of that house were types of the apostles, and the calves slain therein prefigured the sacrifice of Christ.”—Theod. indeed restricts himself throughout to a brief paraphrase of the words, without explaining every particular in a spiritual manner; but he nevertheless says expressly (at ch. xliii.) that we must ascend from the type to the truth, as God will not dwell for ever in the type; and therefore he repeatedly opposes the Judæo-literal interpretation of Apollinaris, although he himself appears to take ch. xlviii. as simply referring to the return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple in the time of Zerubbabel.—This explanation is expressly opposed by Jerome, as the opinion of ignorant Jews; and he observes, on the other hand, that “this temple which is now described, with the order of the priesthood and division of the land and its fertility, is much superior to that which Solomon built; whereas the one which was built under Zerubbabel was so small, and so unworthy of comparison with the earlier one, that they who had seen the first temple, and now looked on this, wept,” etc. Under the type of the restoration of the city destroyed by the Babylonians, there is predicted *futuræ ædificationis veritas*.

who ventures to deny, seeing that there are so many things in this description of Ezekiel which not even the most shameless Jew has dared to argue that we are to interpret according to the letter," etc.—The literal interpretation remained for a long time peculiar to the Jews, who expect from the Messiah not only their own restoration to the earthly Canaan, but the rebuilding of the temple and the renewal of the Levitical worship in the manner described by Ezekiel, and the establishment of a political kingdom generally; whereas Christians have founded the expectation of an earthly kingdom of glory in the form of the millennium, more upon the Apocalypse than upon Ezekiel's prophecy. It has only been in the most recent time that certain scientific defenders of chiliasm have not shrunk from carrying out their views so far as to teach not only the restoration of the Jews to Palestine on their conversion to Christ, but, according to their literal explanation of our prophecy, the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem and the renewal of the Levitical worship in the millennial kingdom. Auberlen has only hinted at this, so that from his words quoted already, "when once priesthood and monarchy are revived, then, without impairing the Epistle to the Hebrews, the ceremonial and civil law of Moses will unfold its spiritual depths in the worship and in the constitution of the millennial kingdom," we cannot see how far he assumes that there will be a literal fulfilment of Ezekiel's prophecy. M. Baumgarten (art. "Ezekiel" in Herzog's *Cyclopaedia*) says, more plainly, that "the restoration of all the outward reality, which Ezekiel saw in vision, will be not so much a repetition of what went before, as a glorification of the outward, which had perished and been condemned," since this "glorification" will simply consist in "extensions and intensifications" of the earlier precepts of the law. "For," he adds, in support of this opinion, "when Israel as a nation turns to God, how can, how should it manifest its faith and its obedience in any other way than in the forms and ordinances which Jehovah gave to that people? And is it not obvious (!?) that

the whole law, in all its sections and portions, will not receive, till after this conversion, that fulfilment which in all ages it has hitherto sought in vain? And how should temple, priesthood, sacrificial service, Sabbath, and new moon, in themselves be opposed to faith in the perfect and eternal revelation of God in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ?" In consistency with this, Baumgarten is therefore of opinion that eventually even the Gentile community will enter again into the congregation of Israel, and find its national organization in the law of Israel according to the will of God.—Hofmann, on the contrary (*Schriftbeweis*, II. 2, pp. 577 sqq.), finds only so much established with certainty in the revelation of Ezekiel, viz. that Israel will serve God again in its own land, and Jehovah will dwell in the midst of it again. He therefore would have the several parts interpreted in relation to the whole; so that what Hengstenberg calls the ideal interpretation of this prophecy remains. But he does not say precisely what his view is concerning the temple, and the Levitical rite of sacrifice to be performed therein. He simply infers, from the fact that a stream of water issuing from the temple-mountain makes the Dead Sea sound and the lower Kedron-valley fruitful, that the land will be different from what it was before; and this alteration Volck calls a glorification of Palestine.

In our discussion of the question concerning the restoration of Israel to Canaan, we have already declared ourselves as opposed to the literal interpretation of the prophecy, and have given the general grounds on which the symbolico-typical view appears to be demanded—namely, because the assumption of a restoration of the temple and the Levitical, *i.e.* bloody, sacrificial worship is opposed to the teaching of Christ and His apostles. We have now to assign further reasons for this. If, then, in the first place, we fix our attention upon the vision in ch. xl.–xlviii., we cannot find any conclusive argument against the literal and in favour of the figurative interpretation of the vision in question, either in the fact that Ezekiel does not give

any building-plan for the temple, but simply ground arrangements and ground measurements, and does not say that a temple is ever to be built according to his plan, or give any instructions for the restoration of the Israelitish worship, or in the fact that the division of the land, the bounding off of the *terumah* and the arranging of the city, cannot be practically realized. The omission of any command to build the temple might be simply accounted for, from the design to let the prophet merely see the restoration of the destroyed temple in a more perfect form, and cause this to be predicted to the people through him, without at present giving any command to build, as that was only to be carried out in the remote future. The absence of elevations and precise directions concerning the construction of the several buildings might be explained from the fact that in these respects the building was to resemble the former temple. And with regard to the distribution of the land among the tribes, and the setting apart of the *terumah*, it cannot truly be said that "they bear on the face of them their purposelessness and impracticability." The description of a portion of land of definite size for priests, Levites, city, and prince, which was to reach from the eastern boundary of Canaan to the western, and to be bounded off in a straight line by the tribe-territories immediately adjoining, contains nothing impracticable, provided that we do not think of the boundary line as a straight line upon a chess-board. But we may infer from the Mosaic instructions concerning the districts, which were to be given to the Levites as pasture grounds for their cattle round about the cities assigned to them to dwell in, that the words of the text do not warrant any such idea. They are described as perfect squares of a thousand cubits on every side (Num. xxxv. 2-5). If, then, these Mosaic instructions could be carried out, the same must be true of those of Ezekiel concerning the *terumah*, as its dimensions are in harmony with the actual size of the land. And so also the separation of the city from the temple, and the square form of the city

with three gates on every side, cannot be regarded in general as either purposeless or impracticable. And, finally, in the statements concerning the territories to be distributed among the twelve tribes, viz. that they were to lie side by side, that they were all to stretch from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, and that they were to be of equal size, there is no ground for supposing that the land was to be cut up with the measuring rod into abstract oblongs of equal measurements, with an entire disregard of all the actual conditions. The only thing which causes any surprise here is the assumption on which the regulation, that one tribe is to receive as much as another, is founded, namely, that all the tribes of Israel will be equal in the number of families they contain. This hypothesis can hardly be reconciled with the assumption that an actual distribution of Palestine among the twelve tribes of Israel returning from exile is contemplated. Even the measuring of a space around the temple for the purpose of forming a separation between the holy and the common, which space was to be five times as large as the extent of the temple with its courts, contains an obvious hint at a symbolical signification of the temple building, inasmuch as with a real temple such an object could have been attained by much simpler means. To this must be added the river issuing from the threshold of the eastern temple gate, with its marvellously increasing flow of water, and the supernatural force of life which it contains; for, as we have already pointed out, this cannot be regarded as an earthly river watering the land, but can only be interpreted figuratively, *i.e.* in a symbolico-typical sense. But if the stream of water flowing from the temple cannot be regarded as a natural river, the temple also cannot be an earthly temple, and the sacrificial service appointed for this temple cannot be taken as divine service consisting in the slaying and offering of bullocks, goats, and calves; and as the entire description forms a uniform prophetic picture, the distribution of the land among the sons of Israel must also not be interpreted literally.

But as different supporters of the chiliastic view have defended the literal interpretation of the picture of the temple spring by the assumption of a glorification of nature, *i.e.* of a glorification of Palestine before the new creation of the heaven and the earth, and this assumption is of great importance in relation to the question concerning the fulfilment of this prophecy (Ezek. xl.—xlviii.), we must examine somewhat more closely the arguments used in its support.

I. *Is the glorification of Canaan before the last judgment taught in the prophecy of the Old Testament?*—According to Volck (“Zur Eschatologie,” *Dorpat. Zeitschr.* vii. pp. 158 sqq.), the idea of such a glorification is very common throughout the Old Testament prophecy. “When,” he says, “Isaiah (ii. 2–4) sees the mountain of the house of Jehovah exalted above all the mountains, and the nations flowing to it, to walk in Jehovah’s ways; when he prophesies of a time in which the Lord will shelter Israel, now saved and holy in all its members, and fill its land with glory, and Canaan, under the rule of the righteous prince of peace, with its inhabitants once scattered over all the world brought back once more, will be restored to the original, paradisaical state of peace, whilst the world is given up to judgment (Isa. iv. 2–6, ix. 1–6, and 11, 12);—when Jeremiah prophesies that Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and a sprout from the house of David will rule well over his people, upon whose heart Jehovah will write His law (Jer. xxxi. 31–44, xxxiii. 15);—when Hosea (ii. 16–25) sees the house of Jacob, which has returned home after a period of severe affliction, as a pardoned people to which its God betrothes Himself again;—when Joel (iv. 16–21) sees a time break forth after the judgment upon the army of the world of nations, in which the holy land bursts into miraculous fruitfulness;—when Amos (ix. 8–15) predicts the rebuilding of the tabernacle of David that has been overthrown, and the restoration of the Davidic kingdom;—when, according to Zechariah (xiv. 8 sqq.), Jerusalem is to be the

centre of the world, to which the nations flow, to celebrate the feast of tabernacles with Israel:—it is impossible, without introducing unbounded caprice into our exposition, to resist the conclusion, that in all these passages, and others of a similar kind, a time is depicted, when, after the judgment of God upon the power of the world, Israel will dwell in the enjoyment of blissful peace within its own land, now transfigured into paradisaical glory, and will rule over the nations round about.” But that all these passages do not contain clear scriptural statements “concerning a partial glorification of the earth” during that kingdom of glory, is apparent from the fact that it is not till after writing this that Volck himself raises the question, “Are there really, then, any distinct utterances of Scripture upon this point?” and he only cites two passages (Joel iv. 18 sqq. and Mic. vii. 9–13) as containing an affirmative answer to the question, to which he also adds in a note Isa. xxiv. 1–23 as compared with Isa. xiii. 9 and Zech. xiv. 8–11. But when Joel foretells that, after the judgment of Jehovah upon the army of nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat, the mountains will trickle with new wine, the hills flow with milk, and all the springs of Judah stream with water, while Egypt will become a desolation, and Edom a barren desert, he announces nothing more than that which Isaiah repeats and still further expands in ch. xxxiv. and xxxv.; where even Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, II. 2, p. 563) admits that Edom is a symbolical designation, applied to the world of mankind in its estrangement from God. Joel merely mentions Egypt as well as Edom as representatives of the world in its hostility to God. But if Egypt and Edom are types of the world in its estrangement from God or its enmity against Him, Judah is a type of the kingdom of God; and this passage simply teaches that through the judgment the might and glory of the kingdoms of the world at enmity against God will be laid waste and destroyed, and the glory of the kingdom of God established. But in nowise do they teach the glorification of Palestine and

the desolation of Idumaea and the country of the Nile; especially if we bear in mind that, as we have already observed, the trickling and flowing of the mountains and hills with new wine and oil cannot possibly be understood literally. We meet with the very same antithesis in Mic. vii. 9-13, where the daughter of Zion, presented under the figure of a vineyard, is promised the building of her walls and the flowing into her of numerous peoples from Egypt, Asshur, and the ends of the world, and the desolation of the world is foretold. Micah does not say a word about a partial glorification of the earth, unless the building of the walls of Zion is taken allegorically, and changed into a glorification of Palestine. But if this is the case with passages selected as peculiarly clear, the rest will furnish still less proof of the supposed glorification of the land of Israel. It is true, indeed, that we also find in Isa. xxiv. 1-23 "the antithesis between Zion, the glorified seat of Jehovah, and the earth laid waste by the judgment" (cf. Isa. xiii. 3), and in Zech. xiv. 8 sqq. the prediction of an exaltation of Jerusalem above the land lying round about; but even if a future glorification of the seat of God in the midst of His people, and, indeed, a transformation of the earthly soil of the kingdom of God, be foretold in these and many other passages, the chiliastic idea of a glorification of Palestine before the universal judgment and the new creation of the heaven and earth is by no means proved thereby, so long as there are no distinct statements of Scripture to confirm the supposition that the future glorification of Zion, Jerusalem, Canaan, predicted by the prophets, will take place before the judgment. Even Volck appears to have felt that the passages already quoted do not furnish a conclusive proof of this, since it is not till after discussing them that he thinks it necessary to raise the question, "Does the Old Testament really speak of a glorification of Canaan in the literal sense of the word?" To reply to this he commences with an examination of the view of the millennium held by Auberlen, who finds nothing more in the state-

ments of the Old Testament than that "even nature will be included in the blessing of the general salvation, the soil endowed with inexhaustible fruitfulness, all hostility and thirst for blood be taken from the animal world, yea, the heavens bound to the earth in corresponding harmony," so that we should be reminded of the times of the world before the flood, when the powers of nature were still greater than they are now. To this the intimation in Isa. lxxv. 20-22 alludes, where men a hundred years old are called boys, etc. (*der Prophet Daniel*, pp. 402, 403). But Volck objects to the literal interpretation of such passages as Isa. lxxv. 20, on the ground that "the consequence of this assumption leads to absurdities, inasmuch as such passages as Isa. xi. 6, lx. 17, 19, lxxvi. 25, would then also have to be taken literally, to which certainly no one would be so ready to agree" (see also Luthardt, *die Lehre von den letzten Dingen*, p. 78). On the other hand, he defends the canon laid down by Hofmann (p. 566), "that in the prophetic description of that time of glory we must distinguish between the thoughts of the prophecy and the means used for expressing them; the former we reach by generalizing what is said by way of example, and reducing the figurative expression to the literal one." The thought lying at the foundation of these prophetic pictures is, in his opinion, no other than that of a blessed, blissful fellowship with God, and a state of peace embracing both the human and the extra-human creation. "To set forth this thought, the prophets seize upon the most manifold figures and colours which the earth offers them." Thus in Isa. lxxv. 20-23 we have only a figurative description of what is said in literal words in Isa. xxv. 8: He swalloweth up death for ever, and Jehovah wipeth away the tears from every face. So also the figurative expressions in Isa. xi. 6-8, lxxv. 25, affirm nothing more "than that the ground will be delivered from the curse which rests upon it for the sake of man, and the extra-human creation will be included in the state of peace enjoyed in the holy seat of God. But where there is no death and no evil,

and therefore no more sin, where the glory of the Lord shines without change (Isa. lx. 19, 20), not only has the world before the flood with its still greater powers of nature returned, but there is the world of *glorification*." We agree with this view in general, and simply add that this furnishes no proof of the glorification of Canaan before the last judgment. Before this can be done, it must be conclusively shown that these prophetic passages treat of the so-called millennial kingdom, and do not depict what is plainly taught in Isa. lxxv. 17 sqq. and Rev. xxi. and xxii., the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem upon the new earth.

Volck also acknowledges this, inasmuch as, after examining these passages, he proposes the question, "Are there really clear passages in the Old Testament prophecy which warrant us in assuming that there will be an intermediate period between the judgment, through which Jehovah glorifies Himself and His people before the eyes of the world, and a last end of all things?" An affirmative answer to this question is said to be furnished by Isa. xxiv. 21 sqq., where the prophet, when depicting the judgment upon the earth, says: "And it will come to pass in that day, that Jehovah will visit the army of the height on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth; and they will be gathered together as a crowd, taken in the pit, and shut up in the prison, and after the expiration of many days will they be visited. And the sun blushes, and the moon turns pale; for Jehovah rules royally upon Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and in the face of His elders is glory." Here even Hofmann finds (pp. 566, 567) the idea clearly expressed "of a time between the judgment through which Jehovah glorifies Himself and His people before all the world, and a last end of things, such as we must picture to ourselves when we read of a rolling up of the heaven on which all its host falls off, like dry leaves from the vine (Isa. xxxiv. 4), and of a day of retribution upon earth, when the earth falls to rise no more, and a fire devours its inhabitants, which burns for ever" (Isa. xxxiv. 8, 9, xxiv. 20). But if we observe that the announce-

ment of the judgment upon the earth closes in Isa. xxiv. 20 with the words, "the earth will fall, and not rise again;" and then vers. 21 sqq. continue as follows: "And it comes to pass in that day, Jehovah will visit," etc.,—it will be evident that the judgment upon the host of the heavens, etc., is assigned to the time when the earth is destroyed, so that by the Mount Zion and Jerusalem, where Jehovah will then reign royally in glory, we can only understand the heavenly Jerusalem. An intermediate time between the judgment upon the world and the last end of things, *i.e.* the destruction of the heaven and the earth, is not taught here. Nor is it taught in ch. lxxv. 17–19, where, according to Hofmann (p. 568), a glorification of Jerusalem before the new creation of the heaven and the earth is said to be foretold; for here even Volck admits that we have a picture of the new world after the destruction of heaven and earth and after the last judgment, and concludes his discussion upon this point (p. 166) with the acknowledgment, "that in the Old Testament prophecy these two phases of the end are not sharply separated from each other, and especially that the manner of transition from the former (the glorification of Jehovah and His church before the world in the so-called thousand years' reign) to the last end of all things, to the life of eternity, does not stand clearly out," though even in the latter respect there is an indication to be found in Ezek. xxxviii. If, then, for the present we lay this indication aside, as the question concerning Ezek. xxxviii. can only be considered in connection with Rev. xx., the examination of all the passages quoted by the chiliasts in support of the glorification of Palestine, before the new creation of the heavens and the earth, yields rather the result that the two assumed phases of the end are generally not distinguished in the Old Testament prophecy, and that the utterances of the different prophets concerning the final issue of the war of the world-powers against the kingdom of God clearly contain no more than this, that Jehovah will destroy all the enemies of His kingdom by a judgment, over-

throw the kingdoms of the world, and establish His kingdom in glory. Isaiah alone rises to a prediction of the destruction of the whole world, and of the new creation of the heaven and the earth.—But what the Old Testament leaves still obscure in this respect, is supposed to be clearly revealed in the New. To this question, therefore, we will now proceed.

II. *Does the New Testament teach a glorification of Palestine and a kingdom of glory in the earthly Jerusalem, before the last judgment and the destruction of the heaven and the earth?*—In the opinion of most of the representatives of millenarianism, there is no doubt whatever as to either of these. “For, according to Rev. xx., the overthrow of the world-power and the destruction of Antichrist are immediately followed by the establishment of the kingdom of glory of the glorified church of Jesus Christ for the space of a thousand years, at the expiration of which the war of Gog and Magog against the beloved city takes place, and ends in the overthrow of the hostile army and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth” (Volck, p. 167). But this assumption is by no means so indisputable. Even if we grant in passing, that, according to the millenarian view of the Apocalypse, the events depicted in ch. xx. are to be understood chronologically, the assumption that Palestine will be glorified during the millennium is not yet demonstrated. Auberlen, for example, who regards the doctrine of the thousand years’ reign as one of the primary articles of the Christian hope, pronounces the following sentence (pp. 454, 455) upon Hofmann’s view of the millennial reign, according to which the glorified church is to be thought of, not as in heaven, but as on earth, and, indeed, as united with the equally glorified Israel in the equally glorified Canaan: “It appears obvious to me that the whole of the Old Testament prophecy is irreconcilable with this view, apart from the internal improbability of the thing.” And according to our discussion above, we regard this sentence as perfectly well founded. The

prophets of the Old Testament know nothing of a thousand years' kingdom; and a glorification of the earthly Canaan before the end of the world cannot be inferred from the picture of the temple spring, for the simple reason that the resumption of this prophetic figure in Rev. xxii. 1 and 2 shows that this spring belongs to the heavenly Jerusalem of the new earth. Even in Rev. xx. we read nothing about a glorification of Palestine or Jerusalem. This has merely been inferred from the fact that, according to the literal interpretation of the chapter, those who rise from the dead at the second coming of Christ will reign with Christ in the "beloved city," *i.e.* Jerusalem; but the question has not been taken into consideration, whether a warlike expedition of the heathen from the four corners of the unglorified world against the inhabitants of a glorified city, who are clothed with spiritual bodies, is possible and conceivable, or whether such an assumption does not rather "lead to absurdities." Nor can it be shown that the doctrine of a glorification of Palestine before the end of the present world is contained in the remaining chapters of the Apocalypse or the other writings of the New Testament. It cannot be inferred from the words of the Apostle Paul in Rom. xi. 15, viz. that the restoration of the people of Israel, rejected for a time after the entrance of the *pleroma* of the heathen into the kingdom of God, will be or cause "life from the dead;" since "life from the dead" never really means the new bodily life of glorification beginning with the resurrection of the dead (Meyer), nor the glorification of the world (Volck); and this meaning cannot be deduced from the fact that the *παλιγγενεσία* ("regeneration," Matt. xix. 28) and the *χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως* ("times of restitution," Acts iii. 19-21) will follow the "receiving" (*πρόσληψις*) of Israel.

And even for the doctrine of a kingdom of glory in the earthly Jerusalem before the last judgment, we have no conclusive scriptural evidence. The assumption, that by the "beloved city" in Rev. xx. 9 we are to understand the earthly

Jerusalem, rests upon the hypothesis, that the people of Israel will return to Palestine on or after their conversion to Christ, rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, and dwell there till the coming of Christ. But, as we have already shown, this hypothesis has no support either in Rom. xi. 25 or any other unequivocal passages of the New Testament; and the only passages that come into consideration at all are Rev. vii. 1-8, xiv. 1-5, and xi., xii., in which this doctrine is said to be contained. In Rev. vii. 1 sqq., John sees how, before the outbreak of the judgment upon the God-opposing world-power, an angel seals "the servants of our God" in their foreheads, and hears that the number of those sealed is a hundred and forty-four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel, twelve thousand from each of the twelve tribes mentioned by name. In ch. xiv. 1 sqq. he sees the Lamb stand upon Mount Zion, and with Him a hundred and forty-four thousand, having the name of his Father written upon their forehead. And in ch. xi. 1 sqq. a rod is given to him, and he is commanded to measure the temple of God and the altar, but to cast out the outer court of the temple, and not to measure it, because it is given to the heathen, who will tread under foot the holy city, which has become spiritually a Sodom and an Egypt for forty-two months. From these passages, Hofmann (II. 2, p. 703), Luther, Volck, and others conclude that the converted Israelitish church will not only dwell in Palestine, more especially in Jerusalem, before the coming (*parusia*) of Christ, but will be alone in outliving the coming of Christ; whilst the rest of Christendom, at all events the whole number of the believers from among the Gentile Christians, will lose their lives in the great tribulation which precedes the *parusia*, and go through death to God. This conclusion would be indisputable if the premises were well founded, namely, that the passages in question treated only of Jewish Christians and the earthly Jerusalem. For, in the first place, it is evident that the hundred and forty-four thousand whom John sees with the Lamb upon Mount Zion in

ch. xiv. 1 sqq. are identical with the hundred and forty-four thousand who are sealed from the twelve tribes of Israel in ch. vii. The omission of the retrospective article before *ἐκατὸν*, κ.τ.λ. in ch. xiv. 1 is to be explained from the fact that the intention is to give prominence to the antithesis, in which the notice of it stands to what precedes. "Over against the whole multitude of the rest of the world, subject to the beast and his prophet, there stands upon Zion a comparatively limited host of a hundred and forty-four thousand" (Volck). And in the second place, it is quite as evident that in the one hundred and forty-four thousand who are sealed (ch. vii.), the total number is contained of all believers, who have been preserved in the great tribulation, and kept from perishing therein; and in ch. vii. 9-17 there is placed in contrast with these, in the innumerable multitude out of all the heathen, and nations, and languages standing before the throne of God clothed in white robes, and carrying palms in their hands, who have come out of the great tribulation, the total number of believers who have lost their temporal lives in the great tribulation, and entered into the everlasting life. The mode in which Christiani ("Uebersichtliche Darstellung des Inhalts der Apokalypse," *Dorpater Zeitschr.* III. p. 53) attempts to evade this conclusion—namely, by affirming that the separate visions never give a complete final account, but only isolated glimpses of it, and that they have mutually to supplement one another—does not suffice. Volck has correctly observed, in answer to the objection that the vision in ch. vii. 9-17 does not set before us the entrance of *all* the believing Gentile Christians of the last time into heaven through death, that although we simply read of a "great multitude" in ch. vii. 9, this expression does not permit us to infer that there will be a remnant of Gentile Christians, inasmuch as the antithesis upon which all turns is this: "on the one side, this compact number of a hundred and forty-four thousand out of Israel destined to survive the last oppression; on the other, an innumerable multitude out of every nation,

who have come to God through death." Nevertheless, we must support Christiani in his opposition to the assumption, that at the *parusia* of Christ only Jewish Christians will be living on earth in Jerusalem or upon Mount Zion, and that all the believing Gentile Christians will have perished from the globe; because such a view is irreconcilably opposed not only to Rev. iii. 12, but also to all the teaching of the New Testament, especially to the declarations of our Lord concerning His second coming. When the Apostle Paul wrote to the church at Thessalonica, consisting of Gentile and Jewish Christians, ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου: "we who live and remain to the coming of the Lord shall not anticipate those who sleep" (1 Thess. iv. 15 sqq.), and when he announced as a μυστήριον to the church at Corinth, which was also a mixed church, consisting for the most part of Gentile Christians: "we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51), he held the conviction, based upon a word of the Lord, that at the time of Christ's coming there would still be believing Gentile Christians living upon the earth. And when the Lord Himself tells His disciples: "the Son of man will come in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory, and will send His angels with sounding trumpets, and they will gather His elect from the four winds from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt. xxiv. 30, 31), He treats it as an indisputable fact that there will be ἐκλεκτοί, believing Christians, in all the countries of the earth, and that the church existing at His coming will not be limited to the Israel which has become believing in Jerusalem and Palestine.

If, therefore, the Apocalypse is not to stand in direct contradiction to the teaching of Christ and the Apostle Paul in one of the principal articles of the truths of salvation, the exposition in question of Rev. vii. and xiv. cannot be correct. On the contrary, we are firmly convinced that in the hundred and forty-four thousand who are sealed, the whole body of believing Christians living at the *parusia* of our Lord is represented; and notwithstanding the fact that they are described as the

servants of God "out of all the tribes of the children of Israel," and are distributed by twelve thousands among the twelve tribes of Israel, and that in ch. xiv. 1 they stand with the Lamb upon Mount Zion, we can only regard them, not as Jewish Christians, but as the Israel of God (Gal. vi. 16), *i.e.* the church of believers in the last days gathered from both Gentiles and Jews. If the description of the sealed as children of Israel out of all the twelve tribes, and the enumeration of these tribes by name, prove that only Jewish Christians are intended, and preclude our taking the words as referring to believers from both Gentiles and Jews, we must also regard the heavenly Jerusalem of the new earth as a Jewish Christian city, because it has the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel written upon its gates (Rev. xxi. 12), like the Jerusalem of Ezekiel (ch. xlviii. 31); and as this holy city is called the bride of the Lamb (Rev. xxi. 9, 10), we must assume that only Jewish Christians will take part in the marriage of the Lamb. Moreover, the Mount Zion upon which John sees Lamb and the hundred and forty-four thousand standing (ch. xiv. 1), cannot be the earthly Mount Zion, as Bengel, Hengstenberg, and others have correctly shown, because those who are standing there hear and learn the song sounding from heaven, which is sung before the throne and the four living creatures and the elders (Rev. xiv. 3). The Mount Zion in this instance, as in Heb. xii. 22, belongs to the heavenly Jerusalem. There is no foundation for the assertion that this view is at variance with the connection of this group, and is also opposed to the context (Christiani, p. 194, Luther, and others). The excellent remarks of Düsterdieck, with regard to the connection, are a sufficient refutation of the first, which is asserted without any proof: "Just as in ch. vii. 9 sqq. an inspiring look at the heavenly glory was granted to such believers as should remain faithful in the great tribulation which had yet to come, before the tribulation itself was displayed; so also in the first part of ch. xiv. (vers. 1-5) a scene is exhibited, which shows

the glorious reward of the conquerors (cf. ch. ii. 11, iii. 12, 21) in a certain group of blessed believers (ver. 1: 'a hundred and forty-four thousand;' ver. 4: 'the first-fruits'), who appear with the Lamb upon Mount Zion, and are described as those who have kept themselves pure from all the defilement of the world during their earthly life." And this assumption would only be opposed to the context if vers. 2-5 formed an antithesis to ver. 1, *i.e.* if those in heaven mentioned in vers. 2, 3 were distinguished from the hundred and forty-four thousand as being still on earth. But if those who sing the new song are really distinguished from the hundred and forty-four thousand, and are "angelic choirs," which is still questionable, it by no means follows from this that the hundred and forty-four thousand are upon the earthly Mount Zion, but simply that they have reached the Zion of the heavenly Jerusalem, and stand with the Lamb by the throne of God, serving Him as His attendants, seeing His face, and bearing His name upon their foreheads (Rev. xxii. 1, 3, 4), and that they learn the new song sung before the throne.

Still less can we understand by the holy city of Rev. xi. the earthly Jerusalem, and by the woman clothed with the sun in Rev. xii. the Israelitish church of God, *i.e.* the Israel of the last days converted to Christ. The Jerusalem of Rev. xi. is spiritually a Sodom and Egypt. The Lord is obliged to endow the two witnesses anointed with His Spirit, whom He causes to appear there, with the miraculous power of Elias and Moses, to defend them from their adversaries. And when eventually they are slain by the beast from the abyss, and all the world, seeing their dead bodies lying in the streets of the spiritual Sodom and Egypt, rejoices at their death, He brings them to life again after three days and a half, and causes them to ascend visibly into heaven, and the same hour He destroys the tenth part of the city by an earthquake, through which seven thousand men are slain, so that the rest are alarmed and give glory to the God of heaven. Jerusalem is introduced here in quite as degenerate a state as in the last times before its

destruction by the Romans. Nevertheless we cannot think of this ancient Jerusalem, because if John meant this, his prophecy would be at variance with Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem. "For, according to the Revelation, there is neither a destruction of the temple in prospect, nor does the church of Jesus flee from the city devoted to destruction" (Hofmann, p. 684). The temple with the altar of burnt-offering is measured and defended, and only the outer court with the city is given up to the nations to be trodden down; and lastly, only the tenth part of the city is laid in ruins. For this reason, according to Hofmann and Luther, the Jerusalem of the last days, inhabited by the Israel converted to Christ, is intended. But the difficulty which presses upon this explanation is to be found not so much in the fact that Jerusalem is restored in the period intervening between the conversion of Israel as a nation to Christ and the establishment of the millennial kingdom, and possesses a Jewish temple, as in the fact that the Israel thus converted to Christ, whose restoration, according to the teaching of the Apostle Paul in Rom. xi. 25, will be "life from the dead" to all Christendom, should again become a spiritual Sodom and Egypt, so that the Lord has to defend His temple with the believers who worship there from being trampled down by means of witnesses endowed with miraculous power, and to destroy the godless city partially by an earthquake for the purpose of terrifying the rest of the inhabitants, so that they may give glory to Him. Such an apostasy of the people of Israel after their final conversion to Christ is thoroughly opposed to the hope expressed by the Apostle Paul of the result of the restoration of Israel after the entrance of the *pleroma* of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God. Hofmann and Luther are therefore of opinion that the Israelitish-Christian Jerusalem of the last times is called spiritually Sodom and Egypt, because the old Jewish Jerusalem had formerly sunk into a Sodom and Egypt, and that the Christian city is punished by the destruction of its tenth part

and the slaying of seven thousand men "as a judgment upon the hostile nationality;" as if God could act so unjustly in the government of Jerusalem as to give up to the heathen the city that had been faithful to Him, and to destroy the tenth part thereof. This realistic Jewish interpretation becomes utterly impossible when ch. xii. is added. According to Hofmann, the woman in the sun is that Israel of which Paul says, "God has not cast away His people whom He foreknew" (Rom. xi. 2), *i.e.* the Israelitish church of the saved. Before the birth of the boy who will rule the nations with a sceptre of iron, this church is opposed by the dragon; and after the child born by her has been caught up into heaven, she is hidden by God from the persecution of the dragon in a place in the wilderness for twelve hundred and sixty days, or three times and a half, *i.e.* during the forty-two months in which Jerusalem as a spiritual Sodom is trodden down of the heathen, and only the temple with those who worship there is protected by God. But even if we overlook the contradiction involved in the supposition that the Israel believing in Christ of ch. xi. has sunk so deep that Jerusalem has to be trodden down by the heathen, and only a small portion of the worshippers of God are protected in the temple, we must nevertheless inquire how it is possible that the Israelitish church of believers in Christ should at the same time be defended in the temple at Jerusalem, and, having fled from Canaan into the wilderness, be concealed "in a place of distress and tribulation." The Jerusalem of the last times does not stand in the wilderness, and the temple protected by God is not a place of distress and tribulation. And how can the Israelitish church of God, which has given birth to Christ, be concealed in the wilderness after the catching up of Christ into heaven, or His ascension, seeing that the believing portion of Israel entered the Christian church, whilst the unbelieving mass at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem were in part destroyed by sword, famine, and pestilence, and in part thrust

out among the Gentiles over all the world? From the destruction of Jerusalem onwards, there is no longer any Israelitish congregation of God outside the Christian church. The branches broken off from the olive tree because of their unbelief, are not a church of God. And Auberlen's objection to this interpretation—namely, that from the birth of Christ in ver. 6 it makes all at once a violent leap into the antichristian times—still retains its force, inasmuch as this leap not only has nothing in the text to indicate it, but is irreconcilable with vers. 5 and 6, according to which the flight of the woman into the wilderness takes place directly after the catching away of the child. Auberlen and Christiani have therefore clearly seen the impossibility of carrying out the realistic Jewish interpretation of these chapters. The latter, indeed, would take the holy city in ch. xi. in a literal sense, *i.e.* as signifying the material Jerusalem; whilst he interprets the temple “allegorically” as representing the Christian church, without observing the difficulty in which he thereby entangles himself, inasmuch as if the holy city were the material Jerusalem, the whole of believing Christendom out of all lands would have fled thither for refuge. In the exposition of ch. xii. he follows Auberlen (*Daniel*, p. 460), who has correctly interpreted the woman clothed with the sun as signifying primarily the Israelitish church of God, and then passing afterwards into the believing church of Christ, which rises on the foundation of the Israelitish church as its continuation, other branches from the wild olive tree being grafted on in the place of the branches of the good olive that have been broken off (Rom. xi. 17 sqq.).—In Rev. xiii. and xv.–xix. there is no further allusion to Judah and Jerusalem.

If, then, we draw the conclusion from the foregoing discussion, the result at which we have arrived is, that even Rev. i.–xix. furnishes no confirmation of the assumption that the Israel which has come to believe in Christ will dwell in the earthly Jerusalem, and have a temple with bleeding sacrifices.

to happen till a thousand years later, cannot be inferred from the position of ch. xx. 10 after ch. xix. 20, 21, but must be gathered from some other source if it is to be determined at all. The assumption that the contents of Rev. xx. are chronologically posterior to ch. xviii. and xix., which the millenarian interpretation of the Apocalypse has adopted from the earlier orthodox exposition, is at variance with the plan of the whole book. It is now admitted by all scientific expositors of the Apocalypse, that the visions contained therein do not form such a continuous series as to present the leading features of the conflict between the powers at enmity against God and the kingdom of God in chronological order, but rather that they are arranged in groups, each rounded off within itself, every one of which reaches to the end or closes with the last judgment, while those which follow go back again and expand more fully the several events which prepare the way for and introduce the last judgment; so that, for example, after the last judgment upon the living and the dead has been announced in ch. xi. 15 sqq. by the seventh trumpet, the conflict between Satan and the kingdom of God on the birth and ascension of Christ is not shown to the seer till the following chapter (ch. xii.). And the events set forth in the last group commencing with ch. xix. must be interpreted in a manner analogous to this. The contents of this group have been correctly explained by Hofmann (II. 2, p. 720) as follows: "The whole series of visions, from ch. xix. 11 onwards, is merely intended to exhibit the victory of Christ over His foes. There is first a victory over Satan, through which the army of the enemies of His people by which he is served is destroyed; secondly, a victory over Satan, by which the possibility of leading the nations astray any more to fight against His church is taken from him; thirdly, a victory over Satan, by which he is deprived of the power to keep those who have died with faith in their Saviour in death any longer; and, fourthly, a victory over Satan, by which his last attack upon the saints of

God issues in his final destruction.” That the second and third victories are not to be separated from each other in point of time, is indicated by the sameness in the period assigned to each, viz. “a thousand years.” But the time when these thousand years commence, cannot be determined from the Apocalypse itself; it must be gathered from the teaching of the rest of the New Testament concerning the first resurrection. According to the statements made by the Apostle Paul in 1 Cor. xv., every one will be raised “in his own order: Christ the first-fruits, afterward they that are Christ’s at His coming;” then the end, *i.e.* the resurrection of all the dead, the last judgment, the destruction of the world, and the new creation of heaven and earth. Consequently the first resurrection takes place along with the coming of Christ. But, according to the teaching of the New Testament, the *parusia* of Christ is not to be deferred till the last day of the present world, but commences, as the Lord Himself has said, not long after His ascension, so that some of His own contemporaries will not taste of death till they see the Son of man come in His kingdom (Matt. xvi. 28). The Lord repeats this in Matt. xxiv. 34, in the elaborate discourse concerning His *parusia* to judgment, with the solemn asseveration: “Verily I say unto you, this generation (ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη) will not pass till all these things be fulfilled.” And, as Hofmann has correctly observed (p. 640), the idea that “this generation” signifies the church of Christ, does not deserve refutation. We therefore understand that the contemporaries of Christ would live to see the things of which He says, “that they will be the heralding tokens of His second appearance;” and, still further (p. 641): “We have already seen, from Matt. xvi. 28, that the Lord has solemnly affirmed that His own contemporaries will live to see His royal coming.”¹ Concerning this royal coming of the Son

¹ Luthardt also says just the same (pp. 94, 95): “Undoubtedly the age of which the Lord is speaking is not the whole of the present era, nor the nation of Israel, but the generation then existing. And yet the Lord’s

of man in the glory of His Father with His angels, which some of His contemporaries live to see (Matt. xvi. 27 and 28), Paul writes, in 1 Thess. iv. 15, 16: "We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not anticipate them which are asleep; for the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, etc., and the dead in Christ will rise first," etc. Consequently the New Testament teaches quite clearly that the first resurrection commences with the coming of Christ, which began with the judgment executed through the Romans upon the ancient Jerusalem. This was preceded only by the resurrection of Christ as "the first-fruits," and the resurrection of the "many bodies of the saints which slept," that arose from the graves at the resurrection of Christ, and appeared to many in the holy city (Matt. xxvii. 52, 53), as a practical testimony that through the resurrection of Christ death is deprived of its power, and a resurrection from the grave secured for all believers.—According to this distinct teaching of Christ and the apostles, the popular opinion, that the resurrection of the dead as a whole will not take place till the last day of this world, must be rectified. The New Testament does not teach anywhere that all the dead, even those who have fallen asleep in Christ, will remain in the grave, or in Hades, till the last judgment immediately before the destruction of heaven and earth, and that the souls which have entered heaven at their death will be with Christ till then unclothed and without the body. This traditional view merely rests upon the unscriptural idea of the coming of Christ as not taking place till the end of the era, and as an act restricted to a single day of twenty-four hours. According to the Scriptures, the *parusia* takes place on the day of the Lord, יוֹם יְהוָה, ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου. But this day is not an earthly day of twelve or twenty-four hours; but, as Peter says (2 Pet. iii. 8), "one

prophecy goes to the very end, and reaches far beyond the destruction of Jerusalem. . . . The existing generation was to live to see the beginning of the end, and did live to see it."

day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day" (cf. Ps. xc. 4). The day on which the Son of man comes in His glory commences with the appearing of the Lord to the judgment upon the hardened Israel at the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; continues till His appearing to the last judgment, which is still future and will be visible to all nations; and closes with the day of God, on which the heavens will be dissolved with fire, and the elements will melt with heat, and the new heaven and new earth will be created, for which we wait according to His promise (2 Pet. iii. 12, 13). To show how incorrect is the popular idea of the resurrection of the dead, we may adduce not only the fact of the resurrection of many saints immediately after the resurrection of Christ (Matt. xxvii. 52, 53), but also the solemn declaration of the Lord: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour cometh, *and now is*, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live,"—the hour "in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, etc." (John v. 25, 28); and again the repeated word of Christ, that whosoever believeth on Him *hath* everlasting life, and cometh not into judgment, but *hath* passed from death unto life (John v. 24, vi. 40, 47, iii. 16, 18, 36); and lastly, what was seen by the sacred seer on the opening of the fifth seal (Rev. vi. 9–11), namely, that white robes were given to the souls that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held, and that were crying for the avenging of their blood, inasmuch as the putting on of the white robe involves or presupposes the clothing of the soul with the new body, so that this vision teaches that the deceased martyrs are translated into the state of those who have risen from the dead before the judgment upon Babylon. The word *ψυχαι*, which is used to designate them, does not prove that disembodied souls are intended (compare, as evidence to the contrary, the *ὁκτὼ ψυχαι* of 1 Pet. iii. 20).

But as Rev. xx. 1-10 furnishes no information concerning the time of the first resurrection, so also this passage does not teach that they who are exalted to reign with Christ by the first resurrection will live and reign with Christ in the earthly Jerusalem, whether it be glorified or not. The place where the thrones stand, upon which they are seated, is not mentioned either in vers. 4-6 or vers. 1-3. The opinion that this will be in Jerusalem merely rests upon the twofold assumption, for which no evidence can be adduced, viz. (1) that, according to the prophetic utterances of the Old Testament, Jerusalem or the holy land is the site for the appearance of the Lord to the judgment upon the world of nations (Hofmann, pp. 637, 638); and (2) that the beloved city which the heathen, under Gog and Magog, will besiege, according to Rev. xx. 8, 9, is the earthly Jerusalem, from which it is still further inferred, that the saints besieged in the beloved city cannot be any others than those placed upon thrones through the first resurrection. But the inconceivable nature, not to say the absurdity, of such an assumption as that of a war between earthly men and those who have been raised from the dead and are glorified with spiritual bodies, precludes the identification, which is not expressed in the text, of the saints in Jerusalem with those sitting upon thrones and reigning with Christ, who have obtained eternal life through the resurrection. And as they are reigning with Christ, the Son of God, who has returned to the glory of His heavenly Father, would also be besieged along with them by the hosts of Gog and Magog. But where do the Scriptures teach anything of the kind? The fact that, according to the prophecy of the Old Testament, the Lord comes from Zion to judge the nations furnishes no proof of this, inasmuch as this Zion of the prophets is not the earthly and material, but the heavenly Jerusalem. The angels who come at the ascension of Christ to comfort His disciples with regard to the departure of their Master to the Father, merely say: "This Jesus, who has gone up from you to heaven, will so come in like manner as ye

have seen Him go to heaven" (Acts i. 11); but they do not say at what place He will come again. And though the Apostle Paul says in 1 Thess. iv. 16, "the Lord will descend from heaven," he also says, they that are living then will be caught up together with those that have risen in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so be ever with the Lord. And as here the being caught up in the clouds into the air is not to be understood literally, but simply expresses the thought that those who are glorified will hasten with those who have risen from the dead to meet the Lord, to welcome Him and to be united with Him, and does not assume a permanent abiding in the air; so the expression, "descend from heaven," does not involve a coming to Jerusalem and remaining upon earth. The words are meant to be understood spiritually, like the rending of the heaven and coming down in Isa. lxiv. 1. Paul therefore uses the words ἀποκάλυψις ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, revelation from heaven, in 2 Thess. i. 7, with reference to the same event. The Lord has already descended from heaven to judgment upon the ancient Jerusalem, to take vengeance with flaming fire upon those who would not know God and obey the gospel (2 Thess. i. 8). Every manifestation of God which produces an actual effect upon the earth is a coming down from heaven, which does not involve a local abiding of the Lord upon the earth. As the coming of Christ to the judgment upon Jerusalem does not affect His sitting at the right hand of the Father, so we must not picture to ourselves the resurrection of those who have fallen asleep in the Lord, which commences with this coming, in any other way than that those who rise are received into heaven, and, as the church of the first-born, who are written in heaven, *i.e.* who have become citizens of heaven (Heb. xii. 23), sit on seats around the throne of God and reign with Christ.—Even the first resurrection is not to be thought of as an act occurring once and ending there; but as the coming of the Lord, which commenced with the judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem, is continued in the long series of judgments through which one

hostile power after another is overthrown, until the destruction of the last enemy, so may we also assume, in analogy with this, that the resurrection of those who have fallen asleep in Christ, commencing with that *parusia*, is continued through the course of centuries; so that they who die in living faith in their Saviour are raised from the dead at the hour appointed by God according to His wisdom, and the souls received into heaven at death, together with those sown as seed-corn in the earth and ripened from corruption to incorruptibility, will be clothed with spiritual bodies, to reign with Christ. The thousand years are not to be reckoned chronologically, but commence with the coming of Christ to the judgment upon Jerusalem, and extend to the final casting of the beast and the false prophet into the lake of fire, perhaps still further. When they will end we cannot tell; for it is not for us to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath reserved in His own power (Acts i. 7).

The chaining and imprisonment of Satan in the abyss during the thousand years can also be brought into harmony with this view of the millennium, provided that the words are not taken in a grossly materialistic sense, and we bear in mind that nearly all the pictures of the Apocalypse are of a very drastic character. The key to the interpretation of Rev. xx. 1-3 and 7-10 is to be found in the words of Christ in John xii. 31, when just before His passion He is about to bring His addresses to the people to a close, for the purpose of completing the work of the world's redemption by His death and resurrection. When the Lord says, just at this moment, "now is the judgment passing over the world; now will the prince of this world be cast out," namely, out of the sphere of his dominion, He designates the completion of the work of redemption by His death as a judgment upon the world, through which the rule of Satan in the world is brought to nought, or the kingdom of the devil destroyed. This casting out of the prince of this world, which is accomplished in the establishment and spread of the kingdom of Christ on earth, is shown to the sacred seer in

Patmos in the visions of the conflict of Michael with the dragon, which ends in the casting out of Satan into the earth (Rev. xii. 7 sqq.), and of the chaining and imprisonment of Satan in the abyss for a thousand years (Rev. xx. 1 sqq.). The conflict of Michael with the dragon, which is called the Devil and Satanas, commences when the dragon begins to persecute the woman clothed with the sun after the birth of her child, and its being caught up into heaven, *i.e.* after the work of Christ on earth has terminated with His ascension to heaven. John receives an explanation of the way in which the victory of Michael, through which Satan is cast out of heaven upon the earth, is to be interpreted, from the voice, which says in heaven, "Now is come the salvation, and the strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of His Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, who accused us day and night before God" (ver. 10). With the casting of Satan out of heaven, the kingdom of God and the power of His anointed are established, and Satan is thereby deprived of the power to rule any longer as the prince of the world. It is true that when he sees himself cast from heaven to earth, *i.e.* hurled from his throne, he persecutes the woman; but the woman receives eagles' wings, so that she flies into the wilderness to the place prepared for her by God, and is there nourished for three times and a half, away from the face of the serpent (Rev. xii. 8, 13, 14). After the casting out of Satan from heaven, there follow the chaining and shutting up in the abyss, or in hell; so that during this time he is no more able to seduce the heathen to make war upon the camp of the saints (Rev. xx. 1-3 and 8). All influence upon earth is not thereby taken from him; he is simply deprived of the power to rule on the earth as *ἄρχων* among the heathen, and to restore the *ἐξουσία* wrested from him.¹ We

¹ Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, II. 2, p. 722) understands the binding of Satan in a similar manner, and writes as follows on the subject: "That which is rendered impossible to Satan, through his being bound and imprisoned in the nether world, and therefore through his exclusion from the upper

may therefore say that the binding of Satan began with the fall of heathenism as the religion of the world, through the elevation of Christianity to be the state-religion of the Roman empire, and that it will last so long as Christianity continues to be the state-religion of the kingdoms which rule the world.

It is impossible, therefore, to prove from Rev. xx. that there will be a kingdom of glory in the earthly Jerusalem before the last judgment; and the New Testament generally neither teaches the return of the people of Israel to Palestine on their conversion to Christ,—which will take place according to Rom. xi 25 sqq.,—nor the rebuilding of the temple and restoration of Levitical sacrifices. But if this be the case, then Ezekiel's vision of the new temple and sacrificial worship, and the new division of the land of Canaan, cannot be understood literally, but only in a symbolico-typical sense. The following question, therefore, is the only one that remains to be answered:—

III. *How are we to understand the vision of the new kingdom of God in Ezek. xl.-xlviii.?*—In other words, What opinion are we to form concerning the fulfilment of this prophetic picture? The first reply to be given to this is, that this vision does not depict the coming into existence, or the successive stages in the rise and development, of the new kingdom of God. For Ezekiel sees the temple as a finished building, the component parts of which are so measured before his eyes that he is led about within the building. He sees the glory of Jehovah enter into the temple, and hears the voice of the Lord, who declares

world, where the history of mankind is proceeding, is *simply* that kind of activity which exerts a determining influence upon the course of history." And Flacius, in his *Glossa* to the New Testament, gives this explanation: "But Satan is not then so bound or shut up in hell that he cannot do anything, or cause any injury, more especially disobedience in his children; but simply that he cannot act any more either so powerfully or with such success as before." He also reckons the thousand years "from the resurrection and ascension of the Lord, when Christ began in the most powerful manner to triumph over devils and ungodly men throughout the world," etc.

this house to be the seat of His throne in the midst of His people; and commands the prophet to make known to the people the form of the house, and its arrangement and ordinances, that they may consider the building, and be ashamed of their evil deeds (ch. xliii. 4-12). The new order of worship also (ch. xliii. 13-xlvi. 15) does not refer to the building of the temple, but to the service which Israel is to render to God, who is enthroned in this temple. Only the directions concerning the boundaries and the division of the land presuppose that Israel has still to take possession of Canaan, though it has already been brought back out of the heathen lands, and is about to divide it by lot and take possession of it as its own inheritance, to dwell there, and to sustain and delight itself with the fulness of its blessings. It follows from this that the prophetic picture does not furnish a typical exhibition of the church of Christ in its gradual development, but sets forth the kingdom of God established by Christ in its perfect form, and is partly to be regarded as the Old Testament outline of the New Testament picture of the heavenly Jerusalem in Rev. xxi. and xxii. For the river of the water of life is common to both visions. According to Ezekiel, it springs from the threshold of the temple, in which the Lord has ascended His throne, flows through the land to the Arabah, and pours into the Dead Sea, to make the water thereof sound; and according to Rev. xxii. 1 sqq., it proceeds from the throne of God and of the Lamb, and flows through the midst of the street of the New Jerusalem. According to Ezek. xlvii. 7, 12, as well as Rev. xxii. 2, there are trees growing upon its banks which bear edible fruits every month, that is to say, twelve times a year, and the leaves of which serve for the healing of the nations. But Ezekiel's picture of the new kingdom of God comes short of the picture of the New Jerusalem in this respect, that in Ezekiel the city and temple are separated, although the temple stands upon a high mountain in the centre of the holy *terumah* in the midst of the land of Canaan, and the city of Jerusalem reaches to the

holy *termuah* with the northern side of its territory; whereas the new heavenly Jerusalem has no temple, and, in its perfect cubic form of equal length, breadth, and height, has itself become the holy of holies, in which there stands the throne of God and of the Lamb (Rev. xxi. 16, xxii. 4). Ezekiel could not rise to such an eminence of vision as this. The kingdom of God seen by him has a preponderatingly Old Testament stamp, and is a perfect Israelitish Canaan, answering to the idea of the Old Covenant, in the midst of which Jehovah dwells in His temple, and the water of life flows down from His throne and pours over all the land, to give prosperity to His people. The temple of Ezekiel is simply a new Solomon's temple, built in perfect accordance with the holiness of the house of God, in the courts of which Israel appears before Jehovah to offer burnt-offerings and slain-offerings, and to worship; and although the city of Jerusalem does indeed form a perfect square, with three gates on every side bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, like the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem, it has not yet the form of a cube as the stamp of the holy of holies, in which Jehovah the almighty God is enthroned, though its name is, "henceforth Jehovah thither." Still less does the attack of Gog with his peoples, gathered together from the ends of the earth, apply to the heavenly Jerusalem. It is true that, according to the formal arrangement of our prophet's book, it stands before the vision of the new kingdom of God; but chronologically its proper place is within it, and it does not even fall at the commencement of it, but at the end of the years, after Israel has been gathered out of the nations and brought back into its own land, and has dwelt there for a long time in security (ch. xxxviii. 8, 16). This attack on the part of the heathen nations is only conceivable as directed against the people of God still dwelling in the earthly Canaan.

How then are we to remove the discrepancy, that on the one hand the river of the water of life proceeding from the temple

indicates a glorification of Canaan, and on the other hand the land and people appear to be still unglorified, and the latter are living in circumstances which conform to the earlier condition of Israel? Does not this picture suggest a state of earthly glory on the part of the nation of Israel in its own land, which has passed through a paradisaical transformation before the new creation of the heaven and the earth? Isaiah also predicts a new time, in which the patriarchal length of life of the primeval era shall return, when death shall no more sweep men prematurely away, and not only shall war cease among men, but mutual destruction in the animal world shall also come to an end (Isa. lxxv. 19-23 compared with ch. xi. 6-9). When shall this take place? Delitzsch, who asks this question (*Isa.* vol. II. p. 492, transl.), gives the following reply: "Certainly not in the blessed life beyond the grave, to which it would be both impossible and absurd to refer these promises, since they presuppose a continued mixture of sinners with the righteous, and merely a limitation of the power of death, not its destruction." From this he then draws the conclusion that the description is only applicable to the state of the millennium. But the creation of a new heaven and a new earth precedes this description (ch. lxxv. 17, 18). Does not this point to the heavenly Jerusalem of the new earth? To this Delitzsch replies that "the Old Testament prophet was not yet able to distinguish from one another the things which the author of the Apocalypse separates into distinct periods. From the Old Testament point of view generally, nothing was known of a state of blessedness beyond the grave.—In the Old Testament prophecy, the idea of the new cosmos is blended with the millennium. It is only in the New Testament that the new creation intervenes as a party wall between this life and the life beyond; whereas the Old Testament prophecy brings the new creation itself into the present life, and knows nothing of any Jerusalem of the blessed life to come, as distinct from the new Jerusalem of the millennium." But even if there were a

better foundation for the chiliastic idea of the millennium (Rev. xx.) than there is according to our discussion of the question above, the passage just quoted would not suffice to remove the difficulty before us. For if Isaiah is describing the Jerusalem of the millennium in ch. lxxv. 19-23, he has not merely brought the new creation of heaven and earth into the present life, but he has also transferred the so-called millennium to the new earth, *i.e.* to the other side of the new creation of heaven and earth. Delitzsch himself acknowledges this on page 517 (transl.), where he observes in his commentary on Isa. lxxvi. 22-24 that "the object of the prophecy" (namely, that from new moon to new moon, and from Sabbath to Sabbath, all flesh will come to worship before Jehovah, and they will go out to look at the corpses of the men that have rebelled against Him, whose worm will not die, nor their fire be quenched) "is no other than the new Jerusalem of the world to come, and the eternal torment of the damned." Isaiah "is speaking of the other side, but he speaks of it as on this side." But if Isaiah is speaking of the other side as on this side in ch. lxxvi., he has done the same in ch. lxxv. 19-23; and the Jerusalem depicted in ch. lxxv. cannot be the Jerusalem of the millennium on this side, but can only be the New Jerusalem of the other side coming down from heaven, as the description is the same in both chapters, and therefore must refer to one and the same object. The description in Isa. lxxv., like that in ch. lxxvi., can be perfectly comprehended from the fact that the prophet is speaking of that which is on the other side as on this side, without there being any necessity for the hypothesis of a thousand years' earthly kingdom of glory. It is quite correct that the Old Testament knows nothing whatever of a blessed state beyond the grave, or rather merely teaches nothing with regard to it, and that the Old Testament prophecy transfers the state beyond to this side, in other words, depicts the eternal life after the last judgment in colours taken from the happiness of the Israelitish life in Canaan. And this is also correct, "that the Old Testa-

ment depicts both this life and the life to come as an endless extension of this life; whilst the New Testament depicts it as a continuous line in two halves, the last point in this present finite state being the first point of the infinite state beyond: that the Old Testament preserves the continuity of this life and the life to come, by transferring the outer side, the form, the appearance of this life, to the life to come; the New Testament by making the inner side, the nature, the reality of the life to come, the *δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*, immanent in this life." But it is only to the doctrinal writings of the New Testament that this absolutely applies. Of the prophetic pictures of the New Testament, on the other hand, and especially the Apocalypse, it can only be affirmed with considerable limitations. Not only is the New Jerusalem of Isaiah, which has a new heaven above it and a new earth beneath, simply the old earthly Jerusalem, which has attained to the highest glory and happiness; but in the Apocalypse also, the Jerusalem which has come down from heaven is an earthly city with great walls of jasper and pure gold, founded upon twelve precious stones, with twelve gates consisting of pearls, that are not shut by day, in order that the kings of the earth may bring their glory into the city, into which nothing common and no abomination enter. The whole picture rests upon those of Isaiah and Ezekiel, and merely rises above these Old Testament types by the fact that the most costly minerals of the earth are selected, to indicate the exceeding glory of the heavenly nature of this city of God. What, then, is the heavenly Jerusalem of the new earth? Is it actually a city of the new world, or the capital of the kingdom of heaven? Is it not rather a picture of the many mansions in the Father's house in heaven, which Jesus entered at His ascension to heaven, to prepare a place for us (John xiv. 2)? Is it not a picture of the heavenly kingdom (2 Tim. iv. 18), into which all the blessed in that world enter whose names are written in the book of life? And its brilliant glory, is it not a picture of the unspeakable glory of the eternal life, which no

eye has seen, no ear has heard, and which has not entered into the heart of any man (1 Cor. ii. 9) ?

And if the state beyond the grave is transferred to this side, *i.e.* depicted in colours and imagery drawn from this side, not only in the Old Testament prophecy, but in that of the New Testament also, we must not seek the reason for this prophetic mode of describing the circumstances of the everlasting life, or the world to come, in the fact that the Old Testament knows nothing of a blessed state beyond the grave, is ignorant of a heaven with men that are saved. The reason is rather to be found in the fact, that heavenly things and circumstances lie beyond our idea and comprehension ; so that we can only represent to ourselves the kingdom of God after the analogy of earthly circumstances and conditions, just as we are unable to form any other conception of eternal blessedness than as a life without end in heavenly glory and joy, set free from all the imperfections and evils of this earthly world. So long as we are walking here below by faith and not by sight, we must be content with those pictures of the future blessings of eternal life with the Lord in His heavenly kingdom which the Scriptures have borrowed from the divinely ordered form of the Israelitish theocracy, presenting Jerusalem with its temple, and Canaan the abode of the covenant people of the Old Testament as types of the kingdom of heaven, and picturing the glory of the world to come as a city of God coming down from heaven upon the new earth, built of gold, precious stones, and pearls, and illumined with the light of the glory of the Lord.—To this there must no doubt be added, in the case of the Old Testament prophets, the fact that the division of the kingdom of the Messiah into a period of development on this side, and one of full completion on the other, had not yet been so clearly revealed to them as it has been to us by Christ in the New Testament ; so that Isaiah is the only prophet who prophesies of the destruction of the present world and the creation of a new heaven and new earth. If we leave out of

sight this culminating point of the Old Testament prophecy, all the prophets depict the glorification and completion of the kingdom of God established in Israel by the Messiah, on the one hand, as a continuous extension of His dominion on Zion from Jerusalem outwards over all the earth, through the execution of the judgment upon the heathen nations of the world; and, on the other hand, as a bursting of the land of Canaan into miraculous fruitfulness for the increase of His people's prosperity, and as a glorification of Jerusalem, to which all nations will go on pilgrimage to the house of the Lord on Zion, to worship the Lord and present their treasures to Him as offerings. Thus also in Ezekiel the bringing back of the people of Israel, who have been scattered by the Lord among the heathen on account of their apostasy, to the promised land, the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple, which have been destroyed, and the future blessing of Israel with the most abundant supply of earthly good from the land which has been glorified into paradisaical fruitfulness, form a continuity, in which the small beginnings of the return of the people from Babylon and the deliverance and blessing which are still in the future, lie folded in one another, and the present state and that beyond are blended together. And accordingly he depicts the glory and completion of the restored and renovated kingdom of God under the figure of a new division of Canaan among the twelve tribes of all Israel, united under the sceptre of the second David for ever, and forming one single nation, by which all the incongruities of the former times are removed, and also of a new sanctuary built upon a very high mountain in the centre of Canaan, in which the people walking in the commandments and rights of their God offer sacrifice, and come to worship before the Lord in His courts on the Sabbaths, new moons, and yearly feasts. This blessedness of Israel also is not permanently disturbed through the invasion of the restored land by Gog and his hordes, but rather perfected and everlastingly established by the fact that the Lord God destroys this last enemy,

and causes him to perish by self-immolation. But however strongly the Old Testament drapery of the Messianic prophecy stands out even in Ezekiel, there are traits to be met with even in this form, by which we may recognise the fact that the Israelitish theocratical form simply constitutes the clothing in which the New Testament constitution of the kingdom of God is veiled.¹ Among these traits we reckon not only the description given in ch. xl.-xlviii., which can only be interpreted in a typical sense, but also the vision of the raising to life of the dry bones in ch. xxxvii. 1-14, the ultimate fulfilment of which will not take place till the general resurrection, and more especially the prophecy of the restoration not only of Jerusalem, but also of Samaria and Sodom, to their original condition (ch. xvi. 53 sqq.), which, as we have already shown, will not be perfectly fulfilled till the *παλιγγενεσία*, i.e. the general renovation of the world after the last judgment. From this last-named

¹ Of all such pictures it may certainly be said that we "cannot see how an Old Testament prophet, when speaking of Canaan, Jerusalem, Zion, and their future glorification, can have thought of anything else than the earthly sites of the Old Testament kingdom of God" (Volck); but this objection proves nothing against their typical explanation, as we know that the prophets of the Old Testament, who prophesied of the grace that was to come to us, inquired and searched diligently what, and what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify (1 Pet. i. 10, 11). Even, therefore, if the prophets in their uninspired meditation upon that which they had prophesied, when moved by the Holy Ghost, did not discern the typical meaning of their own utterances, we, who are living in the times of the fulfilment, and are acquainted not only with the commencement of the fulfilment in the coming of our Lord, in His life, sufferings, and death, and His resurrection and ascension to heaven, as well as in His utterances concerning His second coming, but also with a long course of fulfilment in the extension for eighteen hundred years of the kingdom of heaven established by Him on earth, have not so much to inquire what the Old Testament prophets thought in their searching into the prophecies which they were inspired to utter by the Spirit of Christ, even if it were possible to discover what their thoughts really were, but rather, in the light of the fulfilment that has already taken place, to inquire what the Spirit of Christ, which enabled the prophets to see and to predict the coming of His kingdom in pictures drawn from the Old Testament kingdom of God, has foretold and revealed to us through the medium of these figures.

prophecy, to which the healing of the waters of the Dead Sea in ch. xlvii. 9 sqq. supplies a parallel, pointing as it does to the renewal of the earth after the destruction of the present world, it clearly follows that the tribes of Israel which receive Canaan for a perpetual possession are not the Jewish people converted to Christ, but the Israel of God, *i.e.* the people of God of the new covenant gathered from among both Jews and Gentiles; and that Canaan, in which they are to dwell, is not the earthly Canaan or Palestine between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, but the New Testament Canaan, *i.e.* the territory of the kingdom of God, whose boundaries reach from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. And the temple upon a very high mountain in the midst of this Canaan, in which the Lord is enthroned, and causes the river of the water of life to flow down from His throne over His kingdom, so that the earth produces the tree of life with leaves as medicine for men, and the Dead Sea is filled with fishes and living creatures, is a figurative representation and type of the gracious presence of the Lord in His church, which is realized in the present period of the earthly development of the kingdom of heaven in the form of the Christian church in a spiritual and invisible manner in the indwelling of the Father and the Son through the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, and in a spiritual and invisible operation in the church, but which will eventually manifest itself when our Lord shall appear in the glory of the Father, to translate His church into the kingdom of glory, in such a manner that we shall see the almighty God and the Lamb with the eyes of our glorified body, and worship before His throne.

This worship is described in our vision (ch. xliii. 13—xlvi. 24) as the offering of sacrifice according to the Israelitish form of divine worship under the Old Testament; and in accordance with the mode peculiar to Ezekiel of carrying out all the pictures in detail, the leading instructions concerning the Levitical sacrifices are repeated and modified in harmony with the

new circumstances. As the Mosaic worship after the building of the tabernacle commenced with the consecration of the altar, so Ezekiel's description of the new worship commences with the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering, and then spreads over the entering into and exit from the temple, the things requisite for the service at the altar, the duties and rights of the worshippers at the altar, and the quantity and quality of the sacrifices to be offered on the Sabbaths, new moons, and yearly feasts, as well as every day. From a comparison of the new sacrificial *thorah* with that of Moses in our exposition of these chapters, we have observed various distinctions which essentially modified the character of the whole service, viz. a thorough alteration in the order and celebration of the feasts, and a complete change in the proportion between the material of the meat-offering and the animal sacrifices. So far as the first distinction is concerned, the daily sacrifice is reduced to a morning burnt- and meat-offering, and the evening sacrifice of the Mosaic law is abolished; on the other hand, the Sabbath offering is more than tripled in quantity; again, in the case of the new-moon offerings, the sin-offering is omitted and the burnt-offering diminished; in the yearly feasts, the offerings prescribed for the seven days of the feast of unleavened bread and of the feast of tabernacles are equalized in quantity and quality, and the daily burnt- and meat-offerings of the feast of unleavened bread are considerably increased; on the other hand, the daily sacrifices of the feast of tabernacles are diminished in proportion to those prescribed by the Mosaic law. Moreover, the feast of weeks, or harvest-feast, and in the seventh month the day of trumpets and the feast of atonement, with its great atoning sacrifices, are dropt. In the place of these, copious sin-offerings are appointed for the first, seventh, and fourteenth days of the first month. To do justice to the meaning of these changes, we must keep in mind the idea of the Mosaic cycle of feasts. (For this, see my *Bibl. Archäol.* I. § 76 sqq.) The ceremonial worship prescribed by the Mosaic law, in

addition to the daily sacrifice, consisted of a cycle of feast days and festal seasons regulated according to the number seven, which had its root in the Sabbath, and was organized in accordance with the division of time, based upon the creation, into weeks, months, and years. As the Lord God created the world in six days, and ended the creation on the seventh day by blessing and sanctifying that day through resting from His works, so also were His people to sanctify every seventh day of the week to Him by resting from all work, and by a special burnt- and meat-offering. And, like the seventh day of the week, so also was the seventh month of the year to be sanctified by the keeping of the new moon with sabbatical rest and special sacrifices, and every seventh year to be a sabbatical year. Into this cycle of holy days, arranged according to the number seven, the yearly feasts consecrated to the remembrance of the mighty acts of the Lord for the establishment, preservation, and blessing of His people, were so dovetailed that the number of these yearly feasts amounted to seven,—the Passover, feast of unleavened bread, feast of weeks, day of trumpets, day of atonement, feast of tabernacles, and conclusion of this feast,—of which the feasts of unleavened bread and tabernacles were kept for seven days each. These seven feasts formed two festal circles, the first of which with three feasts referred to the raising of Israel into the people of God and to its earthly subsistence; whilst the second, which fell in the seventh month, and was introduced by the day of trumpets, had for its object the preservation of Israel in a state of grace, and its happiness in the full enjoyment of the blessings of salvation, and commenced with the day of atonement, culminated in the feast of tabernacles, and ended with the octave of that feast. In the festal *thorah* of Ezekiel, on the other hand, the weekly Sabbath did indeed form the foundation of all the festal seasons, and the keeping of the new moon as the monthly Sabbath corresponds to this; but the number of yearly feasts is reduced to the Passover, the seven days' feast of unleavened bread, and the seven

days' feast of the seventh month (the feast of tabernacles). The feast of weeks and the presentation of the sheaf of first-fruits on the second day of the feast of unleavened bread are omitted; and thus the allusion in these two feasts to the harvest, or to their earthly maintenance, is abolished. Of still greater importance are the abolition both of the day of trumpets and of the day of atonement, and the octave of the feast of tabernacles, and the institution of three great sin-offerings in the first month, by which the seventh month is divested of the sabbatical character which it had in the Mosaic *thorah*. According to the Mosaic order of feasts, Israel was to consecrate its life to the Lord and to His service, by keeping the feast of Passover and the seven days' feast of unleavened bread every year in the month of its deliverance from Egypt as the first month of the year, in commemoration of this act of divine mercy,—by appropriating to itself afresh the sparing of its first-born, and its reception into the covenant with the Lord, in the sacrifice of the paschal lamb and in the paschal meal,—and by renewing its transportation from the old condition in Egypt into the new life of divine grace in the feast of unleavened bread,—then by its receiving every month absolution for the sins of weakness committed in the previous month, by means of a sin-offering presented on the new moon,—and by keeping the seventh month of the year in a sabbatical manner, by observing the new moon with sabbatical rest and the tenth day as a day of atonement, on which it received forgiveness of all the sins that had remained without expiation during the course of the year through the blood of the great sin-offering, and the purification of its sanctuary from all the uncleanness of those who approached it, so that, on the feast of tabernacles which followed, they could not only thank the Lord their God for their gracious preservation in the way through the wilderness, and their introduction into the Canaan so abounding in blessings, but could also taste the happiness of vital fellowship with their God. The yearly feasts of Israel, which commenced with the

celebration of the memorial of their reception into the Lord's covenant of grace, culminated in the two high feasts of the seventh month, the great day of atonement, and the joyous feast of tabernacles, to indicate that the people living under the law needed, in addition to the expiation required from month to month, another great and comprehensive expiation in the seventh month of the year, in order to be able to enjoy the blessing consequent upon its introduction into Canaan, the blessedness of the sonship of God. According to Ezekiel's order of feasts and sacrifices, on the other hand, Israel was to begin every new year of its life with a great sin-offering on the first, seventh, and fourteenth days of the first month, and through the blood of these sin-offerings procure for itself forgiveness of all sins, and the removal of all the uncleanness of its sanctuary, before it renewed the covenant of grace with the Lord in the paschal meal, and its transposition into the new life of grace in the days of unleavened bread, and throughout the year consecrated its life to the Lord in the daily burnt-offering, through increased Sabbath-offerings and the regular sacrifices of the new moon; and lastly, through the feast in commemoration of its entrance into Canaan, in order to live before Him a blameless, righteous, and happy life. In the Mosaic order of the feasts and sacrifices the most comprehensive act of expiation, and the most perfect reconciliation of the people to God which the old covenant could offer, lay in the seventh month, the Sabbath month of the year, by which it was indicated that the Sinaitic covenant led the people toward reconciliation, and only offered it to them in the middle of the year; whereas Ezekiel's new order of worship offers to Israel, now returning to its God, reconciliation through the forgiveness of its sins and purification from its uncleannesses at the beginning of the year, so that it can walk before God in righteousness in the strength of the blood of the atoning sacrifice throughout the year, and rejoice in the blessings of His grace. Now, inasmuch as the great atoning sacrifice of the day of atonement

pointed typically to the eternally availing atoning sacrifice which Christ was to offer in the midst of the years of the world through His death upon the cross on Golgotha, the transposition of the chief atoning sacrifices to the commencement of the year by Ezekiel indicates that, for the Israel of the new covenant, this eternally-availing atoning sacrifice would form the foundation for all its acts of worship and keeping of feasts, as well as for the whole course of its life. It is in this that we find the Messianic feature of Ezekiel's order of sacrifices and feasts, by which it acquires a character more in accordance with the New Testament completion of the sacrificial service, which also presents itself to us in the other and still more deeply penetrating modifications of the Mosaic *thorah* of sacrifice on the part of Ezekiel, both in the fact that the daily sacrifice is reduced to a morning sacrifice, and also in the fact that the quantities are tripled in the Sabbath-offerings and those of the feast of unleavened bread as compared with the Mosaic institutes, and more especially in the change in the relative proportion of the quantity of the meat-offering to that of the burnt-offering. For example, as the burnt-offering shadows forth the reconciliation and surrender to the Lord of the person offering the sacrifice, whilst the meat-offering shadows forth the fruit of this surrender, the sanctification of the life in good works, the increase in the quantity of the meat-offering connected with the burnt-offering, indicates that the people offering these sacrifices will bring forth more of the fruit of sanctification in good works upon the ground of the reconciliation which it has received. We do not venture to carry out to any greater length the interpretation of the differences between the Mosaic law of sacrifice and that of Ezekiel, or to point out any Messianic allusions either in the number of victims prescribed for the several feast days, or in the fact that a different quantity is prescribed for the meat-offering connected with the daily burnt-offering from that enjoined for the festal sacrifices, or in any other things of a similar nature.

These points of detail apparently belong merely to the individualizing of the matter. And so also, in the fact that the provision of the people's sacrifices for the Sabbath, new moon, and feasts devolves upon the prince, and in the appointment of the place where the prince is to stand and worship in the temple, and to hold the sacrificial meal, we are unable to detect any Messianic elements, for the simple reason that the position which David and Solomon assumed in relation to the temple and its ritual furnished Ezekiel with a model for these regulations. And, in a similar manner, the precept concerning the hereditary property of the prince and its transmission to his sons (ch. xlvi. 16 sqq.) is to be explained from the fact that the future David is thought of as a king, like the son of Jesse, who will be the prince of Israel for ever, not in his own person, but in his family. The only thing that still appears worthy of consideration is the circumstance that throughout the whole of Ezekiel's order of worship no allusion is made to the high priest, but the same holiness is demanded of all the priests which was required of the high priest in the Mosaic law. This points to the fact that the Israel of the future will answer to its calling to be a holy people of the Lord in a more perfect manner than in past times. In this respect the new temple will also differ from the old temple of Solomon. The very elaborate description of the gates and courts, with their buildings, in the new temple has no other object than to show how the future sanctuary will answer in all its parts to the holiness of the Lord's house, and will be so arranged that no person uncircumcised in heart and flesh will be able to enter it.—But all these things belong to the "shadow of things to come," which were to pass away when "the body of Christ" appeared (Col. ii. 17; Heb. x. 1). When, therefore, M. Baumgarten, Auberlen, and other millenarians, express the opinion that this shadow-work will be restored after the eventual conversion of Israel to Christ, in support of which Baumgarten even appeals to the authority of the apostle of the Gentiles, they have

altogether disregarded the warning of this very apostle: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ" (Col. ii. 8, 16, 20, 21).

Lastly, with regard to the prophecy concerning Gog, the prince of Magog, and his expedition against the restored land and people of Israel (Ezek. xxxviii. and xxxix.), and its relation to the new conformation of the kingdom of God depicted in ch. xl.-xlviii., the assumption of Hengstenberg (on Rev. xx. 7), "that Gog and Magog represent generally all the future enemies of the kingdom of God, and that we have here embraced in one large picture all that has been developing itself in a long series of events, so that the explanations which take them as referring to the Syrian kings, the Goths and Vandals, or the Turks, are all alike true, and only false in their exclusiveness,"—is not in harmony with the contents of this prophecy, and cannot be reconciled with the position which it occupies in Ezekiel and in the Apocalypse. For the prophecy concerning Gog, though it is indeed essentially different from those which concern themselves with the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and other smaller or larger nations of the world, has nothing "utopian" about it, which indicates "a thoroughly ideal and comprehensive character." Even if the name *Gog* be formed by Ezekiel in the freest manner from *Magog*, and however remote the peoples led by Gog from the ends of the earth to make war upon Israel, when restored and living in the deepest peace, may be; yet *Magog*, *Meshech*, *Tubal*, *Pharaz*, *Cush*, and *Phut* are not utopian nations, but the names of historical tribes of whose existence there is no doubt, although their settlements lie outside the known civilised world. Whether there be any foundation for the old Jewish interpretation of the name *Magog* as referring to a great Scythian tribe, or not, we leave undecided; but so much is certain, that *Magog* was a people settled in the extreme north of the world known to the ancients. Nor will we attempt to decide whether the invasion of Hither Asia by

the Scythians forms the historical starting-point or connecting link for Ezekiel's prophecy concerning Gog; but there can be no doubt that this prophecy does not refer to an invasion on the part of the Scythians, but foretells a last great conflict, in which the heathen dwelling on the borders of the globe will engage against the kingdom of God, after the kingdom of the world in its organized national forms, as Asshur, Babel, Javan, shall have been destroyed, and the kingdom of Christ shall have spread over the whole of the civilised world. Gog of Magog is the last hostile phase of the world-power opposed to God, which will wage war on earth against the kingdom of God, and that the rude force of the uncivilised heathen world, which will not rise up and attack the church of Christ till after the fall of the world-power bearing the name of Babylon in the Apocalypse, *i.e.* till towards the end of the present course of the world, when it will attempt to lay it waste and destroy it, but will be itself annihilated by the Lord by miracles of His almighty power. In the "conglomerate of nations," which Gog leads against the people of Israel at the end of the years, there is a combination of all that is ungodly in the heathen world, and that has become ripe for casting into the great wine-press of the wrath of God, to be destroyed by the storms of divine judgment (ch. xxxviii. 21, 22, xxxix. 6). But, as Baumgarten has correctly observed (in Herzog's *Cyclopaedia*), "inasmuch as the undisguised and final malice of the world of nations against the kingdom of God is exhibited here, Ezekiel could truly say that the prophets of the former times had already prophesied of this enemy (ch. xxxviii. 17), and that the day of vengeance upon Gog and Magog is that of which Jehovah has already spoken (ch. xxxix. 8),—that is to say, all that has been stated concerning hostility on the part of the heathen towards the kingdom of Jehovah, and the judgment upon this hostility, finds its ultimate fulfilment in this the last and extremest opposition of all." This is in harmony not only with the assumption of this prophecy in Rev. xx., but also with the declaration

of the Apocalypse, that it is the Satan released from his prison who leads the heathen to battle against the camp of the saints and the beloved city, and that fire from God out of heaven consumes these enemies, and the devil who has seduced them is cast into the lake of fire to be tormented for ever and ever. —According to all this, the appearing of Gog is still in the future, and the day alone can clearly show what form it will assume.

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